

**БЕЗ СРОКА  
ДАВНОСТИ**

**NO STATUTE  
OF LIMITATIONS**



**NO STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS:  
CRIMES OF THE NAZIS  
AND THEIR COLLABORATORS  
AGAINST SOVIET CITIZENS  
ON THE TERRITORY OF EAST  
PRUSSIA (THE PRESENT-DAY  
KALININGRAD REGION) DURING  
THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR**





# KALININGRAD REGION

Second edition,  
enlarged

Kaliningrad  
2023





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ПРЕЗИДЕНТСКИХ  
ГРАНТОВ

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SERIES  
NO STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS. CRIMES OF THE NAZIS AND THEIR  
COLLABORATORS AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION DURING THE  
SECOND WORLD WAR: DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

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This publication is part of a serial publication and includes archival documents about the crimes of the Nazis and their collaborators, confirming the fact of genocide against the civilian Soviet population during the Great Patriotic War.



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Dear reader,

You are holding quite an unusual collection. It contains facts about Nazi crimes committed during the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945) in East Prussia, currently existing as Kaliningrad region of Russia and a part of Poland's territory. Every document embodies the pain of Soviet citizens, our compatriots, who suffered from unbearable conditions in captivity and forced labour. The boys and girls, women and children taken abroad were traded on "labour exchanges" and offered to German families and entrepreneurs as cheap labour force. Tens of thousands of "Ostarbeiters" did not live to see the Victory... We mourn the irreparable loss of our fellow citizens – young, strong and talented. More than 75 years have passed but we remember the enormous human losses.

Documents provided by the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, the State Archive of the Kaliningrad Region, and the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art testify to the atrocities and crimes of Hitler's collaborators. The Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region declassified documents from departmental archives for the collected book and presented them to the general public for the first time. This publication results from the extensive work carried out by museum staff and archivists, scientists and local historians, employees of security agencies, government officials, representatives of non-governmental organisations and the regional search movement.

The published materials convincingly confirm that on the territory of Nazi Prussia there were concentration camps intended for the mass extermination of people through executions by shooting, injections, gas chambers and crematoria. The most terrible of them, Stutthof, was located in the area of the modern settlement of Sztutowo in Poland. In the present-day Kaliningrad region, there were "branches" of this "death camp". During the war, there were about 50 Nazi camps here, with more than 30 of them defined as labour ones. Unbearable conditions of detention were created for Soviet people. Prisoners died from hunger, cold, backbreaking physical labour and infectious diseases. But there are known cases of resistance from prisoners, who were exhausted but not broken in spirit, rising above their pain and overcoming fear.

The number of identified prisoners of war of the Red Army, who died in camps on the territory of East Prussia (now the Kaliningrad region), is 6,148 people. They are included in the regional Book of Memory. And how many names are still unknown! There will be some long, painstaking and important search activities ahead.

Near the Nagornoye settlement, Bagrationovsky urban district, an international cemetery for prisoners of the Stalag IA camp has been preserved. The graves there number more than 3,000 people. Soviet citizens were buried in common graves, ditches. This fact alone points to a large number of dead and a “special” attitude towards them. Red Army prisoners of war received a reduced food ration, were kept in harsher conditions, were subjected to constant abuse, and received almost no medical care.

The collected book contains investigation materials and reports on Nazi atrocities, investigation reports and special reports, records of interrogation of criminals, official Reich documents on the conditions of detention of Eastern workers, memories and eyewitness accounts.

From the declassified documents of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of Russia for the Kaliningrad region, it became known that at the beginning of 1945, during the Red Army’s offensive on East Prussia, mass executions by shooting of Soviet citizens began in the Königsberg camps: 1,500 people were killed in February-March alone. Let us remember the Palmnicken tragedy: during the “Death March” from Königsberg to Palmnicken (now the settlement of Yantarny) and on the shores of the Baltic Sea, about 5,000 prisoners of Stutthof were killed. But there were women and children among them! According to the testimony of local residents, many of them were Soviet citizens.

The Red Army brought liberation from slavery to tens of thousands of prisoners, among whom were both Soviet citizens and residents of many European countries. In the context of constant attempts by western neighbours to rewrite history, the regional collection of documents prepared as part of the *No Statute of Limitations* federal project is of great importance. We must not forget the crimes committed by the Nazis and their collaborators in the territory of the former East Prussia. All generations living not only in this area need to remember this. The project is of national importance for preserving family memory of the Great Patriotic War.

Our people survived the mortal battle and won. They brought deliverance to the countries of Europe from ‘brown plague’ or fascism, and all attempts to rewrite the history of the 20th century are futile.

Governor of the Kaliningrad Region  
A. A. Alikhanov



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## NO STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS: CRIMES OF THE NAZIS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS AGAINST SOVIET CITIZENS ON THE TERRITORY OF EAST PRUSSIA (THE PRESENT-DAY KALININGRAD REGION) DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

After the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany in 1933, it began to create an extensive punitive system to combat “enemies of the state”, with concentration camps as a part of it. They served imprisonment for citizens found dangerous to the existing regime, primarily for political reasons. After 1938, Jews began to be sent to concentration camps in large numbers.

The camp system, as well as the composition and number of prisoners in them, changed significantly after the outbreak of the Second World War. At the same time, there were formed prisoner of war camps divided into various categories. Some of them were built on the territory of pre-existing camp complexes (for example, Auschwitz). The massive use of forced labour led to the creation of labour camps. At the same time, forced labour of prisoners of war was also actively used in production and agriculture in Germany. As the Nazi government adopted the so-called “Final Solution to the Jewish Question”, meant the genocide of the Jews, “death camps” began to be created. But, according to the fair opinion of researchers, “the concentration camp was a field of bureaucratic chaos, corruption, arbitrariness and murder. The division of concentration camps into categories made no difference. It was undertaken for the sake of an external effect, a demonstration of the supposedly observed objectivity in the treatment of prisoners.”<sup>1</sup>

Forming a whole picture about the camp system of various types in the northern part of the former East Prussia (modern Kaliningrad region) is still a problem due to the general state of the source base, and, as a consequence, due to the almost complete lack of research on this topic in Russian historiography. During the war years, tens of thousands of residents of the USSR, both prisoners of war and civilians driven away for forced labour, ended up on the territory of East Prussia. Already in 1945, certain facts of criminal activities of the German military and civil authorities in relation to them became the subject of an investigation conducted by the SMERSH Soviet military counterintelligence agencies. In addition, the collection of such facts was carried out by the political departments of Soviet military units. However, the information collected by these agencies is fragmented and does not allow us to make a complete picture. The main source array is kept in German archives. Materials on the detention of prisoners of war carried out by German Armed Forces (*German: Wehrmacht*), are contained in the Federal Military Archives (Freiburg), and sources relating to forced labour persons who were under the competence of the Reich Ministry of Labour are contained in the Federal Archives of Koblenz city. In 2020, about 62 thousand digital copies of documents relating to the fate of Soviet citizens from the funds of the former German Service Archive (former Wehrmacht Archive) were transferred to the Russian State Military Archive. After

processing, the materials will be posted on the Pamyat Naroda (*literally*: Memory of the People) portal of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation.

A significant part of the personal cards of prisoners of war after the war was transferred to the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defence. Memories of individual prisoners of war and forced labour workers who were in camps on the territory of East Prussia are stored in the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.

The materials published in the 13th and 19th volumes of the Book of Memory of the Kaliningrad Region “Nazovem poimenno” (*literally*: “Let’s call them by name”) had a great influence on the currently prevailing ideas about the system of German camps in this territory. Memories of some camp prisoners were published: I. G. Novikov and N. B. Shvykova (from the collection of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art), P. Dementyev. But, unfortunately, the compilers of the list of camps made serious mistakes. One of the largest prisoner of war camps, Stalag IA, is located in Klein Dexen (although in the area of this settlement there was only a camp cemetery). At the same time, the nearby settlements of Domtau, Gerken and Warken (correctly Wakern) were indicated in relation to this camp. The northern part of the camp (“Nord Camp”) was indeed located near Gerken, but the localisation of other points is not entirely accurate. Also, Insterburg was listed as the main location of the camp, and the Stalag I/216, I/316 camps were also listed here. In reality, labour commando I/216 of the main Stalag IA camp was located in Insterburg. Thus, the compilers of the list made no distinction between the main camp and one of its labour commandos. The Heidekrug camp, which was an “external camp” of Stalag IA and was located in the area of Šilutė city (Republic of Lithuania), was localised in the area of Lipki settlement of Ozersky urban district. There was even a small memorial created here. The location of Stalag IB, which was in the Hohenstein area, was erroneously designated near Krasnopolye settlement of Pravdinsky urban district, although in fact we should be talking about the modern town of Olsztynek in Poland. Located in Sudauen (Suwalki city, Poland), Stalag IF is erroneously assigned to Orlovka settlement of Guryevsky urban district (former Sudau). The camp “Oflag-53, also known as ID IZ, 391 – Tilsit – Sovetsk town (10,000 people died)” was, as can be seen from the text, localised in the town of Tilsit<sup>2</sup>. The same list of camps was reproduced in the next volume of the series in 2006.<sup>3</sup> But in the same collected book an act of forensic medical examination of the camp territory in December 1944 was published, which states that Oflag-53 is located “1.5 km from Pogege town” (Pagegiai town of the Republic of Lithuania)<sup>4</sup>. An article of G. Ignatov about this camp is also presented here, confidently localising it in the area of Pogege<sup>5</sup>. “Oflag-60, also known as ID” was assigned to Schirwindt town<sup>6</sup>. In fact, although it was located nearby, it was on the other side of the border – in Kudirkos Naumištis town (Republic of Lithuania). During the year of its existence, from July 1941 to July 1942, according to various estimates, from 4 to 11.5 thousand Soviet prisoners of war died there<sup>7</sup>. As a result, the list of camps given by the authors of the collected book became canonical<sup>8</sup>. However, it should be noted the publication about the Hohenbruch camp, compiled from Polish literature<sup>9</sup>.

Like the camps in any province of Germany and in the occupied territories, the concentration and forced labour camps and prisoner of war camps located in East Prussia had an extensive system of branches (“external camps”) and “labour commandos,” which were often located tens of kilometres away from the “central camp”. To these were added camps for forced labour workers – “Ostarbeiters”, “Eastern workers”. Unfortunately, at present it is not possible to determine the exact number of camps and their branches. In general, we can talk about several dozen “external camps” that were subordinated to large forced labour (concentration) camps and prisoner of war camps. It should be borne in mind that each “external camp”, in turn, could form several dozen labour commandos.



The labour of “foreign workers” was used in increasing numbers during the war years in Germany. They tried to compensate for the drop in labour productivity associated with the conscription of experienced workers into the army by increasing the number of workers. They were to be provided, among other things, by labour resources from the eastern regions: first Poles, and then “Ostarbeiters” — citizens of the USSR<sup>10</sup>. In January 1942, the main task of the apparatus for the labour use of the Economic Headquarters “East” was defined as “filling in the coming months the gap in the economy that has arisen due to the departure of all persons of younger conscription age into the army through widespread recruitment of Russian labour. This is decisive for the war and therefore must be done! If the number of volunteers does not meet expectations, then, according to the order, the most stringent measures should be applied during recruitment”<sup>11</sup>. As a result, the total number of “Eastern workers” exported by Germany and its allies from the territory of the USSR was about 3.2 million people<sup>12</sup>.

Already in 1945, advancing in battle across East Prussia, the Red Army soldiers literally encountered traces of Soviet citizens driven here at every step. Sometimes it was a modest girl's handkerchief, accidentally left on one of the farms (*Polish*: folwark). “In the barn next to the dirty cattle stalls, there was trampled straw covered with old thick sackcloth. Apparently someone had slept on it before. On this thick sackcloth one soldier found a handkerchief. There were blood stains on it, and in the very corner the Russian name was embroidered in red thread: “Natasha”. The soldiers froze, silently looking at the handkerchief. They stood there like that for several minutes. Then the sergeant, hiding the handkerchief in his soldier's blouse pocket, said: “It's time, comrades, to hit the road.”<sup>13</sup> In another farm, “next to the master's house there is an extension with dim windows. We go there. Grey walls, cold brick-lined floor. Sergeant Skorobogatenko notices two Soviet-brand sewing machines here. In the other corner of the room is a large chest. In it, over a worn woman's dress, there is a piece of paper covered in uneven handwriting: “Dear brothers! We can already hear our guns hitting. We are sitting under lock and key, and it seems to us that the door is about to open and we will see you, our saviours. We suffered here for two years. There were nine of us, Russian girls, here [...].The owner forced us to work from dawn until late at night, and fed us anything, like dogs. For the last week, he locked us up at night, afraid that we would leave. This evening he said that in the morning we should go with him further from the front. Hurry up, brothers, don't let us be driven away to certain death”<sup>14</sup>.

“The Germans forcibly took me and my daughter, my 8-year-old nephew and my sister with two children to Germany in the spring of 1944,” F.F.Gavrilova from Vitebsk testified to Red Army officers. “We went by rail for about a month; the wagons were crowded with people. We were not given water along the way, and many died of hunger and disease. After arriving, we were distributed like cattle among the landowners. I ended up working for the landowner Smailius. I worked from dawn to dusk, but we weren't paid anything. We received 1.5–2 kg of bread for a week; apart from water soup, they did not cook any other food for us. The landowner beat us with everything he could. My sister and nephew died from these torments, and we barely lived to see your arrival.”<sup>15</sup>

In the cities of East Prussia, labour exchanges operated at railway stations, to which those transported for forced labour in Germany were delivered. One of them was in Darkehmen<sup>16</sup>. The morals that reigned on such exchanges were not much different from what happened in the “slave markets.” One of them was described in 1945 by war correspondent M.G.Bragin, who met with those released from German captivity. “At the market, they separated sisters, friends, and countrywomen to make it harder for single people to resist. The Germans argued at the market: everyone wanted to get the youngest ones, even teenagers, they were weaker, but it was easier to make them obey; the elders were stronger, more experienced, but more

obstinate. To avoid any dispute, the girls were raffled in an all-prize lottery, ten marks per ticket. Ticket No. 8 fell on the documents of a fifteen-year-old Russian girl Olya Onufrieva. The satisfied German looked at his "prize", took Olya's documents and rode off in the phaeton. Olya ran after him for twelve kilometres along the hot asphalt of an improved German road."<sup>17</sup> The famous Soviet writer I. G. Ehrenburg, who visited East Prussia in January 1945, testified: "In small provincial Bartenstein, every family with three children received a worker – Russian or Polish. One farmer told me that she lived modestly, only one Ukrainian and one Italian worked for her; for them she paid sixty marks to the "Arbeitsamt."<sup>18</sup> Among those taken to forced labour in Prussia were teenagers Valentin Gagarin and Zoya Gagarina, the brother and sister of the future "cosmonaut No. 1" Yuri Gagarin. They were brought to Danzig along with the next train. From there they were sent to work on one of the estates and were later liberated by the Red Army<sup>19</sup>.

There were camps for "Ostarbeiters" at the production sites. In Königsberg, similar camps were located at the Schichau shipyard, the Steinfurt carriage works, the Presswerke cartridge factory and the Ostlandwerke artillery factory in Metgethen and other places. After the capture of the fortress city, front-line correspondent Yu. M. Chernov met with their former prisoners. "Meetings with our people driven into slavery are painful," he wrote. "Who is from the Smolensk region?" a woman whose age is difficult to determine asks us: yellow skin tightens her cheekbones. Grey hair peeks out from under a grey headscarf. On the chest there is a diamond made of rough canvas, in the centre of the diamond there is a black nine: she did not have time to rip it off. [...] Her father, mother, sister and sister's six-year-old child are with her. Old people are unlikely to reach home: living skeleton. I wonder how he keeps body and soul together. And the boy looks like a little old man: emaciated, his face is bloodless, his eyes are not childishly serious."<sup>20</sup> "In those days, I felt that mutual responsibility connected the ferocious SS men and the peaceful Mrs. Müller from Rastenburg, who did not kill anyone, but only received a cheap servant – Nastya from Orel," stated I. G. Ehrenburg<sup>21</sup>.

In total, together with the prisoners of war involved in Germany, the number of "foreign workers" in the country reached 7.3 million people in May and 7.9 million in September 1944. The labour balance of the Nazi state rested precisely on them<sup>22</sup>. At the same time, the effectiveness of the use of forced labour was very problematic. Ultimately, entrepreneurs received unskilled personnel with low labour discipline and far from the highest output. However, "Germany, an aggressor state, was doomed to experience a persistent and debilitating "thirst" for cheap, or even better, free labour. Forced human labour became a kind of "drug", although it quenched pain for a while, but did not in any way affect its sources. From this point of view, Germany was economically programmed for defeat, but with a purely addictive instinct it strove precisely for the blitzkrieg (literally: lightning war) as its last chance."<sup>23</sup>

Forced labour camps also operated on the territory of East Prussia. A typical example of one of them is the Hohenbruch camp, located near the modern Gromovo settlement of Slavsky urban district. It was created in September 1939. Initially, German communists, deserters from the Wehrmacht and Jews were kept there, but soon Poles, including intellectuals and former officials, began to be sent there<sup>24</sup>. It was originally a "penal labour camp" ("Strafarbeitslager"). It was under the control of the police authorities and therefore was often designated as a "police camp" ("Polizeilager"). But then it was transferred to the SS control and acquired the character of a "forced labour camp"<sup>25</sup>. In 1944, the number of prisoners reached 3 thousand people<sup>26</sup>. They worked on nearby rural farms, as well as on reclamation work and in forestry: they felled trees, uprooted stumps, dug ditches, and built roads. At the same time, the prisoners did not have special clothing or shoes and spent the entire time working barefoot in the water and swamp. They were often forced to dig even potatoes with their bare hands<sup>27</sup>.

The camp parade ground, in addition to traditional gatherings and roll calls, served at night for sophisticated punishment, which the prisoners themselves dubbed the word “carramba”. It was hours of running around the parade ground, often throughout the night. Certain sections of the road were specially watered and wire was stretched over them. Often a spotlight was directed onto the road immediately in front of the obstacle. The runners became blind, stumbled and fell on top of each other in the mud. At the same time, the guards beat them with batons and hounded them with dogs, and also fired at them<sup>28</sup>.

As in all camps, the food ration was very meagre: daily from half a litre to a litre of rutabaga or cabbage soup. For dinner, they were given a litre of substitute coffee (*German*: Ersatzkaffee) and 200 grams of bread, to which a little margarine was sometimes added. If any of the prisoners tried to escape, as punishment, the entire camp was transferred to a half ration<sup>29</sup>.

The main contingent of prisoners in the camp consisted of Poles, but sometimes forced labourers from the USSR ended up here for various offenses. One of them was Yuri Iosifovich Khorzhempa, an ethnic Pole. In January 1942, he was taken to forced labour as a minor. He ended up in Königsberg, but was transferred to Hohenbruch for attempting to escape. “In the barracks I was given a place in the second tier of bunks, where there were straw mattresses and many, many fleas,” he later recalled. “In the middle of the barracks there was a long table where we ate. However, the word “ate” must be placed in quotation marks, since it could not be called food. After 10–15 days in the concentration camp, I became like a skeleton covered in skin. I dug sand and loaded it into narrow-gauge railway trolleys – we were building a dam to prevent water from flooding the meadow. The loaded trolleys went down under their own power, and were carried up by horses. The easiest job in the whole camp was as a brakeman on the trolleys. But I never got there. Sometimes I was taken to load hay onto barges. There were no days off in the concentration camp. The shovel left bloody calluses on my hands, and if I didn’t fulfil the quota – 12 trolleys of sand – then I was deprived of a bowl of soup. All the prisoners had striped clothes and klumps\* on their feet, which were uncomfortable to walk in.

Next to “my” block there was a women’s block across the fence. I don’t know where they took women to work. I remember one incident. One evening, all the women were taken to the parade ground and forced to run in a circle. A heavy downpour began. Those who stumbled and fell were beaten by the guards with whips. And at this time, on the veranda, where the guards were laughing as they looked at everything that was happening, music was playing: the Pimper foxtrot. I remember this foxtrot for the rest of my life: a forest, a heavy downpour, young beautiful women in robes running in circles in the mud, being beaten with whips, and music playing all the while. [...] After serving my sentence, I was taken from the concentration camp to Königsberg – again to the exchange. Paul Benzon hired me there. I was a living shadow. When the hostess gave me something to eat for the first time, I couldn’t eat: spasms in my throat did not allow me to swallow, I ate very little – I knew that after a long hunger strike I couldn’t eat much, but still I started having colic in my stomach. I rolled on the ground, crying in pain.”<sup>30</sup> In January 1945, after the start of the Soviet offensive, the camp was evacuated: those prisoners who could not walk were shot, and the rest were taken on foot towards Königsberg<sup>31</sup>. Now there is a small memorial on the site of the camp. Not far from it there is a memorial sign at the death site of the Jack special reconnaissance group commander P.A. Krylatykh: Soviet intelligence officers who landed here in July 1944 did not know about the existence of the camp and accidentally stumbled upon one of its guard posts<sup>32</sup>.

In the city of Königsberg, a new prison was built in 1929, which received the designation “Neubau” – “New Building”. Now this is pre-trial detention centre No. 1 of the Federal Penitentiary Service of Russia for the Kaliningrad region. The collected book contains the



testimony of F. Otheisdorf, one of the former wardens of this prison, arrested by the SMERSH (No. 145). It follows from them that death sentences imposed on citizens of the USSR were carried out here too. He gives almost no details about this. However, his testimony can be supplemented with materials collected by A. Omelyanovich, who himself was a prisoner of this prison. According to him, the guillotine mentioned by F. Otheisdorf was installed here in 1940. It was in a special section of the basement, the walls of which were lined with dark tiles. There were special drains for blood and its flushing with water. In the next room, separated by a curtain, there was a table covered with green cloth. There were tubs with oleanders along the walls, and a portrait of A. Hitler hung on the wall. Nearby there were several dozen small cells, without windows or beds, with barred doors. The condemned were housed in them immediately before execution. All prisoners in prison wore black jackets and trousers, but those sentenced to death had white stripes 10 cm wide sewn on their chests, sleeves and down their trouser legs. This was a sign of death.

Executions in Neubau were carried out once or twice a week, and up to several dozen people were executed at the same time. In this case, the condemned person could expect his fate from six to nine weeks. It was a torture: weeks of waiting, the opportunity to watch from the cell window the removal of boxes containing the bodies of the beheaded from the prison basement. And the experience of each execution, when the life of those whose turn had not yet come was extended for a few more days. Beatings, a punishment cell with water (and with frost in winter) on the concrete floor and walls, and hunger added to this. Periodically, after the execution, the wardens, wearing bloody clothes, burst into the cells and told the prisoners that these boots would soon be covered with their blood.

The execution process itself was carried out as follows. The prison warden received a list of those sentenced from Procurator General Bringmann. In the first half of the day, they were taken out of their cells in handcuffs and taken to the basement, where they were locked in temporary holding cells. After lunch, Bringmann himself, the prison warden and a number of officials went down to the basement. They sat at a table covered with green cloth. The guards tore off the condemned man's clothes and dragged him to the table. Bringmann read out the verdict and made a sign with his hand. The curtain covering the guillotine was pulled back. The executioner's assistants used wooden clamps to firmly fasten the neck of the condemned man to the guillotine table. Then the executioner lowered the axe and the severed head fell into the basket. After this, an execution protocol was drawn up.

Late in the evening, a car arrived at the prison, into which boxes with the bodies of those executed were loaded. Often, blood flowed from them into the yard, which was covered with slag. The shepherd-wolfhound that lived in the prison rushed between the boxes and lapped up this blood. Other prisoners watched this furtively from the windows of their cells...<sup>33</sup>

One of the largest concentration camps in East Prussia was Stutthof, located about 30 km east of Danzig. The first transport with arrested Poles arrived there in September 1939. Even then it was designated not only as a "civilian prisoner camp" ("Zivilgefangenenlager") (that is, a camp for arrested civilians), but also as a "concentration camp". In 1940–1941 it was a "concentration camp"<sup>34</sup>, and in October 1941 it was transformed into a "forced labour camp". Although from that time forward it was called the "Stutthof special camp" or "Stutthof forced labour camp", this did not change its character at all – it still remained a concentration camp for Gdansk Pomerania<sup>35</sup>. In total, at least 80–90 thousand prisoners passed through it<sup>36</sup>. The documents published in the collected book indicate that this camp gradually began to acquire features characteristic of a "death camp". Here prisoners (including Soviet citizens) were exterminated in a gas chamber, and then their bodies were burned in a crematorium.

Like all similar camps, Stutthof had an extensive network of "branches". In the summer and autumn of 1944, there was a sharp increase in their numbers: almost 43 thousand Jewish

women from the Baltic states, Poland and Hungary were sent to the camp. Some of them, about 22 thousand, were transported to other concentration camps. The rest, about 21 thousand people, were sent to newly created branches or to agricultural work on private estates. At the same time, 10.5 thousand women were placed at the disposal of the Todt Organization, which built field fortifications in the area of Thorn and Elbing, and almost 5 thousand women were employed in the construction and maintenance of military airfields in East Prussia. In total, about 30 thousand prisoners were sent to the newly created branches from Stutthof, that is, half of the camp's strength at the final stage of its operation<sup>37</sup>. In total, by this time there were 43 "external camps", in which from 10–20 to 1,500 prisoners were involved in forced labor<sup>38</sup>. The airfield at Schippenbeil served approximately 1,250 prisoners. On the territory of the modern Kaliningrad region, "external labour camps" functioned in Königsberg (at the Steinfurt carriage works, approximately 500 prisoners), at the military airfields of Heiligenbeil (1,200 prisoners), Seerappen (1,200 prisoners), Gerdauen (1,000 prisoners), Jesau (1,350 prisoners)<sup>39</sup>.

As a result, several thousand prisoners assigned to the camp were located hundreds of kilometres away. In January 1945, after the start of the Soviet offensive in East Prussia, the question of their evacuation arose. Units of the Red Army advanced very quickly, soon cutting off the land routes to the main camp. Therefore, it was proposed to send the prisoners on foot to Palmnicken, from where they would transport them to the main camp by sea.

In the twentieth of January, columns of prisoners from the "external camps" reached Königsberg. According to various estimates, they numbered from 5 to 7 thousand people. Here they were housed in the buildings of the Steinfurt carriage works, the twine factory and the barracks on Rathshof. The commandant of the "Stutthof external labour camp" in Königsberg, the SS Senior Squad Leader (German: Oberscharführer) (Feldwebel) Fritz Weber, was appointed commander of the combined column.

Early in the morning, a column of prisoners stretched from Königsberg in the direction of Palmnicken. About 400 Jewish men walked ahead, led by F. Weber's convoy. They were followed by women, whose conveying was controlled by Head Squad Leader (German: Hauptscharführer) Kaufeldt and one of the officials of the Todt Organization<sup>40</sup>.

"This is how the "death march" began, in which only a few could survive."<sup>41</sup>

The executions of lagging prisoners began already on the outskirts of Königsberg. Gert Herberg, who served in the anti-aircraft battery located in Goldschmied, later testified: "Every 20–30 of them unable to go further or to be led by the arms were shot by the SS guards with submachine guns."<sup>42</sup> The mournful way from Königsberg to Palmnicken, passed by prisoners exhausted from malnutrition, fatigue and cold, was literally strewn with the bodies of those who could not go further and were shot by the convoy. Their suffering was further aggravated by the fact that the convoy deliberately moved along secondary roads, which increased the distance covered. As a result, instead of 50 kilometres, the forced march participants walked more than 80<sup>43</sup>. And every kilometre was marked with the bodies of the dead. According to local residents, only near Sorgenau, on a small stretch of highway four kilometres long, from 300 to 400 prisoners were shot<sup>44</sup>. This is directly stated in one of the documents published in this collected book (No. 110). They were buried in hastily dug mass graves. One of them was discovered by Soviet soldiers in April 1945 near Germau. Its examination act is also published in the collected book (No. 102). During the march, F. Weber did not lag behind his subordinates. Later, witness Zwardon testified: "during the entire march, he [Weber – author's note] held a pistol in his hand, with which he killed many prisoners. It is simply impossible to estimate the number of people he killed. He was shooting continuously."<sup>45</sup> F. Weber was arrested in 1965 in Germany. During the investigation, he committed suicide.

"It was a bitter day, 29 January 1945. I will never forget this date. We were wearing dirty blankets, wooden shoes and some rags called a dress. Those who could not go further

and fell were shot on the spot,” M. Blitz later recalled about this<sup>46</sup>. In fact, the column of prisoners, thinning in plain view and by that time numbering only 2–3 thousand people, barely reached Palmnicken by late night on the 27th of January<sup>47</sup>. Here they were temporarily housed in the locksmith workshops of the amber factory<sup>48</sup>. By this time, it became clear to the convoy officers that transport for transportation by sea could not be expected. Therefore, it was decided to exterminate the prisoners here. Initially, they were planned to be walled up in the adits of the Anna mine, which was mothballed by this time, and then flooded with water<sup>49</sup>. But the director of the amber factory, Landmann, opposed this. He received support from Reserve Major Hans Feyerabend, the former factory estate administrator and commander of the local People's Storm (German: Volkssturm), who arrived on the morning of 30 January. Using his official position, G. Feyerabend actually took command. He categorically stated: “As long as I live, the Jews will receive food and not one of them will be killed!”<sup>50</sup>. However, on the same day the Volkssturm received orders to take positions near Kumehnen. The SS men were again in power and the prisoners' fate was finally decided.

On the 1st of February, at night, prisoners exhausted by hunger and deprivation – most of them were women – formed a column, which soon moved to the seashore. The final act of the tragedy took place on the beach at the foot of the Anna mine headframe. Soon, those in the centre of the column heard shots coming from ahead: prisoners were driven onto the fragile coastal ice and shot.

Some of the prisoners managed to escape for a while, taking advantage of the darkness. But in the morning a convoy and the local Hitler Youth organisation members started hunting for them. The latter were mobilised by burgomaster Kurt Friedrichs, who was given the nickname “Bruise” by local residents for his addiction to alcohol. He personally poured schnaps for the teenagers, repeating that “the hour of trial has come” for them<sup>51</sup>.

As a result, only one and a half dozen prisoners managed to survive this massacre. They were sheltered by local residents, most of whom were shocked by the tragedy that unfolded before their eyes. The only surviving man was hidden by Italians from a local prisoner of war commando. For several more days, the bodies of the dead washed up on the coast. And when the thaw came, the water in the ditches, into which melted snow had turned, was often stained with blood<sup>52</sup>. “Palmnicken, still untouched by all the horrors of war, suddenly fell into the devil's millstone.”<sup>53</sup> Later, F. Weber tried to justify himself: “we were talking about an action of retaliation, since the ship Wilhelm Gustloff was torpedoed.”<sup>54</sup> This liner, carrying cadets of the 2nd Submarine Training Division and refugees, was sunk by the Soviet submarine S-13 on 30 January 1945. Of the approximately 6.6 thousand people on board, only 1,252 were saved<sup>55</sup>. However, the history of the “death march” eloquently demonstrates that the fate of the prisoners of the Stutthof “external camps” was decided a few days before.

In April 1945, a mass grave of execution victims was discovered by Soviet military authorities. Unfortunately, the location of the grave has not been established at this time. And in January 2011, the Death March monument, created by F. Meisler and A. Ovadia, was unveiled on the beach in Yantarny settlement.

The fate of Soviet citizens who ended up in Germany as prisoners of war during the Great Patriotic War was tragic.

Before the aggression against the USSR in the Third Reich, responsibility for matters related to prisoners of war was divided between the High Command of the Armed Forces (German: Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, abbreviated OKW) and the Upper Command of the Army (German: Oberkommando des Heeres, abbreviated OKH). The OKW was responsible for the front-line zone, and on the territory of Germany and the “General Government” (that is, Poland), the OKW Prisoner of War Department was responsible. At first, captured military personnel were sent to army assembly points, and from there to transit camps



("Dulags"). Then they were transported to the main camps – "Stalags". Captured officers were kept separately in special camps – "Oflags"<sup>56</sup>. To transfer prisoners to the OKW zone of responsibility, "reception points for prisoners of war" were to be created on the border of the 1st Army District (in East Prussia), and reception camps were to be created in the province. On the remaining territory of the Reich, it was planned to create 19 "Stalags" and "Oflags" with a total capacity of up to 790 thousand prisoners. But at the same time, camps in East Prussia and in the General Government had to be filled with prisoners "to the maximum limit" and "only by a special order of the OKW" prisoners could be transferred to the territory of the Reich<sup>57</sup>. During the war, the leadership of prisoner of war camps, the commanders of the military units guarding them, and the prisoners of war were subordinate to the commanders of the respective military districts. Therefore, the numbering of the "Stalags" was tied to the number of the military district, and the letter was assigned in accordance with the chronology of creation<sup>58</sup>. Since the territory of East Prussia organisationally belonged to the 1st Army District, the numbering of the "Stalags" located here began with the number "1".

From the point of view of the Nazi leadership, the attitude towards Soviet prisoners of war should have been completely different from the attitude towards prisoners of other countries. Even before the attack on the USSR, A. Hitler stated: "The struggle between Russia and Germany is a struggle between races. [...] Since the Russians do not recognise the Hague Convention, the treatment of their prisoners of war should not be in accordance with the decisions of the Hague Convention."<sup>59</sup> In fact, the Soviet government stated as early as 1918 that it recognised not only the Geneva Convention of 1864, but also "other international conventions and agreements relating to the Red Cross, recognised by Russia before October 1917."

This also meant recognition of the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. As for the Geneva Convention of 1929, the Soviet Union actually refused to sign it, disagreeing with some provisions (for example, the privileged status of officers, which meant unequal rights for prisoners of war, dividing them according to nationality, etc.)<sup>60</sup>. But Germany ratified this convention in 1934, and Article 82 established: if "one of the belligerents is not a party to the Convention, its provisions shall, nevertheless, remain binding as between the belligerents who are parties thereto." Thus, Germany was still obliged to comply with the provisions of the Geneva Convention in relation to Soviet prisoners of war. But the very idea of humane treatment of prisoners was initially rejected by the Nazi leadership as inconsistent with its goals. "We must proceed from the principle of soldier camaraderie. The communist has never been and will never be our comrade. We are talking about a struggle for annihilation," said A. Hitler at a meeting with his generals on 30 March 1941.<sup>61</sup> The so-called "criminal orders" ("Instruction on Special Areas" dated 13 March 1941; "Regularisation of the Deployment of the Security Police and the SD within the Army" dated 28 April 1941; "On Military Jurisdiction in the Barbarossa Area and on Special Powers of the Troops" dated 13 May 1941; the OKH directive "On the Conduct of Troops in Russia" dated 19 May 1941; "The Commissar Order" dated 6 June (OKW) and 8 June (OKH) 1941) clearly indicate that the military and political leadership of Germany, already during the planning of the war against the USSR, refused to comply with international legal norms for its conduct<sup>62</sup>. The OKW order "On the Treatment of Soviet Prisoners of War" dated 8 September 1941 stated: "The Bolshevik soldier lost all right to claim treatment as an honest soldier in accordance with the Geneva Agreement. [...] Disobedience, active or passive resistance must be immediately and completely eliminated with the help of weapons (bayonet, butt and firearms). [...] In relation to Soviet prisoners of war, even for disciplinary reasons, it is necessary to resort very decisively to weapons. [...] Prisoners of war escaping should be shot immediately, without a warning shout. There should be no warning shots."<sup>63</sup>

Practically, everything was even simpler. After the outbreak of war with the Soviet Union, B. Schneider from the 167th Infantry Regiment received the following order from his company commander: "The Red Army soldiers should only be captured in exceptional cases, in other words, if there is no other way out. And in other cases they must be shot, the same applies to female military personnel." However, according to him, most of the soldiers "acted contrary to the said order."<sup>64</sup> By the end of 1941, the number of Soviet prisoners of war was estimated at 3.35 million people, and on 1 February 1945, more than 5.7 million people<sup>65</sup>. By the end of the war, only 2.4 million of them remained alive. The rest, that is, 3.3 million (or 57%!) died in captivity (and about 2 million before February 1942)<sup>66</sup>. In May 1944, there were more than 3 million Soviet prisoners on the territory of Germany, the "General Government" and the "Eastern Commissariats", of which more than 1.8 million (that is, over 60%!) died or were executed. Only 20.4% were in camps, of which about 83% were working<sup>67</sup>. Lieutenant G. Becker stated after the war: "This is always a problem because not a single combat training manual explains what to do with 90 thousand prisoners of war. How and what to feed them? Suddenly 90 thousand dropped from the clouds – Can you imagine what kind of column this is?"<sup>68</sup>. In fact, this was a consequence of decisions made by the German leadership in the pre-war period: The supply of food to Soviet prisoners of war from German resources was not initially envisaged.

At the same time, medical care for the wounded was to be provided "primarily" by Soviet medical personnel who were the same prisoners of war and with the use of "Russian" (trophy) medicines<sup>69</sup>. In practice, this meant that wounded prisoners of war received almost no assistance and the vast majority of them were doomed to die at assembly points and in "Dulags".

But even when the transport with prisoners still reached the "main camp," their ordeal did not end there. Already in the spring of 1941, in the 6th Army District (headquarters in the city of Münster, Westphalia), it was decided that "prisoners of war intended for these camps had to build their own living quarters and be housed in a fenced, but unprepared place for housing."<sup>70</sup> This has become a general principle, as directly evidenced by the memories of Soviet prisoners of war presented in the collected book. They were in camp Oflag-52, created in Schützenort town (Prigorodnoye settlement) near Ebenrode (Nesterov town) (later the Stalag ID and Stalag IF/Z units were located here). Although formally the "Oflag" was considered a camp for captured officers, a significant part of its contingent consisted of privates and sergeants. Here the prisoners were placed in a fenced space, but until late autumn they slept on bare ground, digging and burrowing holes for themselves, receiving starvation rations. Only in October-November 1941, the German army leadership decided to build wooden barracks in the "Russian camps," but only for able-bodied prisoners (that is, the need for labour played a decisive role)<sup>71</sup>. Here, in Oflag-52, a division based on nationality was already introduced from the very beginning. This was one of the measures aimed at separating Soviet prisoners of war. It was directly provided for by the OKW order dated 8 September 1941: "In the current "National Organization" (the General Government and the 1st Military District), as well as in camps in Germany, the division of prisoners of war according to their nationality has already been carried out. [...] If division for special reasons has not yet been carried out, it should be carried out urgently."<sup>72</sup> At the same time, at the first stage of the war in Germany, relatively massive "discharge from captivity" was practiced. Naturally, this applied only to certain categories of prisoners, mainly the so-called "friendly nationalities": Ukrainians, natives of the Baltic states, Finns, Volksdeutsche, "Caucasians", "Turkestanians"<sup>73</sup>. So in the "Oflag" of Ebenrode, many Soviet prisoners of war tried to pass themselves off as Ukrainians. They hoped that this would help them, if not get free, then at least get into the labour commando and, ultimately, survive.

Initially, the use of prisoner of war labour was not envisaged. However, already in 1941 it became obvious that German industry and agriculture were experiencing a serious labour shortage. Therefore, it was Soviet prisoners of war who became one of its sources<sup>74</sup>. In August 1941, the head of the OKW General Directorate, Lieutenant General H. Reinecke, stated: "There is only one law that must be fulfilled – the interest of Germany, aimed at protecting the German people from Soviet-Russian prisoners of war organised into labour commandos and using Russian labour force."<sup>75</sup> Already in September 1941, Minister of Armaments F. Todt informed the Inspector General of German Highways about the agreement he had reached with the OKW Prisoner of War Department to send 20 thousand Soviet prisoners of war to Germany. They were supposed to be engaged in the construction of highways, and the construction departments in Breslau and Königsberg were ready to accept them<sup>76</sup>. In November 1941, about 390 thousand Soviet prisoners of war were sent to Germany. But many of them became weak from the inhuman conditions of detention and were incapacitated (every tenth of them died)<sup>77</sup>. This is clearly illustrated by the memories of prisoners of the Ebenrode camp. "In our camp, already in August 1941, mass mortality among prisoners of war began, increasing every day, [it] reached colossal proportions," recalled K. I. Igoshv. In all such camps, the standard abbreviation "SU" was applied to the uniforms of Soviet prisoners<sup>78</sup>. However, nothing could break the will of the prisoners of war to resist. "On my sweat-rotted back was written: "2537 SU," which means the Soviet Union. And I was proud of this sign," recalled S. I. Zaitsev. In August 2020, a memorial sign to prisoners of the Oflag-52 camp was unveiled in Prigorodny.

One of the largest prisoner of war camps in East Prussia was located northwest of Preussisch-Eylau town. Back in 1935, a Wehrmacht training centre with a large training ground was opened here. The complex included the specially built garrison town of Gartenstadt Stablack (Dolgorukovo settlement). But already in 1939, in the northern part of the training ground (the so-called "Stablack Nord"), a prisoner of war camp ("Stalag") was created, which was given the designation "IA Stablack". Under this name – "Stalag IA Stablack" – it was destined to go down in history. By the end of September 1939, about 40 thousand former military personnel of the Polish army were located here. Barracks and numerous outbuildings were erected with their hands. Near the main camp, in a separate guarded area, a hospital for prisoners of war was set up. At the same time, in the southern part of the training ground ("Stablack-Süd"), another camp complex was built – "Camp Süd" (Kaminsk small town, Republic of Poland).

From May 1940, transports with Belgian and French prisoners of war began to arrive at the camp. After the outbreak of war with the USSR, Soviet prisoners of war were also brought here. It is believed that in total, more than 250 thousand prisoners of war, including about 90 thousand Soviet, 80 thousand French, 40 thousand Polish, 23 thousand Belgian, 12 thousand Italian and 7 thousand British, passed through the camp, which operated until January 1945. However, this does not mean that they were in the camp at the same time. Some prisoners of war (including Belgians) were repatriated to their homeland. Most Polish prisoners of war in 1940 received the status of forced labour workers and were sent to Germany. The fate of a significant part of the Italian and French prisoners of war was similar. As a result, in a report of the French War Ministry, the number of prisoners of war in the camp as of August 1944 was estimated at 18,760 people<sup>79</sup>.

The main camp consisted of four dozen wooden barracks, each of which could accommodate about 500 people. It was divided into 12 sectors (blocks). Soviet prisoners of war were housed in two sectors; their total number was about 4 thousand people<sup>80</sup>. "The block occupied quite a large area. It contained 5 or 6 large barracks, equipped with two-story wooden bunks on both sides. The washroom divided the barrack into two equal halves.



In the yard there was one, but very large toilet, with at least 25–30 seats. Two barracks of the Revier [infirmiry – A.N.] were fenced off from the rest of the block with barbed wire in one row. Entrance to Revier is through the common block. When I was there, it was always open and had no additional post. At the end of the block, also behind the fence, there was a transport block of two barracks. The entrance to it is only from the main street. Those who were to be sent to some labour commando outside the camp in the coming days were transferred to this block,” recalled former Soviet prisoner of war Yu. A. Apel<sup>81</sup>. The foreign blocks were simply called by Soviet prisoners of war as: “Belgium”, “Holland”, “France” and “Poland”. They called the labour block of Italians and the Italians themselves “badoglio”<sup>82</sup> and “macaroni”<sup>82</sup>. For Soviet prisoners of war entering the camp, an extremely simple method of “natural selection” was used – those who, after arriving at the station, could independently get out of the wagons, ended up in a general camp, the rest were immediately taken to a camp department located nearby. As a rule, they never returned alive from there<sup>83</sup>.

“In fact, the entire Russian block served as a quarantine and labour reserve. Prisoners from other camps arrived here. Fresh prisoners and those being discharged from the Revier were sorted by health and suitability for use in work. As people left the transport barracks for work, the latter were replenished from the general barracks. Those who fell ill in the general barracks also ended up in Revier, but mostly the sick were brought from labour commandos from the territory of half of East Prussia served by Stalag IA.”<sup>84</sup>

The conditions for prisoners of war in different armies varied greatly. French, Belgian, and Dutch prisoners received much better rations than others. In addition, they received monthly food parcels from the International Red Cross. Moreover, many of them accepted the same parcels from their families until mid-1944. Only Soviet and Italian prisoners of war had only standard camp rations. “The food was clean, compared to other camps – it was of good quality, but it was poorly nutritious, and there was not enough of it. Too little!”<sup>85</sup> But it wasn’t always like this. During the initial period of the camp’s existence, several thousand prisoners of war died from exhaustion and epidemics. And in 1944, in order to survive, Soviet prisoners had to “nosedive” – by hook or by crook, make their way into foreign blocks, beg for food there and rummage through garbage bins. “Since only canned foods were used for frying and boiling, there were no cleanings and ordinary kitchen waste in the drawers; mainly food packaging and products that had become unsuitable for the spoiled stomachs of Western Europeans were thrown there: mouldy bread, spoiled cheese, dried out baked goods, as well as cans of oil and canned food, from which sometimes a lot could still be scraped out. [...] It happened, and often, that the Europeans gave the “nosedivers” work, most often it was washing clothes, they paid for the work generously and with good products.”<sup>86</sup> It is noteworthy that, according to the memories of V. V. Zozulya, the term “nosedive” (meaning “get food”) was used by Soviet prisoners of war in Oflag-52.

The camp cemetery was located near the now-defunct settlement of Klein Dexe. About 3 thousand people are buried here<sup>87</sup>. In 1989, it consisted of “a rectangular area (85×190 m) with 543 single graves and 14 filled ditches. In 1971, the remains of French prisoners of war were exhumed from 164 graves. In 71 graves are the remains of Belgian prisoners of war, in 14 ditches lie the remains of Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian and other nationalities of Soviet citizens who were captured by the Germans or taken by them from the Soviet Union.”<sup>88</sup> In May 1990, a memorial to camp prisoners was opened in its place<sup>89</sup>. Another burial was discovered directly next to the camp in March 1945. When examining several pits in the camp’s vegetable storage, it turned out that “the pits are filled with the corpses of people lying in 2–3 rows on top of each other, some face up, others face down, others in a half-bent position, with their arms outstretched or tucked under them. The corpses are dressed in military overcoats, tunics and trousers of the Soviet, Polish and French troops,

and some in only underwear. In total, there were 307 corpses in the pits, all adult men. [...] All corpses are severely emaciated; there are pronounced traces of physical violence on the bodies of the corpses.” The bodies were buried two or three months before their discovery.<sup>90</sup>

Labour commandos were formed from prisoners of war, including Soviet ones. There were about forty of them in total. As a rule, they were located in small camps near enterprises. Such teams were located in Königsberg, Insterburg, Gumbinnen, Tilsit, Labiau, Heinrichswalde, Heiligenbeil, Wehlau and other settlements. The prisoners of war sent to them worked in production and agriculture, being rather forced labourers. For example, in Königsberg, commando 1/230 provided labour for the sawmill of the Steinfurt carriage works, the Feldmühle Cosse (Kosse) pulp mill, the Krages and Kriete plywood factory, and commando 1/206 provided the Schichau shipyard. The total number of labour commandos in 1944 was about 28 thousand people.<sup>91</sup>

Apparently, the camp of one of these labour commandos was described in his memoirs by Academician V. V. Kovanov, who in 1945 was an army surgeon of the 28th Army. This camp was located on the outskirts of Domnau. “About 700 Soviet, French, Belgian, Italian and Polish prisoners of war languished there. The camp was guarded by the SS men. People were tortured and bullied, hunted with dogs, and killed. Medical assistance was out of the question. A particularly cruel regime was created for captured Soviet soldiers. They were placed in separate barracks; all their food consisted of a bowl of beetroot and a slice of bread with sawdust. Exhausted, sick and wounded people faced imminent destruction.”<sup>92</sup>

Another of the Stalag IA labour commandos was located in Pillau. Here at the Fort Stiehle there was an arsenal of naval mine weapons, where work was carried out to equip it with combat charges. Both prisoners of war of various nationalities (mainly French and Poles, as well as Soviet prisoners) and female “Ostarbeiters” who were in the same camp with them were involved in the work.

On the night of 26 January 1945, some of the ammunition stored at the fort exploded. As a result, the camp located next to it was severely damaged. The victims of the explosion were 268 prisoners of war and “Eastern workers”. Although some of them believed that this could be a deliberate action to destroy the camp, one can hardly agree with this. As a result of the explosion, the residential area adjacent to the fort was also severely damaged, and city communications were damaged<sup>93</sup>. In 2006, a memorial sign was erected at the fort in memory of the prisoners who died here.

Many of those captured tried their best to escape from it. Not everyone succeeded in this. Cards of prisoners of war have been preserved, in which sometimes there are notes about the execution of those who were caught trying to escape. For example, the card of I. I. Vavilov, the prisoner of war from the Stalag IA camp, given in the collection (No. 27).

Only a few managed to escape by hook or by crook and reach the partisan detachments in Belorussia. K. I. Igoshev and S. I. Zaitsev managed to escape from the camp. In 1943, I. I. Podvarkov and two of his comrades escaped from the Stalag IA labour commando located in Schrombenen. Their way only to the Bialystok region lasted fifty days<sup>94</sup>.

For most prisoners of war, the hour of liberation struck only in 1945, after the start of the Soviet offensive in East Prussia. But as the Red Army units advanced, the Germans sought to evacuate captives and camp prisoners. At the same time, the German leadership understood that these people posed an immediate threat to the rear. Therefore, in full accordance with its inhumane logic, a decision was made to shoot some prisoners of war and civilians. Documents indicate that in Königsberg, from February to April 1945, not only prisoners of war, but also Soviet citizens, including women and children, were systematically shot by carefully selected members of the People's Storm (*German: Volkssturm*) under the leadership of Nazi party functionaries. Some of the immediate leaders of these actions, after the end of the fighting, were arrested by the SMERSH counterintelligence agencies.

The Red Army soldiers released from captivity, after a short check at military transit points, joined the active army. Many of them were held captive from 1941 to 1942.<sup>95</sup> They were often treated with distrust. The prisoners of war released after the storming of Königsberg were ironically called “Königsberg trophies.” Some soldiers told them: “What can we expect from you? If you are good people, you would not have been captured. And when you were captured, you would not have been in captivity, you would have joined the partisans. Let’s see what kind of warriors you are!”<sup>96</sup> But once in active units, the former prisoners, with their courage, quickly changed the general attitude towards them. They fought selflessly, often attacking with contempt for death<sup>97</sup>.

In East Prussia there were no gigantic “extermination plants” like Treblinka, Majdanek or the Auschwitz camp complex. But here, too, there was an extensive system of various camps and their “labour commandos.” In them, tens of thousands of prisoners, prisoners of war and workers suffered and died from cruel treatment, backbreaking work, systematic hunger and cold. “These atrocities against Soviet citizens were dictated by special directives of the Nazis and were elevated by the Nazis to the rank of state policy. The Soviet Union suffered colossal, irreparable losses in World War II, and most of the millions of victims were military personnel who died in captivity and civilians who were mercilessly, brutally destroyed. [...] Such crimes have no statute of limitations,” Russian President V. V. Putin rightly noted in November 2020.

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\* Klumps (Holzklumpen) - shoes hollowed out of wood.

\*\* Pietro Badoglio (1871-1956) - Marshal of Italy (1926), after the arrest of B. Mussolini in July 1943, he was appointed prime minister. His government concluded a truce with the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition and declared war on Nazi Germany.

<sup>1</sup> Otto R., Keller R. Soviet prisoners of war in the German concentration camp system. M., 2020, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> List of camps for prisoners of war and internment in the First Military District of Germany in the former East Prussia - now the city of Kaliningrad and the region. 1939 - May 1945 // Nazovem poimenno (*literally*: Let's call them by name). Kaliningrad, 2000. Vol. 13, pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> List of camps for prisoners of war and internment in the First Military District of Germany in the former East Prussia - now the city of Kaliningrad and the region. 1939 - May 1945 // Nazovem poimenno (*literally*: Let's call them by name). Kaliningrad, 2006. Vol. 19, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Act of the forensic medical examination of the territory of the former German Oflag-53 prisoner of war camp on 17 December 1944 // Nazovem poimenno (*literally*: Let's call them by name). Kaliningrad, 2006. Vol. 19, pp. 49-50.

<sup>5</sup> Ignatov G. Oflag-53 // Nazovem poimenno (*literally*: Let's call them by name). Kaliningrad, 2006. Vol. 19, pp. 51-53.

<sup>6</sup> List of camps for prisoners of war and internment in the First Military District of Germany in the former East Prussia - now the city of Kaliningrad and the region. 1939 - May 1945 // Nazovem poimenno (*literally*: Let's call them by name). Kaliningrad, 2006. Vol. 19, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Oflag 60. Kudirkos Naumiestis, 1941-1942. URL: <http://genocid.lt/muziejus/ru/891/c/> (access date: 01.06.2021).

<sup>8</sup> Mylarshchikov S. In Königsberg one concentration camp was next to another concentration camp // Kaliningrad evening newspaper. 2002. 9 April.

<sup>9</sup> Hohenbruch forced labour camp (memories of prisoners) // Nazovem poimenno (*literally*: Let's call them by name). Kaliningrad, 2006. Vol. 19, pp. 44-46.

<sup>10</sup> Polyan P. M. Victims of two dictatorships: life, labour, humiliation and death of Soviet prisoners of war and Ostarbeiters in a foreign land and at home. M., 2002, p. 46.

<sup>11</sup> Criminal goals are criminal means. Documents on the occupation policy of Nazi Germany on the territory of the USSR (1941-1944). M., 1968, p. 215.

<sup>12</sup> Polyan P.M. Opere citato. P. 132.

<sup>13</sup> Chernov Yu. A nest of robbers // Guardsman. 1945. 9 January.

<sup>14</sup> Makukhin M. In the estate of a German slave owner // The Red Star. 1945. 20 February.

<sup>15</sup> Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation (hereinafter - TsAMO RF). Fund 241. Inventory 2656. Case 189. Sheet 37.

<sup>16</sup> Yakimov S. A. The Battle for East Prussia. Kaliningrad, 2018, p. 21.

<sup>17</sup> Bragin M. G. The collapse of East Prussia // The Assault on Königsberg. Kaliningrad, 2000, p. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Ehrenburg I. G. People, years, life. M., 1990. Vol. 2, p. 378.

<sup>19</sup> Danilkin L. A. Yuri Gagarin. M., 2011, pp. 47-48.

<sup>20</sup> Chernov Yu. M. Keys to the city // The soldier walked on the road to victory. Kaliningrad, 1985, p. 277.

<sup>21</sup> Ehrenburg I. G. Opere citato, p. 377.

<sup>22</sup> Polyan P. M. Opere citato, p. 44.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, pp. 46-47.

<sup>24</sup> Łagodziński S. Z badań nad obozem Hohenbruch (według relacji świadków) // Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie. 1976. No. 1. pp. 63-64.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem. p. 65.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem. p. 64.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem. S. 63.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem. S. 64.

<sup>30</sup> Цит. по: Кенть В. Концлагерь «Хоенбрух» // Балтийский альманах. 2006. № 6. С. 28-29.

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<sup>32</sup> Юшкевич Г. В. Последний из группы «Джек». Калининград, 2017. С. 112-114.

<sup>33</sup> Listy spod gilotyny. Lublin, 1964. S. 8-11.

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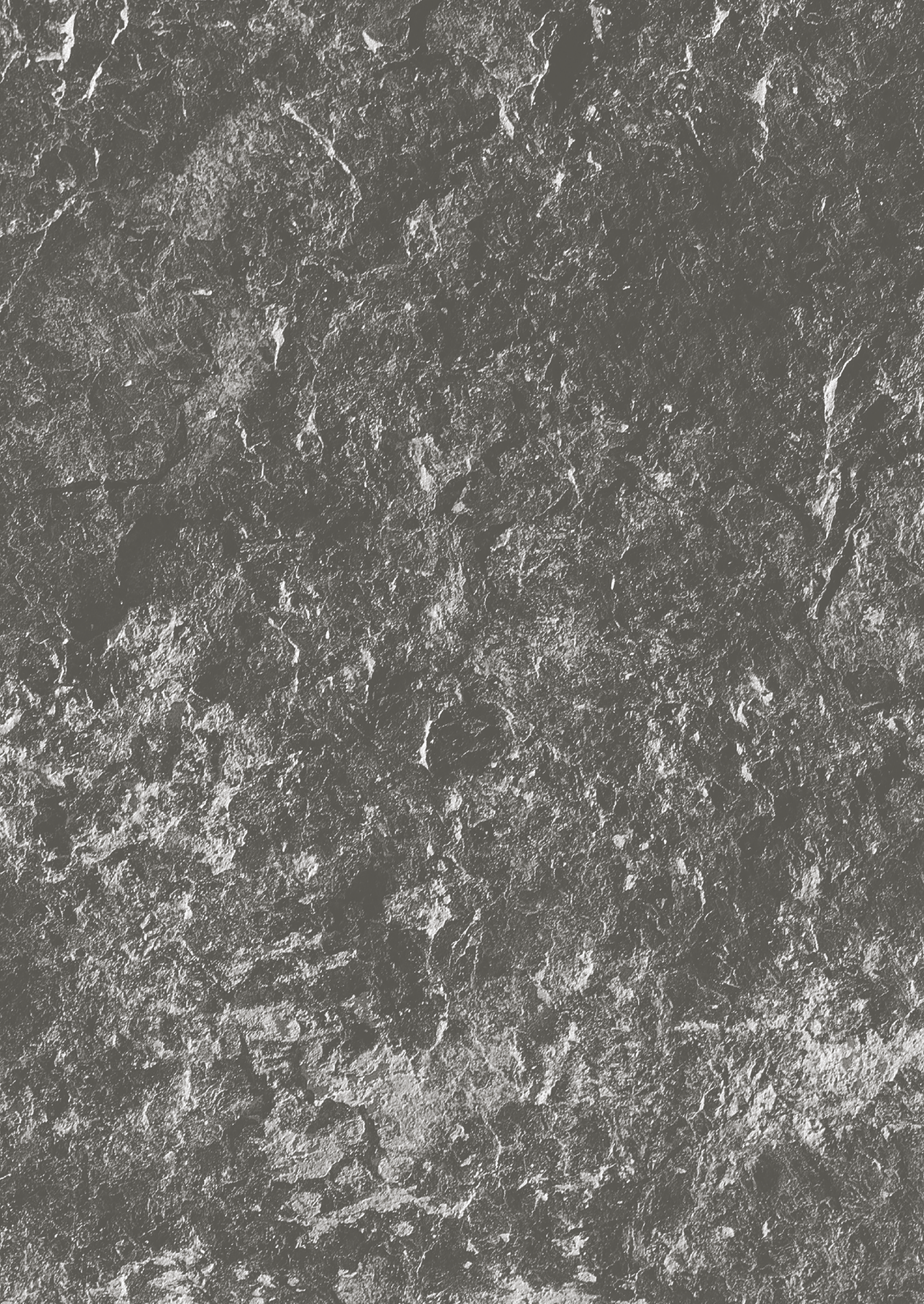
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## ARCHAEOGRAPHICAL PREFACE

This collected book is a thematic publication of documents about the crimes of the Nazis and their collaborators during the Great Patriotic War on the territory of East Prussia (the present-day Kaliningrad region). The regional volume was prepared in terms of the *No Statute of Limitations* federal project.

The first edition of the collected book was published in 2021 with a circulation of 500 copies and evoked a wide public response. The materials of the collected book are actively used both in scientific research and in cultural and educational activities. In addition, the compilers have found new documents that largely specify the content of those already published. An objective necessity arose to prepare a second, enlarged edition.

The publication includes documents from the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation (TsAMO RF), the archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region (UFSBKO), the archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region (UFSBOO), the State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region (GAKO) and the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art (KOIHM). Documents previously published as part of the series from the State Archive of the Pskov Region (GAPO) and the State Archive of the Krasnodar Territory (Krai) (GAKK) have been republished. The first edition included 150 documents (including photographic materials), the second edition – 177. The numbers of new documents are indicated in the archaeological preface below.

Photographs from the funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art and the Stutthof Concentration Camp Museum (Elbląg Voivodeship, Sztutowo village, Poland) not only illustrate the text, but also convey independent informational meaning.

The selection of materials was carried out taking into account the specifics of the historical fate of the region. The Kaliningrad (until 4 July 1946 – Königsberg) region was formed by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated 7 April 1946 on the territory that became part of the Soviet Union based on the decisions of the Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of 1945. During the Great Patriotic War, it was not an occupied territory, but a part of the province of the Third Reich – East Prussia, which belonged to the First Military District.

Thus, there was no local Soviet population in the region. Citizens of the Soviet Union ended up on the territory of the present-day Kaliningrad region mainly as prisoners in prisoner of war camps, labour camps, as forced labour workers – “Ostarbeiters” (meaning Eastern workers), against their will, with some exceptions, driven away from the occupied territories of the Soviet Union. Their fate still needs a comprehensive study. Since German documentation on the northern part of the East Prussia province is practically absent in scientific circulation, it is not possible to determine the exact number of camps and their branches.

According to available information, there were about 50 camps for prisoners of war and “Ostarbeiters” here from 1939 to 1945.

The main objective of this publication is to expand the source base and introduce into scientific circulation new archival and museum documents testifying to the criminal activities of the German military and civil authorities against citizens of the Soviet Union, who were forcibly brought to East Prussia during the Great Patriotic War.

The territorial status of the region during the period under review influenced the composition of the documents and, accordingly, the structure of the collected book. This also explains the very limited number of photo sources. Previously published volumes of the series were mainly based on documents from regional archives, namely the funds of local commissions that worked since 1942 within the scope of the Extraordinary State Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of the Atrocities of the German Fascist Invaders and Their Accomplices and the Damage They Caused to Citizens, Collective Farms, Public Organizations, State Enterprises and Institutions of the USSR (ChGK) and collected data already during the war years. In the context of the Kaliningrad region, literally page by page we had to identify archival documents in the collection of the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, in the archives of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of Russia, which, due to limited access to materials, became possible thanks to the active participation of employees of the regional FSB Directorate.

The collected book includes the most informative documents. Most of the memories and testimonies of our compatriots are published for the first time. Often, Soviet prisoners and forced labour workers were kept and worked together with Poles, French, Belgians, Italians, and Czechs. Testimonies of foreign citizens are included in the collected book as an important source that allows us to get a more complete picture of the crimes of the Nazis and their collaborators against Soviet people forcibly taken to the territory of East Prussia.

The chronological framework of the documents included in the collected book covers the period dated from 1939 to 2010. The earliest documents are images of the Stutthof concentration camp. The latest is the story of T.S. Okorokova (Davidova), a native of Königsberg, who was born in February 1945 into a family of labour camp prisoners – Soviet citizens forcibly driven away from Belorussia.

All documents are grouped into four thematic sections.

Section 1 is “Life in the camps: exploitation, deprivation, hunger.” It includes 62 documents from 1939 to 2010, giving an idea of the system of Nazi camps of various types that existed in the northern part of the former East Prussia (the present-day Kaliningrad region) during the Great Patriotic War, as well as of the cruel and inhuman detention conditions of prisoners, primarily citizens of the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of the section there are documents about the Stutthof concentration camp, located in West Prussia, a province of the Third Reich neighbouring East Prussia. This camp had an extensive network of “branches”, including those at the territory of the present-day Kaliningrad region.

Special orders of the Stutthof commandant on the creation of external camps in the city of Königsberg and its surrounding areas are supplemented by the memories of former prisoners. The acts of army commissions, special reports and political reports of representatives of various units of the 3rd Belorussian Front, published in the first section, compiled during the winter and spring of 1945, as our troops captured enemy territory, have a special historical value. In them, for the first time, large-scale atrocities of Nazi criminals were recorded and documented.

A significant part of the materials published in this section consists of memories of Soviet citizens, former prisoners of labour camps and prisoners of war, collected by



employees of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art in the 1960s – 1980s. Sources of private origin provide representative information about the structure of the camps and the terrible everyday life of the prisoners. The compilers of the collected book consider it their duty to pay tribute to the memory and respect of these people who recorded their memories for current generations. K. I. Igoshev, the former prisoner of the Oflag-52 camp (Ebenrode), in 1967 sent his text for publication to the Military Publishing House of the USSR Ministry of Defence, but met with the refusal: "The manuscript has been reviewed. Unfortunately, we will not be able to publish it. It is small in volume and far from perfect in literary terms for an independent book. And the very topic you chose does not completely suit us. We are returning the manuscript."<sup>1</sup> A significant volume of the text of the memories was included in the first section of the collected book.

Documents No. 23–26 are published for the first time.

In Section 2, "Compulsory labour of the population driven away to Germany", 47 documents dated from 1942 to 1991 are published.

Materials owned by the State Archive of the Kaliningrad Region from the German Labour Front (F. N-21) are of special interest. The publication includes original translations of the original regulations and circulars issued by the central government agencies of Nazi Germany, which defined the basic principles of the exploitation of Eastern workers ("Ostarbeiters"). We know that on the 30th of September, 1944, 52,906 workers of this category were kept in the camps of East Prussia, including 25,215 men and 27,691 women.

The section also includes documents testifying to the sentiments of Soviet citizens who found themselves on the territory of East Prussia as forced labour workers.

The theme is complemented by photographs of eastern workers taken in different regions of Germany. Due to the limited number of photographic sources for the province of East Prussia, the compilers of the collected book considered it appropriate to include these materials from the funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art (documents No. 86–88, 90, 93, 94).

New documents No. 63, 64, 66, 67, 74, 78, 79 are published in the second edition.

Section 3 "Operations of civilian population extermination" contains documents of various types (1945–1973) in the amount of 27 units.

A significant part are acts of special commissions drawn up by representatives of the military units of the 1st Baltic and 3rd Belorussian fronts that operated at the end of the Great Patriotic War on the territory of East Prussia (AUFSBKO, AUFSBOO, TsAMO RF) and materials from the investigation conducted in 1959–1982 by the prosecutor's offices of Berlin, Kiel and Lüneburg (GAKO, Fund N-55). The published documents reveal a tragic picture of the mass execution of civilians that took place at the end of January 1945 on the road from Königsberg to Palmnicken and on the Baltic Sea coast, the victims of which, according to various estimates, were from 5,000 to 7,000 people. The investigation materials amounted to 13 volumes. Hundreds of witnesses (Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, Israel, etc.) were questioned, among them – surviving victims, former residents of Palmnicken, members of the convoy team and the local Hitler Youth organisation. The case contains the testimony of the "main accused", the SS Senior Squad Leader (German: Oberscharführer) Fritz Weber, who was the head of the labour camp on the territory of the Schichau shipyard in Königsberg and convoyed a column of prisoners from Königsberg to Palmnicken. Traces of this monstrous tragedy were revealed back in 1945 (Collection of the AUFSBKO No. 10/307). In February, the NKVD Operations Group under the 43rd Army in the area of Kumehnen small town, located along the route of the column of prisoners to Palmnicken, discovered the corpses of civilians in a forest ravine. Among those executed were Russians, Jews, French, Romanians, most of whom were

women between 18 and 35 years old. The political administration commission of the 3rd Belorussian Front in April–May 1945 opened spontaneous burials of the “death march” participants in the Germau area and near the amber factory in the town of Krakstepellen (TsAMO RF. Fund 32).

The section is supplemented by documents No. 110–115.

Section 4, “Crimes without a statute of limitations: the Nazis and their collaborators”, contains 41 documents dated from 1939 to 1965. The vast majority of them date back to 1945 and reflect the work of Soviet counterintelligence agencies to identify Nazi criminals and their collaborators in East Prussia in the first months after the defeat of Hitlerite Germany.

For example, documents from collection 10/307 of the UFSBKO, declassified specifically for this publication, contain materials from investigative cases of the Königsberg Operational Sector. It was established that in February–March 1945 in Königsberg, members of the local NSDAP Otto Reintke cell carried out a secret order from the party leadership of the East Prussia province. Detachments of People's Storm (German: Volkssturm) members were created, which patrolled the city and shot the remaining civilian population taken from the occupied regions of the Soviet Union, and prisoners of war. Thus, from February to 5 April 1945, about 1,500 people, including women and children, were killed in 19 camps in Königsberg.

Documents No. 149–152, 162–164, 169, 171, 174 are published for the first time in the second edition.

Due to the limited source base, the compilers were unable to group separate bodies of documents devoted to crimes against childhood and the extermination of citizens who were in medical institutions. However, these topics are somewhat reflected in individual documents of the presented sections.

The collected book was prepared in accordance with the “Rules for the publication of historical documents in the USSR” (M., 1990) and the principles of archaeographic documentation set out in Appendix No. 2 to the letter of the Federal Archival Agency dated 27 January 2020 No. III/ 180-A.

Most of the documents are published in their entirety. The extracts include materials, containing information unrelated to the topic of the publication. For example, in section 1, fragments of memories of former prisoners concerning their stay in camps outside the territory of East Prussia are omitted. If a document is published with extracts, its title begins with the preposition “From.” For example, “From memories...”, “From the record of interrogation...”. In the text of the document, an omission is indicated by an ellipsis in square brackets ([...]).

In several cases, parts of the same document are placed in different sections of the collected book, which is specified in the notes (for example, the record of interrogation of the former Seerappen camp prisoner Frida Klajnman (Gawrilewicz)).

Most of the documents are provided with author's headings. They indicate: type, author, addressee, main content. Publication of the document under its own title is specified in the notes.

Record keeping marks were not kept and were not specified when publishing documents. Signatures are printed in italics.

All documents included in the collected book are dated. The date is located under the heading in the right corner, regardless of its placement in the original. If the date, month and year are not indicated in the document, the date was established by the compilers based on source analysis, content or related documents of the case. Materials classified as secret underwent the declassification procedure in accordance with the established procedure.

The text of the documents is transmitted in accordance with modern rules of spelling and punctuation and with the preservation of stylistic features. If necessary, paragraph indentation was used to make it easier to read. Spelling and syntax errors, typos, omissions of letters, violation of agreement, geographical names, names and patronymics that do not distort the meaning were corrected in the text without reservation in the notes. Words and parts of words restored by the compilers are enclosed in square brackets. If the text in the document is illegible, these places are marked as an omission (ellipses in square brackets) with a note.

The capitalization, which carries semantic meaning, has been preserved. Underlining, strikethrough and handwritten text are specified in the notes.

Camp names are enclosed in quotation marks if they are accompanied by a generic word (camp), and are used without quotation marks if they are not.

Information related to privacy (for example, residential addresses) is not reproduced. The names of investigators and other officials in declassified documents from the archives of the Russian Federal Security Service were also omitted.

The text of each document is accompanied by a legend, which indicates: the name of the archive, fund, inventory, file and sheets numbers, or the state storage account number (for museum materials). The authenticity of the document and the method of its reproduction are also indicated there. For translations of foreign language texts, the original language is indicated. If the document was previously published, information about the first edition is indicated. Descriptions of photographs include: title, date of photographing (if it is absent, the approximate date), author of the photograph (if the author is known), item number or source of origin of the photograph.

Text notes are indicated by the asterisk symbol ("star") and are located at the end of the document. They contain information regarding the history of the creation of the text, its features, errors in the spelling of names and geographical names, resolutions and notes.

Content notes are indicated in Arabic numerals and are located at the end of sections. They contain explanations and additional information about individual persons mentioned in the documents, institutions of the Third Reich and positions of German officers, special terms, and administrative and geographical concepts.

The reference apparatus of the collection of documents includes: contents, scientific essay, textual notes, notes on content (scientific comments), as well as district labour departments of the German Labour Front mentioned in documents, list of abbreviations.

Work on the publication of the collected book was carried out on the basis of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Working group members: V.A. Bepalov (head of the interdepartmental working group for the implementation of the No Statute of Limitations project in the Kaliningrad region, 2021); E.S. Manyuk, V.V. Makogonova (responsible compilers); S.A. Yakimov, O.D. Pankov, E.A. Rogozin (selection of archival documents, compilers); A.S. Novikov (author of a scientific essay, compiler); I.O. Dementiev (scientific review); O.V. Moleva (name index); E.V. Yurchenko (geographical index and index of camps); A.S. Makarychev (translation from German); N.A. Buinevich, A.K. Eliseeva, V.I. Labzhinova, L.P. Posrednikova, I.I. Eidelman (selection of documents); E.I. Kovtun, I.V. Mokina, Yu.V. Oysboit, N.V. Sirozh, D.A. Stukalova (computer typing of document texts), I.V. Martynovich (image preparation, layout), E.I. Chepinoga (photography of museum objects).

The collected book includes translations of documents from German by L. Tsy-pin (No. 72, 75–77, 80), A.A. Shabunin (No. 5, 11–14, 121, 126, 127, 129–135, 147, 153, 155), I.P. Shcherbinskaya (No. 7, 8, 10). These translations were scientifically and literary edited

by A.S. Makarychev. He translated documents No. 63–70, 74, 78, 79, and also supplemented the translation of document No. 8.

The presented publication includes materials from the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art, collected by its employees in the 1960–1980s, namely: N.I. Bykova, L. G. Zaichikova, E. I. Penkina, A. I. Petrikin, A. G. Podoprigorova, V. A. Skorobogatova, A. E. Tsygankova, I. P. Shcherbinskaya, G. G. Yakubenko, etc.

The team of authors expresses gratitude for the active participation and invaluable assistance in the preparation of the publication to the Office of the Deputy Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Northwestern Federal District and personally to R. V. Balashov, to the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region (to the chief P. V. Gulyaev), to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Kaliningrad Region (to the Minister A. V. Ermak), to the Ministry of Municipal Development and Internal Policy of the Kaliningrad Region (to the Minister A. S. Sergeev), to the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation (to the chief O. D. Pankov, to the employee I. V. Korneva), to the State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region (to the director A. N. Fedorova, employees I. A. Mikhaleva, V. I. Egorova, S. E. Chekina, E. A. Sokolova), to P. D. Korsakov, the head of the direction for interaction with scientific and educational institutions of the all-Russian public movement “Russian Search Movement”, to A. A. Adylov, the leading specialist of the Center for Research of Historical Memory of the Institute of Geopolitical and Regional Studies of the Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University, as well as to O. I. Yakimova for significant assistance in preparing documents for publication.

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<sup>1</sup> Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 60. Sheet 71.







# SECTION 1

LIFE IN  
THE CAMPS:  
EXPLOITATION,  
DEPRIVATION,  
HUNGER

# 1. Act on the atrocities established by the investigation against Soviet citizens and citizens of other states in the Stutthof concentration camp

1 August 1945

Copy.

ACT.

On the investigated atrocities committed by the German fascist monsters against imprisoned Soviet citizens and citizens of other states in the the Stutthof concentration camp located in East Prussia.

Long before the surrender of Hitlerite Germany, the Extraordinary State Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of the Atrocities of the German Fascist Invaders and Their Collaborators received numerous reports on the existence of a huge concentration camp in the Stutthof village created by the German government to exterminate Soviet people and citizens of other states. After the surrender of Germany, this camp was discovered by units of the Red Army.

On behalf of the Extraordinary State Commission, Major General ISTOMIN, Major General MIKHALCHUK, Colonel BREZGIN, Colonel of Medical Service FIRSOV, Assistant Military Prosecutor, Major of Justice SVINAREV, during May-June 1945, carried out a careful investigation into the atrocities of the Germans at the Stutthof concentration camp.

Special expert commissions took part in the investigation: a forensic commission consisting of an army surgeon, Colonel of Medical Service, Professor Dobychin, a forensic expert, Captain of Medical Service S. L. BRATSLAVSKAYA\*, the head of the pathology laboratory, Major of Medical Service, Associate Professor POPOV, and a technical commission: consisting of engineers, Engineer Major FEDOROV I.A., Captain KAPUSTIN.

Based on a survey and medical examination of 253 prisoners rescued by the Red Army from the Stutthof concentration camp and a study of German documents found there, and the remains of the crematorium and gas chamber that were blown up by the Germans before the surrender; and the pit in which the slain were burnt in great numbers, it was established that::

1. Through executions by shooting, poisoning, injection of gasoline into the heart area, starvation, hangings, deliberate spread of infectious diseases, typhus, dysentery, typhoid fever and monstrous torture, the Germans exterminated about 100,000 citizens of the Soviet Union /Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Jews/, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Hungary and other states in the Stutthof concentration camp.

2. In terms of the degree of sophistication, technical organisation, mass and cruelty of extermination of people, the Stutthof concentration camp is a "death camp".

## STUTTHOF EXTERMINATION CAMP

The Stutthof extermination camp is located on swampy dunes, near the Baltic Sea coast, 40–45 kilometres from Danzig city, with which it is connected by a narrow-gauge railway crossing the Vistula River. To the south of the camp lies the sea bay of Frisches Haff. The sea and bay surround the camp on three sides.

Construction of the camp was started by the Germans in 1939 and continued in all subsequent years, with the scale of construction increasing all the time. By 1941, the camp had only up to 15 standard wooden barracks and the necessary small service buildings and was intended mainly for political prisoners. But with the expansion of the prison population,

the number of buildings increased. By the end of 1944, there were already 112 of them. According to a model discovered in a commandant's office of the Stutthof concentration camp, a significant part of the camp had not yet been completed, since it was planned to increase the number of residential barracks to 180, and the new part of the camp, unlike the old one, was built in brick. All of the construction work was carried out by prisoners.

With normal resettlement, the camp could accommodate 32,400 people, but in fact the total number of prisoners housed in the camp could reach up to 72 thousand at times.

The entire territory of the concentration camp was surrounded by a fencing made of\*\* barbed wire. In addition, the residential part of the camp was surrounded by a separate barbed wire fence mounted on porcelain insulators. A high voltage electric current was passed through the wire. On the approaches to the barbed wire from the side of the barracks, additional barbed wire up to 3 metres deep was installed.

Intended at first for political prisoners, the camp later, along with its expansion, was filled with a wide variety of people. In a camp branch built in 1943, 3 km from the centre and called the "German Camp," the Germans housed about 300 Norwegian police and police officers. In another branch, built in 1944 closer to the centre and called the "Special Camp," prisoners brought from Poznan were kept, according to all available information, they were Germans, who were kept in very strict isolation. People were sent here for a wide variety of "crimes": belonging to political parties, secret organisations, resistance to authorities, and so on. People were sent here for harmful statements about the state, for distilling moonshine, and simply for theft.

In December 1944, there were people of 22 nationalities in the camp, mostly Russians and Poles. The prison population was systematically replenished with the arrival of new people, who were sent in groups of 12 to 80 people under strict security from Danzig, Marienburg, Elbing, Königsberg, Tilsit, Bromberg and other cities. In 1944, increasingly large groups of prisoners began to arrive from the east /from Russian regions evacuated by the Germans/. At the end of this year, the prisoner's serial number exceeded 100 thousand. From Stutthof, groups of prisoners were sometimes sent to other camps, such as Mauthausen, Döhlau, Buchenwald, Ravensbrück /special women's camp/, Gross-Rosen, Sachsenhausen, Neuengamme.

Many prisoners, even before arriving at the Stutthof camp, were beaten by the police during interrogation, sent straight to the hospital, or even simply died. Some of them died on the way to the camp.

Unbearable unsanitary conditions in which the prisoners were kept, starvation food standards, backbreaking physical work for 16–17 hours a day, lack of proper shoes and clothing, especially in winter, and finally, sophisticated brutal reprisals and executions that were carried out in the camp /beatings, shootings, hangings, injections of poison, etc./ ultimately led to the mass destruction of people.

To burn the corpses of prisoners killed in 1942, the Germans built a crematorium with two ovens and in 1943 another crematorium with two new ovens. At the crematorium there was a so-called "special-purpose bathhouse", a gas chamber for asphyxiating people with the Cyclone (German: Zyklon)<sup>1</sup> toxic substance.

People destined for death were forced to undress, and then were driven into a "bathhouse" with blows from sticks, gun butts and other physical means.

All the doors of the chamber were hermetically closed, and Cyclone (German: Zyklon) was poured into the round hole in the ceiling. The process of suffocation lasted 45 minutes, after which the corpses were taken out and burned in the crematorium ovens. Before burning, gold teeth and crowns were pulled out from the corpses. In a small, about 24 square metres, internal area of the gas chamber, up to 96 extremely emaciated and exhausted people were simultaneously poisoned.



In each cremation oven, up to 12 corpses were simultaneously burned, laid lengthwise in 2 rows. Due to the fact that the "bathhouse productivity" significantly exceeded the capacity of the crematorium ovens, the Germans burned the dead on fires somewhat away from the camp. Usually 800–900, and sometimes over 1000, corpses were placed on the fire, then a giant stack of human bodies and wood was doused with tar or other flammable substance and ignited. The burning process lasted 2–3 days. In the Stutthof camp, the Germans killed and burned hundreds of prisoners every day. And in total they killed over 100,000 people here.

### PRISONERS' EXTERMINATION METHODS

As the investigation established, the German monsters and their henchmen from among the prisoners, who received for their servility to the Germans various handouts – wine, clothing, improved food and cash bonuses – destroyed those doomed in the Stutthof concentration camp using various methods, subjecting them to monstrous abuses.

The most common method of exterminating prisoners was suffocation in a gas chamber with the Cyclone toxic substance.

The selection of prisoners for extermination, as witness Helena SKSHIPKOWSKA testified, was carried out as follows:

"The chief of the SS women's camp, Senior Squad Leader<sup>2</sup> FOTT, came to the women's camp and offered to line up the prisoners. I called the block commandants and gave them a similar order. FOTT went around the line and selected prisoners at his own discretion. I and the block commandants lined up the last ones, 5 people in a row, and guarded them until the selection was completed. I counted the number of those selected and reported to the FOTT, after which the prisoners were taken by the SS security guards<sup>3</sup> to the 3rd camp."

From the 3rd camp, those selected in groups, under various pretexts – sanitation, medical examination – were sent to gas chambers for suffocation by Cyclone, about which the arrested SS Storm Trooper<sup>4</sup> STUMMER Lorenz said:

"Killing in the gas chamber, which operated until April 1945, was carried out as follows: security guards of the SS battalion brought the doomed in groups, designed for the capacity of a gas chamber, and invited them to enter it. Those who resisted were pushed in by force, in which I personally took part, after that the doors were closed with a specially installed pin. The head of the crematorium, SS Junior Squad Leader<sup>5</sup> Rach, immediately rose to the surface of the chamber and poured into the cover hole a toxic substance, which is one of the hydrocyanic acid preparations, and then tightly closed the hole with a screw-on lid. After about 25–30 minutes, the doors of the gas chamber were opened by crematorium workers, and the prisoners were already dead. Killings were not carried out every day, but sometimes two groups of 55–60 people each were killed in one day."

During the existence of the gas chamber, tens of thousands of prisoners were exterminated in it. On this occasion, the witness HERMANN Walter said: "One day in a hairdressing salon in January 1945, SS Head Storm Leader KEMNITZ FOTT said that until January 1945, 15,000 people were exterminated through the gas chamber. I personally heard this conversation."

In addition to suffocation in the gas chamber, German executioners systematically carried out shootings. The witness KRAWCZYK describes them as follows: "The execution of prisoners was carried out in one of the rooms of the crematorium building. The prisoners were brought to the crematorium building in groups of 20–30 people, where they were undressed, supposedly for a medical examination, and Junior Squad Leader Rach led them into the room one person at a time, put them on a height metre, and FOTT shot him in the back of the head. After each execution, I or Franz Kite took the corpse and took it to the crematorium, where it was burned."

Executions of prisoners, as witness Stummer Lorenz testifies, were also carried out at the shooting range:

"According to Storm Troopers (*German*: Sturmmann) of the SS Death's Head battalion – Loyer, Wolff Peter and Levalovsky – I know that prisoners were executed in a specially built shooting range."

On the same issue, Hermann Walter, who worked as a hairdresser in the camp, testified:

"In November 1944, in a hairdressing salon, in my presence, there was a conversation between Kemnitz and Junior Squad Leader Peters about how they placed two male prisoners at a distance of 100 metres at a shooting range and fired pistols at live targets. KEMNITZ laughed at Peters that he was a poor shooter and could not hit at such a distance, while he, Kemnitz, hit the man with the first shot."

Along with executions, German executioners killed their victims by injecting gasoline into the human body, which KRAWCZYK described as follows: "The killing of prisoners by injection was carried out in the same room where the executions took place, where the doomed were introduced one person at a time. Junior Squad Leader Schmidt, who was there in a white coat, said to the injected prisoner, if he was healthy, that he would be vaccinated against typhus, and told the sick prisoner that he would give injections for treatment. The prisoner was immediately given an injection in the heart area, after which instant death occurred. The corpses of those poisoned by me were taken to the crematorium and burned."

The witness Lipkin M., who was a pharmacist at the camp pharmacy, testifies on the same issue: "In the winter of 1944, several times in the morning, when sick people from the camp were admitted to the hospital for medical care, SCHMIDT selected 30–40 prisoners who were weaker in health and sent them to be injected with gasoline. Gasoline was injected into a vein using a syringe, and the person died."

About the mass extermination of prisoners by injection, the witness BENSCH said:

"At the end of August 1944, SCHMIDT, orderlies BENT and CHERVINSKY went to the camp after lunch, where they independently selected exhausted women. They were selected into groups of 20–30 people each and transported by cart to the crematorium. Here SCHMIDT gave them lethal injections with syringes, and BENT and CHERVINSKY introduced one person into the room. Thus, until 15 September 1944, SCHMIDT, CHERVINSKY and BENT killed up to 1000 people. In the following months – October and November 1944 – weekly SCHMIDT, CHERVINSKY and BENT brought prisoners to the hospital in groups of 30–50 people, killed them by injection, and took the corpses to the crematorium for burning."

Hanging prisoners was also one of the methods of exterminating the doomed. The witness Helena SKSHIPKOWSKA recalls: "To maintain "order" in the camp, the Germans hanged three prisoners in September or October 1944, and brought all the prisoners, who at that time numbered up to 40 thousand people, to the place of execution. Two people were hanged by a foreman of the camp ZELONKE, and the third was hanged by KEMNITZ."

Another witness to the hanging of the doomed, HERMANN Walter, said: "During the period of my stay in the camp, I myself witnessed 7 cases when prisoners were publicly hanged. In total, about 20 people were hanged. In addition,

I personally saw a disguised gallows near the crematorium, on which 8 people were hanged in February 1945."

In addition to the above, the Germans deliberately spread infectious diseases among prisoners, about which an arrested former commandant of the men's camp Kussauer Paul said the following:

"From conversations with a camp foreman, a German ZELONKE, I know that the camp administration in December 1944 began mass vaccinations of prisoners with typhus serum. In a short period of time, 3 thousand men and 1,500 women were vaccinated. About 18 days

later, a typhus epidemic broke out in the camp, from which 5,500 women and 700 men died in the 3rd camp, as it was called, the “death camp.”

The investigation established that the German monsters and their collaborators subjected the prisoners to all kinds of abuse.

In the Stutthof concentration camp, block 14 was nicknamed “Course block” by prisoners.

As former prisoner REMEZ R.P. testified, the purpose of this block was as follows:

“In April 1944, we, who arrived at the camp, consisting of 300 people, were placed in block 14. Over a month, from 4 o’clock in the morning until 8 o’clock in the evening, a block commandant /I don’t remember his surname/ lined up our group in the presence of an SS officer and began training. We were forced to goose-step and at this time imitate the crowing of a rooster and a goose, as well as barking and meowing. Jump on one leg, crawl on our stomach, run around a pole with similar cries. Those who lagged behind or did not want to shout were beaten by a block commandant and a room leader<sup>7</sup> with sticks.”

A former prisoner Wildo Bruno said: “In December 1943, one prisoner escaped from the camp. As punishment for this, a camp commandant Hoppe lined up all the men of the camp on the site and forced them to stand in the cold.”

The lower camp administration, for example, a block commandants, did not lag behind their direct superiors in committing atrocities. A former prisoner Pokomunskaya Riva testified: “A commandant of block 19-b BONDARENKO Valentina, in April 1945, cut my and two other girls’ hair with scissors, and then made us kneel with our hands raised in the centre of the camp and kept us in that position for 3 hours, after which she forced us to clean the latrine with our bare hands.”

A witness VOLSKAYA stated: “A commandant of the 1st block JACKOWSKA in February 1944 forced 25 women to do penalty “gymnastics” in the rain. For 2 hours, the women squatted with their arms outstretched, after which JACKOWSKA forced them to goose-step.”

The same witness testified: “A commandant of the Jewish camp KUSSAUER in January and February 1945 repeatedly took part in the torture of imprisoned women and girls. Having lined up a group of 50–60 people, he ordered them to strip naked, soaked their dresses in cold water, then forced them to dress them and kept them in the cold for several hours. Many prisoners caught colds and some of them died.”

PETSIKHINA Aleksandra, who was under investigation, said the following about the atrocities against prisoners:

“While working as a women’s camp commandant, I demanded that my subordinates abuse prisoners and gave them complete freedom to beat and otherwise abuse prisoners. Personally, I beat prisoners of 5 or more people every day.

In October 1944, for no reason, I delayed lunch for 2 hours for 500 prisoners who had arrived from work. I delayed the delivery of lunches several times and in the future.

In October 1944, I forced 500–600 prisoners to squat for 30 minutes for no reason. In addition to the indicated mass cases of abuse of prisoners, I abused them individually. So, for example, I put a female prisoner who had committed some kind of offence on a chair at full height, took out all the prisoners of the block and lined them up around the chair, forcing the person being punished to repeat for an hour why she was put on the chair.”

A former women’s camp commander, SZHIPKOWSKA<sup>3\*</sup>, who is under investigation, testified:

“In December 1943, at a temperature of 18–20 degrees below zero, KEMNITZ ordered 1,700 prisoners to line up, take snow in both hands and hold it until it melted. Having carried out this order, many prisoners froze their hands and feet.”

Prisoner abuse often resulted in deaths.

A witness WOZNIAK gives an example:

"In the winter of 1945, during a roll call, one of the SS men, for no reason, came up and hit one of the prisoners in the face with his fist, knocking off his hat. He bent down to pick up his hat. The SS man killed him on the spot for "attempting to escape."

Next time, 3 SS men used rubber truncheons to force two prisoners against the barbed wire and laughed as they watched their victims die from electric shock."

At the concentration camp there was the SS Death's Head battalion, where there were 50 guard dogs, which the Germans, for their amusement, let loose from their chains and set on prisoners.

Dogs also served to search for fugitives from the camp. On this occasion, a witness TEPLOV V.F. testified: "In November 1943, while working, a Ukrainian prisoner tried to escape from the camp and hid in a pile of sawdust on the camp territory. During the evening roll call, the Germans discovered his disappearance and sent dogs to search for him, who discovered the prisoner and tore him into pieces. The Germans threw the torn corpse at the gates of the camp, illuminated it with searchlights, and forced all the prisoners to walk past the corpse to intimidate them."

In addition to the above facts of extermination and abuse of prisoners, the leadership of the camp created unbearable working conditions, as a result of which the exhausted prisoners reached the point of exhaustion and many of them died.

### EXTERMINATION OF INTELLECTUAL WORKERS

During the existence of the Stutthof concentration camp, the German monsters killed thousands of intellectual workers and intellectuals from different countries.

Retreating under the pressure of the Red Army, the Germans covered up the traces of their crimes, but they still failed to do so completely.

In the premises of the commandant's office of the Stutthof concentration camp, part of the registration cards of the murdered prisoners /in the amount of 1057 pieces/ was discovered.

It was established by studying the cards that during 1942 a significant number of engineers, doctors and other categories of intelligentsia were killed in the camp.

Here, for example, is card No. 888/42. It says:

1. KERINSKY Ivan, born in 1910, a native of the Kharkov region, Russian, an engineer by profession. He died on 1 September 1942 at 3:20 in Stutthof small town, Danzig region, from a broken heart.

2. 578/42 LEWANDOWSKI Mitseslaw, born in 1914, a native of Warsaw city, Pole, an engineer. He died on 30 June 1942 at 3:20 in Stutthof small town. Cause of death: weakened cardiac activity, general weakness of the body.

3. 169/42 MIRAU Stefan, born in 1901, a native of Rosenberg town, Danzig region, Pole, a doctor by profession. Died on 24 April 1942. Cause of death: chronic flu, weakened cardiac activity.

4. 144/42 KEILMANN Nikolaus, born in 1896, a native of Riga city, Estonian, a doctor. Died on 30 March 1942 at 9:20. Cause of death: weakened cardiac activity.

5. 77/42 BISS Arthur, born in 1880, a native of Switzerland, Swiss, a journalist. Died on 12 January 1942. Cause of death: weakened cardiac activity.

6. 910/42 MARCHENKO Mikhail, born in 1924, a native of the Sumy region, Russian, a student. Died on 2 November 1942. Cause of death: weakened cardiac activity.

Based on the study of these cards, it is clear that most of the "dead" were forcibly killed. This is also confirmed by the testimony of a former prisoner WLODARCZYK Franciszek.

"Working in the political department of the camp", he says, "I often saw how prisoners were taken to a gas chamber or crematorium, and a few days later we received lists of these people, indicating the date and diagnosis of death: "died from a weakened cardiac activity."



## SHOOTINGS AND KILLINGS OF SOVIET PRISONERS OF WAR

The Germans, ignoring and violating international rules regarding the treatment of prisoners of war, often carried out a massacre on them.

A WITNESS WLODARCZYK Franciszek testified: "In September 1944, 76 Red Army soldiers who were wounded and captured were admitted to the camp. After recovery, they were discharged from various German hospitals in Latvia; many of the prisoners of war were missing a leg or an arm. For three days they were in an open-air camp, without receiving any food, only half an hour before their death they were given a piece of bread and told that they would now be sent to field work. In reality, they were taken to a gas chamber. Some guessed this and began to run away, but the convoy, using weapons, forced everyone to enter the gas chamber, where they were suffocated.

In April 1944, 4 captured Red Army pilots in military uniform arrived at the camp. 2 hours after their arrival at the camp, KEMNITZ and LITKE came for them and took them to the crematorium. As soon as the pilots were brought into the building, I heard pistol shots. The pilots were killed and then burned in a crematorium.

In December 1944, 13 Red Army paratroopers who were captured by the Germans near Allenstein city arrived at the camp. In early January 1945, all 13 paratroopers were taken to the crematorium building, where one person at a time was called and shot. In the register book they were all marked as dead.

On 5 May 1945, near the mouth of the Vistula River in Bozak village, 20 privates of the Red Army were captured by the Germans. Upon their arrival at the camp, they were all destroyed by execution in the crematorium building in the above manner and burned in the crematorium ovens."

## GERMAN EXECUTIONERS KILLED CITIZENS OF THE USSR, POLAND, YUGOSLAVIA, FRANCE, HUNGARY AND OTHER STATES IN THE STUTTHOF CONCENTRATION CAMP

As it has been established by numerous testimonies of witnesses, German executioners systematically exterminated citizens of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Yugoslavia and Hungary in the Stutthof concentration camp. People were killed by suffocation in a gas chamber, by shooting, hanging, special lethal injections and subsequent burning of corpses in crematorium ovens. On the days of the greatest mortality among prisoners, corpses were also burned on fires.

Interrogated as a witness, a former prisoner WLODARCZYK Franciszek, a Pole by nationality, testified that in the concentration camp the Germans carried out mass suffocation of prisoners in a gas chamber every day. In registration books, persons killed in the gas chamber were marked as dead and the date of "death" was indicated. "Working as a prisoner registration clerk," said WLODARCZYK, "I knew that up to 200 prisoners per day were passed through the gas chamber."

Let me give a few examples of the extermination of people in the gas chamber:

In February 1944, 25 Poles were arrested in the Bialystok region. Arriving at the camp, they were all suffocated in the gas chamber.

In May 1944, 1,500 arrested Poles arrived from Warsaw, most of them were soon killed in the gas chamber.

In the gas chamber, young and old, men, women, children of all nationalities were exterminated indiscriminately.

The extermination of prisoners was also carried out through mass executions, for which the targeted persons were brought under convoy to the crematorium building, where one person at a time was admitted; as soon as a person entered the open door of the cremato-

rium, SS Senior Squad Leader FOTT and SS Head Squad Leader<sup>8</sup> KEMNITZ<sup>4\*</sup> who stood behind the door, took turns shooting the person entering in the back of the head, after which the corpse was removed to another room where the ovens were located and burned.

One of the methods of exterminating prisoners was injecting special liquids into their veins, which caused quick death.

Therefore, we can say that executions, suffocations in the gas chamber and injections were widespread. It was a carefully devised system for exterminating camp prisoners.

### HITLER'S BANDITS KILLED ABOUT 100,000 PEOPLE IN THE CAMP

Fearing responsibility for the crime committed in the Stutthof concentration camp, the German executioners, before their retreat, diligently destroyed traces of their atrocities — documents that can show the whole world their vile work to exterminate the camp's prisoners and the exact number of people they have exterminated since the beginning of the concentration camp's existence.

But by virtue of the rapid advance of the Red Army, the Germans were not able to completely cover up the traces of their bloody atrocities, although they left a special team at the camp with the task of blowing up the crematorium, the gas chamber, and burning the barracks where the sick and doomed prisoners were kept. This team was only able to blow up the crematorium, the gas chamber and burn 10 barracks with prisoners. No tricks helped the Hitlerites. The testimony of the surviving prisoners, found individual documents and other material evidence convincingly expose the German executioners in the fact that in the Stutthof concentration camp they exterminated, poisoned, shot and burned in the crematorium and on fires about 100,000 prisoners, mainly Poles, Russians and Jews.

### CALL THE GERMAN FASCIST SCOUNDRELS TO ACCOUNT

The terrible atrocities committed by the Nazi monsters in the Stutthof camp were carried out under the directives of the former Hitlerite government of Germany and under the leadership of the SS and Police Reich Leader (German: Reichsführer)<sup>9</sup> Heinrich Himmler, SS Lieutenant General Katzmann, Senior Group Leader<sup>10</sup> Helfing and Regional Leader Forster Albert.

The direct perpetrators of the atrocities were:

A camp commandant, SS Assault Unit Leader<sup>12</sup> Hoppe Paul, a deputy commandant of camps, Head Storm Leader<sup>13</sup> Meyer, an assistant camp commandant, Head Storm Leader von Bonn, a chief of the camp police, Senior Squad Leader Fott, a senior camp doctor, Head Storm Leader Hoidel, a foreman of camps Zelonke Franz, a commander of the 1st and 2nd companies of the SS Death's Head battalion, Head Storm Leader Redich, a commander of the 3rd company of the SS battalion, Head Storm Leader Elle Paul, a head of the Counter-intelligence group<sup>14</sup>, Head Storm Leader Kemnitz, an assistant leader of the Counterintelligence group, Junior Squad Leader Zublitz, a head of the political department of camps, Senior Squad Leader Litke, a head of the construction department of camps, Squad Leader Lutz, a head of the camp security, Head Storm Leader Meyer Traugott, a head of the gas chamber of the camp crematorium Rach and Storm Leader Schmidt.

All the people mentioned above who led the camp and took personal part in the murders and torture of prisoners of the Stutthof death camp must appear before the court of the people and suffer a well-deserved punishment.

Signature and seal of MAJOR GENERAL—ISTOMIN

MAJOR GENERAL—MIKHALCHUK

COLONEL — BREZGIN

COLONEL OF MEDICAL SERVICE — FIRSOV

ASSISTANT MILITARY PROSECUTOR  
MAJOR OF JUSTICE – SVINAREV  
ARMY SURGEON COLONEL OF  
MEDICAL SERVICE PROFESSOR – DOBYCHIN  
FORENSIC MEDICAL EXPERT  
CAPTAIN OF MEDICAL SERVICES – BRATSLAVSKAYA  
HEAD OF PATHOLOGICAL-ANATOMICAL LABORATORY  
MAJOR OF MEDICAL SERVICE ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR – POPOV  
ENGINEERS: ENGINEER MAJOR – FEDOROV  
CAPTAIN – KAPUSTIN  
Correct: Head of the information department  
of the Political Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front  
*Major* *[A. P.] GREBNEV*

*Note: "Read. Kushelev /VIII [19]45"\**

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 241. Inventory 2656.  
Case 224. Sheets 47–57. Copy. Typescript.*

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- \* In the document "Bratslavskaya S.P." The patronymic is established according to award documents.  
\*\* It is so in the document  
3\* It is so in the document, the same as Skzypkowska  
4\* Above in the document he is called "Head Storm Leader (German: Hauptsturmführer)"  
5\* The date is illegible

## 2. Territory of the Stutthof concentration camp

1939–1944



## 3. Commandant's office building of the Stutthof concentration camp

1941





#### 4. Gate of the Stutthof concentration camp

1939–1944



2–4. Photocopies from the Stutthof Concentration Camp Museum (Sztutowo settlement, Elbląg Voivodeship, Poland).

#### 5. From the record of interrogation of Wilhelm Pasch, a prisoner and a crematorium worker of the Stutthof concentration camp

Hamburg

24–26 January 1963.

[...] We, prisoners, noticed the injection killings carried out by Knott in the crematorium thanks to an SS man Rach. It was he who gave us, in those days when the injections were carried out, instructions to move the platform from the place where we were located to the execution room. Rach instructed us in the following words: "The women will arrive again and they will receive injections." Then Knott came with two Poles who worked as orderlies in the medical unit for prisoners. I did not see how Knott administered the injections. The women killed by lethal injection were then dumped into the anteroom of the combustion chamber by these two Poles. From there we received the corpses and laid them in front of the ovens. The faces of the murdered women turned blue if they lay there for a long time. And those corpses that lay in the crematorium for a long time before being burned also changed their complexion to blue. Rach referred to such murdered individuals as "negroes" because of their dark blue colour.

In this regard, I remember an incident that I cannot forget. One day, a Pole Sigmund Grawczik drew my attention to the fact that one of the women after the injection was not dead at all, but was walking from corner to corner in the anteroom of the combustion chamber. I didn't believe it, but I was convinced of this myself: a young woman, about 20 years old,

who had just been injected by Knott, was walking around the room. Grawczik, in my presence, addressed her in Polish, but she did not react to this. It was as if she looked through us. Then Grawczik knocked on the doors of SS men and drew their attention to this. Rach immediately came and looked at the woman. But without doing anything, he immediately left. Then Lüdtkke, who was in the crematorium that day, came out from there, approached the woman and shot her in the temple from close range. The woman fell dead, after which her body was again thrown onto the mountain of corpses. This incident happened in the summer of 1944. Lüdtkke then began to reproach Rach for why he didn't shoot "that bastard." Rach responded to this by telling Lüdtkke that he should have first informed Otto about what had happened. In this case, he was referring to an SS man Otto Knott.

I drew a layout plan of the crematorium premises and gas chambers. During my interrogation, with the help of this layout plan, I will check my testimony and therefore ask that this layout plan be attached to the case.

I was given the opportunity to look at the layout plan drawn by a witness Schefter. Schefter drew a watchtower here. According to him, this tower allegedly housed Jewish women who were sentenced to death. He was wrong. There was no such watchtower outside the crematorium. There were actually watchtowers, including near the crematorium, which were used by SS men to guard the camp. But at the place indicated by Schefter, there was a huge mountain of sawdust. Jewish women brought in to be shot were held behind that mountain. From this place they were called one by one to the Rach's bureau. After a short questioning from Rach, they were offered to go to the execution room for the purpose of employment. In the execution room there were mainly SS men Chemnitz, Vogt or Fott, and sometimes Lüdtkke appeared. There, the women were brought one by one to the height metre, and then the SS man who stood behind the height metre shot in the back of the head. After the shot, the women fell forward, or more precisely, to the floor. We, the prisoners of the crematorium, were given instructions immediately after firing the shot to go to the execution room and transfer the body from there to the burning room. One of us, prisoners, had to use a hose to wash away traces of blood. There was a concrete floor and there was a drain right next to the height metre.

An automatic pistol was used for the execution. The magazine case was located in the grip of the weapon. The pistol was mainly used by Chemnitz. I know for sure that things were this way, because one day Lüdtkke – this was in the spring of 1944 – wanted to carry out an execution with his service pistol. This was the first time I saw Lüdtkke in action in the execution room that day. Chemnitz told him not to do this. According to him, after firing from Lüdtkke's service pistol, the women's entire face would be torn off. In addition, the sound of the shot from this pistol will be so strong that the shot can be heard by the women lined up in front of the barracks. Chemnitz further instructed Lüdtkke to shoot neither too high nor too low. In my presence, he showed him exactly how to hold a weapon. Chemnitz said that the shot should be fired somewhat obliquely so that the bullet through the eye would lodge in the head. I could hear this conversation because just at that moment I was washing off the remaining blood with a water hose near the device for shooting in the back of the head. That day Lüdtkke carried out further executions himself. After firing the shot, we had to sharply open the door and get those shot out of the room as quickly as possible. After the conversation, Lüdtkke actually shot the next 40–50 women in this way. At that time, we didn't even close the door to the execution room with a latch in order to get into the room as soon as possible – Chemnitz strictly ensured that we immediately carried the executed people out of the room. Due to the fact that the door was only closed, we could see not only the woman who was being led to the height metre, but also Lüdtkke himself, who carried out further executions that day. The shot women sometimes didn't even have time to get down

to the floor before we burst into the room. At the same time, we saw Lüdtke with a weapon in his hand, as he stood behind the executed people. On that day, SS men Vogt and Chemnitz were also in the execution room. They stood somewhat further back by the window, where they talked with other SS men who stood on the other side of the window at the barracks. Vogt and Chemnitz could not fire themselves that day, as far as I could assess the situation.

Why Lüdtke shot for the first time that day, I don't know. After the first execution, which he personally carried out, in subsequent times he began to appear more often at the crematorium. There he shot both women and men in the manner I described. Men were shot less often. Some of these men arrived at the camp in civilian clothes. Regarding these executed men, I once spoke with Rach and heard from him that these were people brought to the camp by the Danzig Gestapo.

I am asked how many people Lüdtke shot in total. Of course, I can't give an exact number. But there were at least 500 of them, mostly women, whom Lüdtke shot in this way. Lüdtke, as far as I remember, carried out such executions in the crematorium at intervals until the winter of 1944.

Question:

How many people, in your opinion and according to your memory, were shot in total?

Answer:

During each execution, 20–40 people were shot. One day, 100 people were shot at once. In the middle of the week, men were regularly shot one by one. But mostly it was women who were shot. Before I left the camp in January 1945, at least 4,000–5,000 people had been shot. Often so many people were shot that we simply did not have time to burn them. One day – it was the summer of 1944 – I literally walked knee-deep in blood [im Blut waten] in the execution room. Because of the heat there was a terrible smell. We then took off our shoes and we had to roll up our trousers. The drains were clogged, so the blood of those executed could not drain. Then, at this sight, I felt faint, and after that I constantly felt unwell.

Because of my activities in the crematorium, I lived in constant fear that one day I myself would be liquidated because I knew too much. One day, all the prisoners who worked at the crematorium were called out of their blocks in the middle of the night. I then thought that we ourselves would soon be shot. In fact we had to burn 1 or 2 truckloads of corpses overnight under Lüdtke's supervision. Lüdtke then remained in the crematorium until we burned all the corpses. They were in a strange way completely covered from head to toe in paper bandages, and Lüdtke made sure that we did not tear off this paper. But one day the paper was torn off from one of the corpses. It was dark blue. We therefore concluded that there were probably injections being carried out in Danzig and that we should not have known about it. The corpses were brought to the camp from Danzig.

In the spring of 1944 – I can't name the exact moment – one day, 6 or 7 male prisoners, Russians, and, in addition, one Russian woman, were brought to the crematorium. These people were from a singing choir that was highly respected by the prisoners in the camp. These prisoners were first lined up at the barracks in front of the window of the execution room. They could look and see what was happening in the room. The men were probably walking too fast, so the woman was a little behind. Lüdtke saw this and ordered her to stand in the front row by the window. These prisoners were Russian doctors, including a woman. In addition to Lüdtke, Chemnitz and Vogt also participated in this action at first. Chemnitz, who spoke Russian, initially entertained himself with this Russian woman, giving commands in Russian. On command, the woman had to turn left, right, around, and so on. After that, Chemnitz also laughed at her. The other male prisoners had to watch all this. After this, the prisoners were taken one by one into the execution room and shot at a device for shooting in the back of the head [*German Genickschussanlage, literally "neck shooting facility"*]. Each

time we had to carry those shot to the burning room. The executions were carried out by Chemnitz. Finally, a woman was brought into the room. Chemnitz spoke to her and asked: "Why did you do this?" What she did, I did not find out. She told him that she did it for the sake of her homeland. To this Chemnitz slapped her and said that this was for her homeland. In response to this, the Russian spat in Chemnitz's eyes and told him that this was for his homeland. This caused a commotion. Chemnitz grabbed her first. Vogt and Lüdtke immediately jumped up. The door was opened, and SS men dragged the Russian woman into the burning room. As she resisted fiercely, other SS men nearby also jumped up. The woman was dragged to one of the ovens. At the same time, Chemnitz shouted: "Burn her in the oven!" Vogt held his pistol in his hand and wanted to shoot the woman, but did not dare because he was obviously afraid of injuring his comrades.

Approaching the oven, they jerked the door open and discovered that the heat emanating from the oven would not have allowed them to push the woman into the oven. As a result of this fuss, the woman's hair on her head was burned. One SS man, I don't remember who it was, came up with the idea of putting a still living and furiously resisting woman on the so-called pallet, on which corpses were usually moved into the oven. It was decided to do so. Lüdtke went to oven I and dragged the pallet to oven II. They managed to put the woman on the pallet only after great effort, and Lüdtke, along with other SS men, pushed the pallet into the oven from behind, which they succeeded in doing after some time. While trying to push the pallet into the oven, the woman kept raising her head. In the end, SS men took a long pole wrapped around the front, and with this pole they pushed the woman into the oven. We used this pole to push the corpses as deep as possible into the oven. Then the oven door was closed and the woman was burned alive. We, the prisoners who worked in the crematorium, could see and hear everything, since the door to our premises remained open.

Once I saw a woman lying in the execution room who had been shot by Chemnitz. She was obviously too small and it was impossible to shoot her using a height metre. Although no, I'll make an amendment here, Chemnitz probably shot at the height metre, but didn't kill her. She resisted and Chemnitz had to shoot her three more times. Lüdtke was also in the execution room that day, and I saw him holding a woman.

I can still remember another incident that happened at the crematorium in the winter of 1944. At that time, the crematorium had already burned down. The fact is that we, prisoners who worked in the crematorium, frivolously set fire to the crematorium, because we believed that after this the executions and burning of corpses would stop. We didn't trust the other prisoners who worked at the crematorium. That's why one day Grawczik and I set fire to the crematorium. We didn't think then that the ovens wouldn't burn out during a fire. For this reason, the burning of corpses continued after the fire. Since the SS was then unable to find out how we set fire to the crematorium, nothing bad happened to us.

One day that winter, an SS man Haupt and an orderly brought a living prisoner from the hospital site to the crematorium on a mobile stretcher. The prisoner's legs were amputated along the torso. Why they were amputated, I never found out.

Haupt and the orderly drove the stretcher to the mountain of corpses in the crematorium and with effort threw the prisoner to the very top. Rach and Lüdtke were in the crematorium at that moment. Obviously, Lüdtke was here precisely because of this prisoner. As Haupt and the orderly forcefully threw the prisoner onto the mountain of corpses, Lüdtke pulled out a pistol and shot at the prisoner. However, he missed. And only the second time he hit him in the face, killing him. At that moment I was near the mountain of corpses and could see it all from a very close distance. I can still see the amazed eyes of this prisoner in front of me. He had a very thin face and jet-black hair cut very short. Why Lüdtke shot him,



I never found out. Lüdtké did not speak at all to the prisoners who worked in the crematorium. We were terribly afraid of him.

I was given the opportunity to review the testimony of a witness Schefter in this regard.

It is true that Schefter often visited me at the crematorium at that time. I gave him some food. At one time, Grawczik was able to obtain valuables thanks to connections with other prisoners. He exchanged these valuables for food with an SS man who commanded the kitchen; he was a Volksdeutsche. Therefore, I always had a little more food than other prisoners, and I gave some of it to Schefter. It is also true that I then showed Schefter the execution apparatus. But Schefter was wrong about the following points:

1) He mentions a watchtower in which prisoners allegedly awaited execution. He's wrong. The prisoners were simply forced to wait behind a pile of sawdust, as I said. Not far from this pile of sawdust there was a watchtower used by SS men. Schefter probably confused these objects.

2) Before being shot, female prisoners were first called by SS man one at a time to the Rach's bureau. Later, this was done by Fritz, a Czech, who worked at the crematorium. This only happened in individual cases.

3) An entrance to Rach's room was only possible from the outside. One did not have to go to the crematorium first to see him. After a short interrogation, the prisoners were sent to the execution room. Between Rach's bureau and the execution room there was a door through which prisoners directly entered the execution room.

4) Prisoners who entered the execution room initially saw a second SS man present there. The SS man, who stood near the height metre and was engaged in execution, depending on his mood, turned to the women and talked with them for some time. But the victims could not see an SS man who fired at the moment of the shot.

5) As I have already testified, the shot, as a rule, was fired in such a way that there was no visible damage.

6) The corpses were not delivered to the premises that Schefter is talking about. We immediately took them to the burning room and threw them on a pile of corpses.

I also believe that those who were brought to be shot had a presentiment of their fate. According to my observations, these people obviously already knew what awaited them.

Question: What do you know about the murders of Jews in Stutthof using a railway wagon?

When I was assigned to the crematorium team in the late autumn of 1943, there was a railway wagon on one of the tracks near the crematorium, which was used as a gas chamber for killing Jewish women. I can't say anything about the preparations, primarily about how Jewish women were selected in the women's camp; I had nothing to do with it. I also cannot say how the Jewish prisoners got into the wagon. The task of the group of prisoners from the crematorium was to deliver corpses from the wagon to the crematorium. We took the corpses to the crematorium. After unloading the wagon, we also had to wash it. There was a round hole on the roof of the wagon into which a stove pipe was inserted. The top of the pipe was covered with a lid. Into this pipe, after the wagon was filled with people and closed – the wagon was sealed – an SS man threw gas, which was delivered in tin cans. I also heard the screams of the victims, which lasted only 2–3 minutes. Then it was quiet in the wagon. I myself saw these gassings a maximum of 2–3 times, that is, we, the prisoners, had to free the wagon from corpses a maximum of three times. Each time, 20–30 prisoners were killed. In this regard, I am shown the testimony of a witness Zelonke, who indicates that these executions took place in the late autumn of 1944. Zelonke is wrong about the date. At this time, prisoners were no longer gassed in a railway wagon. He must have got the year wrong; these gassings were carried out in the late autumn of 1943. They mainly in-

volved Chemnitz, Rach, Knott and other SS men whose names I do not know. During these executions I did not see Lüdtké and Haupt. However, I don't want to say that both of them did not participate in the gassings, because I only came there to clean the wagon. Among the women killed by gas there were also children.

I was told about Schefter's testimony. It is true that I told Schefter about this railway wagon. But it is not true that I allegedly told him that the wagon was loaded with Jews and taken to Auschwitz. Jews arrived there dead. At Auschwitz the wagon was again loaded with Jews and taken to Stutthof. As far as I know, the wagon full of Jews was not transported anywhere. It is quite possible that in order to deceive the victims, the wagon was dragged back and forth over a short distance. I, however, cannot imagine who would be able to bring this to life, because I did not see a locomotive there.

Question: Which SS men were involved in the selection of Jews in Stutthof for gassing and the killing itself?

During my work at the crematorium, about 10–15 times I partially saw such selection at close range in the women's camp. This selection was carried out as follows:

Depending on the mood of participating SS men, the order was given to a whole block to line up in front of the barracks. Usually, as I could observe, mainly Vogt and Haupt took part in such selections. They were the main characters. Sometimes Chemnitz was nearby. In addition, a woman from the SS took part in these selections, whose surname I do not remember. Sometimes I also saw an SS man who supposedly came from Berlin.

At the time I never found out who this man was. But I know that this man from Berlin carefully selected the Jews who were lined up based on their health. In contrast to him, Vogt and Haupt in most cases did not make a real selection at all, but simply ordered the block to count off, and then determined that from a certain number the prisoners should go left or right and go to the gas chambers. The prisoners had to line up in five rows. And if Haupt and Vogt needed, for example, 100 Jews for gassing, then they ordered them to count off up to 20, and the rest of the Jews could disperse. The Jews chosen for execution were led by Vogt and Haupt between the barracks, where they waited until they were sent to the gas chambers. The women were taken to the gas chambers by the already mentioned SS men Vogt and Haupt. Sometimes Chemnitz and other SS men were present. I would like to add that the prisoners selected by the man from Berlin were, of course, also sent to the gas chambers.

I had a girlfriend at the women's camp — as I mentioned — and therefore I often came there. The living conditions in the completely overcrowded blocks were so catastrophic that I find difficulty in describing them. The decomposition odour was so strong in the blocks that I, being a crematorium worker, could not be in such a block at all. I could see the selections that Vogt and Haupt carried out at close range. When both SS men saw me then in the women's camp, which happened quite often, I had to come up with an appropriate reason for being there. Mostly I took an armful of wool blankets with me to the camp.

I am asked approximately how many prisoners were then selected and gassed. To this I must say that I am not able to give even an approximate number. We are talking about thousands of prisoners. In the summer of 1944, so many prisoners were gassed that we did not have time to burn the corpses at all. Therefore, in another part of the camp they built a giant fire, in which they burned a lot of corpses. And because of the outbreak of air raids, this method of burning corpses soon had to be abandoned.

The selected women were most often driven into gas chambers by Vogt and Haupt, together with other SS men, passing by camp gardens. The gas chamber was located near the crematorium. I marked it on my drawing. The prisoners were immediately sent to the gas chambers. Sometimes SS men urged them on, beating them with sticks. Schefter said

that he saw how SS men sometimes beat prisoners with the butts of their rifles. I didn't see that. But I must say that I never saw how SS men forced prisoners into a gas chamber. We were forbidden to observe this. However, we certainly heard the screams of the prisoners as they were driven into the gas chamber. These screams were often louder than those that came from the gas chamber when Knott threw gas crystals into it. Sometimes some Jewish women tried to escape back to the camp. All of them, without exception, were pursued by the SS Volksdeutsche – the so-called Croats, who beat them to death upon capture. In such cases, we were ordered to pick up the corpses and bring them to the crematorium. The gas was stored in the crematorium and was managed by Rach. Knott was supposed to take the gas from Rach. There was silence about 2–4 minutes after gas crystals were thrown into the chamber.

About 5 minutes after the gas was thrown, the door of the gas chamber was opened, most often by SS men themselves, and we, prisoners from the crematorium, had to empty the gas chamber. The prisoners were convulsively clutched to each other, and most of those killed were already experiencing rigor mortis. The gas chamber was often so clogged that dead bodies did not even settle on the floor. They stood there inside, pressed tightly together and clinging to each other with their nails. SS men always urged us, prisoners, to empty the gas chamber as quickly as possible. This led to the fact that I would often enter the gas chamber too early and experience bouts of dizziness from the residual gas. A gas mask was provided for each prisoner. But I couldn't work with the gas mask on.

In the crematorium, a Czech Fritz, with the help of wire cutters, pulled out gold teeth from the mouths of the corpses. Obviously, these gold teeth should have been pulled out by Rach. In any case, these gold teeth were supplied to Rach. The camp had a so-called gold processing station. And I had to carry two bags of gold teeth twice on Rach's instructions to Chemnitz. I don't know what happened to the gold obtained in this way. This gold, especially the jewellery taken from the corpses – and there were a large number of them – was delivered to a processing station, then these things were obviously sent further to Berlin. And I don't know what Chemnitz did with those gold things and valuables that were delivered to him.

Question:

Did Lüdtke have anything to do with the extermination in the gas chambers? If yes, in what form?

I don't know that Lüdtke was involved in this.

Regarding the gassing activities of an SS man Haupt, I can recall the extermination of crippled Polish prisoners of war. We are talking about Polish officers. I don't know where these prisoners came from. In Stutthof they spent at least 14 days in an open air. At the same time, many of them died. Haupt once led the remaining 35–40 people to a gas chamber, where they were killed. I remember this incident because some of these prisoners refused to go to the gas chamber. At this time there was shooting. When these prisoners were driven into the gas chamber, I think they plugged the pipe from the inside with some piece of clothing. Therefore, at first the gas could not penetrate into the chamber. Knott, who then threw the gas crystals into the pipe, noticed this only a few minutes later. He was given a long stick on the roof of the gas chamber, with which he removed the obstacle in the pipe. And in this case, after the gas poisoning, we, the prisoners, cleaned the chamber. Some of these prisoners were very seriously injured in the war. Some had arms or legs amputated.

During this gassing at the crematorium, a camp commander Hoppe personally shot one woman. I saw this shooting myself. Hoppe came with the woman to the crematorium. He also asked her how many months she was pregnant, and she said that she was eight months pregnant. Ostensibly out of politeness, he allowed her to enter the crematorium first, opening the door there first. When the woman passed him in this manner, he shot her

in the back of the head. I cannot say at what exact point in time Hoppe shot this woman. Several years ago, when the trial against Hoppe, who was sentenced to 3.5 years in prison, was taking place in the Ruhr region, I wrote to the Hamburg prosecutor's office regarding this shooting. I had to be questioned several times by the criminal police about this. But I was never able to appear for interrogation, since at that time I was constantly going to sea. Then I heard nothing more about this case.

Question: Was the then prisoner Bruno Bartsch a member of the group of prisoners in the crematorium?

Even after being shown the relevant records of Bartsch's testimony, I cannot imagine a single person with such a surname. Without a doubt, judging by the way a witness describes the crematorium, he must have worked there, and, perhaps, precisely at the time when I worked there. Still, I don't remember a single prisoner with that surname. The thought had already occurred to me that Bartsch could be the already mentioned Kitter. I need to look at the photo of Bartsch, and then I could say more about him. And Schefter also knew Kitter, whom I mentioned, well. It is noteworthy that Schefter, during interrogation, apparently could not say anything about a prisoner named Bartsch.

I am also asked what I know about the case when, on the way to the crematorium, about 20 Russians tied together tried to escape and were shot by Ukrainian SS men. I remember this incident. It happened under my eyes. Why the Russians decided to escape and whether they did it in earnest, I can judge from what I personally observed.

The Russians were not tied. On the way to the crematorium, a 10–12 year old boy – he was a Czech, I had talked to this boy very often before – did not want to go further. He cried and said that they wanted to kill him. There was a hitch, in which there were 20 Russians, and then SS men opened barrage fire from the tower, namely from three different towers, and most of these prisoners were killed. The rest scattered and actually fled. They ran back to the camp. The other prisoners were all caught and beaten to death, namely each one at the place where he was caught. I would also like to add that I thought at the time that these prisoners were not Russians, but Czechs. Chemnitz then opened fire on these prisoners. Lüdtke was not there. I can't remember any other SS men.

In response to a special question, I recall that there was a morgue at the medical unit for prisoners. We, the funeral commando, took the corpses left there on a cart to the crematorium. From Polish prisoners I learned that, on Haupt's instructions, prisoners who were still alive were also left in the morgue at the medical unit. These prisoners were brought to the medical unit as sick. But Haupt apparently refused to accept prisoners of this kind into the medical unit and ordered them to be placed in the morgue, where they died. At first I couldn't believe it, and so one day I went to the medical unit and inspected the morgue on the spot. I actually discovered a man and a woman who, while still alive, had been left there by Haupt's instructions, where they died.

Question: What do you know about public hangings and executions by hanging, and how often were they carried out?

I took part in public hangings three times. This kind of hangings took place in the evening at roll call, and all prisoners had to watch the execution. Thus, in the spring or summer of 1944, the prisoner "Krasny Tony" (*literally* "Red Tony") was hanged. When the prisoner Pabst was hanged in this manner, I do not know exactly. This was probably already in the autumn of 1944. In addition, I remember a case where a French SS volunteer who allegedly committed some offence was hanged. He was hanged in public while his French comrades had to watch. During these public executions, the camp leadership was present, namely Hoppe, Meier, Chemnitz, Vogt, Lüdtke and other SS men unknown to me. I did not see an SS man



Haupt. I don't remember who tightened the noose around the condemned man's neck. Lüdtke did not particularly stand out at the hangings, as far as I remember.

I observed the hangings that took place near the crematorium because the group of prisoners from the crematorium had to remove the prisoner and bring him to the crematorium immediately after the hanging. Usually, as I remember, three prisoners were hanged at once. There was a board on the ground, no, the board was attached to the gallows post and consisted of two parts. During the hanging, these boards were raised and stopped in the middle, so that the victims were approximately one metre above the ground.

First, the noose around the neck was placed by the camp foreman Zelonke; then he refused to do it, and therefore SS men had to carry out this action. It was Rach and others, I don't remember their surnames anymore. As soon as the victims were on the board and the noose was placed around the neck, at a signal from Lüdtke, the locking device of both boards was raised and the prisoners fell into the noose. If only a few prisoners were hanged, then those hanged hung for some time. But if there was a large column in line for execution, SS men were in such a hurry that we found some of the hanged alive in the crematorium. At the end of the execution, SS men who participated in it came to the crematorium, where Lüdtke then personally shot the still living prisoners each time.

Such executions were carried out in public two or three times, with quite different numbers of victims. I remember well that executions were carried out at least three times a week, and between 12 and 15 prisoners were hanged. It turned out that once a week Lüdtke shot 2–3 prisoners in the crematorium using the method already described. The executions were carried out this way since the beginning of my work in the crematorium until my evacuation.

I never learned the reason why these prisoners were hanged, and I also learned nothing from others. Most of the victims were not from our camp, but were brought in. From where, I don't know.

However, I did not see an SS man Haupt there.

I do not remember any SS Senior Squad Leader Wulf who supposedly led all the construction teams in Stutthof. In this regard, I am shown a statement by Schefter. I recall that there seems to be a former Stutthof prisoner living in Hamburg; he is a carpenter by profession. But I can't remember his surname.

I also cannot say that Haupt and Lüdtke shot in the back of the head those prisoners who committed minor violations of camp order. Such prisoners, as far as I know, were taken into custody and there – as I heard – they were mostly beaten to death. The corpses of these prisoners were brought to the crematorium. From the injuries on these bodies I could deduce the cause of death. I cannot say who was in charge of the bunker for prisoners.

A Jewish woman in charge of the ward for sick prisoners in the new women's camp told me several times that after the typhus epidemic broke out, Haupt ordered that women with typhus be transferred to blocks for healthy ones, so that the epidemic would begin there too. I cannot say that because of these actions of Haupt, typhus began to spread in the camp. All I know is that typhus has actually started to spread.

I was given a hint, and I recall that one of the prisoners who worked in the medical unit was called Hans Breit. This Breit, as far as I know, is primarily responsible for the high mortality rate in the medical unit. Haupt and Breit were both sadists.

I don't know if Lüdtke actually beat two Polish girls to death at a Jewish women's camp. I haven't heard anything about it. I have never seen Lüdtke with a weapon. I don't really believe this accusation, since I am quite familiar with the camp order. Moreover, I know nothing about Lüdtke's participation, while I was in the camp, in organising the transport of prisoners from and to Stutthof.

Note:

The interrogation was interrupted at 17:00. The interrogation continued on 25.01.1963 at 8:45.

Question: Schefter indicates that he often visited you at the crematorium. During these visits, through the thin walls of the barracks, he could hear the interrogation of Jewish women carried out by Rach and other SS men. What can you say about this?

Answer: Schefter's testimony is correct. As I have already mentioned, he often visited me in the crematorium. He could also hear the interrogations of Jewish women in the premises. As I already mentioned, he did not quite accurately retell the location of the premises in the crematorium. I would also like to add that SS men who interrogated the women often wore glasses with frames without lenses. Probably, together with the white doctor's coat they wore, this was meant to reinforce the impression that they were supposedly doctors. Probably, the Jewish women interviewed, due to their excitement, did not notice at all that there were no lenses in the glasses.

Question: A certain number of prisoners' belongings, clothing and other items of victims should have accumulated in the crematorium. What happened to their things?

Answer: In fact, very few of the prisoners' belongings remained in the crematorium. The situation was that the prisoners came to the locker room, or more precisely to the lice treatment room, only with the most necessary things, since Knott, meaning the elder Knott, required prisoners to hand over valuables such as coats, shoes, etc. Therefore, prisoners arrived at the crematorium only with the most necessary items of clothing. Generally speaking, we were instructed to burn corpses only in a naked state. But we burned the corpses in their clothes, because we didn't have time to take them off. I remember that the prisoners' smaller belongings arrived at the crematorium on a trolley, where we had to take them away. These included identification documents, lipstick, purses, wallets, and more. One day, during this sorting, Rach found a menstrual bandage and wanted to throw it away. Lüdtké saw this and examined the bandage more closely. In it he found several rings with stones and a bracelet. At the same time, he drew Rach's attention to the fact that it is precisely in such things that valuable things are hidden.

Question: Do you know anything about the selection of female Jewish prisoners that Lüdtké carried out?

Answer: As far as I know from the prisoners, Lüdtké and Rach too, selected several hundred of these prisoners and put them into a separate block, for some kind of medical research carried out in the main medical unit of the old camp. At the same time, he selected only strong and pretty women. I cannot say anything about the fate of these selected women.

Question: Were Jews also hanged in Stutthof?

Answer: I cannot definitively answer this question.

Question: Are you aware of cases of cannibalism in Stutthof?

Answer: Yes. I can recall one time when corpses were brought to the crematorium with typical injuries to the soft parts of the body. I brought this to Rach's attention. And once it happened that we could not cope with the burning of the delivered corpses. Rach was very nervous and ordered to take corpses out of the oven ahead of time, even those that were not completely burned, and bury them in pits in the ground near the crematorium. These pits were formed after uprooting stumps. And just next to these pits a group of prisoners was working on road construction. And when we put the corpses in them, I noticed that the prisoners from the road construction team pounced on these corpses and ate parts of the charred flesh. I told Rach about this, he drove the prisoners aside.

I also remember how a prisoner pulled out the liver from a corpse and ate it. He was found doing this and was placed at the entrance to the camp in front of block No. 1 on a kneeling stool with a sign on his back. There he had to stand for so long until he fell off

the stool and died on the spot. We then burned him in the crematorium. The sign had the following inscription: "I am a cannibal."

Question: What do you remember about the numerous transport columns of Jews in Stutthof, especially in 1944?

Answer: I was already working in the crematorium when, at some point – when exactly it was, I can't remember – Jews began arriving at Stutthof at regular intervals. The first group consisted of probably 2,000 or 3,000 people. The subsequent ones, as I remember, were smaller. They were Jews, mostly women, and there were children among them.

At first, the Jews were taken to an open-air parade ground in the camp. And then, depending on how much space there was, they were distributed into blocks. There were many Jews arriving, and the camp was catastrophically overcrowded. A lot of Jews have already died right on this open-air parade ground. The corpses were taken to the crematorium. We could easily distinguish such Jews from others: they simply had a myriad of lice in their hair. Due to this overcrowding, the supply situation, especially in the Jewish camp, was completely unsatisfactory, leading to high mortality rates among the Jews. An open-air parade ground where all newly arrived Jews come was personally supervised by an SS man Haupt. The reason was that the Jews were, how to put it, under quarantine there.

In my detailed interrogation, which lasted several days, I tried to convey everything that I remember from that terrible time for me in the Stutthof concentration camp. Objectively and impartially.

When I testified, I was in no way motivated by hatred or any other feelings. I answered the questions that were asked to me according to my knowledge and conscience. I can no longer remember many things. And only during the interrogation I was able to recall again some events that I had completely forgotten about. If during the process another interrogation becomes necessary, I will be at your disposal. Regarding the date of the interrogation, I ask you to take into account now that after my health is restored, I will go to sea again, so I will rarely be in Hamburg. I will be hired to work on an English vessel, which will call at Hamburg once every four weeks. I agree to participate in a confrontation with Lüdtke and Haupt. Perhaps it would be advisable to conduct this confrontation in the near future, since in the spring I will certainly go to sea.

Regarding the testimony that I first gave on the vessel in Dakar, I also want to mention that from the moment I returned to Hamburg I had the idea of going to court and supplementing my testimony there. But what kept me from doing so was the bad experience I had when I testified against Hoppe. Now, during this interrogation, I finally had the opportunity to restore the correctness of those first testimonies.

When answering the question of how many Jews and other persons were killed or died in Stutthof, I gave the most minimal numbers. I can swear to the accuracy of these figures at any time. Undoubtedly many more people died or were killed there.

I now recall the following incident:

Very often, Rach gave us instructions to dismantle the gallows that stood in front of the crematorium and load it onto a truck. In addition, one of us had to go to the prison building in such cases and take handcuffs, which were loaded into a truck along with the rope for the gallows. Every time Rach ordered this, he told us that Lüdtke needed to hang someone again. And in this truck, Lüdtke, Rach and the driver left at the end of the working day and returned back to the camp only the next day. The truck then contained from 1 to 3 hanged people, who had to be burned in the crematorium.

The corpses wore civilian clothing and often had the letter "P" on the back lapel. These were Poles who were forced to work, as Rach told me. Because of some offenses or simply to intimidate the Poles during forced labour, they were hanged in villages in the vicinity of

Lüdtke's camp – that's what Rach told me about this. It is difficult for me to say how many people were killed in this way. But there were at least 50 of them, whom Lüdtke hanged.

I gave my testimony voluntarily and without coercion. I understood the essence of the interrogation at all times. I followed the recording carefully. If anything needed to be changed, I would immediately point it out, and those changes would then be made as I said. I did not make any reservations.

After reading the report of interrogation I confirm that it is correct and affirm it with my signature.

Addition:

My testimony on page 16 of the record of interrogation regarding the burning of corpses after my departure from Stutthof is inaccurate. As I described on page 34 of the record, together with Grawczik we set fire to the crematorium in the winter of 1944. At the same time, the crematorium burned down. Only the ovens remained in perfect order. Before our departure in January 1945, we continued to burn corpses. The ovens, however, stood in an open air. I am not aware of another fire since we left. It is true that after we left, as I heard, the burning continued with prisoners who had formerly served in the Navy. [...]

*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund N-55. Inventory 4. Case 11. Microfiche 2. Typescript.*

## 6. From the memories of N.N. Amzaeva\*, a former prisoner of the Stutthof concentration camp

21 November 1988

[...] I ended up in this concentration camp in early June. And I remember very well how they brought a group of prisoners of war, it was still in the old camp, they were burned in a wagon that was attached to the "Cuckoo", that is, a small steam locomotive with a large pipe, it was a gas chamber. A steam locomotive with a wagon drove around the camp and reached the crematorium. The chimney from the crematorium smoked day and night, this smell haunted me all my life. I also remember well that in the evening a tongue of flame was visible from the chimney, like in a candle. So, these prisoners of war were burned, and after them we washed their clothes, and, sorry, some of the clothes were dirty. People apparently did it from fright. I remember well our Appells<sup>17</sup>, on which we stood, in the mornings and evenings, for hours, regardless of the weather. I also remember well how they brought a group of Jews... So, we, several girls, were forced to look in things, in soap, shoes, to look for gold, and behind each one stood an SS man with a machine gun, and God forbid if it seemed to him that we were hiding gold or something else. He will finish you off right there without talking. Probably in August, I don't remember exactly, we were brought to block 29, a new one. Behind our block there was block 30 – a medical one, and block 31 was a Jewish block, and every day the Jews were lined up and the weak were taken to the crematorium, a cart came for them, or rather, male prisoners of war on a large cart with large rubber wheels; the cart is similar to the body of a car, but there are shafts in front, and they were carried by 10 or more people. Jews were loaded onto this cart almost every day, and these men walked past us. There was barbed wire with electric current around the camp, and every day in the morning prisoners of 2 and 3 people hung on it, who could not stand such a life. When the Germans were retreating, they began to evacuate us to Germany, but one woman and I, when the stop was at the Church, fled at night, asked to go outside, and ran away



in different directions. The German shot, shot and then stopped. It was in Poland, we were afraid that the next day we would be in Germany, and it would be harder to escape from there. We were liberated by our people from the Poles. Here's my story [...]

*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Auxiliary fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –11621. Original. Manuscript.*

\* From N. N. Amzaeva's letter to E. I. Penkina, a director of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art dated 21.11.1988.

Уважаемая Елена Ивановна!

Получила Ваше письмо и страшно расстроилась  
з всю жизнь помнила, этот номер 5555  
и вдруг такое. Дело еще вот в том.  
Т.к. я бежала из г. Бедбурга, в г. Рёен. Оттуда  
затекала, вернее мне пришлось встать в эшелон,  
каждый ехал из Рёена в Рёензберг, к месту  
ссылки и строить укрепления (я предназначалась в спец. колонну)  
в путь, не проезжая реки Вислы, мы 7 часов из  
эшелона бежали, но утром полки нас выдвинули и  
нас с собаками обновили и привезли в Данциг.  
Т.е. я очень боялась сдать свою фамилию т.к.  
из г. Бедбурга я бежала от полиции и мне не могли  
разрешить. История тоже длинная. Я не сказала фами-  
лию, но вроде сказала знакомую. Я уже не помню.  
Навряд ли номер считала. Но, что-то близко к этой  
цифре. Но, то, что я там была могу попомнить  
Ваши данные, которые вы получили от полков.  
Я, пошла в этот концлагерь в начале июня.  
И очень хорошо помню, как привезли партию военноплен-  
ных, это было еще в старой лагере, их сажали  
в вагон, который был приспособлен к "Кукушке", т.е.  
маленький паровоз с большой трубой, была газовая камера  
паровоз с вагонами ходил вокруг лагеря и проезжал  
до краматорки. Труба от краматорки дымилась днём  
и ночью, этот запах преследовал меня всю жизнь.  
Еще хорошо помню, что из трубы выходил дым белый  
дым помани, как в елке. Там вот этих военноплен-  
ных садили, а мы после них стирали белье,



и простите, темне было некоторое, ненадолго.  
Люди видно, это, с презрением. Хорошо помню  
наши аппаты, на которых мы сидели, утром и вечером  
засалили, не взирая на погоду. Был у хитрого помню,  
как привезли партию евреев /у вас прогнала, это  
евреи из Венгрии или Болгарии/. Там вот, нас наскоро  
девушек, посадили <sup>сидеть</sup> в бочках, в мыле, обуви, искать  
защиту, и за каждой сиди эссенции а атомна-  
том, и не дай бог, если, что-то ему покажется,  
то мы за это преем или еще-то. Тут же прико-  
чили без разговоров. Навзное в августе, тогда же  
помню, нас привели в 29 блок новый. За нашим  
блоком был блок 30 - смешанный, а 31 был  
еврейский и каждый день, евреи выстраивали  
и отбирали слабых в крапачный, за ними  
признавал <sup>теща</sup> ~~вернее~~, военнопленных - мужиков на  
большой телеге с большими резиновыми колесо-  
ми, телега похожа на кузов автомобиля, но  
впереди оглобли и их возил человек 10 или  
больше. На эту телегу, почти каждый день,  
привели евреев и мимо нас, проходили эти мужички.  
Вокруг лагерь была колонна <sup>на кося</sup> ~~приволока~~ с тачкой  
и каждый день, утром все <sup>на кося</sup> ~~закладывали~~  
по 2 и 3 человека, которые не выдерживали  
такой жизни. Когда немцы отступали, то нас  
стали эвакуировать в Германию, но мы с одной  
женщиной, остановка была в Костеле, бочками, повью,  
попробовали на улицу сходить, и разбежались  
в разные стороны. Немцы пофигеи, пофигеи и  
пфиста. Это было в ноябре, мы тогда же <sup>11/6/45</sup>

это на другой день будем в Германии, а с  
туда уже легче будет. нас освободит наши у назов.  
Вот моя история

Я потому не очень и настаивала, на поездку  
в этот лагерь. Я все же не могу, доказать, что  
я там была. Но, ведь была же я там, когда  
я делала, по телевизору, то поездки нам  
сделали выставку, этого концлагеря, я все  
просила и на следующий день пришла к  
вам и я так рассказала, что у нас, проги-  
тав и посмотрев, все, что показала.

Как вам доказать не знаю. Хотите верить,  
хотите нет.

с уважением к вам Анжела Мила Мила.

P.S.: Извините, что мало написано, я очень  
разволновалась



7. **Special order of a commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp, SS Assault Unit Leader Paul Hoppe, on the organisation of an external labour camp in Königsberg**

18 August 1944

Commandant's office  
of the Stutthof  
concentration camp

Stutthof, 18 August 1944

Special order  
on the organisation of an external labour camp  
in Königsberg (Prussia)  
The foreign workers' camp commences its operation on 19 August 1944.

I order:

1. Guard team. For a guard team, the 2nd SS Guards Battalion sends 15 people who will guard the camp in Königsberg. The rank and file are repeatedly instructed in detail about the organisation of the entire service in the contraception camp. At the same time, their special attention is paid to maintaining secrecy about the use of labour in weapons production enterprises.

SS Senior Squad Leader Tänzer from the 2nd SS Guards Battalion of the Stutthof concentration camp is appointed commander of the Königsberg detachment and the responsible commander of the external labour camp. Tänzer reports directly to me. Medical examinations are carried out 3 times a week by a camp doctor. In addition, attending physician of an SS medical unit sends a Senior Rifleman (*German*: Oberschütze) Achs as SDG18 to provide medical supplies to a guard team and prisoners. The rank and file of the guard team initially feed at their own expense. The prisoner's meals are provided by the enterprise's public canteen\*.

2. Detachment of prisoners.

There are currently 500 male Jewish prisoners allocated for an external labour camp. To select them, an oral discussion between the first Preventive Detention Camp Leader<sup>19</sup>, a doctor of an SS medical unit and Labour Supervisor<sup>20</sup> is sufficient. There are 2 doctors assigned to these prisoners.

3. Camp organisation.

I entrust the organisation of an external labour camp in Königsberg (East Prussia) to SS Head Storm Leader Schwanke of the 2nd SS Guards Battalion.

SS Head Storm Leader Schwanke leaves with all transport for Königsberg. The assignment of SS Head Storm Leader Schwanke is valid until 25.08.1944. He must return back to Stutthof on 26.08.1944.

4. Weapons and ammunition.

Soldiers of the guard team are armed with Italian rifles and bayonets. Additionally, through the armoury of the 2nd SS Guards Battalion the following items will be delivered:

- 2 MG machine guns
- 2 pistols
- 1 flashlight
- 1000 cartridges for infantry rifles
- 1000 cartridges for MG machine guns
- 100 cartridges for pistols

5. Payment of military compensation:

A compensation of employees of the Königsberg guard team is sent by post in a timely manner every ten days through company accountants.

6. Reporting.

Necessary reports and information about special incidents are delivered by the commander via the telegraph apparatus of the Gestapo of Königsberg or orally via Stutthof telephone number 291.

7. Postal address.

Postal address of the Königsberg external labour camp

For example: Section Leader (German: Rottenführer) 21 SS Hans Müller

Königsberg, Prussia.

Steinfurt Carriage Works

8. Transportation of a detachment of prisoners.

Preparations for dispatch should be undertaken immediately by the competent services. Boarding takes place on a ship at the pier of the Stutthof Bridge on Königsberg, Schichau pier on 19.08.1944.

Departure from Stutthof at 6 o'clock. Prisoners are boarded from 4:45 to 6:00 o'clock.

The Ruth barge is available for boarding.

I appoint SS Head Storm Leader Schwanke from the 2nd Guards Battalion of the Stutthof concentration camp as a transportation commander. To guard the transport, 15 soldiers of the 2nd SS Guards Battalion are assigned.

A head of the administration must issue rations for 1 day for the convoy team and prisoners.

In addition, a head of administration must ensure that prisoners are provided with appropriate equipment, soap, detergents, towels, blankets, etc.

Receive travel documents from SS Head Storm Leader Schwanke on 18.08.1944 at 18:00 in the adjutant's office.

The arrival of transport in Königsberg should be immediately reported to Stutthof via the telegraph of the Königsberg Gestapo office.

Hoppe, SS Assault Unit Leader and Commandant  
SS Senior Squad Leader and Adjutant

Recipients (number of copies):

SS Death's Head unit, 1st, 2nd and 3rd companies – 3

Headquarters of the 2nd SS Guards Battalion, 5, 6, 7, 8 companies – 5

Deputy Commandant - 2

Medical unit doctor - 1

Head of Administration – 2

Head of the labour detachment - 1

Head of Transportation Department – 1

Guard team commander – 1

Commandant's office – 4

Reserve – 3

Total 23

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 59.*

*1977. Typescript.*

\* Steinfurt Carriage Works.

**8. From a special order of a commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp, SS Assault Unit Leader Paul Hoppe, on the organisation of external labour camps in Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil and Seerappen\***

*21 September 1944*

*Commandant's office  
of the Stutthof  
concentration camp*

*Stutthof  
21 September 1944*

From 21.09.1944\*\* begin the organisation of external labour camps in Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil and Seerapp.

I hereby order:

1. Guard team.

Guard teams for external labour camps of Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil and Seerappen, each numbering 46 people, are provided by the Luftwaffe<sup>22</sup>. To guard the placement camp itself or an external labour camp, 6 posts are appointed from them. Luftwaffe employees are thoroughly briefed by their respective guard unit commanders on the general procedure for camp service. In this case, the attention of these employees should be especially drawn to the obligation to maintain secrecy in connection with the use of labour in a military enterprise, as well as to the prohibition of conversations with prisoners.

As commanders of guard units and at the same time responsible leaders of the camp, I appoint:

Gerdauen – SS Junior Squad Leader Marzan

Schippenbeil – SS Junior Squad Leader Weinert

Jesau – SS Junior Squad Leader Stock

Heiligenbeil – SS Junior Squad Leader Kleiss

Seerappen – SS Junior Squad Leader Dietrich

A medical care for the commanders of guard units and their rank and file is taken over by the corresponding Luftwaffe military doctor.

2. Detachment of prisoners:

For Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil and Seerappen external labour camps, 900 female and 100 male prisoners are provided. For selection, an oral discussion between the first deputy commandant of the camp, a staff doctor of an SS medical unit and a head of the labour detachment is sufficient. Doctors and nursing medical staff are assigned to each external labour camp. Also, several prisoners familiar with the cook's work are assigned to each external labour camp.

3. Clothing and equipment of prisoners:

A head of the administration, SS Senior Storm Leader<sup>23</sup> von Bonin, is personally responsible to me for ensuring that prisoners are provided with impeccable winter clothing, good shoes, towels and soap [...].

Male prisoners' clothing must be striped. If possible, a certain amount of blankets should be provided for each external labour camp.

#### 4. Camp organisation and food:

I instruct detachment leaders to equip external labour camps and take over the premises along with furnishings. Squad Leaders and guard teams in all external labour camps receive supplies for their personnel through military aviation. Prisoners are fed in Gerdauen, Jesau and Seerappen external labour camps through kitchens specially equipped by the prisoners, and in Schippenbeil and Heiligenbeil external labour camps through the kitchens of the German Labour Front (DAF). The head of administration hands the detachment leaders a list of the exact food ration standards for prisoners.

#### 5. Weapons and ammunition:

Weapons and ammunition for Luftwaffe employees are provided by military aviation. Squad Leaders are equipped with pistols and appropriate ammunition through company commanders. Detachment leaders are issued one flashlight with a backup battery at the commandant's weapons depot.

#### 6. Payment of military compensation:

A head of the administration controls the payment of compensation to military personnel.

#### 7. Reporting:

Necessary reports and information about special incidents are reported by telephone at 291.

#### 8. Postal address:

A postal address of external labour camps is designated as follows:

For example, Junior Squad Leader Hermann Kleiss

Heiligenbeil

Airfield

9. Preparations for dispatching labour commandos, unless there are other instructions, are immediately carried out by relevant official authorities.

The transportation is carried out in stages, namely on 21.9.1944 with 1000 prisoners for each Heiligenbeil and Seerappen external labour camps.

The transport arrives at 15.30 at the Stutthof forest camp for loading and departs via the access railway to Tiegenhof.

Boarding at Tiegenhof takes place from 18:00 to 19:00. For this purpose, the Imperial Railway provides 21 C-wagon. Departure from Tiegenhof is at 19:17. There will be a specific order regarding dispatch to the outer labour camps of Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau. The estimated date of departure to Gerdauen and Schippenbeil camps is 22.09.1944, to Jesau - 23.09.1944. I appoint corresponding heads of labour detachments at the same time as heads of transportation. A total of 41 soldiers from the Operations Group of OT Tannenberg<sup>24</sup> are assigned to guard the transport departing 21.09.1944 to Heiligenbeil and Seerappen.

Convoy teams for remaining transports will arrive here in a timely manner.

A head of the administration issues rations for one day to commanders of the convoy units, accompanying personnel and prisoners; and to those who were imprisoned on 20.09.1944 in Heiligenbeil and Seerappen labour camps - for 3 days.

Travel documents are received by the commanders of convoy units before sending transport in the adjutant's office. Commanders of the convoy units must immediately report here by telephone about the arrival of the transport.



Hoppe  
SS Assault Unit Leader  
and commandant

SS Senior Squad Leader  
and adjutant<sup>3\*</sup>

Recipients (copies):

SS Death's Head unit, for 1st, 2nd and 3rd companies = 3

Deputy Camp Commandant = 2

Staff doctor of the SS medical unit = 1

Head of Administration = 2

Head of the labour detachment = 1

Commando Leader<sup>25</sup> 1 = 5

Commandant's office = 4

Reserve = 2

Total 20

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 59. Sheets 69–70. Translation from a copy of the document in German. Typescript.*

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\* The complete document in German is published: Blitz M. Endzeit in Ostpreussen. Ein beschwiegenes Kapitel des Holocaust. Bautzen, 2010, pp. 79–81.

\*\* Here and throughout the document, handwritten underlining. See pp. 76–78.

<sup>3\*</sup> The signature is illegible.

2. Kp.  
Kommandantur des  
Konzentrationslagers Stutthof

Stutthof, den 21. September 1944

281

Eingeg. am: 21/9/44	
gelesen am: 21/9	1.
mitgeteilt am:	

Sonderbefehl

über

die Einrichtung der Außenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil,  
Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen.

Mit Wirkung vom 21.9.1944 wird mit der Einrichtung der Außenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen begonnen.

Dazu wird befohlen:

1. Wachkommando:

Die Wachkommandos für die Außenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen in Stärke von je 46 Mann stellt die Luftwaffe. Davon sind zur Bewachung des eigentlichen Unterkunfts-lagers je Außenarbeitslager 6 Posten bestimmt. Die Angehörigen der Luftwaffe sind durch den jeweiligen Kommandoführer über den gesamten KL.-Dienst eingehend zu belehren. Hierbei sind die Männer besonders auf die Beheimhaltungspflicht, die der Einsatz in einem Rüstungsbetrieb mit sich bringt und auf das Verbot des Sprechens mit Häftlingen, hinzuweisen.

Als Kommandoführer und gleichzeitig als verantwortliche Lagerführer bestimme ich für:

Außenarbeitslager Gerdauen,	W.-Uscha.	Marzan,	1. Kp.
Außenarbeitslager Schippenbeil,	"	Weinert,	1. "
Außenarbeitslager Jesau,	"	Stock,	3. "
Außenarbeitslager Heiligenbeil,	"	Kleiss,	2. "
Außenarbeitslager Seerappen,	"	Dietrich	2. "

Die ärztliche Betreuung der Kommandoführer und der Wachmannschaften übernimmt der jeweilige Truppenarzt der Luftwaffe.

2. Häftlingskommando:

Für die Außenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Schippenbeil, Jesau, Heiligenbeil und Seerappen sind je 900 weibliche und 100 männliche Häftlinge abzustellen. Auswahl ist gemäß mündlicher Besprechung durch den 1. Schutzhaftlagerführer, W.-Standortarzt und Arbeits-einsatzführer erfolgt. Häftlingsärzte und Pflegepersonal sind für jedes Außenarbeitslager miteinzuteilen. Ebenso sind für jedes Außenarbeitslager einige Häftlinge mit Kochkenntnissen abzustellen.

3. Bekleidung und Ausrüstung der Häftlinge:

Der Leiter der Verwaltung, W.-Obersturmführer v. Bonin, ist mir persönlich dafür verantwortlich, daß an die Häftlinge tadellose Winterbekleidung, gutes Schuhzeug, Handtücher und ausgegeben werden.

Einkleidung der männlichen Häftlinge hat in gestreifter Kleidung zu geschehen. Nach Möglichkeit ist für jedes Außenarbeitslager eine beschränkte Anzahl von Decken mitzugeben.

1. Innereinrichtung und Verpflegung:

Mit der Einrichtung der Außenarbeitslager und der Übernahme der Unterkünfte nebst Einrichtungsgegenständen beauftrage ich die Kommandoführer, Kommandoführer und Wachmannschaften erhalten in allen Außenarbeitslagern Truppenverpflegung durch die Luftwaffe. Die Verpflegung der Häftlinge erfolgt im Außenarbeitslager Gerdauen, Jessau und Seerappen durch eigens eingerichtete Häftlingküchen, im Außenarbeitslager Schippenbeil und Heiligenbeil durch die Küchen der DAP. Den Kommandoführern ist eine Aufstellung über die genauen Häftlingsverpflegungssätze durch den Leiter der Verwaltung mitzugeben.

Waffen und Munition:

Bewaffnung und Munition für die Angehörigen der Luftwaffe erfolgt durch die Luftwaffe. Die Kommandoführer sind mit Pistolen und entsprechender Munition durch die Kompanien auszurüsten. Je eine Taschenlampe mit Ersatzbatterie wird für die Kommandoführer auf der Waffenkammer der Kommandantur ausgegeben.

6. Zahlung des Wehresoldes:

Die Zahlung des Wehresoldes ist durch den Leiter der Verwaltung zu regeln.

7. Meldeverkehr:

Notwendige Meldungen und besondere Vorkommnisse sind durch die Kommandoführer fernmündlich unter Rufnummer 291 aufzugeben.

8. Postanschrift:

Die Postanschrift der Außenarbeitslager lautet:

z.B. H-Uscha. Hermann Kleiß

Heiligenbeil  
Flugplatz.

9. Abtransport der Kommandos:

Die Vorbereitungen für den Abtransport sind, soweit diese noch nicht geschehen, durch die zuständigen Dienststellen sofort zu treffen.

Der Abtransport wird etappenweise durchgeführt und zwar werden am 21.9.1944 zunächst je 1000 Häftlinge für die Außenarbeitslager Heiligenbeil und Seerappen überstellt.

Der Transport kommt um 14.30 Uhr am Waldlager Stutthof zur Verladung und wird mit der Kleinbahn um 16.00 Uhr nach Tiegenhof überstellt.



Verladung in Tiegendorf erfolgt in der Zeit von 18.00 - 19.00 Uhr.  
 Hierzu stehen 21 C-Wagen der Reichsbahn zur Verfügung. Abfahrt  
 Tiegendorf 19.17 Uhr. Der Abtransport für die Außenarbeitslager  
 Gerdauen, Schippenbeil und Jesau wird noch gesondert befohlen.  
 Voraussichtlicher Termin für den Abtransport der Außenarbeitslager  
 Gerdauen + Schippenbeil ist der 22.9.1944, für Jesau 23.9.1944.  
 Die jeweiligen Kommandoführer bestimme ich gleichzeitig als Trans-  
 portführer. Zur Bewachung des am 21.9.1944 abgehenden Transportes  
 nach Heiligenbeil und Seerappen, sind die von der OT-Einsatzgruppe  
 Tannenberg nach hier in Marsch gesetzten 41 OT-Männer einzusetzen.  
 Die Begleitmannschaften für die übrigen Transporte treffen noch  
 rechtzeitig hier ein.  
 Für die Kommandoführer, Begleitmannschaften und die Häftlinge ist  
 durch den Leiter der Verwaltung für 1 Tag Marschverpflegung auszu-  
 geben, für die am 20.9.1944 zum Außenarbeitslager Heiligenbeil und  
 Seerappen zu überstellenden Häftlinge ist für 3 Tage Marschverpfle-  
 gung auszugeben.  
 Fahrtpapiere sind durch die Kommandoführer vor Abgang der Transporte  
 auf der Adjutantur in Empfang zu nehmen.  
 Ankunft der Transporte ist durch die Kommandoführer sofort fernmünd-  
 lich nach hier zu melden.

F.d.R.

gez. H o p p e

W - Sturmbannführer  
und KommandantW - Oberscharführer  
und AdjutantVerteiler:

W-Totenkopfsturmbann für 1., 2. und 3. Kompanie	je 1 =	3
Schutzhaftlagerführer		2
W-Standortarzt		1
Leiter der Verwaltung		2
Arbeitseinsatzführer		1
Kommandoführer	je 1 =	5
Kommandantur		4
Reserve		2

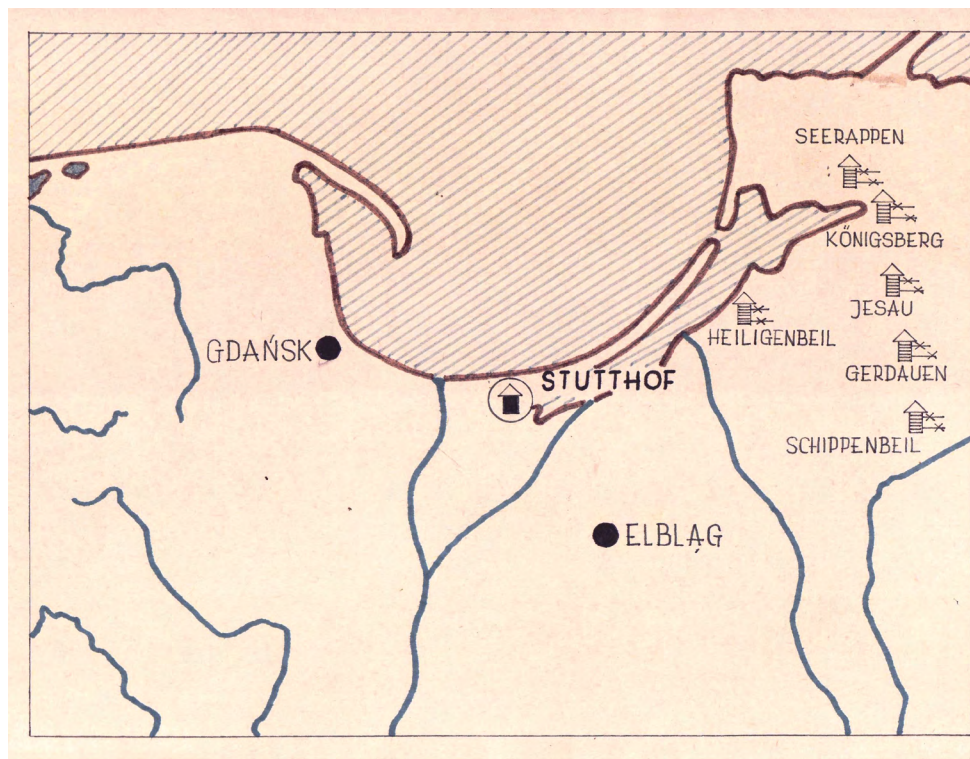
zusammen 20

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9. Layout plan of the external labour camps of the Stutthof concentration camp

1988



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Auxiliary fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –11560/89. Paper, felt-tip pen, pen. 21x29.5 cm. Donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art from the Stutthof Concentration Camp Museum (Sztutowo settlement, Elbląg Voivodeship, Poland) in May 1988 at the opening of the Prisoners and Struggle exhibition in Kaliningrad*

## 10. Order No. 68 on the commandant's office of the Stutthof concentration camp

9 October 1944

Commandant's office  
of the Stutthof  
concentration camp

Stutthof, 9.10.1944

### Commandant's Office Order No. 68

#### 1. Reassignment:

According to the order of the head of the Department D of the SS Main Economic Office<sup>26</sup> A V/4 dated 01.10.1944, 21c16/10.44/Sche./G., which comes into force on 06.10.1944, the SS Junior Storm Leader in the reserve Friedrich Walter, born on 18.01.1891, is transferred from the Riga concentration camp to the Stutthof concentration camp.

#### 2. Detachments:

a) According to the order of the commandant's office No. 60 dated 06.09.1944, the secondment of the SS Head Storm Leader Jacobi from the Stutthof concentration camp to the Vistula construction detachment is cancelled. Instead of the SS Head Storm Leader Jacobi, the SS Storm Squad Leader Wilhelm Anton, born on 22.10.1889, is sent from the headquarters of the commandant's office of the Stutthof concentration camp to the Vistula construction detachment.

Anton should go to Thorn on 9.10.1944 to join the Vistula construction detachment.

b) Since 11.10.1944, the following wardens have been seconded from the Stutthof concentration camp to external labour camps at airfields:

#### To the Heiligenbeil external labour camp:

Erna Neumann

Erna Beilhardt

#### To the Jesau external labour camp:

Erna Böttcher

Anneliese Graw

#### To the Schippenbeil external labour camp:

Anny-Lotte Schmidt

Gertrud Reinhold

#### To the Seerappen external labour camp:

Charlotte Fregin

Gerda Kunath

#### To the Gerdauen external labour camp:

Christel Bankewitz

Margarete Okon

#### 3. Delivery of prisoners to the Heiligenbeil, Jesau, Schippenbeil, Seerappen external labour camps:

According to the telegram No. 10579 dated 27.09.1944 from the head of the Department D of the SS Main Economic Office, 900 female and 100 male prisoners are transferred to Heiligenbeil, Jesau, Schippenbeil, Seerappen external labour camps.

They are divided as follows:

Heiligenbeil - 200 female prisoners

Jesau - 256 female prisoners and 100 male prisoners

Schippenbeil - 250 female prisoners

Seerappen - 200 female prisoners.

The selection of these prisoners is made according to an oral discussion by the first deputy commandant of the camp, a staff doctor of an SS medical unit and a leader of the labour detachment.

A head of the administration, SS Senior Storm Leader von Bonin, is personally responsible to me for ensuring that prisoners are provided with impeccable clothing, good shoes, towels and soap. The attire of male prisoners must be striped.

Prisoners are sent on 09.10.1944 at approximately 14:30 from the Stutthof forest camp along the narrow gauge railway to Tiegenhof. There will be an additional order regarding the exact departure time. Further transport to Tiegenhof follows the state railway in 11 C-wagons at 19:17. The boarding of prisoners at Tiegenhof will take place between 17:00 and 19:00. The transport receives route number 3888.

I appoint Junior Leaders from the OT Tannenberg Operations Group as the leaders of the transportation, namely:

For transport to Heiligenbeil:

Comradeship Leader<sup>27</sup> Hoy with 9 soldiers

For transport to Jesau:

Troop Leader<sup>28</sup> Achatz and 17 soldiers

For transport to Schippenbeil:

Comradeship Leader Defilli and 10 soldiers

For transport to Seerappen:

Senior Troop Leader<sup>29</sup> Rodoff and 8 soldiers

Administration leaders must provide convoy teams and prisoners with rations for 1 day.

Groups of prisoners are handed over at airfields by responsible transportation commanders in accordance with routine procedures. The transfer must be reported immediately by telephone or telegraph.

Transportation commanders receive travel documents at 13:00 in the adjutant's office.

Signatures:

Hoppe

*SS Assault Unit Leader  
and commandant*

*SS Senior Squad Leader  
and adjutant*

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 59.  
Sheets 66–68. Translation from a copy of the document in German. Typescript*

## 11. From the testimony of Bluma Lonicki (Bronislava Krakauer)\*, a former prisoner of Jesau camp\*

22 December 1963

Former surname: Landgarten [...]

Date: 22.12.1963. Time: 15:00. Location: Tel Aviv [...]

On 23 September 1944, I happened to be part of transportation of 3,000 Polish and Hungarian Jewish women heading to Stutthof-Waldlager. Stutthof saw deportations of 1,000 women to labour camps every week. I was on the third transport, which departed approximately in the second half of October. We were transported in closed wagons to the Jesau labour camp. When we arrived, we found no prisoners there. Back then, my name was Bronislava Krakauer - after my first husband's surname. At first there were 1000 women of us, but soon 500 men from the Vilnius ghetto immediately arrived. In the Jesau camp we were accompanied by overseers from the TODT organisation<sup>30</sup>, mainly Belgians. A camp commander was also an SS man who arrived from Stutthof - I don't know his rank. He was young, about 30 years old, blond, slender, tall. And there were other SS men there, but there were no SS female wardens. We were clearing forests to prepare for the construction of an airfield. Living conditions in the camp were very difficult. Every evening we received some soup, the so-called burda or watery stew, about 250 grams of bread and a little margarine. The commute to work was about 5–10 km. At 5 o'clock in the morning we had to go to work, at 3 o'clock in the morning we lined up for a roll call. We returned back around 19 o'clock. Torture of prisoners was common. I stayed in Jesau until 21 January 1945. Then we were driven to Königsberg, 22 km from Jesau. The foot march lasted from early morning until evening. Our group was the first to arrive in Königsberg, then columns arrived from other camps, namely from Heiligenbeil and Seerappen. I remember that several dump trucks also arrived with numb corpses, which were unloaded in the camp yard in Königsberg. [...]

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund N-55. Inventory 4. Case 12. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

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\* Part of the document is published under number No. 130.

## 12. From the testimony of Dina Herzberg, a Jesau camp former prisoner

13 January 1964

Former surname: Blachmann [...]

Date: 13.01.1964. Time: 11:25. Location: Tel Aviv [...]

In October 1944 I was transferred from Lodz to Auschwitz. Three days later I was taken to the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig. A month later, I ended up in a transport of Jewish women (over 1000) and Jewish men (100) from Vilna; the destination was Jesau. I don't remember more details, namely, who accompanied the transport, and what vehicle (railway or truck) we were transported on. Jesau was located about 20 km from Königsberg and 60 km from Palmnicken. A first commandant of the Jesau camp was the SS functionary with the rank of Junior Squad Leader. I don't remember his name, I would recognise him in the



photograph. He was quite young, about 30 years old, tall, slender, has a somber complexion, long-faced. This camp commander was a decent person, he did not beat anyone. He treated us very well; he wouldn't even allow us to go to work wearing damaged shoes. Unfortunately, he remained in the position of a commandant of our camp for only a short time; he was replaced by SS Senior Squad Leader at the age of about 40 - tall, slender, dark-haired (he always took a dog with him).

With his assumption of the command, living conditions in the camp began to deteriorate. While he held the position, we were terribly beaten, and food and other living conditions became significantly worse. Besides a commandant, SS wardens, whose names I no longer remember, were in charge there. They were still young, about 22-23 years old, and they treated us the worst. In the second half of January 1945, the Jesau camp was abolished and the prisoners were driven to Königsberg. There was a collection point there for all prisoners from neighboring camps, who were then all driven to Palmnicken. [...]

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund N-55. Inventory 4. Case 12-1. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

### 13. From the testimony of the Seerappen camp former prisoner Fryda Klajnman\*

29 November 1963

Former names: Gawrylewicz [...]

Date: 29.11.1963, time: 8:30, place: Tel Aviv

[...] Everyone deported to Auschwitz was triaged immediately upon arrival. I myself ended up in a camp, but my mother, sisters and brothers ended up in gas chambers. We were cut, and we had to give away everything we still had with us; we were sent to a bathhouse, given old torn clothes and taken to the Birkenau camp.

After two weeks in Birkenau, I was transported by rail to the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig. The stay in Stutthof lasted only a few days. They made it clear that we would be going to various labour camps, which were emphasised to be very good labour camps. A few days later, several high-ranking SS officials appeared in Stutthof to carry out the selection; we were forced to run about 100 metres and our muscles in our arms and legs were examined. We were given good clothes, even coats, and we were taken on freight trains to various labour camps in East Prussia.

We - about 2000 young women - ended up in the Seerappen camp! I cannot say exactly where this camp was located, but no doubt in East Prussia. We went there for two days and two nights, but the train often stopped for a long time. The freight wagons were covered in such a way that we could not see which stations we were passing. The camp was in complete wilderness. In a field there was a row of barracks surrounded by barbed wire. We were the only prisoners there. It's possible that prisoners were kept there before us. The straw sacks that had gotten holes in them due to long use proved this. They lay in the barracks where we were supposed to sleep. A commandant of the camp was an SS Senior Squad Leader, whose name I don't remember. This is what he looked like: 42-43 years old, tall, slender, has blue eyes, blond, always wore an SS uniform. We were guarded by so-called SS wardens, who apparently arrived in Seerappen from Stutthof. I think Seerappen was a subsidiary camp of Stutthof.

From our camp we could see the settlement at a relatively short distance. We also saw peasants working in the arable land. We had to prepare a site for a section of road under construction. After this, the prisoners of war, French and Belgian, poured gravel, spread it and tamped it. These prisoners of war were apparently housed in another camp. Probably their camp was close to ours, but I can't say exactly where it was. We were not allowed to talk to them. Our work was supervised by armed functionaries from the TODT organisation, who mostly consisted of French, Belgian, Dutch and others. Living conditions in the camp were very difficult. There was almost no sanitary equipment, and it was difficult to have a wash.

There was a lack of medical care. We were terribly bothered by lice, many girls got sick. But, fearing a camp leadership, none of them dared to come to the "sick room", so the mortality rate was high. There were almost no executions in the camp itself, with the exception of one: when one of the girls walked away from her workplace, an overseer shot her. We walked several kilometres to work; before work we received some bread and coffee, and after returning we received a watery stew, and nothing more. Wardens tortured us while we were working. One day a commission came to the camp and ordered the straw from the straw bags to be burned, and that was the end of their concern for us.

Among overseers from the TODT organisation there was also a Frenchman from Paris named Denis (I forgot his surname). He was then over 20 years old, dark-haired, and had expressive, clear brown eyes. He was a very noble man and always tried to help us. He also encouraged us that this whole sad situation would soon end. About a day before the evacuation of the camp (in January 1945), during a roll call (after work), my number was shouted out. I stepped forward, and a camp commandant, the above-mentioned Senior Squad Leader, took me with him to one of the administrative barracks. He ordered the other girls to remain on the parade ground for a roll call. In the room where the Senior Squad Leader took me, there were two huge dogs. This Senior Squad Leader reproached me for taking bread from Denis, while the camp had such "excellent" living conditions. In order not to harm Denis and my fellow sufferers, I denied it. For this, the Senior Squad Leader and one of the female wardens beat me severely and threw me into a corner. A few hours later Denis was brought in, and the Senior Squad Leader told him: "Here she is"; then he turned to me and said: "That's he." I screamed that it wasn't true, that he never gave me bread. Then Denis said: "There is no need to deny, I gave you bread," and to the Senior Squad Leader he said: "Yes, I gave them bread, simply because I cannot look at how people are treated here." After this explanation, blows rained down on me again, and Denis ended up in solitary confinement. I was released only early in the morning, while all my friends in misfortune had to stand on the parade ground for the roll call all this time. Although we went to work that day, after returning we noticed that something was being prepared; we understood that the camp would have to be evacuated. Since the Senior Squad Leader threatened to send me to the Auschwitz crematorium, evacuation seemed more attractive to me. The next morning, the girls were lined up in rows to march and were driven in an unknown direction. They were accompanied by the OT overseers, our Senior Squad Leader and female wardens. Among them was Denis; in his opinion, the evacuation to another camp was due to the approach of the front. We were on the way for about two days. It was a very difficult way, without food and in the freezing cold. In addition, many prisoners (girls) were shot along the way, since snow stuck to our wooden shoes, and ice growths formed on the soles, which made it difficult to walk. Those girls who were a little behind were shot on the spot. Two days later we finally reached Königsberg, where approximately 500 Jewish men from Vilna were being held in one camp. The camp was located somewhere outside the city of Königsberg, because there were no buildings there. In this camp we were given food for the first time; we were also allowed to get a wash. The attitude of the camp leadership in Königsberg towards us was tolerable, and

living conditions were relatively good. They said that we would remain there only until the arrival of those female prisoners who were delivered two months ago - simultaneously with our deportation to Seerappen, to three other camps, namely Jesau, Schippenbeil and Heiligenbeil. And indeed, after 3 days, these prisoners arrived in Königsberg. [...]

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund N-55. Inventory 4. Case 12. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

\* Part of the text of the document is published under No. 122.

#### **14. From the testimony of Pola Zwardon, a former prisoner of Heiligenbeil camp**

7 January 1964

Former surname: Mondschein [...]

Date: 07.01.1964. Time: 8:15. Place: Tel Aviv

Before the war, I lived in Krakow. From there, on 6 August 1944, I was deported to Auschwitz. I stayed in the Auschwitz camp for about 4-5 weeks. Along with the transportation of Jewish women, I then ended up in the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig. After a 3-4 week stay in Stutthof, other women and I were transferred to the so-called external commando Stutthof-Heiligenbeil. It took us several hours to get there. In the Heiligenbeil camp we did not meet any prisoners - the camp was deserted. There was a field around, and narrow-gauge railway tracks ran nearby. A German dressed in civilian clothes accompanied our convoy; there were no other guards on our train. This escort guard was at first the only one at our destination who was supervising us. And the next day, an SS warden, Erna Neumann, appeared on the roll call parade ground. There were also wardens from the TODT organisation of Ukrainian origin who spoke German poorly. They wore yellow OT uniform and were armed with guns. Our escort guard also showed up at the roll call parade ground. On the way, he gave the impression of a decent and calm person, but here, accompanied by Erna Neumann, he began to mock us on the parade ground.

That day during the roll call we were given other clothes instead of the old ones, and the escort guard gave us numbers printed on linen, which I had to sew onto the sleeves of the prisoners. Once one pregnant Hungarian woman, who, on my advice, wrapped herself in a blanket, and part of the blanket began to protrude from under her dress, was asked by a German who gave the idea to do this. I admitted that I advised her to do this. The German hit me in the face so hard that I lost several of my front teeth. I can't remember his name. He was then about 40-50 years old, tall, broad-shouldered, dark-haired. He was in the camp for a very short time.

He was later transferred. He was replaced by another camp commander, an elderly man aged 50-55; he was short, thin, bald, and wore a Defence Force (German: Wehrmacht) uniform without insignia. He was also in the camp for a short time. He treated us relatively gently. He became friends with a Jewish woman from Krakow, for which Erna Neumann reported him. On the same day that this German was taken from the camp, Erna Neumann personally took his girlfriend to the Stutthof concentration camp. Upon her return, she said something like this: "Thank God, we are done with the dirt, we are done with them." At that time I was working for her (repairing clothes). The next day, a new camp commander named Hans Glük or Glükmann arrived; he was an SS Squad Leader or an SS Senior Squad Leader. He brought

with him a large German shepherd and drank a lot. Back then he was 28–30 years old. About two metres tall, has a dark hair, black eyes, narrow moustache, long pale face, handsome. He maintained strong friendly relations with Erna Neumann; he spent a long time in her room. A few days after the arrival of a new commandant, another warden appeared, her name was also Erna. I didn't know her surname. Back then she was about 35 years old, short, black-haired, of normal build, attractive, reserved, and very modest; she wore a green uniform and a black uniform tie. She treated us, prisoners, very well.

Erna Neumann - 28-30 years old, about 180 cm tall, slim, blonde, has a good figure, married; her husband was at the front. Her son and mother often visited Erna Neumann. The son was 10–11 years old. In my presence, he once said to his mother: "Mommy, I'm ashamed of your behaviour." Erna Neumann tried to calm her son down explaining that we, prisoners, were pigs and war criminals who should be completely exterminated.

Approximately 1,000 prisoners were housed in Heiligenbeil, among them about 100 men from Poland, mainly from Vilna. A sanitary conditions in the camp were tolerable. Officially, Erna Neumann gave me the task of distributing food to the prisoners, unofficially I did the work that she ordered me to do, for example, cleaning the latrines and barracks, sewing clothes for her needs; I also had to cut buttons from the prisoners' clothes and give them to her. She once even sent me under the supervision of a guard to Heiligenbeil, where I had to do tailor's work for her friends.

The prisoners' food consisted of 240 grams of bread (black bread), a small piece of marmalade, soup and coffee. Erna Neumann took the best food products for herself. One day she took the bread from me, saying that she would sort it out with Hans Glückmann. When Glückmann checked the bread supplies and discovered a shortage, I still received several blows on my back from him, so strong that I still complain of pain.

All prisoners, except those who were themselves occupied inside the camp, went to work on road construction at 6 o'clock in the morning and returned to the camp at 16 o'clock. Due to various minor violations of the established order, a large number of prisoners were shot on the spot by OT guards while working. Violent bullying from Hans Glückmann and Erna Neumann was a common occurrence during roll calls. As the front got closer, a typhus epidemic broke out in the camp, precisely because soldiers sick with typhus were placed in one of the premises of our camp, and it spread throughout the entire camp. At that time, 12 deaths from typhus among prisoners were recorded. At the end of January 1945, the evacuation began. This news came out of the blue. In the evening, while distributing soup, I heard shots from the so-called "convalescent block". When I went there, I saw Hans Glük (Glückmann) shooting with a pistol the patients housed in this block, one after another, that is, 15-20 people. That same night, a camp commander, at a special roll call, notified us that we were being evacuated. I distributed clothes from the warehouse, food and the like to the prisoners, after which we were lined up in marching columns of 5 people. OT guards, led by a camp commandant Hans Glük (Glückmann), drove us in the direction of Königsberg. The march on foot lasted about 18 hours. Hans and OT people along the way shot all those prisoners who could not keep up with the column due to exhaustion. Upon arrival in Königsberg, we were accommodated in a basement that gave the impression of a dismantled factory floor. Many prisoners suspected that there were gas chambers inside and at first refused to go down there. Hans and the guards, however, used rods on them. In Königsberg, female guards Erna Neumann and the other Erna were already waiting for us. We stayed in Königsberg for about two days, until the prisoners (women) were driven together from other camps, Schippenbeil, Seerappen and Jesau. [...]

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund N-55. Inventory 4. Case 12. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*



15. From the memories of L. G. Udovenko, a former prisoner of Schichau and Metgethen camps (the city of Königsberg)\*

28 November 1988

[...] In 1943, I, 14 years old girl, was driven to the trenches when our troops were approaching from Kharkov. The Germans drove everyone, without exception, to the west, and their houses and buildings were burned. Even large trees were cut down with electric saws, leaving bare space behind. Then the Germans put us, the young people, into freight wagons and took us west. I don't remember how long and where they took us. I only know that they brought us to a very large city, later we found out that it was Königsberg, and from there we were sent to a camp. We learned that the camp was called Schichau (or maybe it was Schichau Street)\*\*. But everyone called this place that way. There were several barracks in the camp (I don't remember how many), there were families, single people, and male prisoners. Every day after the formation, groups were sent to different jobs. The lucky ones were those who were sent to work in the cemetery. The German women gave food cards or even gave them food. And this was the most important thing, since in the camp they only served boiled rutabaga and substitute coffee (*German*: Ersatzkaffee).

Next to our barracks there were barracks (fenced off with barbed wire) where the French lived. They received food from home through the Red Cross<sup>31</sup>. When guards weren't looking, they threw some of the food to us over the fence. When we were allowed to go into the city a few months later, the first thing we did was go to the cemetery. Of course, we had never seen such cemeteries before, so we cried there and wanted to die and be buried there (naivety) than to live in a camp.

I remember that in the camp there were many Georgians among the prisoners, and they always sang very sad, drawn-out songs, and we cried. Then a typhus epidemic began in this barrack (or barracks). They were isolated from us, and German women from the relief society came to them, brought clothes and food. We were all very surprised by this. Then some of the people, including me, were transferred to a camp on Hammerweg Strasse. The camp had just been built, the barracks were damp, the bunks were wet from the damp. I was very sick there. In both the first and the second camps, I worked as a servant in the city for an old German woman on Hinterlomse Strasse. In the morning I went to her, and in the evening I returned to the camp. She was very old and her husband was old too. They had 2 daughters; the apartment consisted of 5 rooms. I had to clean everything, heat the rooms, do the laundry. I was very tall for my age and very thin. Maybe the hostess felt sorry for me for my thinness and the fact that I had time to do everything. But she fed me during the day, sometimes giving me what was left from lunch. I was very grateful to her, thanks to her I may have survived.

Not far from the barracks on Hammerweg Strasse, there was a stadium where young people (Hitler Youth)<sup>32</sup> came every day for training. We saw stuffed, well-fed girls and boys, but we ourselves were staggering from weakness and hunger. I remember it well. When we were occasionally allowed to leave the camp, we went to the forest (it was not far away) and picked berries and mushrooms. Then we were happy, our hunger was satisfied. And then some of the people were transferred again to Metgethen. We didn't know then why the Germans did this, and I still don't know. Maybe this is to ensure that there is no underground organisation in the camp. I don't know.

So, I'm in the camp in Metgethen. The camp is right in the centre of the settlement. The men worked at the factory, I remember they said it was a military factory. And the women, the older ones, worked in the German gardens, worked as servants in a house, and took the

young people to the city to a sewing workshop. I personally sewed buttons on overcoats, just like other girls. This continued until the first bombings. And then, one day, after the formation, they drove us all, I don't even know where, today I can't understand where they drove us. I only remember that they drove us across the ice, and the ice was thin, and many of our people and the Germans on the carts died - they went under the ice. I remember everyone repeated "spit", I remember the word "Pillau", and I remember on the left and on the right there was water, or rather ice, behind there was a cannonade (front), and we were driven forward and forward. They probably hoped that they would still need labour force. They took us to Grunwald and left us there. There was probably no time to shoot us. And the local population was already taking down portraits of Hitler and throwing them out into the street, trampling them underfoot. I remember this well.

And on 7 March (I don't remember exactly) our people liberated us. [...]

*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Auxiliary fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –11622. Sheets 1–3. Original. Manuscript.*

\* From L. G. Udovenko's letter to E. I. Penkina, a director of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art, dated 28.11.1988.

\*\* Camp at the Schichau shipyard.

## 16. **Memories of N. B. Shvykova<sup>33</sup>, a former prisoner of Schichau and Metgethen camps (the city of Königsberg)**

*February 1971*

In 1943, she and her mother Nikiforova Elena Pavlovna were taken from Sevastopol to work in East Prussia. They were liberated from fascist captivity by Soviet troops in January 1945. Since then they have remained here in this region. Elena Pavlovna is no longer alive, Nina Borisovna is now on a well-deserved rest, lives in the city of Kaliningrad\*

How did we get to the territory of East Prussia? It was 1942.

Nazi troops were advancing in the south. On 3 July 1942, after fierce fighting and stubborn resistance, Sevastopol was nevertheless temporarily abandoned by our troops. We ended up in a city occupied by invaders. Then I worked as a nurse in one of the hospitals. It was very difficult to get a job in the occupied city. And here the doctor Shevaleyev Vladimir Evgenievich helped me.

For some time I managed to avoid being sent to work in Germany.

But in 1943, my mother and I were finally taken away. We drove through Przemysl-Poznan. We were brought to Königsberg. The first camp we went to was the camp at the Schichau shipyard and it was located where the territory of the fishing port is now. The Germans called it "Ausländer" (for foreigners). The camp was multinational: there were Russians, Belgians, French, Italians, and Poles.

The territory of the camp was distributed according to nationality.

Working conditions at the shipyard were difficult. For the slightest offence they were beaten half to death. I remember how Gennady Yakushev was severely beaten. His back

was a complete bruise. I met him for the second time in Elblag, when he was again in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

We lived in barracks, which were divided into large compartments (rooms). There were double-tier bunks here. All barracks were fenced with wire. It was possible to leave the camp with a pass. And there must be a patch on the chest lapel of the jacket with the Eastern Workers mark.

The food was poor: the main food was boiled rutabaga. They fed us 2 times a day. On Fridays they gave us more - even a piece of butter and a "batiste" piece of meat. The situation with food was somewhat better for the French, Belgians and other nationalities, except Russians, because they received parcels through the Red Cross. Schichau workers, including Russians, had the right to rations and clothing according to special documents. But they almost didn't get this, because the German administration took it away.

I worked as a nurse at a health centre for Russians. Then each nationality had its own health centre. Of the Russian doctors who worked with me, I remember only Doctor Burdeni. They said that he was from Belorussia.

There were frequent cases of tuberculosis among Russians, and many suffered from vitamin deficiency and exhaustion. Despite this, the Germans brutally forced people to donate blood. They took about 400 grams.

The entire medical network and donor centre was in charge of the German doctor Krünert, who was particularly cruel. All the nurses were very afraid of him.

In addition to us, deported from the temporarily occupied part of the USSR, workers from other countries, prisoners of war, including Soviet ones, worked at the Schichau shipyard. Their camps were located closer to the sea. The area was surrounded by barbed wire and was well guarded. They went to and from work accompanied by a convoy. Sometimes they were taken for a walk in formation. I remember it was raining heavily. And a group of our prisoners of war, walking in the rain, some in their Soviet uniforms, sang loudly "Spirit-ed, mighty, invincible by anyone...".

Relations among the Russians were friendly. We tried to help each other. I don't know what would have happened to me if it weren't for the help of my comrades.

A health centre where I worked was headed by a medical assistant Katter (a drunkard, a morphine addict).

Once I had a quarrel with him and I called him a "vogobunduz" (from German word Vag-abund) - a thief, for which he threatened me with terrible punishment.

When my camp comrades found out about this, they advised me to get a transfer to another camp. I doubt it could have been done without their help. As a result, my mother and I were transferred in November 1943 to a labour camp in the settlement of Metgethen (now the territory of an experimental paper-making equipment plant).

This enterprise also used the labour of prisoners of different nationalities. It was especially difficult for Soviet prisoners of war.

In general, living conditions in the Ostlandwerke camp were somewhat better than in Schichau. I worked there no longer in my specialty, but in the tool shop, on a milling machine.

It must be said that both in Schichau and in Ostlandwerke, foreign workers, especially the French, were friendly and sympathetically to us, Russians. For example, when they received packages through the Red Cross, they shared what they could with us. And when Soviet troops liberated us in January 1945, the French greeted them by singing The Internationale.

While in the camps, I noticed that the Germans' attitude towards us was different. For example, in Schichau there were many young people. And the German girls who also worked there were sympathetic to their peers from Russia, France, Belgium and other countries. They brought food and bread from home. I also remembered an elderly German policeman named

Georgy Karlovich. He had a perfect command of the Russian language. It turns out that in 1914 he was captured in Russia. This German also treated us sympathetically. And then suddenly he disappeared. One day I had a chance to meet him at the Royal Castle and I asked him why I hadn't seen him at work. To which he answered me: "I was not strict enough with the prisoners. Couldn't hit the bones."

Our people tried to get into contact with the Germans, who were sympathetic.

Other Germans treated us cruelly. They beat us with a baton, and at the slightest provocation they reported us to the authorities. My memory retains the terrible attitude towards us, Russians, in the Ostlandwerke of a German Pufke, who was killed during the storming of the city.

Liberation was brought to us by the troops of the Soviet Red Army at the end of January 1945.

Afterwards, at the transit point, I received an appointment in the city of Elbing (now the Polish city of Elbląg) to a construction team. There I worked as a head of the sanitary unit; the 3rd Belorussian Front supplied us with medications.

Then I was sent to Königsberg to work in my speciality at the health centre at the Building and Construction Department-2.

After some time, I transferred to the Sanitary and Epidemiological Station of the Baltiysky district, where I worked for over 20 years. And in February 1970 I retired.

February 1971

February. Shvykova.

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 61. Original. Typescript.*

*Publ.: Listing by name: vol. 13, additional. (Information about those who fell missing on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War and those who died in German captivity). - Kaliningrad: Yantarnyy skaz, 2000. - pp. 35–36.*

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\* Explanation made by employees of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore in 1971. Since 1977 - Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.



17. E. P. Nikiforova, a former prisoner of Schichau and Metgethen camps (the city of Königsberg). Photography location: Königsberg, East Prussia

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –8985/2. Original.*

18. N. B. Shvykova, a former prisoner of Schichau and Metgethen camps (the city of Königsberg). Photography location: Kaliningrad

1956



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –8985/1. Original.*

19. The territory of a former Metgethen camp in the settlement named after A. Kosmodemyansky in Kaliningrad. N. B. Shvykova with a staff of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore. The author of the photo is V.V. Razumovsky

*January 1971*



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –8985/4. Original.*

20. Memories of N. N. Antonenko, a young prisoner of a camp near Königsberg

*No later than 2006*

When the war began, my father went up the line and my mother was expecting a child. We lived in Dyatkovo town of Bryansk region, and my mother's sister lived in Nikitinka village of Kaluga region. My mother was afraid to be alone, and she went with me to her sister, where she gave birth to a son on 17 September. It seemed that we would be able to avoid the horrors of war, but when the Nazis began to retreat, all hell broke loose. On their way, they burned everything, ate livestock, and loaded the entire population into cattle wagons and sent them to Lithuania. This was in April 1943. It was hot, reaching thirty degrees. The wagons were so filled with people that it was impossible to sit, everyone was standing. It took us a whole month to get to Lithuania, travelling only at night, and staying somewhere in the forest during the day. The heat was unbearable, they were not allowed to drink, the weakest were finished off with a bayonet and thrown out of the wagons. The entire railway track was covered with corpses. Several thousand people did not make it to Lithuania, so the wagons became freer and it was possible to sit.

In Lithuania, everyone was dressed in uniform and sent to a village near Königsberg, where they were housed in huge barracks. Everyone worked in the owner's field from morning until late evening. The mother-in-law of my mother's sister stayed with the children. The

conditions were terrible. In the huge barracks only one light was on, and the sentry was constantly walking back and forth. Everyone was afraid to speak loudly, so they whispered only. They gave us rotten food; we were hungry all the time. A huge pit was dug in the camp, and corpses were dumped into it every day. In winter, in order not to die of hunger, my mother and her sister took turns climbing through the barbed wire for frozen potatoes, ears of wheat and rye. Grandmother carefully cut the ears of grain, each grain was worth its weight in gold, the children were given five to ten grains, it seemed like the best delicacy in the world. Many parents died, children were left orphans. The sentries mocked the children, threw pieces of meat to their dogs, and the children tried to take the remaining bone from the dogs. It's a miracle we survived.

*Publ.: Childhood in deadly captivity: memories of young prisoners of fascism / N. Avramenko, N. Deineko, V. Tsupikova [and others]; comp. E. Trushchenkov; afterword O. Panasenko; lit. processing O. Glushkin. - Kaliningrad: Kladez, 2006. - pp. 18–19.*

## 21. From the memories of T. S. Okorokova (Davidova), a young prisoner of a camp in the city of Königsberg

2010

The father, Davidov Sergei Artemovich, worked as an artist (musician) at the Operetta Theater in Minsk city. Before the start of the war, the theatre troupe was sent on tour to the city of Brest. The whole family went: mother, father and one-year-old brother. They stopped in the city of Brest-Litovsk near the Bug River. A couple of weeks before the start of the war, city residents noticed the appearance of “strange”, suspicious military men: “clean” ones, in new uniforms, sitting on telegraph poles and doing something with the wires. (Probably it was a German sabotage group)\*. One day the father returned from a performance, and a couple of hours later the war began. The theatre group was unable to leave Brest; the city was occupied. Parents recalled that German planes strafed the crowd of residents trying to leave the city. The mother, Davidova Aleksandra Filippovna, was seriously wounded in the leg. She reluctantly recalled: it was very scary, and some Russian soldiers committed suicide to avoid being captured. The Davidov family was captured. They were driven to Bialystok, where they were in a camp from 1943 to 1944. In 1944, their family was forcibly taken to East Prussia, to the city of Königsberg and placed in a labour camp for displaced persons. In the camp they were engaged in earthworks, digging very deep ditches and pits. The camp was international, there were men, women, children, but there were no prisoners of war on its territory, only workers. They were fed rutabaga stew; there was little food; at night the prisoners secretly stole frozen potatoes from the fields behind the camp. They shot those who were caught. The mother hid the little brother all the time. There were frequent raids to find Jews. The father of the family, an Armenian by nationality, was suspected of being a Jew. They took him away and checked whether he was circumcised. The brother recalled that the mother also hid the father, dressed him in old woman's rags and passed him off as her mother. In February 1945, the time came for the mother to give birth, and at that time the shelling began. The Red Army was approaching Königsberg. The camp came under fire, the German camp staff hid in bunkers, the father and the brother said goodbye to the mother, thought that they would never see her again and also ran away to hide. The woman (stayed upstairs, two-story building?)\* gave birth herself, but, exhausted from birth pangs, could not move. A young German soldier, about 16–17 years old, helped her. He ran past, saw a new-

born baby, cut off the umbilical cord with a knife, gave the baby to the mother and handed over a glass jar of medicine (powder, presumably streptocide). He told her to sprinkle the umbilical cord. When he left, a shell hit the barracks, the building collapsed, the corner in which Aleksandra Filippovna lay with her child miraculously escaped destruction. The mother breastfed the baby and dried the "diaper" rags on herself. She recalled: many women who gave birth in the camp abandoned their children, but she did not.

In April, Soviet soldiers arrived and liberated the camp. Women with children were given things from the houses of rich Germans: clothes, strollers. The family was sent to the filtration point - Kibartai. After the check, the father went to the front. The mother and children were sent to his parents, who lived in Georgia (Tbilisi city), and it was only there that a birth certificate was issued for the newborn. [...]

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 227. Sheets 9–10. Original. Typescript.*

\* It is so in the document.

\*\* It is so in the document.

## 22. Birth certificate of T. S. Davidova (Okorokova). Place of birth: the city of Königsberg, East Prussia; date of birth: 17.02.1945

*It was issued on 4 August 1945.*

### **BIRTH CERTIFICATE**

*IA № 454694 (In English: GA No.454694)*

*The citizen: Davidova Tamara Sergeevna*

*(surname, first name, patronymic)*

*was born on: 17.02.1945; nineteen forty five, 17.02*

*(in words and numbers: year, month, day)*

*Whereof the record No. 6604 was made in the register on: year: 1945 day: 4 month: 08*

*Parents: Father Davidov Sergei Artemovich - Armenian*

*(surname, first name, patronymic)*

*Mother Davidova Aleksandra Filipovna - Russian*

*(surname, first name, patronymic)*

*Place of birth: The city of Königsberg Republic, region East Prussia*

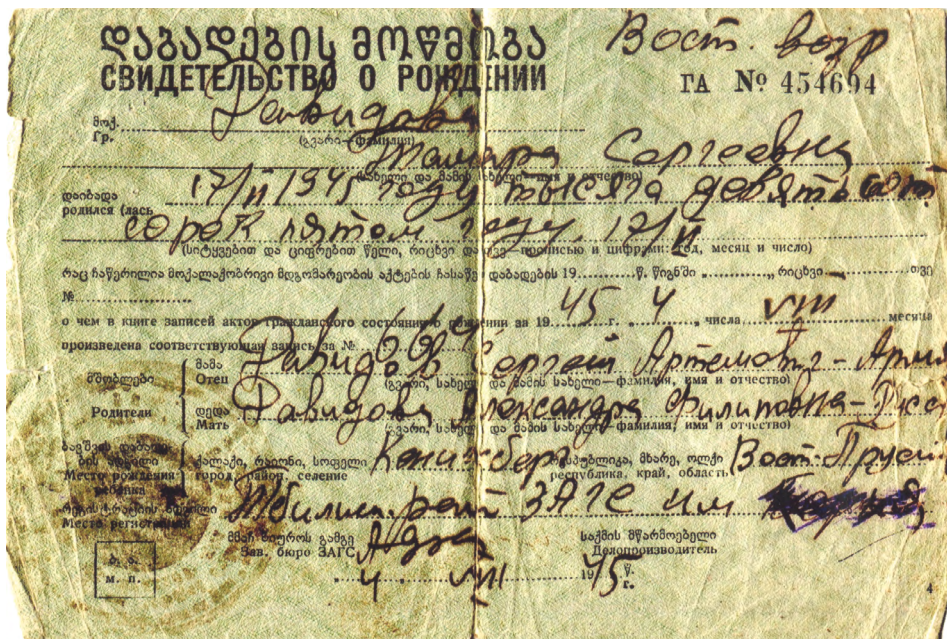
*Place of registration: Tbilisi District Registry Office*

*Head of the Civil Registry Office: /signed/ Clerk*

*Date of issue: 04.08.1945*

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 227. Sheet 14. Photocopy. Typographic form, manuscript.*





23. Special report from the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 39th Army to the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front about a labour camp for Soviet teenagers near Königsberg

16 November 1944

THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE 39TH ARMY  
2-kk\*

TOP SECRET

TO THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 3RD BELORUSSIAN FRONT – [...]\*\*  
[...]\*\*\*

### SPECIAL REPORT

About German teen camps  
near the city of Königsberg.

[...]4\* an agent of German military intelligence exposed by us, SAVCHENKOV Vladimir Nikolaevich, transferred by the Germans to our side on 10 November 1944 in the area of Schillehnen small town, testified about the existence of a German camp for teenagers, located 4 km southwest of the city of Königsberg.

According to the testimony of SAVCHENKOV, it is clear that in this camp there are about 00005\* teenagers and youth from [...]6\* to 20 years old, who were abducted by the Germans from the occupied Soviet regions at various times / Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians and other nationalities / who are used [...]7\*

The camp occupies an area of about [...] <sup>8\*</sup> square kilometres of marshy territory and is divided into two parts: in the first, smaller part, there are 50 barracks for holding prisoners, residential buildings for security and administration [...] <sup>9\*</sup> commandant's office, a bathhouse and barracks for the sick, the second part of the camp [...] <sup>10\*</sup>

Both parts of the camp are surrounded by a wall of barbed wire and surrounded by a ditch. Along the wire fence in the corners there are guard towers <sup>11\*</sup>. /Camp map is attached/ <sup>12\*</sup>.

Prisoners in the camp are kept in extremely difficult conditions: working hours are from 7 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock in the evenings, the production rate for each teenager is to dig and stack 1.5 cubic metres of peat, meals are twice a day, consisting of 350–400 grams of bread and vegetable soup without fat.

Due to malnutrition and hard physical work, diseases /typhoid, dysentery, scurvy/ are common among prisoners, causing a high mortality rate in the camp.

There is no medical care in the camp. According to the testimony of SAVCHENKOV, there is allegedly not a single medical worker in the camp.

The camp is generally guarded by the Germans, but inside each barracks where prisoners are kept there are wardens, consisting mainly of former Red Army soldiers who voluntarily entered the service of the Germans, who provide internal security to the barracks. Moreover, wardens are allowed to beat teenage prisoners without any reason.

A head of the camp is an SS officer, a German, his surname and rank are unknown.. Features: tall, fat, red-haired, big red nose, all his teeth are false and gold.

He also conducts intelligence work among the camp prisoners, in particular, he recruited V. N. SAVCHENKOV as an agent to identify anti-fascist conversations among prisoners.

There is an interpreter-translator with a camp commander, his surname is unknown, Russian, about 40 years old, tall, brown-haired, long-faced, wears a small moustache.

SAVCHENKOV doesn't know anyone else from a camp's command staff or interpreters from guards. –

HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 39TH ARMY – [...] <sup>13\*</sup>

HEAD OF THE 4 DIVISION  
OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 39TH ARMY – [...] <sup>14\*</sup>

16 November 1944

No. 8301/4

There are numerous notes on the first page of the document. See p. 97.

Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 67–68. Original. Typescript.

\* It is so in the document.

\*\* Painted over

<sup>3\*</sup> Painted over.

<sup>4\*</sup> Painted over.

<sup>5\*</sup> It is so in the document.

<sup>6\*</sup> Illegible, but probably “15”.

<sup>7\*</sup> Illegible, but probably “peat development”.

<sup>8\*</sup> Illegible.

<sup>9\*</sup> Illegible.

<sup>10\*</sup> Illegible.



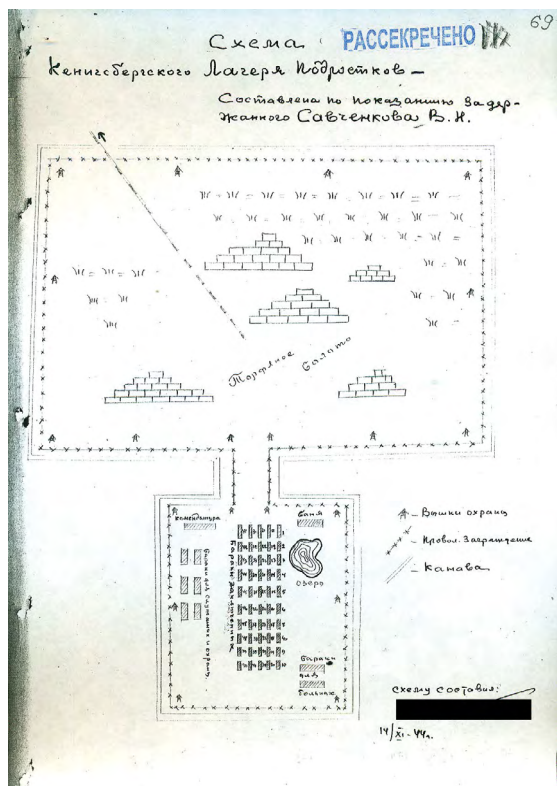


## 24. Map of the labour camp for Soviet teenagers near Königsberg

14 November 1944

### Map of the Königsberg Youth Camp –

Compiled according to the testimony  
of the detainee Savchenkov V.N.



Peat swamp  
Security towers  
Wire entanglement  
Ditch

The map was compiled by:  
[...]\*  
14/XI – [19]44 г.

Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheet 69. Original. Manuscript.

\* Painted over.



## 25. From the list of Soviet prisoner of war camps in Germany

November 1944

VK-3.\*

TOP SECRET

LIST  
of Soviet prisoner of war camps  
in Germany  
According to the testimony of German prisoners of war.

№№		
№№	Camp location.	Information about the camp.
[...]		
3	Tilsit town /East Prussia/.	/Testimony of SOMMER BERTHOLLE dated 20.9.1944/
4	The city of Königsberg /East Prussia/.	— —
5	Stablag small town /30 km east of the city of Königsberg/.	Stationary camp 3a /Testimony of Emil ROOS dated 26.8.1944/
6	Hohenstein town /East Prussia/.	Stationary camp 3-** Chief Major QUESTER /Testimony of Emil ROOS dated 26.8.1944/
7	Mühlhausen town /near Elbing, East Prussia/.	Stationary camp 1,000–2,000 prisoners of war /Testimony of Emil ROOS dated 26.8.1944/
8	Preussisch-Holland town /near Elbing, East Prussia/.	Stationary camp 4,000–6,000 prisoners of war /Testimony of Emil ROOS from 26.8.1944/
9.	Reichenbach /15 km south of Preussisch-Holland/.	Elbing, East Prussia/ Labour camp 1,000–2,000 prisoners of war /Testimony of Emil ROOS dated 26.8.1944/
10	Heilsberg /East Prussia/.	Labour camp for 6,000–8,000 prisoners of war /Testimony of Emil ROOS dated 26.8.1944/
11.	Braunsberg town /East Prussia/.	Labour camp 4,000–6,000 prisoners of war /Testimony of Emil ROOS dated 26.8.1944/
12.	Allenstein city /East Prussia/.	Labour camp of 15,000 prisoners of war / Testimony of Emil ROOS/dated 26.8.1944 /
13	Elbing city	15,000-20,000 Soviet, English and French prisoners of war /Testimony of Emil ROOS dated 26.8.1944/ [...]

HEAD OF THE 2ND DEPARTMENT THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE  
DEPARTMENT OF THE 3RD BALTIC FRONT – [...]³\*

\HEAD OF THE 3RD DIVISION OF THE 2ND DEPARTMENT  
OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 3RD BALTIC FRONT – [...]⁴\*

“ ”⁵\* November 1944.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 57–60. Original. Typescript.*

\* It is so in the document.

\*\* Illegible, “3-o” or “3-b”.

3\* The name and signature are painted over.

4\* The name and signature are painted over.

5\* The date is not specified

**26. From the memorandum report of the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of 234 special camp to the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 3rd Shock Army about the identified special camps and labour commandos located on German territory**

30 June 1945

TO THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF DEFENCE OF THE 3RD SHOCK ARMY – [...]\*

Comrade \*\*

MEMORANDUM REPORT.

About the identified camps in Germany and the atrocities committed in them.

Officially [...]³\* 45 special camps and labour commandos have been established located in Germany.⁴\*

(a list of large camps and labour commandos is attached to the memorandum report)⁵\*.

A characteristic feature of the existing regime in each camp was: hunger, beatings, exhausting and backbreaking labour, ridicule and bullying.

All this was carried out by commandants and camp commanders, executors of orders, who in most cases were police officers of Russian and Ukrainian nationality who sold themselves to the Germans, having a special tendency to mock and beat people.

The Stahlpol camp No 106... held 15-20 thousand Russian prisoners of war. A small area fenced with 3 rows of barbed wire. The three barracks inside the camp were capable of accommodating only 3 thousand people, the rest were in the open air.

The internal regime of the camp was characterised by [...]⁷\* as follows:

“The food for us was 1.5 kg of bread per day for 17-20 people and 2 times a day we received soup made from potato waste with sand.⁸\*

Often no bread was given out at all for 2-3 days, explaining that the Russians had stolen it. In fact, due to the lack of control, the camp leaders sold bread to others.

During the day, the Germans and Russian police beat and shot innocent people<sup>9\*</sup>. Why are they beating? - No one knows. The retreat in the camp usually ended with machine gun fire at the camp location.

Some people were forced into chambers with poisoned air 3 times a week, after which there were many cases of fatal poisoning.

The Germans tormented and tortured every Russian person with a wide forehead, accusing him of belonging to the political composition of the Red Army.

So, in February 1944, one Russian prisoner of war was accused of having a wide forehead, which is why he is a commissar. To extort a confession, the man, stripped naked, was tied to a pole and doused with water. The unfortunate man, whose surname I don't remember, became icy and froze.

During the period of my stay in the camp, about 35 thousand people died from all kinds of torture, starvation and executions.

The commander of the camp was Captain KLIMMER, a German. The policemen who worked in the camp were TOLMACHEV Vasily Ivanovich, BOLOTNIKOV Ivan Andreevich, and PRUS Nikolai were not only simple perpetrators of atrocities, but also often, at their own discretion, inflicted all kinds of torture and bullying.

The Red Army command prisoner of war camp No. 53, located in Tilsit town (East Prussia), was recently transferred to the city of Neubrandenburg.

Here, just like in the Stahlpol camp, hunger, abuse and humiliation of prisoners of war reigned. The head of the camp was KOCHETOV Fedor, a native of the Arkhangelsk region, about 30 years old, of average height, a former cook at the border post, and a former literature teacher BORISOV Nikolay - thin, of average height, 25 years old.

Prisoners of war were systematically beaten and abused by. [...]

HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE SPECIAL CAMP 234 — [...]<sup>10\*</sup>

30 June 1945

No. 108

Note on the first sheet of the document: "3"<sup>11\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 314–318. Original. Typescript.*

\* Painted over.

\*\* The name is painted over.

3\* Painted over.

4\* The paragraph on the left is marked in pencil.

5\* The list contains the names of nineteen identified camps, including one in East Prussia - prisoner of war camp No. 53 in Tilsit.

6\* It is so in the document, but perhaps Paderborn.

7\* Painted over.

8\* The paragraph on the left is marked in pencil.

9\* It is so in the document.

10\* Painted over.

11\* The stamp is illegible. The date on the stamp is handwritten, probably "2.7.1945."

27. **Political report from the Chief of the Political Department of the 11th Guards Army Colonel D.F. Romanov to the Chief of the Political Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front Major General S.B. Kazbintsev on the discovery of a Soviet prisoner of war camp**

*The 28th of January, 1945*

**TO THE CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 3RD BELORUSSIAN FRONT**

*to Comrade Kazbintsev*

Traces of a small camp of Soviet prisoners of war were found in the Zargen farm. There is an inscription on the wall of the barrack where the prisoners lived: "14 people lived here. Of the 25 who arrived, eleven were victims of disease from the tortures of captivity. Captivity is hell. Hell is the worst thing that a man can imagine. There is nothing worse than captivity. We are waiting! ... but we are being driven!".

There also hung a list of 14 Soviet prisoners of war living in the camp and their ration scales on the wall. In front of the surname of each Soviet prisoner there was their personal number, assigned by the Germans. For example, Mozalyuk Ivan No. 114, Georgiev Leonor No. 1622, Serdyukov Timofey No. 28737, Borakh Fedor No. 29138 and so on.

According to the testimony of liberated Soviet people who were at work in East Prussia, it was established that in Insterburg small town there was a large prisoner-of-war camp, evacuated in time by the Germans. There was a "death camp" in Osterode.

A Soviet prisoner of war Pichalchuk Andrey, born in 1922 in Kamianets-Podilskyi region, who was rescued by our troops, testified that until recently he was among more than 100 Soviet prisoners of war who were doing trench work. The prisoners were kept in an unheated barrack, malnourished, and worked 14-16 hours a day. For the failure to fulfil the norm of work the prisoners were constantly threatened with execution. Many died from back-breaking labour and exhaustion. Over the past three months there have been several cases of executions of Soviet prisoners.

Retreating, the Germans forcibly take prisoners and people taken from the USSR, Poland and France with them. Moreover, propaganda is being intensified among them that the Red Army will torture and shoot all those who worked for the Germans.

Russians, Belorussians, Poles, Frenchmen released by our authorities express their joy and thank the Red Army for their liberation from slavery. Many of them offer their services in helping to collect German abandoned cattle for evacuation to the rear.

Poles and Frenchmen ask how they can get to their homeland. The liberated Soviet citizens are also interested in the same question.

*Romanov [D. F.]*

*Notes: "To acquaint correspondents [...] 5. II.[19]45. major [...] 7.1.[19]45.\*\* [...]".*

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 241. Inventory 2656. Case 189. Sheets 32- 32 (overleaf). Original. Typescript.*

\* Here and after, the signatures are illegible.

\*\* It is so in the document. Probably, 7.11.1945.



Ознакомить корреспондентов

НАЧАЛЬНИКУ ПОЛИТУПРАВЛЕНИЯ 3 БЕЛОРУССКОГО ФРОНТА

тов. КАЗЫНЦЕВУ. -

32

В фольварке Цартен обнаружены следы небольшого лагеря советских военнопленных. На стене барака, в котором жили пленные, имеется надпись следующего содержания: "Здесь жили 14 человек. Из прибывших 25 одиннадцать были жертвой болезни от мучений плена. Плен ад. Ад - самое худшее, что может вообразить человек. Хуже плена ничего вообразить нельзя. Удем! ... но нас томят!".

Там же на стене висел список 14 советских военнопленных живших в лагере и нормы их довольствия. Против фамилии каждого советского пленного имеется его личный номер, присвоенный немцами. Например, Мозалюк Иван № 114, Теоргиев Леонор № 1622, Сердюков Тимофей № 28737, Борах Федор № 29138 и т.д.

По показаниям освобожденных советских людей, находившихся на работах в Восточной Пруссии, установлено, что в гор. Инстербург был большой лагерь военнопленных своевременно эвакуированный немцами. В Остероде находился лагерь "смерти".

Отбитый нашими войсками советский военнопленный Пичальчук Андрей, 1923 года рождения, уроженец Каменец-Подольской области, показал, что до последнего времени он в числе более 100 советских пленных производил окопные работы. Пленные содержались в не отапливаемом бараке, недоедали, работали по 14-16 часов в сутки. За невыполнение нормы работы пленным постоянно угрожали расстрелом. От непосильной работы и истощения многие умирали. За последние три месяца было несколько случаев расстрелов советских пленных.

Отступая нацисты насильно угощают пленных и вывезенных из СССР, Польши, Франции людей. Причем среди них ведется усиленная про-



паганда, что Красная Армия будет пытать и расстреливать всех кто работал у немцев.

Освобожденные нашими властями русские, белоруссы, поляки, французы выражают свою радость и благодарят Красную Армию за свое вызволение из рабства. Многие из них предлагают свои услуги по оказанию помощи в сборе брошенного немцами скота для эвакуации его в тыл.

Поляки и французы интересуются, как они смогут добраться к себе на родину. Этот же вопрос интересует и освобожденных советских граждан.

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политотдел армии  
28.1-45г.  
ПК

*Романов*  
РОМАНОВ

*Мурат Б.И. 45г.*

*Майор Алесан*

*Мурат С. Вит*  
*7.1.45. Р*  
*Романов*

28. Political report to the Chief of the Political Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front, Major-General S.B. Kazbintsev, on the condition of the hospital for former prisoners of war of Soviet citizens and citizens of allied countries in Domtau small town

*The 26th of February, 1945*

TO THE CHIEF OF  
THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE 3RD  
BELORUSSIAN FRONT  
to Major General Comrade Kazbintsev

POLITICAL REPORT

On the condition of the hospital for former prisoners of war  
of Soviet and allied citizens in DOMTAU town

After the capture of DOMTAU town by units of the [28th] Army, a hospital of a prisoner of war camp was discovered on its outskirts. There were 664 people in the hospital, including 415 - Russians, 115 - French, 25 - Belgians, 36 - Italians and 73 - Poles.

From the total number of 415 Russian prisoners of war, a considerable part of them were captured by the Germans during the period October-November 1944 in the area of MEMEL, GOLDAP and in a number of other areas of the 3rd Belorussian and the 1st Baltic Fronts. The released prisoners of war had previously served mainly in units of the 39th, 11th, and 5th Armies of our front and some armies of the 1st Baltic Front.

Among the released prisoners of war there is also a part of units of the 28th Army /61, 130 Rifle Division, 96 Guards Rifle Division /.

The prisoners of war of the Red Army in the camp were kept separately from the prisoners of war of other armies; a tougher regime was created for them. The barracks where the Russian prisoners of war were kept were surrounded by a high wire fence in order to prevent "Russian pest", as the German guards used to express it.

All former servicemen of the Red Army, both in the camp and in the hospital, were kept in horrible, inhuman conditions, in filth, cramped, and had 100% lice infestation. The food ration was extremely bad: they were given soup made of beet-root<sup>34</sup> once a day, 200-250 grams of bread were given not every day. As a rule, the bread was mixed with sawdust. There was essentially no medical care in the camp.

In fact, German-fascist scoundrels in the camp hospital maimed our people in every possible way, put them to death. The state in which the wounded and sick soldiers and officers were in when our troops occupied the camp testifies to the abuse of prisoners of war.

Former prisoners of war in their stories give a lot of facts of tortures, unprecedented torments, which they suffered in this camp from the Germans.

A former Red Army soldier Mikhail Andrianovich FEDOROVSKY, born in 1926, non-party, a native of OMSK city, tells:

"On the 23rd of October, I was badly wounded and in that condition I was taken prisoner. The Germans drove me around East Prussia for ten days with no medical care and little to no food. On the eleventh day I was brought to a hospital and instead of treatment, for the purpose of mutilation, they cut off both my legs, although one leg was perfectly healthy and unharmed and the other could be cured. After that, I was thrown into this death camp."

A former Red Army soldier Fedor Ivanovich POPOV, in captivity since October 1944, a native of Chelyabinsk city, stated in his story that the Germans set dogs on the sick and wounded, amusing themselves with the torment of people. Thus, before his eyes, three of our soldiers were torn to pieces by dogs.

Former prisoner of war Aleksandr Fedorovich ERSHOV, a native of Vyazniki village, Ivanovo region, with tears in his eyes told:

“There were 25 of us in the hospital ward for the seriously wounded, while only 15 could hardly be accommodated there. There was no medical care at all, no one looked after us. Naturally, we had to wet our bed. You can imagine what was going on in the room, where there was another stench besides the stench of wounds. We were given only beet-root soup, often this soup was not brought at all, then we ate raw beet-roots like rabbits. Lice crawled on us like ants in their anthill. We will never forget everything we experienced here.”

*Note: “Report to the Political Directorate of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army\* [...]\*\* 28.2.[19]45[...]³ \* Fulfilled, reported to the Political Directorate of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army. A. Grebnev”.*

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 241. Inventory 2656. Case 188. Sheets 163- 164. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Signature is illegible

\*\* Illegible

³\* The Main Political Directorate of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army.



Народный комиссариат  
Оборон Союза С.С.Р.

Политический Отдел

№ 28  
А Р М И И

26.02.1945 г.  
№ 023

Входящий № 658/инг.  
1.03.1945 г.

Секретно

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НАЧАЛЬНИКУ ПОЛИТИПРАВЛЕНИЯ 3-го  
БЕЛОРУССКОГО ФРОНТА

Генерал - майору тов. КАЗВИНЦЕВУ

ПОЛИТДОНЕСЕНИЕ

состоянии госпиталя бывших военнопленных  
советских и союзных граждан в городе ДИТТАУ

После взятия частями армии города ДИТТАУ на окраине его был обнаружен госпиталь лагеря военнопленных. В госпитале находилось 664 человека, в том числе русских - 415 человек, французов - 115 человек, бельгийцев - 25 человек, итальянцев - 36 человек и поляков - 73 человека.

Из общего числа 415 русских военнопленных значительная часть попала в плен к немцам в период октябрь - ноябрь месяцы 1944 года в районе МЕМЕЛЯ, ГОЛЬДАПА и на ряде других участков 3-го Белорусского и 1-го Прибалтийского фронтов. Освобожденные военнопленные ранее служили, главным образом, в частях 39, 11, 5 армии нашего фронта и некоторых армий 1-го Прибалтийского фронта.

В числе освобожденных военнопленных имеется также часть и из соединений 28 Армии /61, 130 СД, 96 ГСД/.

Военнопленные Красной Армии в лагере содержались отдельно от военнопленных других армий, им был создан более жесткий режим. Бараки, где находились русские военнопленные были обнесены высоким проволочным заграждением, в целях предупреждения "русской заразы", как выражалась немецкая охрана.

Все бывшие военнослужащие Красной Армии, как в лагере, так и в госпитале находились в жутких, нечеловеческих условиях, в грязи, тесноте, имелась 100% завшивленность. Питание было исключительно плохое: кормили один раз в сутки супом, приготовленным из бурака, хлеб давали далеко не каждый день по 200 - 250 грамм. Хлеб был, как правило, с примесью опилок. В лагере по сути дела не было никакого медицинского обслуживания.



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По существу немецко - фашистские мерзавцы в госпитале лагеря всячески калечили наших людей, добивались их смерти. Об издевательствах над военнопленными свидетельствуют то состояние, в котором находились раненные и больные бойцы и офицеры при занятии нашими войсками лагеря. Бывшие военнопленные в своих рассказах приводят массу фактов издевательств, невиданных мучений, которые они перенесли в этом лагере от немцев.

Бывший красноармеец ФЕДОРОВСКИЙ Михаил Андрианович, 1926 года рождения, беспартийный, уроженец города Омска, рассказывает: "8 октября я был тяжело ранен и в таком состоянии попал в плен. Немцы в течение 10 суток возили меня по Восточной Пруссии, не оказывая никакой медицинской помощи и почти ничего не давая есть. На одиннадцатые сутки меня привезли в госпиталь и вместо лечения, с целью увечья отрезали обе ноги, хотя одна нога была совершенно здорова и невредима, а вторую можно было бы вылечить. После этого меня бросили в этот лагерь смерти".

Бывший красноармеец ПОПОВ Федор Иванович, в плену с октября 1944 года, уроженец города ЧЕЛЯВИНСКА, в своем рассказе заявил, что немцы натравливали на больных и раненых собак, забавляясь мучениями людей. Так на его глазах были разорваны собаками три наших бойца.

Бывший военнопленный ЕРШОВ Александр Федорович, уроженец ст. ВЗННИКИ Ивановской обл. со слезами на глазах рассказал:

"Нас в палате тяжело - раненых находилось 25 человек, в то время как туда с трудом можно было поместить только 15. Медицинского обслуживания никакого не было, никто за нами не ухаживал. Естественно приходилось оправляться под себя. Можете представить, что творилось в помещении, где кроме вони от ран, была и другая вонь. Кормили одним супом из бураков, часто и этого супа не приносили, тогда ели, как кролики сырой бурак. Вши ползали по нас, как муравьи в своем муравейнике. Все, что пережили здесь мы никогда не забудем".

29. **Act on the atrocities established by a special commission against prisoners of a prisoner of war camp in Domtau small town**

*The 16th of March, 1945*

Copy of a copy.

ACT

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1945 we, the undersigned commission consisting of: chairman Lieutenant Colonel KOTOV D.I. and members, army forensic expert Major of Medical Services, SOROKO S.P., army Pathologist of Medical Services Major SAVOSTENKO G.V., Colonel PETROV, Major HLUSOV, Major GONCHARENKO, Lieutenant PLONSKIY, Senior Lieutenant KOROBEINIKOV, Lieutenant CHECHIN, Senior Sergeant IVANOVA, Red Army soldiers KORNIENKO, SIDOROV and STEPANOV have drawn up this act as follows:

After Red Army units occupied Domtau small town in eastern Prussia, 9 km northwest of Preussisch Eylau town, they discovered a German prisoner of war camp in which prisoners of war were Russians, Poles, French, Belgians and Italians. The territory of the camp is fenced with barbed wire in two rows of 2-metre height; there are spirals of Bruno<sup>35</sup> barbed wire between the rows.

In the south-eastern part of the camp, near the wire fence, there were vegetable storage pits about 35 metres long and 1.5-2 metres wide. After the snow melted, it was discovered that in the three pits closest to the fence, the top layer of soil mixed with rotten straw was loosened and easily fell through. During a detailed examination, it was noticed that from under the thin layer of straw the limbs of two human corpses were visible. After removing the top layer of soil to a depth of 20 cm, human corpses were found in a variety of poses and positions. This provided the basis for a more detailed study of the pits. When the earth was carefully removed, it turned out that the pits were filled with the corpses of people lying in 2-3 rows on top of each other, some with their faces up, some with their faces down, some in a half-bent position, with their arms outstretched or tucked under them. The corpses were dressed in soldier's overcoats, tunics and military-style trousers of the Soviet, Polish and French troops, and some were wearing only underwear. In total, 307 corpses, all adult males, were found in the pits.

The corpses were removed from the pits to the ground surface and 63 of them were subjected to detailed examination. So it was established that:

1. All the corpses were in a state of slight putrefactive decomposition with preserved skin coverings.

2. The clothes in the vast majority of cases were not rotten, with blood stains and holes; no identity documents were found on the corpses.

3. All the corpses were severely emaciated: there were clearly visible signs of physical violence on the bodies of the corpses: bruises, stab wounds, fractures of the limbs in 7 cases, fractures of the bones of the facial skull with facial disfigurement in 12 cases, crushing of the bones of the occipital region of the skull in 17 cases, and fractures of the ribs in 3 cases. The other corpses showed no signs of damage to soft tissues, bones or internal organs.

Based on the examination of the corpses, the commission came to the following conclusions:

1. Judging by the state of cadaveric changes, the age of death is 2-3 months.

2. In most cases, the cause of death was physical violence, torture in combination with severe inanition, in other cases - severe inanition of the body.

3. Judging by the clothing, it must be assumed that all the dead were prisoners of war of different nationalities, imprisoned in the mentioned camp.

Seal and signature Chairman of the Commission  
Lieutenant Colonel - KOTOV  
Army forensic expert Major of Medical Services – SOROKO  
Army pathologist Candidate of Medical Sciences  
Major of Medical Services – SAVOSTENKO  
Members: Colonel of Medical Services – PETROV  
Major - KHLUSTOV  
Major - GONCHARENKO  
Senior Lieutenant of Medical Services - KOROBEINIKOV  
Lieutenant - PLONSKY  
Lieutenant - CHECHIN  
Staff Sergeant - IVANOVA  
Red Army Soldier - KORNIENKO  
Red Army Soldier - SIDOROV  
Red Army Soldier – STEPANOV

Correct: Senior Information Instructor of the  
Political Department  
of the 28th Guards Army Major - Skrypnik  
Correct: Head of the Information Department  
of the Political Directorate of the 3rd Belorussian Front,  
Major [A.P.] Grebnev

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 241. Inventory 2656.  
Case 244. Sheets 40-41. A copy of a copy. Typescript.*

**30. Special report of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of  
the 28th Army about a German Stalag I-A prisoner of war camp**

*The 23d of February, 1945*

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF DEFENCE OF THE USSR

THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE 28<sup>TH</sup> ARMY

*23 February 1943*

*TOP SECRET*

No. 4/1786

To comrade [...]\*

SPECIAL REPORT

About the German S t a l a g I-A prisoner of war camp



On 10 February of this year, as a result of offensive operations of units of the 28th Army in the area of Stablack railway station, district of Königsberg (East Prussia), the Stalag I-A prisoner of war camp was liberated.

When the army units occupied the camp, up to 5,000 prisoners of war were liberated, including Russians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Frenchmen and prisoners of war from other countries.

Considering the fact that all liberated prisoners of war passed through the assembly and transfer points, the operational staff working at this point was given the following task:

To identify among former prisoners of war held in Stalag I-A the enemy spies, defectors, traitors to the Motherland, active collaborators with the German occupiers, and other c-r\*\* elements.

To determine which enemy intelligence and counterintelligence agencies were stationed in the area of this camp, the activities of these agencies among prisoners of war, official workers, and their enemy spies.

Detention policy of prisoners of war in the camp, as well as facts of abuse committed by the Germans against prisoners of war.

As a result of agent-operative and investigative measures, it was established that

#### General data

On the territory of East Prussia there were two prisoner of war camps, so-called Stalag I-A and IB - the first one was located in the area of Stablack railway station, the second - in the area of Hohenstein town.

Stalag I-A existed since 1939, i.e. since the beginning of the German-Polish war. This camp consisted of 40 barracks with a total capacity of up to 30,000 people, which is surrounded outside by double barbed wire, up to 3 metres high. The camp was guarded by one of the SS military units.

Since 1939 the camp detained only Polish prisoners of war, from 1941 French and Belgian prisoners of war began to arrive at the camp, and from the beginning of the war between Germany and the USSR Red Army prisoners of war were brought into the camp, who were kept in separate barracks inside the camp, additionally fenced by a barbed wire and heavily guarded.

Every Russian prisoner of war had a distinctive sign on his chest and on his back – “SU” (Soviet Union).

In barracks Nos. 24, 25 and 26 lived (separately) prisoners of war recruited by the Germans for special work in military factories.

Barrack No. 3 housed former Red Army soldiers who had voluntarily enlisted in the ROA36 (Russian Liberation Army). These persons were trusted by the Germans and received better rations.

#### Camp administration

A commandant of the camp was a Colonel of the German army - von PARSCH. The camp was administered through camp-wide departments, namely:

- a). Labour
- b). Propaganda
- c). Clothing supply
- d). Food supply and others.

All executive positions in the administrative apparatus of the camp were occupied by Germans. The Stalag I-A prisoner of war camp was divided into sections of prisoners of war according to nationalities, such as: Russians, French, Poles and others.

The sections were led by non-commissioned officers of the German army, who subjected directly to the camp officer (assistant of a camp commander).

In addition, each barrack was assigned a barrack commandant, who reported to the head of the section.

Persons especially trusted by the Germans from the contingent of prisoners of war who were in the camp were appointed as barracks commandants.

As can be seen from the testimony of an arrested commandant of the infirmary at Stalag I-A camp CHERNOMOR, the administrative supervision of the sections (warehouses, canteen, bathhouse, etc.) was carried out mainly by Poles, who had been in the camp since 1939, and who had gained special trust from the Germans by their active work in favour of the Germans.

#### Regime of detention of prisoners of war in the camp

On 1 February of this year there were about 30 thousand prisoners of war in the camp, mostly former soldiers of the Red Army.

It was strictly forbidden for prisoners of war to leave the camp. However, this regime did not apply to everyone.

Thus, for example, Frenchmen, Poles, Belgians, and other nationalities, with the exception of Russians, walked unhindered throughout the camp, and some of them outside it.

Regarding Russians, these requirements were observed with the all strictness; every case of unauthorised leave of Russian prisoners of war from the site was classified as an escape from the camp, and those who committed it were severely punished.

The food for Russian prisoners of war in the camp was extremely poor. A prisoner of war received 200-250 grams of "surrogate bread" (Osten-Brot) half-baked with sawdust and 1 litre of hot liquid made from rutabaga per day.

From the testimony of a witness, a doctor of the camp infirmary ANTYDZE, it appears that the caloric content of the food reached a maximum of 900 calories.

Due to poor nutrition, the Soviet prisoners of war were severely exhausted. As a result, prisoners of war, in order to avoid starvation, broke into the camp's food warehouses in the summer of 1944, after which the participants in the warehouse break-in were subjected to brutal reprisals by the Gestapo - 30 people were shot, 3 people were sentenced to death by hanging. This was officially announced in the camp.

The accommodation of prisoners of war (Russians) was extremely crowded. As an example, in one barrack instead of 100 people up to 500 people and more were accommodated. The Germans considered the unsanitary condition of the barracks in the section of our prisoners of war as a rule.

The above mentioned circumstances led to the spread of epidemic diseases among the prisoners of war: typhus, tuberculosis, dysentery and other diseases.

A camp administration did not take any measures to cure sick prisoners of war of the Red Army, but, on the contrary, promoted the spread of this disease by all measures. For this purpose, they deliberately placed healthy people in the same barracks with those sick with typhus and tuberculosis.

It should be noted that at Stalag I-A camp there was a Death Infirmary, called "death" because no one returned alive from it.

Out of the total number of sick Soviet prisoners of war of 500 people in this "infirmary", 10-12 people died every day. Seeing the stalemate and imminent death, the prisoners of war (the sick ones) could not stand it and committed suicide.

"... During the last 3 months there have been two cases of suicide among the sick..." (from the testimony of a doctor of the Stalag I-A infirmary - ANTYDZE).

There were such cases when during the search potatoes or any other products were found among the belongings of prisoners of war (Russians) returned from labour activities back to the barracks. The latter were beaten for that, as a punishment they were put for 12

hours in the pit, and the “guilty” had to stand for 12 hours in the pit without even moving. A prisoner of war was beaten by a sentry for violating the established “order”.

Recruitment of volunteers for the so-called Russian Liberation Army and the German army

There was a propaganda department in the prisoner of war camp, which, together with representatives of the “Vlasov Committee”<sup>37</sup> daily recruited prisoners of war for the so-called “ROA” (Russian Liberation Army) and German SS units.

Prisoners of war who expressed a desire to serve the German invaders were transferred from the common barracks to barrack No. 3, where they were formed into commands and sent to active German units to fight against the Red Army.

It should be noted that recruitment into the Russian Liberation Army and SS troops was often accompanied by repression, and enrolment in both the ROA and SS troops was forcible. Gestapo officials took an active part in the recruitment of volunteers.

Some prisoners of war committed acts of self-mutilation (damage to the limbs of their hands, artificial burns, etc.) in order to evade forced mobilisation into the ROA and German SS forces.

Activities of enemy intelligence and counterintelligence agencies in the Stalag I-A prisoner of war camp

According to the testimony of an arrested commandant of the infirmary at Stalag I-A camp CHERNOMOR, it was established that there was a Gestapo department at the camp, headed by a Major of the German army ZIS.

Besides him, the following people worked as official Gestapo employees at the camp:

1. Sonderführer<sup>38</sup> (Special Leader) von BREM, a former officer of the Tsarist army, who emigrated to Germany in 1918, where he took German citizenship.

2. Obergefreiter<sup>39</sup> (Lance Corporal) of the German army - MAYER.

No information about other Gestapo workers who worked at the camp has been gained.

A head of the Gestapo department at the camp, Major ZIS and his staff, through their agents from among defectors and traitors to the Motherland, detected and arrested among the prisoners of war persons who carried out anti-fascist agitation in the camp and expressed dissatisfaction with the German regime.

In addition, Major ZIS and other Gestapo officers systematically carried out personal searches of prisoners of war and barracks, as well as executions.

No data has been obtained on the activities of German military intelligence in the Stalag IA area. However, an arrested CHERNOMOR shows that two unknown persons in the uniform of German army Lieutenants often came to the camp infirmary, one of them being Russian, the other Armenian, who asked Red Army prisoners of war who had newly arrived at the infirmary for information about factories located in the Soviet rear, about the location of Red Army units on one or another section of the front.

The prisoners of war who gave valuable information were summoned from the camp after some time and those summoned never returned back to the infirmary.

The above-mentioned circumstances give reason to believe that one of the Abwehr Commands (German military-intelligence Service Commands) was operating at the camp in the person of two unknown men dressed in the uniform of German army Lieutenants, who, apparently, were engaged in the selection of agents for preparation and the next throwing into the rear of the Soviet troops.

When the offensive of the Red Army deep into East Prussia began in January of this year, the Germans hastily began to gather into a camp all prisoners of war employed at the landlords' works, at factories and plants and evacuate them in the direction of the city of Königsberg. The evacuation of prisoners of war was also carried out by the retreating units of the German army.

In total, up to 25 thousand people were evacuated from the Stalag I-A camp, about 5 thousand people who were sick and could not move were left in the camp by the Germans and released by the Red Army units.

There is data (which needs to be verified) that the Germans put all the captured prisoners of war from Stalag I-A on small ships in the Baltic Sea allegedly for the purpose of evacuation deep into Germany, after which they were taken to the open sea and sunk.

In the course of our work among former prisoners of war of Stalag I-A camp we arrested a commandant of the "Death Infirmary" —

Grigory Mikhailovich CHERNOMOR, born in 1921, a native of Pantazievka village, Kirovograd region, Russian, a former member of the All-Union Communist Party of (Bolsheviks), higher education.

Being questioned, CHERNOMOR at the interrogation testified that during the last 2 months he had been working as a commandant of the "Death Infirmary", fulfilling all orders of the Camp Administration.

During his work as a commandant, CHERNOMOR was acquainted with Gestapo officers Lance Corporal (Obergefreiter) MAYER and Special Leader (Sonderführer) von BREM, and the latter offered him to join the Gestapo, but he allegedly refused.

According to agency data, CHERNOMOR, while in Germany, graduated from the school of saboteur agents and was preparing for transfer to the rear of the Red Army.

The case of CHERNOMOR is under investigation, in the context of exposing him as an agent of German military intelligence.

I will inform you in detail about CHERNOMOR additionally [...] <sup>3\*</sup>

*Notes: "Petrov, speak with me. 24.2.[19]45 [...] <sup>4\*</sup>*

*Petrov, write a special report to comrade Abakumov and the Military Council. 28.2. [19]45 [...] <sup>5\*</sup>*  
*To Comrade. Grachev*

*Work out a special report for Comrade Abakumov. Compile a reference for orientation on the camp [...] <sup>6\*</sup>*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 11. Sheets 62-68. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Painted over.

\*\* Probably "counterrevolutionary".

<sup>3\*</sup> Painted over.

<sup>4\*</sup> The signature is illegible.

<sup>5\*</sup> The signature is illegible.

<sup>6\*</sup> Everything further is illegible.



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РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО

И К О - С С С Р

ОТДЕЛ КОНТРАРАЗВЕДКИ "СМЕРШ" 28 А Р М И И

"23" февраля 1945г.

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО

№ 4 / 1786

товарищу [REDACTED]

СПЕЦСОБЩЕНИЕ

О немецком лагере военнопленных "Шталаг-1" а

10 февраля с.г. в результате наступательных операций частей 28 армии в районе железнодорожной станции Шталаг, Кенигсбергского округа (Восточная Пруссия) освобожден лагерь военнопленных "Шталаг-1" а.

При занятии частями армии лагеря, было освобождено до 5000 чел. военнопленных, содержащихся в указанном лагере, где были заключены - русские, латыши, эстонцы, поляки, французы и военнопленные других стран.

В связи с тем, что все освобожденные из плена проходят через сборно-пересыльный пункт, перед оперативным составом работающим на этом пункте была поставлена задача:

Выявлять среди бывших военнопленных, содержащихся в "Шталаге-1" а агентуру противника, предателей, изменников Родины, активных пособников немецким оккупантам и др. к-р элемент.

Устанавливать какие разведывательные и контрразведывательные органы противника дислоцировались в районе данного лагеря, деятельность этих органов среди военнопленных, официальных работников и их агентуру.

Режим содержания военнопленных в лагере, а также факты издевательств чинимых немцами над военнопленными.

В результате проведенных агентурно-оперативных и следственных мероприятий, установлено:

#### Общие данные:-

На территории Восточной Пруссии функционировали два лагеря военнопленных, т.е. "Шталаг-I"а" и I"б" - первый был расположен в районе ж.д.станции Штаблак, второй в районе гор. Гогештейн.

"Шталаг-I"а" существует с 1939г., т.е. с начала германско-польской войны. Данный лагерь состоит из 40 бараков, с общей вместимостью до 30 тысяч человек, который с наружи обнесен колючей проволокой в два ряда, высотой до 5 метров. Лагерь охранялся одной из воинских частей "СС".

С 1939г. в лагере содержались военнопленные только польской национальности, с 1941г. в лагерь начали прибывать военнопленные французы, бельгийцы, а с начала войны Германии с СССР в лагерь поступили военнопленные Красной Армии, которые содержались в отдельных бараках внутри лагеря, дополнительно обнесенных колючей проволокой и усиленно охранялись.

Каждый русский военнопленный имел на груди и на спине отличительный знак - "SV" ("Советский Союз")

В бараках № 24, 25 и 26 жили (обособленно) военнопленные завербованные немцами для специальных работ на военных заводах.

В 3-м бараке жили бывшие военнослужащие Красной Армии, добровольно записавшиеся в "FOA". Указанные лица пользовались доверием у немцев и получали улучшенный паек.

#### Администрация лагеря:-

Командантом лагеря являлся полковник немецкой армии-Фон-ПАРШ. Административное Управление лагерем осуществлялось через общелагерные отделы, а именно:



# 31. Card of I.I. Vavilov, a prisoner of war from Stalag I-A camp

The 13th of July, 1942

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <span>Personalkarte I: Personelle Angaben</span> <span>Stalag IA</span> </div>																								
Name: <u>Vavilov Babuval</u>												Staatangehörigkeit: <u>Russen</u>												
Geburtsort: <u>Jurament</u>												Eintrittsdatum: <u>5.10.41</u>												
Geburtsdatum und -ort: <u>15.10.14. Michail</u>												Truppenteil: <u>47.820. Bat.</u>												
Religion: <u>Orthodox</u>												Dienstgrad: <u>Unteroffizier</u>												
Vorname des Vaters: <u>Ivan</u>												Matrikel Nr. (Stammrolle des Heimatortes): <u>97</u>												
Familienname der Mutter: <u>Burumina</u>												Gefangenennummer (Ort und Datum): <u>St. 41. Perno</u>												
Ob gesund, krank, verwundet eingeleitet: <u>Es ist</u>																								
Fotobild												Nähere Personalbeschreibung												
Höhe												Gewicht												
Besondere Kennzeichen:																								
Fingerabdruck des rechten Zeigefingers												Name und Wohnort der zu benachrichtigenden Person in der Heimat des Kriegsgefangenen												
												<u>Jurament Vavilov</u> <u>Michail von Kalinin</u> <u>uban Babuval</u> <u>Kaliningrad</u> <u>Wenden!</u>												
<p>13.7.42. <u>Exekution auf Flucht.</u></p> <p><u>Do compasen sa nober.</u></p> <p><u>13.7.42.</u></p>																								

It is stated in the card: "Executed for escape. 13.7.1942" (in German language with Russian underline translation).

Electronic resource: Pamyat Naroda (literally: Memory of the People) portal <https://pamyat-naroda.ru> Vavilov Ivan Ivanovich, born on 15.10.1914, Kalinin region.

## 32. Special report on the prisoner of war and foreign workers camp in Pillau town

July 1945

TOP SECRET

[...]\* TO THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL

Comrade\*\*

On No. 3/17726 dated 19/VI-45.

### SPECIAL REPORT.

About the atrocities of German fascists against  
Soviet citizens in Pillau town /East Prussia/.

I report that of the people who were in Pillau town and who knew about the atrocities of the Germans against Soviet citizens in this town, we have identified only two people - residents of Smolensk city - GURYANOVA Aleksandra Dmitrievna and her daughter GURYANOVA Valentina Denisovna, who were in the camp where the Germans killed about 8,000 people.

The GURYANOVs testified that in October 1943 they were taken from the city of Smolensk by the Germans to East Prussia to Fischhausen town, from where they were sent by the labour exchange, along with other Soviet citizens, to a camp in Pillau town.

The camp was called Fort Stiehle<sup>3\*</sup> and was located 3 kilometres from the town of Pillau<sup>40</sup>. As the GURYANOVs showed, in total there were up to 100 barracks in the camp, surrounded by several rows of barbed wire; each of them held at least 200 people. Among those held in the camp were Soviet prisoners of war, Soviet citizens, prisoners of war and civilians of French and Polish nationalities.

Soviet prisoners of war were kept isolated from other prisoners in separate barracks, fenced off inside the camp with additional rows of barbed wire. They were taken to and from work to the camp under heavy convoy. Civilians had passes with which they went to work and after work returned to the camp in the barracks.

The prisoners in the camp were in difficult conditions. The working day lasted from 6 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening, and the following food was given: in the morning and evening, unsweetened coffee, at lunch, one litre of liquid soup made from pearl barley, and 200 grams of bread.

The camp guards, consisting of soldiers from the German naval military unit, abused the prisoners, systematically beating them for the slightest violation of the camp regime and organising general searches with the aim of confiscating things and valuables from the prisoners.

On the night of 26 January 1945, through the simultaneous explosion of all the barracks of the camp, the majority of prisoners held in this camp were destroyed by the Germans.

As the GURYANOVs show, on the evening of 25 January 1945, all posts and all security in the camp were removed. The prisoners did not know why this was done.

At approximately 2 o'clock at night, when the people in the barracks were sleeping, a strong explosion occurred and all the barracks, along with the people, were destroyed.

Soon after the explosion, German guards appeared at the camp and began to catch and shoot all the prisoners who survived and tried to escape into the forest.

The GURYANOVs do not know exactly how many people were destroyed by the Germans in the camp by explosion, but they show that only a few dozen of the prisoners were saved, and most of them were crippled.



The GURYANOVs themselves, after the explosion, fled from the camp and moved to the laundry at the German military hospital, where they had previously worked and continued to be there until April 1945, the day of liberation by units of the Red Army.

The GURYANOVs do not know anyone's surnames from the camp administration, the guards or the participants in these atrocities against Soviet citizens in this camp.

ATTACHMENT: Witness records of the GURYANOVs' interrogations on 6 sheets<sup>4\*</sup>.

[...]<sup>5\*</sup>

“ “ July 1945

Marks: “ t. [...]”<sup>6\*</sup>

*Please have a substantive conversation. 6.7.[19]45 [...]”<sup>7\*</sup> to correspondence”*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 104–105. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Painted over.

\*\* The name is painted over.

3\* In the document “Fortstiehle”.

4\* Published under Nos. 33, 34.

5\* Name, position, signature are painted over.

6\* Illegible.

7\* Illegible.

Вх № 25187

РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО

5-7. СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО.

ГЕНЕРАЛ-ЛЕЙТЕНАНТУ

ТОВ. [REDACTED]

№ № 3/17726 от 19/VI-45 года.

СПЕЦСООБЩЕНИЕ.-О зверствах немецких фашистов над советскими гражданами в гор. Пиллау (Восточная Пруссия).

Донесу, что из лиц находившихся в городе Пиллау и знающих о злодеяниях немцев над советскими гражданами в этом городе, нами установлены только два человека - жительницы города Смоленска - ГУРЬЯНОВА Александра Дмитриевна и ее дочь ГУРЬЯНОВА Валентина Денисовна, которые находились в лагере, где немцами было уничтожено около 8.000 человек.

ГУРЬЯНОВЫ показали, что в октябре 1943 года они из города Смоленска немцами были вывезены в Восточную Пруссию в город Шинхаузен, откуда биржей труда вместе с другими советскими гражданами были направлены в гор. Пиллау в лагерь.

Лагерь носил название "Форштилле" и располагался в 2-х километрах от гор. Пиллау. Как показали ГУРЬЯНОВЫ, всего в лагере насчитывалось до 100 барачков, обнесенных в несколько рядов колючей проволокой, в каждом из них содержалось не менее 200 человек. Среди содержащихся в лагере лиц, были советские военнопленные, советские граждане, военнопленные и мирные граждане французской и польской национальностей.

Советские в/пленные от остальных заключенных содержались изолировано в отдельных бараках, обгороженных внутри лагеря дополнительными рядами колючей проволоки. На работу и с работы в лагерь входились под усиленным конвоем. Гражданские лица имели пропуск, по которым выходили на работу и после работы возвращались в лагерь в бараки.

Заключенные в лагере находились в тяжелых условиях. Рабочий день длился с 6 часов утра до 5 часов вечера, а из питания давалось: утром и вечером несладкое кофе, в обед по одному литру



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жидкого супа, приготовленного из перловой крупы и по 200 грамм хлеба.

Лагерная охрана, состоявшая из солдат морской немецкой воинской части, издевалась над заключенными, систематически, избивая их за малейшие нарушения лагерного режима и устраивая повальные обыски, с целью изъятия у заключенных вещей и ценностей.

В ночь на 26 января 1945 года, путем одновременного взрыва всех барачных лагерей, большинство заключенных, содержащихся в этом лагере немцами было уничтожено.

Как показывают ГУРЬЯНОВЫ, вечером, 25 января 1945 года в лагере были сняты все посты и вся охрана. В связи с чем это было сделано, заключенные ничего не знали.

Приблизительно в 2 часа ночи, когда люди в бараках спали, произошел сильный взрыв и все бараки вместе с людьми были разрушены.

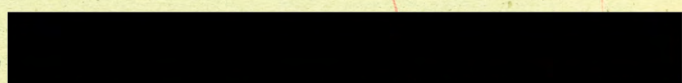
Вскоре после взрыва, в расположении лагеря появились немецкие охранники и всех заключенных, которые остались в живых пытались убежать в лес, стали ловить и расстреливать.

Какое количество людей было уничтожено немцами в этом лагере путем взрыва, ГУРЬЯНОВЫ точно не знают, но показывают, что из заключенных спаслось всего лишь несколько десятков и большинство из них были искалеченные.

ГУРЬЯНОВЫ лично сами после взрыва из лагеря бежали и перебрались в прачечную при немецком военном госпитале в которой они ранее работали и продолжали там находиться до апреля 1945 года, по день освобождения частями Красной Армии.

Из администрации лагеря, охранников и участников указанных зверств над советскими гражданами в этом лагере ГУРЬЯНОВЫ по фамилиям никого не знают.

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ: Протоколы допросов свидетелей ГУРЬЯНОВЫХ на 6 листах.



" " июля 1945 г.

№ 5158/СО

Гв.РЛ.

33. **Testimony of A.D. Guryanova, a former prisoner of the camp in Pillau town**

*The 26th of June, 1945*

RECORD OF INTERROGATION

*The 26th of June, 1945*

*The town of Palmnicken*

I\* - Guards Senior Lieutenant [...]\*\*, questioned as a witness a citizen,

GURYANOVA Aleksandra Dmitrievna, 47 years old, born in Bazarny Karabulak village, same district, Saratov province, since 1925 lived in Smolensk city, [...] Russian, education - illiterate, non-party, widow.

A witness has been warned about giving false testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. / Illiterate /.

QUESTION: Where did you live and what did you do before and during the German occupation of the Smolensk region?

ANSWER: Since 1925, when I moved to the Smolensk region, and until 1943, I lived in Smolensk city on 1-e (Pervoye) Maya Street, house No. 15.

Before the German occupation of Smolensk city I worked as a technical worker in the shoemaker's workshop of the artel "Trud", and under the Germans I did various rough works and for the last year I worked at the bakery as a carrier.

In August or September 1943, together with my daughter Valentina, born in 1926, and other locals, I was evacuated by the Germans to East Prussia on the Samland Peninsula, where we lived until April 1945, until we were liberated by Red Army units.

QUESTION: Can you tell us in more detail where you lived and what you did while being evacuated by the Germans to East Prussia?

ANSWER: Around October 1943 the Germans took us by freight train from Smolensk to Fischhausen to the labour exchange. About a day or two later, the Germans sent all the evacuees to Pillau small town, where they placed them in a camp with many barracks.

The whole camp was surrounded by several rows of barbed wire and was located 3 kilometres from the town. In this camp, I was kept together with my daughter Valentina from October 1943 until February 1945, until the explosion of these barracks by Nazi fiends.

During the whole period of my imprisonment I worked in the laundry of the German military hospitals.

QUESTION: Who was held with you in the specified camp and how many of them were there?

ANSWER: It was said that there were about 5,000 people in this camp, but in reality there were more.

At a rough count, there were at least 100 barracks in the camp, and each barrack housed up to 200 people. All the barracks were overcrowded.

Many Soviet citizens evacuated by the Germans were kept in this camp, many of them were prisoners of war of the Red Army. There were also Polish and French prisoners of war and civilians.

QUESTION: What was the situation for imprisoned citizens in the Pillau camp like?

ANSWER: All the prisoners in the camp in Pillau town were in very harsh conditions. Most of them were half naked and shod in wooden clogs.



Prisoners of war were escorted out of the camp for hard labour, and the work was done around the clock in two shifts. The food was poor. Once a day they were given a pot of tasteless pearl barley soup for two people, 200-250 grams of bread, and unsweetened coffee in the morning and evening. As for me, I worked in the laundry from 7 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening.

There were cases when camp guards beat the prisoners.

QUESTION: Who were the camp guards and the camp administration, and who do you know by surname?

ANSWER: The camp guards and camp administration were all sailors. I do not know their last names or the name of this unit.

QUESTION: You have provided the information above that you were kept in the Pillau camp until the barracks were blown up by the Nazis. Tell us more about this.

ANSWER: The explosion of the barracks of the camp took place on the night of 26-27 February, 1945<sup>3\*</sup>, at about 2 o'clock at night.

On 26 February of that year, at about 5 o'clock in the evening, I returned to the camp from labour work. I noticed that there were no guards around the camp at that time. Some of the prisoners explained that the Germans had apparently escaped from Pillau and had removed all the guards.

Everyone calmed down and went to bed.

On 27 February, at 2 o'clock in the morning, I was awakened by a strong explosion and a kind of shake, which caused all the barracks to collapse, some of them catching fire, and there were groans and screams of maimed and wounded people everywhere. When I woke up, I was already outside, our barracks and the others had collapsed, the walls of the barracks were scattered on the sides. Everything was covered with dust and dirt.

I myself cannot explain why this happened. It was said that in the forest, 300-400 metres from our barracks, there were large ammunition depots with mines that were supposedly blown up. I don't know how true that is. But I declare that all this happened in a moment and there was no explosion or shooting afterwards.

QUESTION: Where did the prisoners held in the camp go?

ANSWER: A clear majority of the prisoners held in the camp died in the explosion. Several dozen managed to escape, wounded and maimed, and I personally saw up to 10 prisoners escape unharmed except for their minor bruises. These escapees were from various barracks.

QUESTION: After the barracks were blown up, did the camp guards and administration show up at the camp site?

ANSWER: I personally did not see or meet any of the camp guards or administration after the explosion in the camp. At that time I was very frightened, and I don't remember how I ran into the forest with my daughter Valentina, where I hid until morning, and in the morning we went to the laundry where we worked, which was 3 km away from the camp in the town itself, where we lived until April 1945, until the Red Army entered Pillau.

On the same day after the explosion, there was a conversation between the survivors - I don't know any of their names - that on the same night some German armed soldiers appeared near the camp and shot the escaped prisoners who had survived the explosion.

QUESTION: What else do you have to add to your testimony about the mass extermination of Soviet citizens by the Germans?

ANSWER: I have nothing more to add to my testimony on the merits of the mass extermination of Soviet citizens imprisoned in the camps in Pillau town by the Germans.

The record of the interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words and read to me. /illiterate/

Interrogated by:<sup>4\*</sup>

## Guards Senior Lieutenant

Correct: [...]⁵\*.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 109-111. Original. Typescript.*

\* Name is painted over.

\*\* Painted over.

3\* A. D. Guryanova is mistaken. The explosion occurred at the end of January 1945.

4\* The name is painted over.

5\* Painted over.

### 34. Testimony of V.D. Guryanova, a former prisoner of the camp in Pillau town

*The 26th of June, 194.*

#### RECORD OF INTERROGATION

The 26th of June, 1945

The town of Palmnicken

I\* - Guards Senior Lieutenant [...]\*\*, questioned as a witness a citizen, -

I am warned about giving false testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. / Guryanova / GURYANOVA Valentina Denisovna, born in 1926, a native and residen of Smolensk city, [...] from a family of workers, Russian, education of 6 classes, non-party, unmarried.

QUESTION: Where did you live and what did you do before and during the German occupation of the Smolensk region?

ANSWER: Before and during the German occupation of the Smolensk region, I lived with my mother in Smolensk city on 1-e (Pervoye) Maya Street, house No. 15; before the war I studied at school, finished 6 grades, and during the German occupation I worked in the infirmary and later in the bakery in various subsidiary works.

On 19 September 1943, together with my mother Aleksandra GURYANOVA and many other Soviet civilians, I was evacuated by the Germans in dismounted formation to Orsha city, from where I was sent by freight train to East Prussia, first to Fischhausen, to the labour exchange, and then to Pillau town, to the Fort Stiehle<sup>3\*</sup> camp, where we stayed until April 1945, until we were liberated by the Red Army.

QUESTION: What was the camp in Pillau small town where you were imprisoned? Where was it located, and who else was kept there?

ANSWER: The Fort Stiehle camp consisted of many wooden barracks, the entire area of the camp was surrounded by a wire fence, it was located on the outskirts of Pillau town. This camp held several thousand different forced labour prisoners, evacuated Soviet citizens, prisoners of war of the Red Army, many Polish and French prisoners and civilians.

It was impossible to determine the exact number of people held in the camp, and I find it difficult to say, people arrived and departed frequently, but all the time the barracks of the camp were overcrowded.

The Germans isolated the Red Army prisoners inside the camp from the rest of the people there by fencing their barracks with barbed wire.

QUESTION: What kind of regime did the Germans set up in the Fort Stiehle camp?

ANSWER: Red Army prisoners of war were kept under heavy guard and escorted to work. Civilians had passes with which they went to work and returned to the camp to their barracks after work. My mother and I worked in a laundry in a town 2 kilometres from the camp.

This laundry mainly served German military hospitals.

We started work at 6:30 o'clock and worked until 5 o'clock in the evening, sometimes even longer. The food was bad. They gave us unsweetened coffee, liquid soup and pearl barley at lunch, one litre per person and 200 grams of bread, and only coffee in the evening.

The camp guards treated the camp inmates very badly; they beat them for the slightest offence, took them to the gendarmerie, and carried out comprehensive searches to find things they said had been stolen.

QUESTION: Who do you know by name among the camp guards and camp administration of your camp?

ANSWER: Our camp was guarded by soldiers of the German naval unit, and in the last days by soldiers of the infantry unit. I do not know the names of any of the camp guards or the camp administration.

QUESTION: Were there any cases of extermination by the Germans of Soviet citizens detained in the camp in Pillau town?

ANSWER: On the night of 25-26 January 1945, the Nazis blew up all the barracks of our camp, as a result of which the clear majority of the prisoners were killed, several dozen were left maimed and wounded, and a few, including me and my mother, managed to escape unharmed except for light injuries received.

The explosion of the barracks of the camp took place under the following circumstances: on the evening of 25 January 1945, all the posts and guards were removed from the camp, but no one in the camp could explain the purpose of what was done. The explosion itself took place at 2 o'clock at night on 26 January 1945.

I personally woke up at the moment when our barracks began to collapse, the walls crumbled, boards and logs fell, and it happened in a moment, and we found ourselves in an open air. I was so frightened that I grabbed my coat and ran into the woods in my underwear with my mother.

When I awoke from the explosion, there were no surviving barracks. There were fires everywhere, terrible screams of people maimed, wounded, trapped under the walls and logs of the barracks.

Soon German soldiers appeared at the site of the camp and began shooting people who had escaped from the explosion and were fleeing from the camp.

With the help of the explosion of the camp barracks arranged by the Germans, the Nazis deliberately massacred Soviet citizens and prisoners of war of the Red Army, as well as Poles and French who were imprisoned and held in the camp in Pillau at that time.

It is difficult to say how many thousands of innocent Soviet people were killed at that time by the explosion of the Nazi Germans, but I declare that at that time all the barracks of the camp were overcrowded with prisoners, and only a few dozen escaped, most of them mutilated.

How the Germans prepared and carried out this explosion is hard to determine, since it all happened at night when everyone was asleep.

QUESTION: Your mother, GURYANOVA Aleksandra, testified during the interrogation that the explosion of the barracks took place on the night of 27 February 1945. Could you clarify this?

ANSWER: I remember very well that the explosion of the barracks was carried out by the Germans on the night of 25-26 January 1945.

My mother, GURYANOVA Aleksandra, due to her illiteracy, could confuse the time of the explosion, that's why she mentioned February instead of January, and she often confuses these months in general.

QUESTION: Where were you after you managed to escape from the explosion of the barracks?

ANSWER: After we managed to escape from the explosion of our barracks, I went with my mother to the laundry, where we worked with her, and there we were put in barracks and continued to work until April 1945.

The last two weeks before the Red Army came, we had to hide in the forest and in the fortress on the outskirts of Pillau.

Currently, I work together with my mother as a milkmaid in the cattle herd of the military unit Field Post 42711.

QUESTION: What else do you have to add to your testimony about the mass extermination of Soviet citizens by the Germans in the Fort Stiehle camp?

ANSWER: I have nothing to add to my testimony.

The record of the interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words and read to me. /GURYANOVA/.

Interrogated by:<sup>4\*</sup>

Guards Senior Lieutenant

Correct: [...] <sup>5\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 106-108. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Name is painted over.

\*\* Painted over.

<sup>3\*</sup> Hereinafter in the document it is Fort Stiehle (Forstiehle)

<sup>4\*</sup> The name and signature are painted over.

<sup>5\*</sup> Painted over.

### **35. From the memoirs of K. I. Igoshev<sup>41</sup>, a former prisoner of war in Ebenrode (Oflag-52) camp, "We stood face to face with death"**

*The 31st of July, 1967*

#### From one hell to another

[...] Oh, how disappointed we were when they brought us to Germany, or rather to East Prussia, to the town of Stallupönen or, as the Germans called it, Ebenrode\* (now this town has been renamed to Nesterov town. It commemorates the name of the Hero of the Soviet Union, Colonel Stepan Kuzmich Nesterov, who died at the approaches to the town).

The town itself was small, reminiscent of our county centres; the buildings of residential houses and public institutions were made of red brick; the pointed, red-tiled roofs and narrow streets were much like the old town of Riga.

About two or three kilometres to the east of the town was a camp for Russian prisoners of war, not far from which (400-500 metres) ran a good impregnated with asphalt highway; on both sides of the highway, as far as the human eye could see, massive trees stretched



upward in straight rows. All this - both the town itself and the asphalted highway, on both sides of which were scattered here and there individual farms of "Bauers"<sup>42</sup> and sometimes entire villages - spoke of its antiquity with an agricultural bias of development. Factories or plants didn't even exist.

The death camp itself is newly created. There were no structures or buildings on the camp grounds. An open field, sown with wheat, barley or oats, with a total area of about 750-800 square metres, was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire, three metres high, through which high voltage current flowed. The distance between the first and the second wire fences was also intertwined with wire in the form of a spiral or cobweb, but so thick that it was impossible to get through it. In addition, a ditch 2.5 metres wide and 1.5 metres deep was dug between them. The Nazis' experience in building concentration camps was immediately apparent. They did not spare any barbed wire for that purpose. Along all these fortifications on both sides, as in Dvinsk, there was also a single row of barbed wire at a distance of 5 metres from the main wire fence, which meant a forbidden zone. To cross it certainly meant death. External guarding of the camp - eight machine gun towers with medium machine guns, earth-and-timber emplacements and trenches in case of a riot or attack on the camp. In addition, sentries walked behind the hedge every 100-150 metres. The Germans did not trust anyone with the external security of the camp, and SD troops were mainly stationed here. With such guards and wire fortifications, any thought of escape had to be put out of one's mind.

The entire area inside the camp was divided into 10 blocks without any buildings with the exception of the checkpoints, also known as exit booths, built of red brick near the gates of each block. The administration of each block was headed by a Nazi Non-Commissioned Officer with a dozen subordinate soldiers, who were soon replaced by the camp police.

The blocks were separated from each other by barbed wire as high as a man's head, with German sentries with automatic rifles standing between them. Thus, running from one block to another was excluded. Residents of one block were also not allowed to talk to another, let alone exchange things or anything like that. Each block was numbered and had its own immediate purpose. The blocks were numbered from the left side of block No.1, running clockwise in a circle and ending with block 10, which was across the street from the first block. There were no signs or templates on the blocks, and who needed them? There was no one but the German internal guards and us doomed to death, and we all knew the location of the camp perfectly well, even though 90 percent of the prisoners had no right to move around the camp. The immediate purpose of each block was as follows. The first block was a stage block: people were only brought here to prepare for the stage, or when they arrived at the camp to divide them into blocks. It was empty at all other times. The second block was the officers' block: it contained officers of all military branches and nationalities, from Sub-Lieutenant to Colonel. The third one was labouring: there were camp maintenance staff (bakers, cooks, janitors, a funeral commando, etc.).

In the fourth - Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians. In the fifth - Crimean Tatars, and then the camp police. The sixth was a punishment cell or death block, from which almost no one came out alive. The seventh - Ukrainians. The eighth and the ninth blocks were for Russians. And the tenth was the sanitary unit, where two large tarpaulin tents were soon erected - the only place to hide from the rain or wind.

Along the centre line of the camp, between the blocks, from the exit gate to the rear wall of the camp, where kitchens numbered 3 and 4 were located, a highway of round logs and poles was laid. Boardwalks were laid out beside it on both sides. A massive watch-tower, armed with two medium machine guns, automatic rifles and hand grenades, was erected in the centre of the camp.

All the watch-towers, including the one inside the camp, were equipped with powerful searchlights. At the entrance to the camp, near its massive, wide gate, a wooden guardhouse was built, large enough to house a platoon of soldiers.

Camp kitchens No. 1 and No. 2 were located to the left and right of the camp exit. Each of the four camp kitchens, which prepared the thin broth for us, was commanded by a squad of German soldiers led by a Non-Commissioned Officer, just as they were in the barracks. Afterwards, a month later, a camp bakery was built in the far left corner of the camp, next to the kitchen No. 2, fenced in by a thick mesh of barbed wire, three metres high, and constantly guarded even from inside the camp by Nazi soldiers. No one could enter this area, not even the camp policemen, to whom all authority in the camp was soon transferred, except for the bakery workers, who were brought here under escort, and the German officers of the Quartermaster Corps.

It was clear from everything that the fascist fiends had built this camp within the last month and had made it a temporary transit camp, which is why there were no permanent capital buildings here as in the other camps. Even the German guards lived in hastily erected Finnish barracks. Only the camp commandant - an old Nazi Major - and the whole gang of SS tormentors were accommodated in a permanent spacious old house, apparently taken from a local resident.

That's where we ended up, in a camp like this. You can imagine our frame of mind and what we looked like after two days of crush in the wagons without water and food, and we were missing about thirty of our comrades who had died on the road. We were happy to get some fresh air, even though we were beaten with whips and rifle butts all the way from the station to the camp, but a man gets used to it. Those who could not walk on their own feet were simply shot on the spot. At that time this seemed to be the order of the day, a matter of course.

If many of us could not bear all these tortures and, as they say, "yielded up the spirit", the fascist executioners could not live without this physical abuse of prisoners, just as we could not live without water and bread. It seems to me that if in those hard times the most monstrous fascist murderers were deprived of the opportunity to mock the defenceless people, to give them a calm, quiet, nourished life, they would have refused it. Because their blood, their brains, their whole being was thirsty for blood. They killed people right and left by the power of the "superior race", then with indifference, then with sadistic pleasure, feeling a special, supreme satisfaction from human torment.

We were among the first to be brought here. The surroundings spoke eloquently of it - the crops in the blocks were not completely trampled, freshly planed planks on the sidewalks, preserved bark on the logs of the causeway - everything spoke of a new dwelling. Although there were crowds of people in the blocks far away from us.

Our entire group of one and a half thousand people, like wild saigas, were driven into the cell of the first block. No one paid any attention to us, as if we were not really human beings but wild animals. In the vast open-air area, we huddled together in small crowds, acquaintance with acquaintance, and settled on the bare ground as best we could. The only thing the Nazis could not take from us was the sun and the air. They took everything else.

Fast beside, a hundred metres from our block, the kitchens were smoking. Truly speaking, there was no attracting odour to our ravenous appetite, but there was food and water in the kitchens. Whatever this food is, even if it is the most unpalatable, it gives life to a human being, and by taking it, you give a load to the oesophagus, to the whole human body, you increase the impulse for life. Russian people have a saying: "I would eat a dog together with fur right now". But it is only a saying, in reality in our peaceful life everything is the opposite. Give this man a bowl of the most delicious borsch and throw a fly or a cockroach

in it, of course he will refuse. And what do you think, dear reader, if a dog or a cat had actually run into our block at that time, what would be left of it? Nothing! I can assure you that under oath. Subsequently, about 5-6 months later, when the camp was already quarantined, I myself was treated to fresh stewed meat. I was also surprised at the ingenuity of the prisoners, not knowing the truth, I thought, where could they get fresh meat in the camp? The camp was under quarantine, not even a horse, which delivered frozen rutabaga for our kitchen, was not allowed in, not even a man, even if he was wearing a fascist uniform. And then suddenly there's fresh meat.

It turned out that the problem was solved simply. Kidneys, heart, and liver were cut out from comrades who had died of hunger (and there were plenty of such corpses at that time, and nobody paid any attention to them). All this was boiled in an army cauldron and then exchanged for thin broth, bread and other things. Simply it is called cannibalism, but the one who ate this meat had no idea what he was eating. And the one who cut and prepared this food, as a rule, did not eat it himself. You don't believe that? You would say that the author "paint it in black colours", that is, exaggerates. Then ask those who lived through this harsh time and survived, they will tell you whether it is true or not.

### The imaginary Ukrainians

After 3-4 hours, a group of German officers, accompanied by soldiers and an interpreter, came to our block. We were told that we would now be fed and divided into other blocks according to our nationality.

- What shall we do? - said Arkasha Borovikov.

- We are Russians and we are going to join the Russian block. You won't pretend to be a Georgian or a Tatar,- I tried to argue.

- Have you forgotten about Dvinsk? - Arkasha continued insistently. - They don't take Russians for labour, and without a job, we are doomed. Then you can forget about escaping.

- You're right. We have to get to labour, at least somewhere. That's our salvation,- Sasha Malenkiy confirmed.

- Then let's call us Ukrainians and that's the end of it, - after all, they take them for labour.

- I agree, but what about our surnames, they are purely Russian, - I persisted.

- Who will ask us? After all, the Germans don't take censuses, but if they do, call yourself as "Otchenash" (*literally* "Our Father") or "Zaymidarom" (*literally* "Borrow for free"), and everything will be okay,- Arkasha advised,- the main thing for us is not to separate from each other and get into the labour commando, and then we'll see.

So we agreed to be conditionally "reborn" as Ukrainians. After Crimean Tatars and officers were sent in small batches, it was our turn. To our great surprise, "Ukrainians" were in the majority. Apparently, we were not the only ones who disguised ourselves in this mask.

With the same batons and whips, we were led one by one in the back of the head through narrow aisles specially made by the Germans like railway ticket offices before the war. At the end of each aisle stood a large pot of thin broth, and a kitchen worker, under the supervision of a Non-Commissioned Officer, poured a ladle into a dish. Most of the prisoners did not have any utensils, then they were deprived of their cherished hot food or took it in their fore-and-aft caps. Watching soldiers with batons did not allow the prisoners to linger near the cauldron and beat the sluggish ones. The cook with the ladle was a prisoner like us, but he couldn't pour us more than he should, otherwise he would be taken to our block and beaten. And everyone wanted to live. We were so envious of that cook, who had the opportunity to eat unlimited quantities of this thin broth.

Our "trio" got its ration of thin broth in full because we had two large kettles for three of us. Bread, cut in special portions of 500-600 grams each, was given out at the same time,

for two days. Next to the kitchen, cold clear water flowed down a wooden chute, and everyone drank as much as they could.

The German soldiers did not let us linger here either, their batons coming down on our backs from time to time. Washing face or dishes was out of the question.

The seventh Ukrainian block to which we were brought was as empty as all the other blocks, except for the "old" residents who had arrived two days earlier.

Getting acquainted with the inhabitants of this block, and there were already 700 of them, I came to the conclusion that most of them were pure-blooded Russian people who had nothing to do with Ukraine, and sometimes had never been there at all, but all of them tried to speak with a Ukrainian accent and mostly changed their surnames from Russian to Ukrainian. For this reason, a good half of the prisoners lived under false surnames. This method justified many people, especially the political officers who lived in the second block pretending to be Red Army commanders. There were many such political officers among us common soldier as well, but no one gave them away, on the contrary, they enjoyed a kind of unwritten authority.

I did not think it was necessary to change my surname, especially since rarely anyone called it correctly, and even now. In most cases I hear Igoshin, Igishev, or even Negishev instead of Igoshev. But I had to change my name, not because I wanted to disguise myself, but only because my real name was Kuzma, which was difficult to pronounce, and with my consent everyone began to call me Aleksandr with the addition of Bolshoy, and for the Germans I became simply "Gross Aleksandr".

In the evening it began to drizzle, the north wind blew and during the night it rained heavily. It had not rained for a long time. We sat back to back all night, covered with overcoats and pea coats. All our clothes were soaked, but we were saved from the wind, although we were sitting in a puddle of unpleasantly muddy water. The other prisoners were in a much worse situation than we were. Most of them had nothing but their soldier's blouses, and many of them were wearing only underwear.

In the morning, when the sun came out and the rain stopped, we saw small mottled barrows all over the camp - these were shelters which people dug in the loose earth with their bare hands. There were absolutely no tools, not only a shovel, but at least a stick or piece of iron with which to scoop out the ground.

We could see tents stretched here and there around the camp, but where had people got the stakes for this? It turned out that there was some junk and pieces of barbed wire left over from the construction of the zone. Everything was used. People were fighting for life. We decided to dig a pit for ourselves. But what should we dig with? We used our kettles and a spoon, which served us well not only as pots, plates and mugs, but also as digging tools of production. Sasha Malenkiy, to our good fortune, got a couple of sticks somewhere, supposedly in exchange for a newspaper (of which we had plenty). By evening, our den, which was surrounded by a small earth bank, was ready.

There were a lot of such "wulf's dens" at that time. Having herded us into blocks, the Germans were not interested in our lives. All prisoners were left to their own devices. Apparently, the Nazis were only responsible for guarding us and taking turns twice a day to take all the block's inhabitants to the kitchen for meals. Our single ration remained the same: 200 grams of bread and a scoop of about 700-750 grams of thin broth (balanda). That's all. And so it was from day to day. The further we went, the worse it got. At first the thin broth was made of some concentrated food, and there were even some pieces of meat, apparently from slaughtered horses, but afterwards we switched to only one fodder rutabaga (fodder beet-root\*\*). Buckwheat and millet hulls and sometimes unpeeled rotten potatoes were also added to the meal.



Life in the camp went on without changes, monotonously. Everyone was only thinking every minute how to get a piece of bread or tobacco (makhorka) for a hand-rolled cigarette. The Germans, in their turn, at first did not bother us with their visits and inquiries, but at the same time they did not think to fix the issue of feeding the prisoners. This was of the least interest to them. For fun and amusement the Germans sometimes brought a few loaves of bread and threw them right into the crowd.

The "volleyball game" began. Hundreds of people would rush after this loaf and crush each other. Or some German would take a cigarette, put it on the ground and explain that the one who would crawl 50 metres on all fours and bark like a dog would get it. There were very few such "hunters", the bastards of humanity, but, unfortunately, there were some, and we were very ashamed of them. The Germans were laughing out loud at the same time, pleased with their invention.

On one such ordinary day, our block was visited by "Hauptmann"<sup>43</sup> - a Captain of the Quartermaster Corps, a camp's deputy commandant of supplies. The interpreter who came with him announced:

Who is the master baker among you, come out and form a line.

We looked at each other and realised that they were going to choose people for the bakery, and no sooner had we opened our mouths to exchange opinions than Arkasha grabbed us by the arms and dragged us into the line.

- But Sasha and I don't know how to bake bread, - I tried to argue with him, but he interrupted.

I'll teach you! Fools, hold on to me.

Soon there were two hundred bakers like us lined up. The officer and his escort laughed out loud, realising our desire to be bakers, and the interpreter announced:

- Remember, Germans despise those who cheat. I warn you, before it's too late, all those who have not worked as bakers before, leave this line. You won't fool us, you'll take an exam, and if you fail, you'll be shot.

Seeing the seriousness of the situation after such an impressive speech by the officer, about 30 prisoners immediately broke formation.

The personalised questioning of everyone began. Everyone was asked one common question: "How many years did you work as a baker?" We gave the same short and common answers: two, three, five, six years. Age also played a big role. "Hauptmann" looked more at appearance than listened to the answers, and pointed his finger to the right or left. In the end, 52 people were selected. We were among the lucky ones. Arkasha, with his advanced age and bald head, passed the selection committee without delay. My answer of "five years" and my tall, slim figure also did not raise any doubts, but it was worse with Sasha Malenkiy. Arkasha and I had to go bail for him, and the Germans, believing us, left him with us.

Under the convoy of four German escort guards, we were all led to the town bathhouse. It was a blessing! The people had cheered up, they were unrecognisable. At the mere thought that we would be in the bakery and thus fed, people laughed, joked and hugged each other. Here, in the bathhouse, we were allowed to wash our underwear and soldier's blouses, to shave our scruffy beards, and, most importantly, to fry all our unpretentious belongings in the disinfecting chamber, thus ridding us of lice, of which there were quite a few by that time.

This, as far as I remember, was the only time in two years of captivity with the Germans when I was able to wash in the bathhouse with such pleasure and delight, although instead of soap we were given some grey stinking paste.

Fate is cruel. Early on we rejoiced at our happiness, which so unexpectedly befell us out of many, many thousands of camp prisoners. On our return to the camp we were placed in the completely empty first block, and the same "Hauptmann", having lined us up in a single

line, and without any questions looking at each of us with his unfaltering gaze, as if penetrating us with X-rays, divided us all into two equal gangs of 26 people each.

Arkasha and I ended up in one group, and Sasha Malenkiy in another. We were very sorry to part with him, but there was nothing we could do, and fortunately we soon met him and helped him with food as much as we could.

The first gang, which had been separated from us, was immediately sent to the third block. An "artist" came to us with stencils and oil paint. He quickly painted "SU" in large letters on the front and back of our soldiers' blouses, tunics, and overcoats, just as the farm workers do today on the sides of trucks. The letters "SU", which translated into Russian as Soviet Union.

In addition to these large letters, painted on the back and chest in white oil paint in the left corner of the chest, where the Guards badges are still worn, we were given the letter "B" in yellow oil paint.

The "B" - the Latin letter "B" stood for "Bäcker", or baker in other words. Thus, we were the first in that camp to be branded by the Germans with their identifying marks, and we wore them until the last day.

Soon all the camp's inhabitants were wearing such stamps, but without the small letter "B". No other types of branding were carried out in the camp in question. Later, however, I met people from other camps who had been branded directly on the body, on the buttocks - 4-5 centimetres from the anal orifice - by making a superficial cut in the taut skin with a hot lancet moistened with Chinese ink.

The civilian population of Jews wore yellow polygonal stars sewn on their chests and backs and were called only Judah.

Like the first gang, we were transferred to the third block. By that time there were already two hastily made huge dugouts without windows and doors, made of old railway sleepers. We were also told that in the morning an escort would come and take us to work.

### Ersatz-Brot - substitute bread

Every person in life experiences such phenomena when, having come home from work and having had a good dinner, he lies down in a soft bed, but sleep does not come to him. Some thoughts weigh on him, and all night, tossing and turning from side to side, he just can't fall asleep. This is how we spent our first night in a new place, although without a bed, but on dry railway sleepers. You know that the rain won't fall on your head, the lice that you just destroyed won't bite you, but we couldn't sleep.

We could not believe that in the morning we would make bread ourselves: knead it, roll it, put it in the oven and finally eat it. Eat as much as we wanted. No, it can't be true. It is a kind of dream or an illusion when a ration of bread is always in front of our eyes.

All night we talked only about bread. All twenty-six of us, who had taken our place in the dugout with a fight, huddled together in a single heap and, not knowing each other, seemed to have become close to each other. Everyone expressed his assumptions about tomorrow, about work, about whether there would be German masters there, how to get a job at least as a wood-chopper or a water-carrier. By morning it turned out that except Arkadiy Borovikov there was not a single real baker in our company who knew this business. It was decided that Arkasha would be our senior baker and teacher, and everyone started to respect him. He was also older than all of us. No wonder, therefore, that at daylight, when the whole camp was asleep, we were already crowding around the exit from the block, waiting for our convoy. Oh, how long those minutes of waiting lasted - they seemed like an eternity. The workers had already started to go to their places. German armed soldiers came after each group of labourers. Cooks, janitors, "Kaputtchiki"<sup>44</sup> went to work. Our block was empty, and we all stood looking into the distance to see if the convoy would come to take us away. And

it was only when the sun had risen to its zenith, when our cooks had cooked and distributed their thin broth to everyone in the camp, that our convoy finally arrived.

They counted us like sheep or pigs and checked each of us for the coveted letter "B" on our chests (because there were no lists. You could change your military tunic and anyone could go out instead of you.) Having signed in a journal of a non-commissioned officer, we set off. It is needless to say how happy we were, and with what eyes of envy the comrades who had remained in the block saw us off, including Sasha Malenkiy.

In about forty minutes we were in the town. Near the first houses with pointed roofs and cobblestones, the convoy stopped and took the three men in front of the column to a house with a sign on the front saying "Bäckerei", which means bakery.

We realised that we were not going to work in a big bakery, but in the small, private bakeries of a few people. And so it was. Realising the seriousness of the situation, I took Arkasha's hand involuntarily, as if to tell him that we had to go to the same owner. He responded with a handshake of agreement.

The situation was not in our favour. Everyone looked to Arkasha for sympathy, but what could he do on his own? The convoy didn't give us time to think, they split us into small groups and took us to different parts of the town.

So it was just the three of us including Arkadiy and Borya Ryzhiy (it means red-headed, a nickname was given to him for his unfortunate hair colour. It must be said that in the camp it was very rare to call someone by their surname, especially in the first year, in most cases people were called by diminutive names: Misha, Borja, Vanya and so on. And very often people were given nicknames like "Bespalyy", "Vorobushek", "Ryzhiy", "Pipa" and others). We ended up in a private bakery, whose owner was an old, very mean and fat German, Otto Baltruschat. Here we first of all met two French prisoners who, like us, worked as bakers in the first shift.

Who are they baking bread for? Where is their camp? Why are they getting around without an convoy? We never could figure it out. They didn't know our language, we didn't know theirs. In those hard times, German was the international language on German territory, but we didn't know it, even though I sat with a textbook every day and tried to memorise everything I heard, but it wasn't that easy. Apparently, the reason was the nourishment. All thoughts were constantly occupied with it.

Not knowing the language, we could not agree with the new "Lord" (plague on him!) about the work - what to do and how to do it. His wife (an old crone) helped us out by bringing an old German from somewhere who understood some Russian (he was captured by the Russians during the First World War).

With his help, Otto Baltruschat explained to us how to knead the dough, roll it out, operate the steam oven, weigh the dough for each loaf, and so on and so forth. Arkasha took over everything and began to give orders of us. He made Borya Ryzhiy to knead the dough, me to carry flour from the second floor of the warehouse, to prepare firewood and coal. As soon as the first batch of dough was kneaded, we ran into another problem - how to roll it out. Even our "Professor" Arkasha was helpless. In the Soviet Union, the bread is poured into the baking moulds. The Germans have the same format of bread - "brick" - but it is rolled out by hand on the table into the required shape, very carefully stacked in rows and so placed in the oven. In our country, if a hostess makes her own dough, she kneads it with both hands. The Germans do it the other way round - they use two hands to roll out two loaves at the same time. It takes a lot of physical work and, above all, skill.

At first I couldn't roll out 50 loaves in a day, then I started making 800 loaves.

If someone from the outside had looked at us at this time, as we were rolling out bread on the first day, he would have laughed a lot. Imagine this picture. All three of us are stand-

ing around the table, each of us has two pieces of dough in our hands. We're kneading the dough, but we can't make anything out of this. An old German runs behind us and shouts something loudly. Sweat is pouring from our faces, but we still can't make it. Finally, the German runs up to each of us from behind, takes our trays with his hands and begins to move our hands, saying "so, so, so", which meant "this way, this way, this way".

With great difficulty and delay we packed the first two ovens of bread. It was necessary to prepare a new doughing, but there was no strength. The master decided to cheer us up and gave us one loaf of bread. There is no need to describe how greedily we gobbled it up with salt and cold water. We asked for more bread, but the German refused.

- My goodness! - said Arkasha, - to bake bread and be hungry, who would believe that? And we should bring something to Sasha Malenkiy. But what can we do? The German won't leave, and all the loaves have been counted in the oven.

- Don't panic, we'll think of something anyway, - I parried and went to the warehouse for another sack of flour. After making sure that the German was not following me, I decided to check out his entire warehouse. In the far left corner on massive shelves stood various vials and bottles with liquids, powders, jams and other edibles. On the floor were neatly stacked paper sacks with roosters painted on them. As I learnt later, it was bone meal, made from animal bones and intended to be added to the feed for laying hens, which supposedly improves egg production. But we were convinced that the owner adds this flour to the dough when baking bread. In another pile of paper sacks, weighing about 40kg each, there was flour, as the inscription "Spelzmehl" said, or in Russian - flour from cereal chaff. So, it turns out what they bake bread from. This discovery was shocking to me.

In one of the big wooden crates I found something like grits; quickly taking a couple of handfuls in my pocket and taking the bag of flour I had come here for, I went back to the bakery. Showing the contents of my pocket to Arkasha, he exclaimed:

- Great! Where did you get it? How much of it is there?

It turns out that nothing goes to waste with the Germans. It's not for nothing that people say: "Germans make alcohol out of faeces", and these were white bread crumbs, very nutritious and rich in calories.

By the evening we were very tired. It had been a long day of starvation and physical exertion. The German gave us another loaf of bread and made us eat it immediately. We couldn't take a single piece of bread with us. In the following days we began to cheat our "master". Each of us had a large army mess-tin with a lid, into which we would put a loaf of hot bread and carry it off unnoticed.

With each passing day, our interior life became more and more normal compared to those who lived permanently in the blocks of the camp. If we did not have good quality hot food, at least we could eat unlimited quantities of this "Ersatzbrot" and even bring 3-4 loaves of bread each to support our comrades who lived permanently in the camp, especially our personal friends like Sasha Malenkiy, and especially sick people who were exhausted to the extreme. But how could we, a small handful of people, help all the inhabitants of the camp, where more and more prisoners were arriving every day?

Based on the amount of bread we baked per day and knowing the daily ration of 250 grammes of bread for a prisoner, we could calculate, albeit roughly the total number of people in the camp. Thus, in the first days of September 1941 it was about 45-50 thousand people. Ten private bakeries were working in two shifts for the needs of the camp. There were some days when we baked 12,000 loaves a day. Considering that each loaf of bread was meant for 6 people, this implies that at times there were up to 70,000 people in the camp.

I have already said above that this camp had its purpose as a transit camp. Thousands of people arrived and left here every day. In our camp there were no gas chambers or cre-



matoriums for mass extermination, so it didn't belong to the category of camps with the horrible name "Factory of Death". Here, apparently, the "raw material" for such large death camps as Buchenwald, Auschwitz, Lublin, Treblinka, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen, Dachau, Gardelegen, Stutthof, Augsburg and others was being prepared, but nevertheless only between August 1941 to May 1942, many thousands of Soviet prisoners of war died of starvation and typhus, and were tortured in the punishment cells by the Gestapo.

After working for my master for a month and a half, I was already relatively good at explaining myself to him in German, which he greatly appreciated. And after that, my knowledge of German came in very handy. I learned the baking process. I owe much of this to our Arkasha.

The bread we baked, which the Germans called "Ersatz-bread", was indeed artificial. The skilfully prepared sawdust looked like ordinary flour bran, which at first was mainly used to coat the outside of raw bread so that it would stick together during the baking process. From the very beginning, however, it was added to flour as a substitute, and more and more every day. Spelzmehl, that is, cereal chaff flour, was especially popular among substitutes.

Already in the first days of September we were baking bread from flour of such composition: rye flour - 25-30%, "Spelzmehl" - 50%, "Holzmehl". Depending on stock availability, the percentage of substitute ingredients added to the bread varied considerably.

Subsequently, after the war, it became officially known that in the German Ministry of Supply on 24 November 1941 an official meeting was held, at which it was decided: "attempts to produce special bread for the Russians have shown that the most favourable mixture is obtained with 50 percent rye bran, 20 percent sugar beet pressings, 20 percent cellulose flour and 10 percent flour made from straw or leaves" (The Nuremberg Trial, Vol. I p. 446. Document USSR - 117).

Just how skilful the Germans were in using such substitutes, even in the production of confectionery and delicacies, is shown by the following fact: in order to make, for example, a "Napoleon" cake, you need, in addition to the highest quality flour, butter, eggs and sugar. I saw with my own eyes how our "Lord" Otto Baltruschat made "Napoleons" using only substitutes. He kneaded three types of dough from different flours (including substitutes) and sprinkled them heavily with some chemical substances. He added saccharine instead of sugar, replaced butter with margarine and sprinkled it with dry white breadcrumbs. I cannot vouch for the taste of his "Napoleons", but in appearance they did not differ much from our real Russian ones. Otto Baltruschat was very proud, but what was it like for us, Russian prisoners of war, to eat such a surrogate, which had no nutritional value. According to the same official documents, the starch content of "Spelzmehl" flour, for example, was only 1.7 percent.

Eating such "bread" made from solid substitutes led to starvation, nutritional dystrophy in its cachexic and edematous forms (hunger edema)<sup>45</sup>. And it aggravated the situation of prisoners of war suffering from serious gastro-intestinal diseases, most of which were fatal.

That is why in our camp, already at the end of August 1941, mass mortality among prisoners of war began. Increasing every day, it reached colossal proportions.

A month and a half later, in mid-September, a primitive temporary bakery with six wood-fired hearth type furnaces and a total capacity of up to 12,000 loaves of bread a day was set up in the camp. The staff of this bakery was newly recruited, including our own Sasha Malenkiy. During our work in the city bakeries, we were often visited by the well-known "Hauptman", who would ask the owners about our work and whether we knew how to bake bread, and write something down in his notebook. By this time he knew many of us by name and by sight.

With the opening of the camp bakery and the closing of the city bakery, we were again unemployed, but we stayed in the third block. Our spirits were low because we were again

threatened with death, but chance helped us. Raw ovens in the new camp bakery and a new staff of bakers, apparently the same as us, could not at first supply the whole camp with bread. And so the same “Hauptmann” came to us in the third block. After looking in his notebook, he ordered us to summon “Gross Aleksandr” and “Arkady – Grossmeister” (*literally* “Arkady – Big Master”). We did not take long to appear. On our way out of the camp we were accompanied by a convoy, an unknown, very ordinary looking German soldier, Willy Brunner. Later we just called him Willi.

### A strange German

Willy seemed strange to us, because unlike the other German escort guards, whose job was not only to convoy us so that we did not run away, but also to see that we did not steal bread, he was the opposite. Without even knowing us, he led us into the town to an abandoned, dilapidated bakery that resembled Otto Baltruschat's bakery in its internal arrangement. He took a bunch of keys from his pocket, opened all the locks, put the rifle in a corner of the bakery (which was strictly forbidden), showed us the contents of the pantry, showed us where to get coal, wood and the tools we needed, and warned us that only 400 loaves should be baked today.

And he said: “Ich gehe nach Hause! Verstehen?” which means, “I’m going home. Understand?” And with these words he went out, smiling at us cheerfully, apparently forgetting his rifle too. We stood there for a long time, all six of us, dazed and unable to understand what had happened. In wartime, to abandon his post and leave his rifle with the enemy meant death for him. What was he hoping for? Or was he just testing us? We were lost in speculation and did not know what to do. We are all human and we all have our moments of doubt. When the situation for escape is so real and the thought so overwhelming: “Run, run, there will never be a better opportunity,” but reason prevailed. On that white day, wearing Soviet uniforms with the letters “SU” painted on the back and front, not knowing the town, the terrain, the language, the streets, and not knowing where this mysterious German had gone, we decided to wait, to scout, to find out, to prepare the ground so that there would be a guarantee for the purpose of this escape. Without betraying our trust, we set to work eagerly. Everything went smoothly and quickly. In five or six hours the errand was done.

It was already evening when our escort guard arrived. A little tipsy from the beer he had drunk, as he told us, and smiling cheerfully, he praised us for our work and ordered us to go to camp. We quickly packed our few belongings and headed for the exit, but Willy stopped us. He checked all the contents of our pots and bags, and when he found not a single piece of bread, he shook his head indignantly and said:

- How can you not be ashamed of yourselves? Your comrades in the camp are starving, and you're eating till you are full and thinking it's the right thing to do. You should help them. Get some bread, as much as you can.

- Excuse me, but we will be searched at the entrance to the camp, and then we will be in trouble, - I began to justify myself, acting as a translator.

- So you're afraid of sticks with which to beat prisoners and let your comrades die, - Willy went on, - don't be afraid, I'm responsible for you. Take the bread.

We loaded the bread as much as we could. We broke the loaves into pieces and shoved them everywhere: in mess-tins, hats, pockets, overcoat sleeves, boot shafts, trouser belts, underpants, in short, anywhere we could carry even a tiny piece of bread. Willy himself examined each of us and, having made sure we were fully loaded, led us into the camp.

To be honest, we were terrified of showing up at the camp gate in this condition, but the resourceful Willy found a way out. Before we approached the gatehouse he ordered us

to goose-step and then, as we approached the entrance, he ordered: "Abteilung halt! Abteilung rechts!", i.e. "Division stop! To the right!!"

We followed his order exactly. Willy clearly reported our arrival to the standing non-commissioned officer, who in turn, satisfied with such a drilling of Russian prisoners, smiled and ordered the gate to be opened.

We spent a long time discussing Willy's behaviour that evening. We could not understand how this German soldier in a Nazi uniform could do such things. Who was he? Could we trust him? All our doubts were quickly dispelled in the nearest future. The very next day Willy asked us the same question as the night before:

- Why don't you run away? I go away for the whole day, and leave you my rifle,- and then he answered himself, -It's no use running away from here. Every single child here will catch you. Don't forget, this is Germany and the environment is not in your favour.

- Why aren't you like all the other German soldiers? - I couldn't bear it and asked him straight out.

- You'd better ask why I'm not at the front, - he hastened to answer, - I'm a perfectly healthy and strong man. My contemporaries have been at the front for a long time, but I am not sent there because I am a Communist and have already spent three years in prison. I am an enemy of the fascists, and they know that if I am sent to the front I will not fight, but will immediately cross the front line.

As if to confirm his words, he took out a silver cigarette case and showed it to us. On the front of it was a bust of Lenin.

So that's what they are, anti-fascists! So it is true what they say: not all Germans are fascists.

Ten days later, as soon as things began to improve in the camp bakery, the town bakery was closed and Arkasha and I, on Willy's recommendation and by the order of "Hauptmann", were appointed senior bakers in the camp bakery, with three deck ovens and 18 bakers for each half. Thus the bakery was divided into two parts, and "Hauptmann" put his "masters" - German soldiers - in charge of us. They were Hans and Friedrich. The latter was a flabby, fat German, very quiet, not interested in anything except his toilet and his belly.

Friedrich was in charge of Arkasha's half, while Hans was his natural opposite. He was always running around the bakery counting loaves and shouting, beating us for any infraction and earning the nickname "Hyperactive". Our constant "bodyguard" was the same friendly Willy. It was his duty to come to the third block every morning and bring us back in the evening. All day long Willy would sit in his favourite chair and read books. After all, the bakery was inside the camp, and it was surrounded by barbed wire, with a guard outside all the time. Willy was very afraid of our "masters", especially Hans. From our side only Arkasha and I knew his "true nature", because of the six of us who worked in the town, only two got into the camp bakery. Willy was our excellent informant on all matters outside the zone. We were very grateful to him for this and gave him the nickname "Our Sovinformburo" (*lit.* "Our Soviet Information Bureau"). We also had a staff interpreter in the bakery - Kostya Eichmann, our prisoner of war, who was known as a German from the Volga region, or as they called him, "Volksdeutsche", who spoke excellent German, was young, handsome and of a very cheerful disposition.

We did not suspect until the very last day that Kostya Eichmann was a Jew by nationality. His purely feminine Russian features gave us no reason to think. But one day a German Gestapo officer came to our bakery, accompanied by a camp policeman, Ilya Chudinov. The Gestapo executioner ordered Kostya to pull down his trousers, examined his appearance and took him to the sixth block. Soon we received the news that he had been shot after being tortured. An Estonian Colonel, also a prisoner of war, but a German toady who had signed a

contract to work for the Germans, was assigned to us as a new interpreter. The Colonel was dressed in the full uniform of an Estonian officer: chrome boots, a suit of the finest cloth, a silk-lined overcoat. The former colonel immediately took all the power in the bakery into his own hands. Like Otto Baltruschat before him, he counted the loaves of bread that were still raw and handed them over to the warehouse after they had been baked.

The situation was critical. We began to be punished, sent to the punitive sixth block for the slightest infraction. If before, with Willy's help, we could fool our German masters and steal bread to give to our sick comrades in the infirmary, now we couldn't eat an extra piece of bread without the "Colonel's" permission. We couldn't take it any further, we had to do something, but what? That's when Willy came to the rescue. He took me aside and explained what had to be done.

The German masters prepared food for themselves here in the bakery almost every day. They baked complicated pastries, cakes and biscuits. They brought margarine, sugar, jam and even honey. They usually kept all this in a table where, apart from themselves, only the "Colonel" could sit.

When the time was right, we stole two packets of margarine and a half-litre jar of jam. We put all this in the pockets of the Colonel's coat in front of Willy (who pretended not to notice). Soon the German foremen arrived with the Colonel and, after discovering the loss, they attacked Willy first, because he was responsible for us and for the entire bakery's property.

Willy, on the other hand, became "very angry", screaming and swearing at us. A frantic search began.

The "Colonel" and Willy searched most diligently. Of course, they could find nothing, and then Willy went to the Colonel's overcoat, which was hanging near the table where the Germans were sitting, and, pulling out the contents of the pockets on the table, seized a rifle and began to beat the "Colonel" with the rifle butt. Willy probably would have killed the bastard if Max and Friedrich hadn't stood up for him, but he kicked him out of the bakery anyway. In the evening "Hauptmann" came to see us and, after asking our foremen and Willy what had happened, left. Of course "Hauptmann" had to believe his Germans, even though Max and Friedrich did not know the true state of affairs, but we never saw this "Colonel" again in the camp. We do not know where the Germans took him, but they did not send us any more interpreters. We managed without them. But life was much easier. In this way, this true patriot of the German people, Willy Brunner, despite his Nazi soldier's uniform, saved us from imminent disaster many, many times. It was his initiative and with his help that our sick and wounded comrades in the infirmary and our former Red Army commanders, who were being beaten and tortured because they refused to serve the Germans, received an extra ration of bread through liaisons, thus saving their own lives. How could anyone believe that all this had been performed by one of the German soldiers whom we were used to seeing only as enemies?

On Willy's advice, we soon elected a comrades' court in the bakery, which was our "supreme body" in the small collective. The court had no statutes or laws, of course, but it was quite democratic, with the right of defence and prosecution, and its decision was final. The ultimate punishment was expulsion from the collective. In such cases Willy would carry out our sentence himself.

He would not take the condemned man to work the next morning, but we would choose a reliable person beforehand, and in most cases we saved the lives of the people recommended to us by our liaisons. For example, in October 1941, we received two Soviet pilots who had recently been shot down over German territory and were tortured and starving. I don't remember their surnames, but they were Valeriy and Pavel. But Pavel didn't heed our advice, he took a loaf of hot bread and ate it all at once. He died on the second day of in-



testinal torsion. Valeriy was our chairman of the court, but without interfering in the administrative functions, he fulfilled the duties of water carrier and liaison from our collective to the whole camp. He was an educated man, universally respected and did a lot of political and educational work.

After 25 years I tried to find Willy Brunner, but all my attempts were unsuccessful. From official documents we know that the Tilsit town, where Willy Brunner lived, was renamed to Sovetsk, and the former Schulstrasse was renamed to Pushkina Street. The entire German population was relocated from the town in 1947.

### "The Greens"

That was the nickname we gave to the camp police who appeared in our camp at the end of August 1941. The Germans called them "Kampfpolizei". They were people with a dark past, criminals, sons of wealthy peasants, cowards who were afraid of starvation and who had lost faith in the victory of the Red Army, having succumbed to the notorious fascist propaganda about the conquest of all Europe and Russia by the German army. Under the onslaught of interrogation by SD and SS officers, they exchanged their civic conscience for a police baton.

It is true what they say: "The mean and the cowardly cannot be generous and fair-minded". They are capable of anything, including cruelty. You can't even call them human. These are the freaks who wear the white armband of a policeman on their left sleeve and massacred the unfortunate prisoners with impunity.

The Germans appointed to the police any prisoner who agreed to serve "Great Germany", but there were not many willing ones. Mostly Crimean Tatars, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Western Ukrainians and even our Red Army Commanders, who could not stand the torture of interrogation, joined the police.

The Germans made every effort to force the latter to serve in the police, pointing out to all the camp personnel: "Look, your Commanders are beating you and you don't want to serve us. Then starve to death". We were very offended to have to endure all these brutal massacres that the fascists inflicted on us, and what is more, not with their own hands, but with the hands of our former comrades, even former Commanders of the Red Army. People cried bitter tears, sometimes not because of the corporal punishment, but because of the insult, the injustice and the humiliation.

The camp policemen were well dressed, most of them in our Russian officer's uniform, which they took from other prisoners. The Germans did not trust them with firearms, but they were all armed with special truncheons and whips, often with metal objects sewn into the ends. There were cases where a blow on the head with such a whip was enough to send [a person] to the cemetery. They lived in a specially designated place in the territory of the fifth block, and then they were put in a Finnish type of barrack near the camp gate. They all wore white armbands. The chief policemen of the blocks had an insignia in the form of a black narrow stick on a white armband sewn along its length. The Oberpolizei, who commanded the entire camp police force, wore an insignia on his armband in the form of a large black cross. It was a man called Ilya Chudinov who filled this abominable position of Oberpolizei. He said he was from the Smolensk region, the son of a former big landowner who had spent five years in prison. According to him, he had a bone to pick with the Soviet authorities. This sadist weighed 95 kilograms and had enormous physical strength, a bull's neck, large eyes that were always red and massive hands covered in black hair. He chose his assistants to suit him, all sadists like himself.

At that time the camp police numbered up to 150 men. In each block there were ten policemen and a German Non-commissioned officer or Corporal. All power was in their hands.

It was the policemen's duty to maintain camp order in the blocks. They also fished out Jews and political workers to be handed over to the Gestapo. In each block there were special benches on which "minor" punishments were carried out. The essence of these executions was as follows: if a person did not stand in line, did not salute or greet, approached the forbidden zone, talked to the inhabitants of another block, etc., he was punished with lashes (the number of lashes was determined by the block commander: the minimum number of lashes was 25, the maximum 50). For this purpose, the person was placed on his stomach on a bench, two policemen sat on his chest and legs, and the third beat him with all his might, whistling and stretching. There were cases in which the trousers were torn by the first blow and the blood flowed in streams. Such executions were carried out every day and in every block. It was taken for granted and no one paid any attention. It was even worse when the Gestapo got involved. They did not set the exact number of blows, but ordered them to beat as long as the punished person was still breathing, and then he was thrown into the punishment cell or shot on the spot.

The author of these lines also received twenty-five lashes on his backside. That's what happened. I have already said that we used to pass bread to the infirmary and the officers' block through liaisons. This was done in the following way: there was a water pumping well between kitchen No. 1, No. 2, and the bakery, like those in the town. From this well, water was carried to kitchens and bakery. In those days we had standard buckets - pots with lids with a capacity of 30 litres. Our water carrier, pilot Valeriy, took the buckets with lids and filled with loaves of bread to the column, exchanged them with the cooks for the same empty buckets, filled them with water and went to the bakery. The work was done so neatly that not only our German masters but also the sentry standing near the column could not suspect a thing. The cooks, in turn, filled the bread into forty-litre flasks, in which they usually distributed the thin broth to the infirmary and the officers' block. Clandestine groups set up in these blocks skilfully removed the bread from the flasks and distributed it to those comrades they felt needed help.

One December day in 1941 the camp was closed for quarantine and we worked alone in the bakery, without German masters, except for occasional visits from the Non-commissioned officer who lived permanently in the camp and was in charge of the kitchen and bakery. Nobody, including the police, was allowed to enter the bakery. And at such a busy and responsible time, senior policeman Ilya Chudinov discovered in the infirmary a flask filled with bread instead of water or thin broth. The flask of bread was immediately taken to the kitchen and then to the warehouse. The flask of bread was immediately taken first to the kitchen, then to the warehouse. Oberfascist or "The Green", as they were called, Chudinov came to us in the bakery, and goggling his eyes, tapping his whip on the shank of a brightly polished chrome boot, said:

- Which of you has handed over a flask of bread to the infirmary? Bastards! Now confess. From now on I'll be your master. I'll show you how to steal German bread! Which one of you is in charge?

While he was saying these dirty words, we, all 36 of us, stood in the middle of the bakery with clenched fists, ready to tear him apart at any moment, but it was very dangerous. We knew that Chudinov was a Gestapo henchman, and it was very dangerous to joke with him, even though they were not allowed in the camp during the quarantine period. We had to be reasonable. There was no one to stand up for us. If Willy had been with us at the time, he would have stuck a bayonet in Chudinov's chest, but he was not, and we had to make a decision. Officially, we had Arkasha in charge, by order of the "Hauptmann", but in reality he was more of a technician, not involved in the administration. Somehow it happened that I was the administrator. Although I had been deprived of the right to give orders without the knowledge

of the comrades' court, it seems that it took root because I drew up all the paperwork and performed the functions of the head supply and maintenance manager and unofficial interpreter. Therefore, when Chudinov had finished his vile speech, I stepped forward without giving myself credit and without thinking of the consequences; I approached him and, clenching my fists even more tightly, accompanied by the approving glances of my comrades, I said menacingly:

- If you, you fascist degenerate, say one more word, and if you, sneaky bastard, ever think of coming back here, remember this: you will not leave here alive, we will make a big hot-pot out of you in these ovens.

After my words, Chudinov ran out of the bakery like he had been scalded and ran to the kitchen. We stood there in silence, wondering what was going to happen to us.

Fifteen minutes later, a non-commissioned officer came to us and ordered me to come with him. What sympathetic looks my comrades gave me! Before I entered the kitchen, I heard heart-rending cries. The cooks were being beaten because they had given bread to the infirmary. Five policemen stood there with whips. It was my turn to lie down on the bench.

"Just don't scream and don't fall unconscious," I thought, as Ilya Chudinov himself chose a whip and prepared to give a flogging. I clenched my teeth, gripped the bench on which I was lying and waited for the first blow. Every second seemed like an eternity. I tried not to look at my torturers. It didn't matter who it was going to be - all of them, bastards, were good, "birds of a feather".

The first blows were very sharp, as if someone had touched my body with a red-hot piece of iron, but then the count became: five, eight, ten, and the pain somehow dulled, but above my ear someone said insistently:

- Scream, scream, it'll be easier.

I don't know whether it was the unbearable pain or the advice, but as my comrades later said, I began to scream.

- Twenty-one, twenty-three, twenty-five,- I heard someone's voice counting the blows, and suddenly everything went quiet.

Someone helped me out of the kitchen, someone led me into the bakery, where I lay on my stomach for a long time, the tears making me convulse. Not so much from pain as from anger at the fact that it was not the fascists who had mistreated me, but our own Russian people, who yesterday fought with you against the German invaders, and today are in the service of Hitler's monsters, who mock your feelings, your body, just because you help your comrades in distress with a piece of substitute bread.

I don't know how long I would have lain in oblivion, but Valeriy's voice brought me to my senses.

- Listen, Aleksandr, we're all very sorry and we feel this tragedy no less than you do. But what to do - today is their power, they think they are masters of the situation. Believe me, there will come a time when we'll get what we deserve for all this abuse. Then they will better not ask for mercy. We'll remember everything. For now, let's get some treatment.

To my great surprise, Valeriy had a clean, sterilised bandage and a bottle of iodine in his hands. After all, the Germans did not allow any medicine into the camp, and it was considered a luxury item. After finishing the bandage, Valeriy explained:

- Firstly, there is nothing terrible. The bones are intact and the flesh will grow back. You can be sure that in 2-3 weeks you will be a fully recovered man, I guarantee it. Now listen to what I'm about to tell you and, as the saying goes, take note. There's a clandestine organisation in the camp. There are resistance groups in every block under a single centre. I'm not going to tell you who runs it, but you can be sure that it exists. They know about you, and you are registered with me in their group. Our task is, first of all, to help them as much as possible with bread and, at the same time, to carry out mass political work in our

collective, to make people believe in the imminent collapse of fascism, to identify whiners who have lost faith in the victory of the Red Army.

All this was said in such a convincing tone that the truth of what was said was impeccable. I didn't ask for details, but I thought: In such enslaving terms, in the presence of collaborators of the Hitler regime, at the moment when the notorious fascist propaganda was trumpeting about the imminent conquest of Moscow and Leningrad, at the moment when it seemed that everything was lost and there was no chance of salvation, in this most cruel time, the words of our steadfast comrades, who had found the courage to unite in an organisation that tried to offer some resistance to the enemy through their handwritten sheets, rang out like a bell. Through trusted men, their voice reached out:

"Comrades! Do not lose heart, do not give in to the provocations of the German bastards. The Red Army will win sooner or later, but definitely. Our troops in Moscow and Leningrad will not surrender".

On the second day after the execution I received a note with the following content: "Comrade Aleksandr, we know what happened yesterday. Stand firm and do not lose heart. We know that you bravely endured the execution and did not ask for mercy. You behaved like a Bolshevik should act. Ilya Chudinov has been sentenced to death. We hope it will be carried out soon. Three of his henchmen have already found their graves in the cesspools of Blocks 3 and 8. The sword of vengeance hangs over him as well. Be prudent and do not act rashly. Heed the advice of your senior comrades. "The Committee."<sup>3\*</sup>

I lay there reading and crying. Now it was with joy.

So there are such people who believe in our victory, who call on others to believe in it and who even issue and carry out death sentences for fascist toadies. In such conditions, when the life of every prisoner, no matter what block he was in, no matter who he worked for, hung in the balance, people found the strength to fight against the existing regime. That's great, damn it! I didn't care anymore whether it was written by a doctor or a nurse, a Colonel or an Ordinary Soldier. The word "Committee" indicated that these were our own, Soviet people who loved their Red Army and our Soviet system.

### The tragedy continues

In our camp, Stallupönen, something hard to describe was going on. Trains with new prisoners of war kept arriving and arriving. There were a lot of people, although the German command took measures: after proper filtration, the prisoners were sent in large groups of 1500-3000 people to other death camps, specially equipped for mass extermination of alive people.

We worked round the clock during that time.

Among the new arrivals were people who had been captured at Vyazma, Smolensk, Yelnya. As a rule, they brought with them disappointing news about the situation at the front. Our Red Army at that time continued to retreat deep into the country, leaving one after another our Soviet cities, towns and villages to be plundered and destroyed by fascist barbarians.

In fascist captivity it was very hard for us to endure these temporary failures of our Red Army. They were a heavy burden on the minds of all prisoners. When we heard everywhere that the Germans were near Moscow and Leningrad and that our capital cities were about to fall, we unwillingly lost heart.

Each of us was agonisingly worried about the military successes of the Germans. Even in these most difficult moments of our lives, the overwhelming majority of Russian prisoners of war did not believe in the defeat of the Red Army, that the Russian people could be brought to their knees, but the weight on our hearts was so painful that sometimes life seemed to have no meaning.



Already in September 1941 the rains and frosts began, and tens of thousands of half-undressed people were housed on bare ground. There were camp markets in every block.

The main measure was a ration of bread or a portion of balanda. They could buy an overcoat, boots, watches and so on. At that time a couple of thousand more prisoners went to work in the town at the railway station for the big "bauers" - landlords - for the harvest. And they took these things out with them, exchanging them for foodstuffs. The Germans especially valued Russian watches and leather shoes. Consequently, while it was warm, people "sold out" their uniforms and shoes.

When the first frost hit, there was nowhere to stay warm. Undressed and barefooted, hungry and sick on the bare ground, they huddled together to keep warm.

It is a common fact that the German army had no warm clothing. Their uniforms and overcoats were made without linings, of artificial fabric, which retained little heat. Therefore, the German command issued an official order which stated:

"Do not count on the supply of clothing. Do not hesitate to remove from Russian prisoners of war shoes, clothes, underwear, socks, etc." (The Nuremberg Trials, Vol. I, p. 435).

That is why military units began to arrive at the camp in cars; they took the prisoners out of the blocks under the pretence of going to work, undressed them, loaded all their belongings into the bodies of cars, and drove the prisoners back into the blocks. It is necessary to give credit to the fact that instead of leather shoes the camp administration issued wooden pads, in which it was impossible to walk, especially without footwraps. Instead of uniforms, they sometimes gave us ordinary old, discarded sacks.

Now imagine a man behind barbed wire, on bare ground, dressed in a sack (a special hole was cut in the sack for his head, the sack was put on his shoulders), wearing wooden shoes, hungry, dirty, without any medical care. How strong should a human organism be to endure and survive all these hardships?

Medical science irrefutably proves that a healthy person can endure a hunger strike without any food intake for no more than 14 days. Systematic malnutrition exhausts the organism and leads to tuberculosis. The body's internal organs shrink to one-third (1/3) of their normal size when starved.

As a result of all these reasons, mass deaths of prisoners began. A funeral commando was created from among the same prisoners of war, but able to move and even carry small weights.

We called them "kaputtchiki". At first there were 30 people in the Kaputt commando, then as the mortality rate increased, it reached more than 100 people. Their duties were to take the dead of the night out of the blocks every morning, strip them naked, stack them on wagons, and then, 15-20 people in each wagon, take them to the cemetery under the escort of a German soldier.

The cemetery was located about one kilometre from the camp on its eastern side, but this funeral procession covered a distance of 3-4 kilometres one way around the camp and along the highway. There the corpses were piled into large, specially dug ditches for this purpose - common graves, stacking them in rows. Each such grave could hold up to several thousand corpses<sup>4\*</sup>.

Before placing the corpses in the ditch, the Germans used bayonets and rifle butts to knock out the corpses' gold teeth and crowns. The sight of the dead was such that it frightened even the accustomed prisoners from the funeral commando. The skeletons, tightly wrapped in a thin film of skin covered with sores, lesions, bruises from beatings and even gunshot wounds, seemed like long-dried mummies. We can assume that those who are still there, in the blocks of the camp, are almost no different from these terrible dead, but they are still moving, living, suffering and even fighting.

As I write these lines, reconstructing in my memory the events of those days: the bloody massacre of the prisoners, the inhuman torments they endured, the lashes, hunger, cold, epidemics, the graves of unknown names of buried comrades, whose relatives at that time received short notices from military commissions: "Your so-and-so is missing in action" - even now I dream about all this, and sometimes goosebumps creep over my body.

### A terrible visitor

It is not to say that it came unexpectedly, this terrible visitor - typhus. It inevitably comes in such cases where there is hunger, dirt and lice, and we had so many of them that it is hard to describe. We had no baths, no decontamination chambers or anything like that. The only way to fight lice was to kill them by hand. It was not even possible to make a fire and dry one's underwear on it.

A mass typhus epidemic broke out in the camp in early November 1941. By that time, the Germans had managed to relieve the camp of people. By the time the camp was closed for quarantine, there were about 18-20 thousand prisoners in the camp. Most of the police had disappeared.

The camp was closed for quarantine without prior warning. Not only we but also the Germans knew nothing about it. By that time the Germans had built a special barrack for cooks and bakers outside the blocks, between the bakery and the food warehouse, so that we could go to work whenever we wanted and without an escort. On one such frosty day in early November, when we left the barracks, we saw a lock on the door of the bakery. The German master bakers had the keys. Returning back to the barracks, we assumed that Germans were no longer allowed into the camp area.

Soon I was called to the camp gatehouse and I saw my master Friedrich through the wire fence, who threw me a bunch of keys to the bakery and explained that the camp was closed for quarantine, they would not be allowed into the zone any more, and that we should obey only the non-commissioned officer who would be in the kitchen. At Friedrich's request I brought his bag of various rubbish, which we had in the bakery, and we became complete owners in our little "kingdom". No one interfered in our life. We baked bread every day in the quantity that the non-commissioned officer told us at the moment when we handed the bread over to the warehouse. We had several wagons of flour from the autumn and it was stored in our bakery. We also spent all our free time in the bakery: we did laundry, boiled our own laundry, played checkers, chess, dominoes, which we made ourselves out of bread.

We were glad that the Germans no longer appeared in the camp, especially the Gestapo, whose arrival every time brought death to several of our comrades. Now all power in the camp was concentrated in the hands of the camp police, frightened by the disappearances of their associates, whom the people massacred at every opportunity. They became just ordinary cowards, afraid to enter the territory of the blocks.

Four Germans in the rank of non-commissioned officers and one lieutenant, nicknamed by us "Oberkaputtchik", whose duty was not to treat (although officially he was a doctor), but to remove corpses from the camp. But he obviously did not cope with his duties, although the "Kaputt" commando worked daily with a full load, but they did not have time to remove all the dead. Therefore, mountains of corpses, stacked up to three metres high and numbering several thousand people, lay all winter long on the territory of block No. 10, where the sanitary unit was located.

The typhus epidemic that had broken out was claiming hundreds more victims every day. The two Finnish barracks allocated for the sanitary unit could hardly accommodate even one hundredth of the people who were sick with typhus. The fascist policemen, who hated us, were not spared by this terrible guest, and when they felt sick they went straight to the

sanitary unit. Our military doctors, true patriots of their motherland and their people, who worked there, always found a place on the benches for the “guardians of order”, but none of them could take the whip or stick with which they dealt with us anymore. All of them with the conclusion of our doctors – “Died of typhus” - found a place in the stacks of corpses.

As it became known later, this was the work of the hands of the “Committee”, which helped honest Soviet people in every possible way to get rid of these scoundrels. To our great regret, Senior policeman Ilya Chudinov did not get to the sanitary unit and saved his life. But I, strangely enough, one of the 36 bakers, who had had typhus as a child, got sick with typhus again and was taken to the sanitary unit. I did not know either by face or by name the doctors working there, but I was provided with some favourable conditions. Firstly, I was placed on the bottom shelf of the wagons, not far from the Dutch stove, and since I was always freezing, they covered me with three or four overcoats. Mattresses, blankets, and even less bedclothes were out of the question.

For more than a week I lay unconscious. I only remember that I was constantly on duty with an orderly with a beard - Uncle Kostya (at that time many people wore beards, and there was nothing to shave them with), and at the very beginning of my illness a doctor came to me and talked to me for a long time.

- Where are you from? Where did you serve, rank, title? - He asked me questions, and when I told him everything about myself honestly, like a priest in confession, he said:

- And we thought you were a political officer or a commander. Well done for fighting back against those scoundrel policemen. People believe in you. Do you know that we're fellow countrymen? I myself am from Sverdlovsk, and if that's the case, we'll try to save you - and then, when my crisis had passed and I regained consciousness, the old nurse told me:

- Don't thank God, but Nikolai Ivanovich. It was him who saved you. Every day he gave you two injections. Where does he get the medicine from? The Germans don't give anything. I still don't know who he is - my saviour. I owe him my life, but I can't thank him.

### A little retribution

Months passed. Winter was coming to an end. The sun was blazing brightly in the spring, and there were fewer and fewer people in the camp.

In our bakery, instead of six ovens there were only two, and sometimes only one. Instead of 12,000 loaves we baked 300-400 per day. Instead of four kitchens there was only one. We could feel that soon we would have nothing to do. We decided in advance to make ourselves a stock of bread under the floor of the barrack. This precaution was not unnecessary. Indeed, in April 1942 the keys were taken away from us and the bakery was closed. We were out of work, but we had bread, and besides, we lived together with cooks who prepared twice as much food as we needed. But the trouble was that there was almost no one left to eat that lousy balanda made of one disgusting rutabaga - people died. There were only a few hundred people left out of tens of thousands, mostly camp attendants, who could get an extra piece of bread or a scoop of balanda.

On one such day, Ivan Semyonovich Mikhailin, a chief cook in the camp kitchen, brought me a finely scribbled sheet like a leaflet, signed by the same mysterious “Committee”. It said: “The Red Army near Moscow has defeated the German troops. The enemy is rolling westwards every day. The Soviet government has addressed all states with a note “On the outrageous atrocities of the German authorities against Soviet prisoners of war.”

I looked at Ivan Semyonovich with surprise, not knowing whether or not to believe what was written, and yet I asked:

- What is it, have you heard it on the grapevine? The camp is closed. There are no connections with the outside world, and suddenly... I don't understand.

- You have to believe it. A reliable source of information. "Very reliable," he assured me. "You know I wouldn't lie to my friends".

I could not resist, I hugged and kissed Ivan Semyonovich. It's a joy! At last what we've been waiting for so long has come true. Eh, how I wanted to be there now, among my Red Army soldiers with weapons in my hands and beat, beat those fascist bastards, who had killed so many innocent people, to avenge our torments, the tears of our mothers.

We had a long talk with Ivan Semyonovich on this subject that day and swore to each other that we would run away from the camp at the first opportunity. This news quickly spread throughout the small camp.

People cheered up, smiled, began to shave and even some began to sew on their collars. This is what it means to raise the morale of the people, to restore their lost faith in our Red Army.

Only the Germans became quiet, withdrawn and even more brutalised, apparently anticipating retribution.

A few days later, a paradoxical incident occurred in the camp. Near the barrack where the policemen lived, all the German guards of the camp - four non-commissioned officers and a "Lieutenant-Oberkaputtchik" - gathered. A few policemen were standing there looking like "naughty kittens", among them Ilya Chudinov. The Germans were shouting something, throwing elbows, and we watched the whole scene from a distance. At last the very non-commissioned officer who was our "master" and who had once ordered Chudinov to beat me, suddenly took a pistol out of his holster and, pointing it in the direction of his first lackey, Senior policeman Chudinov, ordered him to go to the kitchen. In a few minutes Ivan Semyonovich came running to us and quickly blurted out: "Immediately to the kitchen, the non-commissioner ordered. Chudinov will be beaten."

We, five bakers, went to the kitchen. The non-commissioner was standing with a pistol in his hand, and on the bench with his trousers down lay the huge Ilya Chudinov. The non-commissioner, pointing to me the stick with which such executions are carried out, ordered: "Fünfundzwanzig Stück!" which meant: "Strike twenty-five times."

I was bewildered, and stood for some time in indecision, but there was no time for thinking. And then Anton Zemnitsky, a woodchopper - a Pole by nationality and a boxer by speciality - helped me out.

- Let me give him a beating. My hand will not waver, - he turned to me, and I embarrassedly let him know: "Come on, chop, Anton, do not spare!".

Chudinov could not withstand the first blow. His body bounced on the bench and fell to the floor. The non-commissioned officer pointed his pistol at him and shouted something. The rest happened as if in a dream. Anton brought down his stick with a peculiar anger, making strong unhurried strokes, apparently feeling some special anger or pleasure from each blow.

When it was over, when the last twenty-fifth stroke was counted, Chudinov moaned quietly and, unable to move, remained lying on the bench. Subsequently the policemen carried him to the fifth block, whence he did not show his face for nearly two months, until the quarantine of the camp was lifted.

Thus the decision of the "Committee" was partially fulfilled. Ober-toady got what he deserved. His henchmen were also subdued. Whoever I met among the prisoners after this incident, they all asked me the same annoying question: "Why didn't you beat Chudinov yourself, after all, he beat you?" Even now I cannot answer this question accurately. Apparently, because we were brought up in a different spirit. For example, if this bastard had been tried by a people's court and sentenced in the name of the law to be shot, I would have carried out the sentence without hesitation, but Hitler's fascist was ordering it.



Or maybe I just didn't want to get my hands dirty on that bastard. Anyway, justice prevailed. I and the whole public of the camp received moral satisfaction, and the policemen - a lesson in the form of a visual agitation how the fascists valued them.

In May 1942 the quarantine was lifted. Again the black overcoats of SS thugs flashed around the camp as they carried out another "purge" among the prisoners. Actually there was no one to "clean" here, everyone was taken to the cemetery. There were less than 500 people left in the camp.

Already after the war it became officially known that on the basis of Reich Chancellor Himmler's order No. 8 of 17 July 1941 the extermination of Soviet prisoners of war in concentration camps was carried out systematically under the guise of filtration, purification measures, cleansing, special measures, special regime, liquidation, execution and so on, which cost us in the Stallupönen camp alone almost 30 thousand people who died at the hands of the Nazis.

And how many such camps were there? All of Europe was wrapped in barbed wire camps. Hangings, shootings, torture, various experiments on alive people in the form of injecting phenol, evipan, petrol under the skin, deliberate spreading of typhus epidemics, steaming cholera<sup>46</sup> which were invented by fascist medics, gas chambers, crematorium ovens - the favourite methods of Hitler's fascists for the extermination of living defenceless people [...].

### Instead of an epilogue

All my further stay in the camp was devoted to the only goal - to escape. Already in June 1942 they started to send a train of prisoners presumably to Ukraine. They picked up healthy people, which made me think that they were going somewhere to work. And it is always easier to escape from a labour team than from a camp. We decided to go. Ivan Semyonovich Mikhailin took with him a good dozen cooks and us, about 15 bakers. Moreover, the Germans did not prevent it. We had already suffered all sorts of horrors in this camp, and there was nothing to do here. One always looks for a better place. Three military doctors travelled with us.

The only thing that saddened us were the policemen who were also travelling with us, but in a separate carriage. There were 15 of them, among them Ilya Chudinov, who had already recovered from his "illness". Instead of Ukraine, they brought us to a place called Peyse, now renamed into the town of Svetly. Peyse is located on a peninsula 35 kilometres from Königsberg (now the city of Kaliningrad), where once a month we were taken by barge to a bathhouse.

The camp of Russian prisoners of war was small. Everyone worked digging pits, trenches, and ditches for some newly built concentrate factory. They lived in Finnish-type barracks, though without bedding and under lock and key at night, but they were fed better than in the previous camp.

The whip of the policeman and the "parabellum" of the commandant of the camp, the drunkard and drug addict field usher Kurt, were still in fashion.

It was impossible to escape - the sea was all around. There was one case when seven prisoners escaped by boat, but they were caught and executed.

Ivan Semyonovich Mikhailin, as before, worked as a senior cook in the camp kitchen. We lived together with him and became very good friends. He told me a lot about himself. He himself was a deep rooted<sup>5\*</sup> Moscow native, he worked as a cook in the restaurant "Moskva". He lived in Moscow not far from the Belorussky railway station on Srednedyakovsky pereulok, house 10, flat 12 (or house 12, flat 10). Wife Anna Semyonovna, housekeeper. Daughter Vera and son Yuri studied at school. They lived well and happily. Went to the front as a volunteer. I worked as a fitter, a plumber. Our brigade of six people was very friendly. Sasha Malenkiy was with me too. Arkasha stayed at the old Stallupönen camp.

Every morning the same German soldier took us to work. By nature a very reserved and taciturn Kraut. His job was to guard us. He did not shout at us unnecessarily, and for this we were grateful to him and did not pester him with questions, which he did not like very much.

In contrast to him was an old, gaunt, civilian-uniformed local resident, our master, an expert in plumbing.

He valued me very much because I was sort of the brigadier of the group (officially we had no brigadier) and because of my knowledge of German. I was the only one in the group who could explain himself to them in German, so he gave all his orders through me. Thus passed almost a year of ordinary, tedious camp life. We worked from dawn till dark for 14-16 hours a day. There were no changes in our camp and personal life during this time, except for two small incidents.

Once, sitting in a ditch where I had just finished chasing another joint of pipes, I opened my German textbook for nothing and began to learn the Internationale, reading line by line and humming its motif. I was so engrossed that I did not notice when our sentry, pointing the bayonet of his rifle at my back from above, shouted: "You, you, International! Bolshevik, commissar!" and then snatched the book from me. I was so frightened that I thought it was my last minutes of life. The master came to my rescue. They argued for a long time about something and finally returned the book to me, only they tore out the sheet where the "Internationale" was printed. This book was dear to me not only as a textbook, but also as a gift in memory of my comrade Aleksey Brynzin from the Dvinsk camp. This time everything turned out safely, but the sentry began to look at us with beastly eyes. The second incident I had with our master, who was apparently well-read and educated. The master was fond of talking, sometimes relieving me from my work for that purpose, and was not averse to playing chess.

One day in such a conversation, he asked me a question:

- Do you think Germany will defeat the Soviet Union?
- Of course not! - I replied.
- Why not? - He insisted.

- At least because your Barbarossa plan, designed for a lightning war, has failed. The front line - stretched, manpower reserves - exhausted and so on, - I argued.

But he did not want to give up so easily, he began to give his arguments, proofs about conquering the whole of Europe and so on. The conversation became protracted. We argued long and persistently for a whole month, and at last he admitted:

- Yes, you're right! Our army will not survive, Russia will win.

- Your Hitler is a fool! He wants to conquer the whole world, but he'll end up on the gallows, - I persisted. - The Soviet Union is more than he can chew. Remember Napoleon, what did he end up with? - St Helena. Don Quixote, too, once set out to turn the world upside down, but he ended up being a laughing stock.

The finally convinced master became even friendlier to us.

He began to bring us bread and sometimes a pot of good soup.

Already in March 1943 the master called me aside one day and told me under great secrecy that soon they would send a train to Belorussia, but only sick people. And that if we were thinking of escaping, he recommended that we go.

That same evening we discussed this suggestion among ourselves and decided to go, but how to get on the stage lists? We decided to turn to the chief doctor Polyakov for support. Besides, we lived with him as equals - amicably. There were no German doctors in this camp. Everything depended on Polyakov, and he promised to help us.

Two days later Ivan Semyonovich had an artificial hernia, and I was lying on the bunk in the sanitary unit with a swollen heel of my left foot after an injection given by our nice

doctor, with the help of whom we soon found ourselves among 150 people in the town of Volkovysk, now the Grodno region of the BSSR. [...]

K. Igoshev

*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art– 5125/3. Sheets 51–99. Original. Typescript.*

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\* It was called so until 1938.

\*\* So in the document.

3\* Handwritten note: "Who was the head of this "Committee" is not known to me precisely, but I often heard the name of Uncle Kostya, and that all the instructions came from Block 10, where the sanitary unit was located. Now that I have several letters from people who were in this camp, I can affirm that "Uncle Kostya" is Konstantin Nikolaevich Messarosh, who at that time was an orderly in the sanitary unit, heating the stove."

4\* Handwritten note: "Until now there is no monument or obelisk on this mass grave, where about 20-30 thousand people were buried. Why?"

5\* Probably "indigenous".

К. ИГОШЕВ

МЫ СМЕРТИ СМОТРЕЛИ В ЛИЦО.

Воспоминания бывшего военного-узника  
в фашистских лагерях смерти; и партизана  
2-й отечественной войны.




ОТ АВТОРА

Не будучи литературным профессионалом, я взялся за написание этого повествования с единственной целью показать молодому поколению, зверинное лицо фашизма во 2-й Мировой войне, призвать всех соотечественников "люди-будьте бдительны", и не допускайте повторения новой войны и создания подобных лагерей смерти.

Когда наша молодежь будет еще более подробно знать, о зверствах фашистских палачей, гнев удесятерит их силы, и наши люди будут с еще большей настойчивостью строить свое прекрасное будущее.

Да простит мне читатель, за те литературные погрешности, которые допущены в моем повествовании, за отсутствие достаточного количества имен героев и палачей этих лагерей смерти, так как описываемые события происходили четверть века тому назад, и мне не представилось возможности побывать там, а значит воспользоваться архивными документами или показаниями очевидцев. Исключение составляет гор. Волковск, где я после войны долгое время работал, и где до настоящего времени живут и работают мои товарищи по описываемым событиям и партизанскому отряду.

За достоверность описываемых событий и фактов, я целиком и полностью гарантирую, здесь нет ничего вымышленного.

 автор

36. **K.I. Igoshev, a former prisoner of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52)**

1960s



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art– 8942. Original.*

37. **Barrack on the territory of the former prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52) in Prigorodnoye settlement, Nesterovsky District**

September 1971



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art– 9495/7. Original.*

38. Interior view of the barrack of the former prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52) in Prigorodnoye settlement, Nesterovsky district

September 1971



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 9495/5. Original.*

39. Windows of the barrack in the former prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52) in Prigorodnoye settlement, Nesterovsky district

September 1971.



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 9495/17. Original.*



40. A window of the barrack of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52)

1941–1944



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 9248. Photo courtesy of Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University.*

41. V.V. Barykov “A barrack in the prisoner of war camp near Stallupönen”

1973



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Auxiliary fund of the the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art– 11264. Paper, watercolour, felt-tip pen. 20x28.7 cm.*



42. From the memoirs of S.I. Zaitsev<sup>47</sup>, a former prisoner of war of the Ebenrode prisoner of war camp (Oflag-52)\*

*The 7th of June, 1982*

[...] The camp was located, I think, in the east of Ebenrode, now the town of Nesterov. We were driven there to unload wagons on the highway about 4.5 kilometres from the station. The camp was surrounded by a barbed wire fence. The camp was divided into ten cells. There were 8-7 thousand people placed in each cell. In total there were 66-70 thousand people. We slept under the open air either in the rain or in the mud. Many people dug holes and pits with what they had and slept there, and in the morning the guards checked with a bayonet whether they were alive or not. In the evening a commandant passed by on a white horse. The command "Attention" was given by him.

In October came frost, the prisoners began to freeze to the ground at night, and then they began to build barracks in each cell, but there were not enough of them. Everyone strived to get there. There was a crowding, the two-tiered dens collapsed, crushing people.

There were lice, hunger, 150 grams of bread per person, unpeeled, dirty potatoes were put in the soup. The soup was black with dirt, not salty at all.

Dysentery broke out, people began to die of hunger, disease and backbreaking labour, 100-150 people a day. We dug graves behind the camp, 3-4 km away from it, no more than one metre deep, 10 metres by 10 metres, and laid the dead on their sides so as to dig less. This was in 1941. After recovering a year later, in 1942, on 22 June, I managed to escape from work in the city of Kybartai, Lithuania. I was wounded in the battle at the beginning of the war. A bullet hit my right cheek and came out of my left eye. Because of the serious wound I was taken prisoner. [...]

Time has passed, but those nightmarish days in the prisoner of war camp are unforgettable. These are the saddest and darkest days of my life. You ask for names. Unfortunately, I don't know people named Igoshev and Zozulya. There were tens of thousands of us, and the camp was divided into ten cells, the Germans called them blocks, and the camp itself was surrounded with a barbed wire fence, U-shaped, about five metres high. It was almost impossible to escape, but there were escapes, some of them were caught, and severely punished. I remember the last name Ivanov because he walked around with a white bandage on his sleeve. He beat us with a rubber baton. He was given an extra ration of bread for that. When he was beating "to bring order", he said: "I'll show you the Soviet power". But there were also heroes. Junior Sergeant Frolov, a machine-gunner, was memorable. He was brought to the camp burned. He was a tall, thin guy, shy and gentle. Very modest, but he fought to the last bullet and began to fight back with "Limonka" grenades, as ribbed grenades were called. He installed a machine gun in the attic of a hut. The Germans surrounded him, but could not take him alive. His assistant, under the second number, was killed, and the Germans set fire to the house and took the burned unconscious. We respected this man and brought him thin broth while he was recovering. I remember a man named Fedorovich Iosif Antonovich, easily wounded, an artist. He graduated from the Vitebsk Art College, born in 1919, Belorussian. With him we escaped from the Virbalis station, Lithuania, Kybartai. We were taken there by car from the camp to unload wagons on the railway station.

About the food:

We were given 180 grams of bread, some kind of surrogate that crumbled a lot. They brought it by car, piled it right on the ground, lined up five people in a row, the outermost one took a loaf and divided it among five people, and when it was Wednesday and Friday, we lined up seven people - it meant that we had to divide it among seven people, as these

were Lenten days. The canteen was in the open air, right on the ground, they distributed the food from a log of wood with a recess for the liquid, on the edges of the log there were soldiers with scoops and sticks. Anyone who managed to get food from one soldier and another was hit on the back or head with sticks. This person spilled the soup and remained hungry. The hunger was indescribable. As the poet Nekrasov wrote: "There is a king in the world, hunger is his name. God, in a dream you don't see yourself as holy"<sup>32</sup>. And what about water? I was extremely thirsty. We carried water in wooden barrels on horseback. As it rides into the block, the crowd rushes to the barrel, the driver runs away or they'll crush him. Water is spilled, only a few get enough water, confusion, fights. The convoy opens fire and there are even wounded. On some days there was no water at all. We drank it at work, and wherever we had it. In the evening they gave us tea, one glass, sometimes milk, diluted with something.

#### Treatment:

There was a medical unit, the wounded were binded up, anointed with Revanol, bandaged. They got dysentery from dirty ticks, they were treated by starvation, for two days they were given no food at all, and people who were already hungry, many died, people were corralled, were given injections. Prisoners were beaten on their naked bodies with sticks, like cattle, and captured doctors were also involved.

#### Funerals:

I have probably already written to you that people died of wounds, diseases, backbreaking work, hunger, tortures. There were suicides, people couldn't stand the terrible regime. Between 50 and 200 people died. The dead were carried on sanitary stretchers, dirty with blood. It was very heavy to carry the dead, two of them were put with their heads in different directions, they were dangling. The sticks from the stretchers were cutting into our shoulders. We had to carry them 3-4 kilometres away from the camp. This funeral profession was tragic and had a depressing effect on the mood. An officer arrived on a bicycle, marked the number on the back of the tunic, written in oil paint on a stencil, and buried the missing in action.

#### Work:

We were almost hijacked to work and taken away in cars, light carriages (britzkas), to government work and to farmers, to agricultural work for a day and taken back. It was especially hard in the quarries, in the rocks and gravel. They pushed with a stick to work, they didn't let rest, they were always shouting: "Schneller, schneller!" My legs didn't walk, I had no strength, my legs were swollen from hunger. They didn't take us to the bathhouse and we didn't bathe all the time.

#### Propaganda:

They published a newspaper, a small sheet of limited circulation for Russians called "Klich" and for Ukrainians called "Ukrainskaya Debi"<sup>33</sup>. We asked Ukrainians what the name meant, but nobody knew. They wrote that the partisans were bandits and that they had all been captured. Supposedly, Stalin's [son] is in captivity, a commander of an artillery regiment, and he gives an interview to a correspondent, saying that his father is fighting the war in vain, that Germany will still defeat Russia, and that Hitler will defeat Stalin. They put us in formation and read us anti-Marxist brochures: Marx is a Jew, Engels is a Jew, Lenin too. I laughed, the soldiers drew me out of the rank, beat me with a stick and took me to the commandant's office, where they put up a sign with my number and made a photo of me. They made an imprint of my fingers and let me go to the block cell.

I was imprisoned for a year without ever washing in a bathhouse. Once they took me from the camp to the town of Ebenrode, the water in the shower was very cold, and I did not wash myself, I just put my underwear through the disinfecting chamber. They drove us into the shower with ramrods and beat us on our naked bodies.

40 years have passed and I can't forget "Hitler's New Order". Thoughts run through my mind, they never stop, and I am tempting to tell my children everything. I am drawn to these places to visit the graves of the killed in battle, bow my head and drop a tear. On my back, rotten from sweat, was written: "2537 SU", which means Soviet Union. And I was proud of this sign.

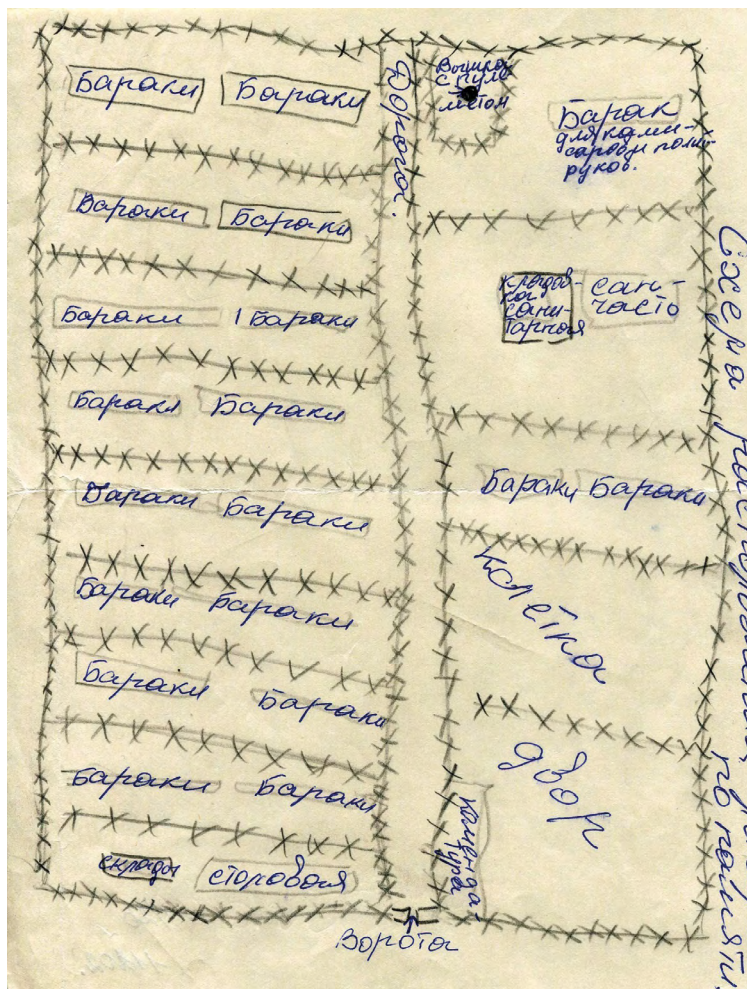
It was only when I ran away that I sewed on this insignia with a patch, and passed from East Prussia, its borders with Lithuania, to the Belorussian partisans in the Sergeev detachment, in the clothes of a beggar, barefoot, memorising only the location of German troops, and this information I passed on when I crossed the front line". [...]

*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 11201, 11203. Original. Manuscript.*

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- \* From letters of S.I. Zaitsev to L.G. Zaichikova, Director of the Kaliningrad Regional History and Art Museum, 27.04. and 07.06.1982.
  - \*\* Inaccurate quotation from N.A. Nekrasov's poem "The Railway". Correct: "There is tsar in the world: this tsar is merciless, Hunger is his name".
  - 3\* Probably, "Українська доба" – "Ukrainian time".

43. Map of the territory of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52), drawn from memory by a former prisoner S.I. Zaitsev

1982



Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 11202. Original. Manuscript, illustration.

44. From the memories of V. V Zozulya<sup>48</sup>, a former prisoner of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52)

The 6th of May, 1970

[...] Towards the end of the second day we arrived at our destination. It was a small town near the old German-Lithuanian border.

With difficulty we got out of the wagon. At the same time the corpses were taken out. After the semi-darkness of the wagon we look at each other and see how we've shrunk, bent,



blackened with mud, our hands were dirty, scabbed, only our eyes have a kind of feverish sparkle.

With the help of shouts, kicks, rifle butts, and dogs, the convoy ranked us in a line and we moved on in the direction of the new camp.

The new camp for us was quite "organised" from the outside. It was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence several metres high with canopies. The space of about 4 metres between the two wired walls was filled with coils of barbed wire. There were high guard towers for German soldiers with machine guns on all sides. For the convenience of the "master race" to move around quickly and easily, there were wooden ramps around the outside of the camp.

Barbed wire divided the camp into separate blocks. Inside the camp, dugouts were built for the prisoners, with doors but no windows, and only a few wooden barracks. The long dugouts had an earthen floor, earthen walls, a roof covered with earth, and, of course, damp, stifling air.

In a way, it was really an improvement, because before these dugouts, the prisoners simply lived on the bare ground, under the open sky, and for protection from the wind they dug holes. But when it rained, the holes were no better.

We, the new arrivals, were herded into a kind of enclosure separated by barbed wire. People in civilian clothes appeared among us. These civilians tried to start conversations with the prisoners, calling them for frankness.

In front of me, a young man, apparently out of simplicity and inexperience, confessed that he was a Jew. He was immediately told that the prisoners were grouped by nationality and that he would be transferred to another camp - a camp from which there was no return.

Then we knew from experience that the appearance of Germans in civilian clothes speaking Russian in the camps is always connected with serious trouble for the prisoners, because these civilians are Gestapo agents.

Together with other medical personnel, I was put in a wooden barrack with bunk beds, and our camp life began.

We were, so to speak, non-working doctors, but our barracks were on the territory of the Revier /infirmary/, and we saw that the working doctors were powerless to help the sick. The food consisted of "tea", which was a warm liquid brewed from herbs, and it was served in the morning. Nobody drank this drink because nobody needed it without bread or sugar. However, the orderlies went for "tea" and used it to clean the floors, because it was better not to use ice water to wash floors. And after mopping the floors were covered with a thin crust of ice before they dried.

For lunch we were given "Suppe" /soup/, or thin broth in camp parlance. There were several types of soup. Here are some recipes: water and raw turnip, and when the soup was ready it was topped with mixed fat. In narrow-bottomed "tubs" – large cans - the fat was collected from the top, giving the impression of a good fatty soup. No salt was supposed to be in the soup.

The other kind of soup was water with unpeeled potatoes and turnips, and also no salt. Here pieces of dirty potatoes seemed to be a great treat.

Bread was given in the amount of one loaf for six to eight people. We did not know the actual weight of the loaf, but it probably contained no more than 800 grams.

Before the bread was distributed, all the prisoners were driven out of the barrack or dug-out and formed into rows of six to eight people, with each row receiving one loaf.

The distribution of bread was a harsh image. After all, it was shared by people exhausted by mortal hunger. They shared the bread with trembling hands and hungry glittering eyes. Those who didn't leave the barracks didn't get bread, and those who didn't leave the barracks were weakened to the point of exhaustion. Some were led out by their comrades.

Two starving men were walking, and between them hung, holding on to the necks of their comrades, an even weaker one... How delicious this bread with sawdust, given to the prisoners, seemed!

All our theoretical calculations of the caloric content of a prisoner of war's daily ration invariably ended with the conclusion that the camp ration must eventually lead to inevitable death, with the only difference that some, more emaciated and exhausted, die sooner and others later, but we could not determine when this "later" would be. For many, this deadline came daily, hourly.

In the morning a big horse-drawn wagon, like the ones we have on the Don or Kuban, would appear in the camp. The bodies of the dead, completely emaciated and already undressed, were piled into this carriage. After all, clothes kept people warm and, to some extent, kept them alive. So the prisoners of war took off the clothes of the dead and put them on themselves or burned them in ovens as fuel.

The wagon was filled with naked corpses to the top. The corpses were thin, as if they had already dried. During loading, sometimes a corpse would fall and be thrown back on the wagon without much effort, like kindling. The wagon would leave, and then return to be filled again. This burial business was handled by a special team of prisoners of war, the Kaputt commando.

In the dead room, i.e., the barrack where the dead were taken down, corpses were found several times with calves of the legs and livers cut out. These were undoubtedly cases of necrophagia, but the Germans did not know about it. Otherwise there would have been a bloodbath.

Lice in the camp were constant and abundant. There were no baths, no disinfecting chambers, no means of killing lice. The only way to kill lice was with one's own "tool", i.e. nails.

Every day, after eating thin broth, i.e., after lunch, there was a mandatory hour of lice extermination. Everyone took off their clothes and worked to kill the parasites.

Soon a new disaster struck the camp - typhus broke out there. The death rate in the camp increased. Those suffering from typhus were isolated - placed in separate barracks.

Germans began to appear in the camp wearing special protective overalls with shackles on their hands and feet. If a prisoner met a German on the camp road, he had to move a few metres away so as not to endanger the precious health of the German soldier.

Measures were taken to protect the German soldiers from typhus, but the amount of lice among prisoners did not diminish. A weakened, no longer able to engage in lice extermination, was literally covered with lice in the last days of his life.

It was my turn. Typhus had gotten to me, too. Typhus starts quickly, so I soon found myself in a typhus barrack.

I was in unconscious state for over a week. When I regained consciousness, I reached for a glass to drink, but the water in the glass had turned to ice. It was the end of December, and the winter of 1941-1942 was severe. My legs were swollen, they were in excruciating pain.

Vasily Vasilyevich, a barrack medical assistant, pharmacist from Leningrad - I forget his surname - did his best to help the sick. Many people owed him their lives.

I don't remember how I was transferred to another barrack, where I finally regained consciousness in the evening of 1 January 1942. I soon realised that hard tack was given out instead of bread. I fiddled with my hand at the bed headboard and not finding any hard tack, I started to draw out the words, "hard tack, hard tack". The head of the barrack came up to me and struck me twice on the head, and I fell silent.

In the morning a prisoner of war doctor came to the barrack, an old man with a grey moustache, a Moscow native, I don't remember his last name. The sick informed him that instead of hard tack I had received blows to the head. The doctor responded by pulling his

head further into his shoulders. Apparently he wasn't thinking of my head, but of his own. I was already in the convalescent barracks, where the doctor's role was even more limited.

Sometime later the camp authorities apparently decided that the percentage of convalescents was still high, and so they began to move those who had been recovering from typhus to a barrack without bunks, with doors that didn't close. The barracks were snowed in, and people who had been coping with typhus died in the barracks for convalescents from frost and hunger.

Recovery from typhus is slow, even under good conditions and nutrition. One can imagine how difficult it was for prisoners of war on starvation rations to recover. Convalescents from typhus always have an increased appetite, and we, including myself, had more than a wolf hunger.

The thought of food haunted me constantly. And these thoughts, for example, for me, started with fattening a pig. Then I slaughtered it myself, usually with a bayonet put on a stick or some other clever way, then processed it, cut it up, mentally doing everything alone. I thought how to use not only meat, but also blood, intestines and so on. It was only after a lot of mental processing that I'd start frying and finally allowed myself to begin the long-awaited meal. Usually it did not come to mental eating, because someone's arrival, conversation, noise, etc. interrupted my culinary exercises, and then I started again with fattening, slaughtering and cutting in my thoughts.

Another topic was crepes. With what and how to eat them: with sour cream, with cottage cheese, with butter, with jam, with jelly, with sugar, with honey, with condensed milk, with rice, with mushrooms, with fish, with caviar, with eggs, and so on and so forth. I counted on my fingers and then thought about what to put on and after what.

There were a lot of combinations, and you could think about it forever.

Everyone, or almost everyone, was possessed by such psychosis. Among the prisoners there were cooks, confectioners, and they were constantly asked to tell about the preparation of various exquisite dishes, including various pastries, cakes, and so on. They would sit down with the cook or confectioner, collect tobacco or fudge together for him to roll, the listeners would sit close to him and listen with great attention to all the smallest details, how much and when to put in, and so on. And if one of them interferes, as if on command, they all nervously shout at him to stop him from interfering.

During my convalescence I was visited by Boris Vladimirovich Rubashkin, an associate professor at the Kharkov Medical Institute. Once he brought me boiled potatoes, but since his possibilities were limited, he gave me more moral support, so to speak. He used to say, "If it's bad, be happy, because it could have been worse".

After the typhus, when I was fully aware of the reality around me, I noticed that winter was well underway and the frost was setting in.

Other changes took place among the prisoners. The hopeless mood was replaced by a kind of hopefulness. The prisoners' talk about our poor preparation and the superiority of the Germans was replaced by curses and angry taunts against the Germans.

When I drew Rubashkin's attention to this, he informed me of the defeat of the Germans near Moscow.

So the first tangible victory did not slow down the positive effect on the prisoners.

It was winter. We, not working doctors and medical assistants, lived in a separate barrack. Because of the cold we clapped our hands and danced, as people do at tram stops in severe frost. But I could not dance because I was very weak and my legs hurt. I knelt on a stool and held on to the pole with my hands. It was easier that way. Lying down was cold. The afternoon lice bashing was still on. At night we put on everything we had, tied hats -

trappers- over our ears, wrapped our legs in bandages, put on mittens, pulled up the collars of greatcoats and went to bed like that. And at night the barracks crackled with frost.

Tobacco was considered a treasure in the camp. He was ranked differently at times in each camp. At the time I am describing, in our camp you could buy no more than four screws of tobacco for a day's ration of bread, that is, four cigarettes. Some inveterate smokers spent part of their bread rations on cigarettes.

Boris Vladimirovich somehow persuaded me, and we two together bought a cigarette for a quarter of the bread ration, an eighth of our ration each. We measured it, cut it in half and marked the centre with a pencil. We took turns smoking. The others did the same.

The next day, when the bread was distributed, Boris Vladimirovich turned to me with the same suggestion that we buy cigarettes.

- I don't want to exchange my life for death anymore, I said.

- It is right to exchange life for death, - Rubashkin said.

He did not agitate me anymore, but looked for companions among others. Such "companies" for the purchase of a "screw" were usually created because the purchase of a whole screw of tobacco required a large amount of currency, i.e. bread. Other smokers, having lost hope of saving their lives, spent half a ration or even more on smoking. Such their reckless actions were protested by friends.

Sometimes it was possible to restore such a dejected smoker's faith in life, but not always. Death was everywhere. We looked at death with a simplistic stare. The person lying next to prisoners had died, and it had almost the same effect on those around him as if he had just fallen asleep.

One day I witnessed such a scene. A man gathered his belongings, a comb, a bar of soap, some scraps, and so on, into a food bag. He held the bag to his chest and assumed a half-sitting position. His eyes stared into the distance and began to take on a sort of glassy look. One of the prisoners quietly tugged at his bag. His hands were clutching the bag, and his eyes were looking normal. "Wow, still alive," someone said, and a few minutes later he was finally dead. And the same calm voice said, "Ready"... This was followed by a quiet division of the deceased's belongings. They would take a hairbrush, for example, and ask:

- To whom?

Somebody claimed:

- Give it to me, I don't have it. - And he became the owner of the comb.

Winter was over. The Germans rejoiced at the perfidy of the Japanese for attacking the Americans at Pearl Harbor without a declaration of war, but kept silent about their losses on the Eastern Front during the harsh winter of 1941-1942.

During the winter, the number of prisoners in the camp dropped dramatically. Hunger and typhus had done their work. Our camp was not a "superior" camp, but 70-80 % of prisoners of war died here during the winter of 1941-42 without any special extermination measures.

At the beginning of spring Hitler's forces made cards for the remaining prisoners, took our fingerprints, photographed us with a metal plate on our chests with the number of the prisoner on it.

I became a prisoner of war No. 1301 and was given a metal plate with the number assigned to me. We had to wear these plates with a lanyard around our necks. It was disgusting to wear such an "honour" around our necks, and most of us carried it in our pockets.

As soon as the snow began to melt, the rest of the prisoners were put to hard work.

We, the medical assistants, looked out of the window and saw our comrades from the Central Asian Soviet republics cleaning the camp latrines. With long-handled buckets they scooped out the contents of the latrines and poured them into barrels. The barrels were placed in cells made of planks, the cells had four handles.



When the barrels were full, four prisoners lifted them on their shoulders, and the procession of two or three dozen barrels moved out of the camp.

The wind was blowing, it was cold, and we looked sympathetically at the bluish from frost, chapped faces of the porters.

All day long we lived in anticipation of the distribution of thin broth and bread, and all the time we were busy scolding the Germans in every possible way. Probably, our occupation became known to the camp authorities, and one cold windy day we replaced our Central Asian comrades.

Boris Vladimirovich, lifting the dirt on our shoulders, told us again to be glad, because it could have been worse. For a long time we cleaned the sewage that had accumulated during the winter, and when this work was over we became labourers in the camp: we cleared the paths, dug ditches, carried planks, built barracks, and carried soil. We carried the soil in iron tubs with two handles. It was easier for two of us to carry such a basin, but we were forced to carry the tubs of soil one by one. It was difficult to carry a heavy load in front of you, and if you did not pour enough, you would get a rude shout or a slap on the back. It was strictly forbidden to carry basins together. In this connection we remembered Dostoyevsky and his "The House of the Dead", where, as we know, he described the horrors of tsarist penal servitude. There the prisoners carried weights from one place to another and then carried the weights back.

When the ground dried up, we started digging. Digging and waiting for the lunch break and then waiting for the end of the working day. And it was the same every day.... It is very hard forced labour. Such labour is joyless, painful, disgusting.

There were very few people in the camp. Most of them died, many were sent to work. Those who remained were sent to work outside the camp, and only a group of medical men was used for work inside the camp. We didn't know if it was a privilege for us, or a punishment for our stubbornness.

We wanted to go outside the Nazi camp, even if only for a few hours, under escort.

It's not just a contemplative pursuit. When the prisoners worked outside the camp, they often got something to eat. For example, if they did not load potatoes, cabbage, or other things themselves, someone else was busy with it, and the prisoners managed to benefit themselves, and if they did not get anything to eat, the prisoners brought at least some firewood into the camp to boil potatoes in cooperation with other prisoners.

Eventually we, the medical men, were sent to work outside the camp. But whether by strange coincidence or on purpose, it turned out that when the French were unloading sugar, for example, we were unloading coal. When prisoners of any nationality unloaded potatoes, we unloaded stones, planks, cement, but no food. But if there was a wagon nearby with a load that was useful to us, we got the loot anyway.

I remember one day when we were unloading coal and the French were unloading cabbage nearby. And we had plenty of cabbage. The cabbage was fresh and, it seemed to us at the time, very tasty.

Then the French started unloading sugar in sacks. Thanks to their skill, the bottom of the wagons was covered with sugar, and through a hole under the wagon the sugar fell into our fore-and-aft caps. In the afternoon we enjoyed fresh cabbage with sugar, and the sugar was brought to the camp.

It was done with looking over their shoulder, cautiously, when the sentry guard was glancing in the opposite direction or when somebody managed to distract him with conversation.

In my helpless rage, I wanted to do something bad to the Germans, but what can you do when a machine gun is overhead? So, for example, when we unloaded the furniture, the legs

got stuck on various irregularities and broke, the cupboards had their walls pushed through. Of course, all of this was done with great care, otherwise our own ribs could start cracking.

Sometimes we were taken to work at another station in Eydtkau – Eydtkuhnen in Lithuanian language. The place where we worked was far from the place where the thin broth was prepared, so we got thin broth only after work, that is, at 6 o'clock in the evening. If we did not manage to get our hands on something, we worked hungry all day.

Once, on such a hard day, when we were unable to get some food because we were unloading furniture, a man in civilian clothes came up to us and asked us in clear Russian how we were and how we were doing. Flattered by his affectionate tone, we told him that the day was coming to an end and that we had not yet received any food. Suddenly, the man's good-natured expression turned angry and he blurted out: "Do they feed you better in your State Political Directorate?" Realising who we were talking to, we bit our tongues and tried to take our anger out on the legs of the furniture.

Another time, at the same station, we were unloading large blocks of building stone. The blocks were heavy, and for us, weakened, hungry people, it was a hell of a job. Some of us had our legs crushed by the rocks. If it had not been for the chiselled stocks on our feet, it would have been even worse.

At the end of the day we were completely exhausted. It was then that a drunken German policeman came to the work site. Our escort asked him for help. The policeman immediately drew a pistol from his holster and, pointing it at our backs, began to shout that we were lazy Russian pigs and that we were "Zweite Juden," i.e., second Jews.

The unloading of the stone was finally finished, and when they brought us into the camp, most of us lay down and could not eat the ration of bread and thin broth at once. We were so exhausted.

Escapes, or rather attempts to escape, from this camp were rare.

It was impossible to overcome the wire fences around the camp, because they were constantly guarded and well lit at night. At the same time, there should be no lights in the barracks.

During our (Russian) air raids the alarm would go off, the lights would go out, and after a short time more guards would come in. They took their places close to each other. At one such moment a prisoner was killed by the hedge. On another occasion, several prisoners managed to slip a wooden ladder through the wire, but the escape failed because the guards came running.

Much later, with the help of a plank, one managed to get over the fence, but they found him exhausted a few kilometres from the camp. They brought him to the camp and gave him 25 lashes. First they kept him in a punishment cell, and then they took him somewhere outside the camp.

After the attempts described above, it was forbidden to leave the barracks at night, and honey buckets, the same iron basins in which we used to carry soil, were installed in the barracks for the night.

In the second half of the winter our enslavers finally began to take hygienic measures in the camp - they began to take us to the bathhouses in the city.

This mockery is also worthy of description. The bathing day began in the morning. We were lined up and herded in a large group to the bathhouse. The capacity of the bathhouse was small, so you had to wait three or four hours, during which time the wind blew, it rained, or it froze. You would stand there, blowing into your frozen hands and tapping on the wooden blocks. Those who could narrate something have already narrated, and time, as it happens, passes very slowly.

Many thoughts went through our minds at that time. Everything that was difficult or unpleasant before, there, in the homeland, now seemed to be happiness. What used to be a

burden now made you wonder how you could have been burdened with this. And between thoughts of family, freedom, homeland, like an obsession, thoughts of food.

Finally it was my turn to enter the bathhouse. Under the barking shouts of the guards, we quickly undressed and handed our clothes to the decontamination room. We entered the shower room, stood under the nipples of the shower, and carefully looked up to where the water would come out. The shower starts and we are splashed with cold water. Everyone tried to dodge the cold jet, and the German present, concerned about our cleanliness, forced us to wash ourselves with a stick.

For a long time after that, the naked people had to wait in the cold room for their clothes. When we finally received warm clothes from the decontamination room, it was a pleasant moment. But the following waiting in the cold destroyed our temporary well-being.

We spent the whole day bathing. At five or six o'clock we returned to the camp and ate our rations greedily.

Only at the beginning of summer did the camp authorities bother to build a bathhouse in our camp, of course with the prisoners' own hands. After that, the bathhouse was no longer the cause of our additional suffering.

In the second half of the winter the thin broth began to be salted, and it improved to some extent, but in the spring the supply of turnips and potatoes ran out, and now the thin broth became quite liquid. Goose-foot and some other herbs were added.

In this connection, hunger increased again, and the prisoners had to get their hands on food even more vigorously to keep themselves alive.

We, the non-working medical staff, were put to work in the camp at this time. The prisoners had to seek everywhere for food.

At the end of the day there were no Germans left in the camp - they went to rest and we went to the dugouts. Now the dugouts were empty, and on their earthen roof there was a lot of goose-foot. We collected goose-foot and cooked it in pots. We boiled it without salt and ate without bread. It was disgusting food, but we had to eat something.

One day, while we were picking goose-foot, a German officer appeared at the dugout. He asked us what we were doing. RUBASHKIN B. V., who was with me, said: "We are gathering grass." "Who are you?" - The officer asked. "Russian doctors," Rubashkin replied. "I have never seen such doctors," said the officer squeamishly.

Indeed, if we were collecting goose-foot to eat without fat, without salt, without bread, you can imagine how we looked. Our clothes reflected our general condition.

When the officer retired, I said: "We should be glad - it could have been worse."

At last young potatoes were brought into the camp. This was greeted by us as a happy event. For several days we received a comparatively good soup.

The recipe is the same: water and unpeeled potatoes. The potatoes were not peeled, but they were young, and after the goose-foot, they were a treat for the starving people.

Our joy was short-lived. The young potatoes, piled in a heap, began to rot. Due to the spoilage of potatoes, the potato ration was increased, and now it was not soup, but mashed potatoes.

Unpeeled potatoes were added to the cauldron along with the rotten tubers. Healthy and rotten tubers were boiled and turned into a foul-smelling grey mass. Some of the tubers did not go through the usual rotting and softening process and were not boiled as if these were frozen potatoes that do not boil. Such mashed potatoes were served instead of the usual thin broth. Compared to this stinking dish, the thin broth made of turnip seemed to be a good dish.

We could not even imagine that such food could be prepared for humans, but now we ate it. We pinched our noses, spat, cursed, but we ate.

At the same time, we enjoyed another delicacy: unhulled millet in warm water.

Mold had grown on the bread from its long storage in the storehouse. A soup was made from this bread – there was crumbled, moldy bread in hot water.

I ate this soup made of half-rotten bread with sawdust with obvious pleasure and thought: why was such a delicious soup not made from stale bread at home before the war? How pleasant it is to eat! And here I caught myself. I asked myself: was it necessary to make such soup at home? Why black stale bread soup wasn't made at home?

It was a kind of psychosis of a starving man.

Sometimes prisoners were forced to work with peasants. This was considered good work, because the prisoners, with their already developed skills of "collecting pasture", were relatively well fed due to potatoes and skim milk, as well as various vegetables, wheat in grain, peas, and so on.

We tried hard to sneak potatoes into the camp. For this purpose potatoes were spread in our pockets, in the sleeves of our greatcoats, in the permitted form behind the lapels of our uniform caps and under our puttees. Trifles were put in a bottle, and so on and so forth.

This kind of food in our camp temporarily halted starvation, but hunger was always painful, and the thought of food never left our minds.

For some reason, all the prisoners who remained in our camp were moved by the Germans to a new camp for us, Heidekrug. This was in September 1942.

Honoured Doctor of the Abkhaz ASSR  
ZOZULYA V. V

The 6th of May, 1970

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 61. Sheets 5-18. Original. Typescript.*



45. V.V. Zozulya, a former prisoner of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52)

1941



*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 9051. Original.*

46. From the autobiography of K.N. Messarosh<sup>49</sup>, a former prisoner of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52))

*No earlier than October 10, 1956\**

[...] August 1940 – June 1941 – a commander of the 337th Separate Rifle Battalion of the Baltic Military District, Virbalis town, Lithuanian SSR.

On 22 June 1941 – the first battle, at 4:00 o'clock.

On 22 June 1941 at 18:00 o'clock was wounded near Kaunas. Picked up, taken to the 1st Soviet [...]\*\* Hospital in the city of Kaunas.

I gave my Party Membership Card to Dr. Vincent – a secretary of the Party organisation of the hospital. On 27 June he told me: "The city is occupied by the Germans, the Party documents have been burned". I never saw him again. I ended up in captivity.

Then we were taken to a military hospital. In the hospital ward I was the oldest in age, rank and Party experience, and they asked me: "What to do, how to live?" I answered my comrades: "It is most pleasant for the enemy to see our corpses, so we will direct all our thoughts, strength, and possibilities to harm the enemy".

On the X-ray I was counted up to 200 pieces of shrapnel. Some are still there.

On 11 September 1941, the Germans transported us in coal trucks to the Ebenrode camp in East Prussia. Out of 800 loaded men, more than 200 were taken as corpses. That is over a distance of about 100 kilometres.

There were about 20,000 prisoners at Ebenrode. The camp had no buildings. There were tents for the wounded and sand for the rest.

Exactly one year later, in II/I-1942, 1000 survivors were sent to the camp "Heidekrug" near Königsberg, the rest were killed on the spot by typhus, hunger, cold, and the Germans.

I survived thanks to the doctors Chernov N.I., Demin and the medical assistant Vasilii Vasilievich (a native of Leningrad – I don't know his surname). I had typhus in 1920. And I was transferred to the orderly man.

In the summer of 1942 in Ebenrode they managed to create, as they called it, "Uncle Kostya's Club", and the following people participated in it: B.V. Rubashkin, an associate professor at the Kharkov Medical Institute, Vanya Generalov, a medical assistant, and others. Rubashkin, according to rumors, have been hanged by the Germans in 1944.

In the same camp was Dr. Zozulya (now working in Gudauta (Abkhazia)). They did not keep us in the camp "Heidekrug" for a long time, on 5/XII-1942 at night they gathered 30 people, took them to a barn and ordered them to strip naked. We realised that this was the end. It turned out that it was not. The naked people were taken to another barn and ordered to put on clothes. I found Red Army trousers and a shirt, a coat of a boy of 14–15 years, some "pancake" on my head and stocks. They took me to a halfway station and loaded me into a wagon, and we found ourselves in the Hammerstein camp (II-B), where I remained until 18/YI-1944.

Again, thanks to Soviet doctors, first of all V.G. Bryansky (now working in Rybnitsa, Moldova), V.V. Zozulya (Gudauta, Abkhazia), F.F. Soprunov (Professor, Moscow), now Doctor of Biological Sciences.

First in the typhus ward (Dr. Zozulya), where my nickname "Beard" was born, and they called me "Political officer of the convalescent team".

In the tuberculosis department, Dr. Bryanskiy put me in ward 5, where the open forms of tuberculosis were selected from the closed ones, and at the same time they kept those who had to be hidden from the Germans, such as: the political officer of the "Kovpak" compound Chalovets, a member of the special department of the army Tyukashkin, the political officer Cherep, the military commander of the regiment Mikhailov, and others. They also used such a trick: when a sick person died, his number was given to the one who had to be hidden, and the number of the patient was put on the corpse, and half of the numbers were given away. In this way, the cards of comrades who were in the sights of the Germans were removed from the card-register.

There, too, in the tuberculosis department, with the help of Dr. Bryanskiy, meetings were organised, for example, on Lenin's Days, Red Army Day, May 1st, and others.

And on the anniversary of October 1943 the meetings were held in two places: in the doctors' barracks and in the tuberculosis department. The traitor Yakov Zenin visited the doctors' barracks and II/XI – on his orders up to 100 people were arrested by the Germans and sent to a special regime camp.

At that time we tried to create a patriotic group. The first time we met: I, Solomonov (then Mikhailov), N.P. Simonenko.

I proposed to create a system of five people, isolated from each other (in case of failure), with the task of investigating comrades, morally preparing them and gathering information. The five consisted of Litvinenko (a senior lieutenant, worked in the workshop), Oleynik (sergeant, worked at the disinfecting chamber), Troekurov (intelligence officer, 3 Orders of Glory), Tyukashkin and Cherep (political officers), and they took their groups.

At the second meeting we discussed three possible outcomes of the war:

- 1 – along the lines of 1918 and Polish events in Germany, the Bavarian Soviet Republic and the Hungarian Republic.

- 2 – withdrawal of German troops from the territory of the occupied countries and peace.
- 3 – the defeat of fascism and peace in Berlin.

Now it looks a bit “childish”, but at that time, after the defeat of the Germans in Moscow and during the battle for Stalingrad, for us in captivity, with the most terrible misinformation, it was very important.

It was necessary to train people to help our army. But it was impossible to organise serious work.

The third meeting was devoted to the attitude towards the Italians, with the aim of preventing the formation of the Mussolini guards – for the Germans, the Bodalev guards – against the Germans. And it must be said that this work from different sides and different sources, with no small part of our participation, produced good results. Out of 33,000 Italians in the camp, only 400 were taken to the Mussolini Guard.

The arrest of II/XI-1943 interrupted our work. Then we resumed our work and encountered new difficulties. They began to send 500, 1000, 1500 people from the camp to different destinations, and more to the north. [...]

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 59. Sheets 28–30. Copy. Typescript.*

\* Dated from the contents of the document.

\*\* There is a typographical error in the text. Probably “military”.

#### 47. **K.N. Messarosh, a former prisoner of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52)**

1965



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –9496/3. Original.*

48. From the memories of A.N. Oleynik, a former prisoner of the prisoner of war camp in Ebenrode (Oflag-52)\*

1971

[...]\*\* we were brought from Kharkiv prison, from Kholodnaya Gora<sup>50</sup>. Straight off the wagons and into the camp. This is about September or October 1942. [...] I got to Dr Romuald Viktorovich Zaremba with a broken spine, and he nursed me back to health, despite the fact that he was a therapist by profession. But he didn't only treat me like that [...], he treated all Russian prisoners of war. A good doctor, he helped [...].

Our whole group, which participated in the fight [...] against fascism. The leader was K.N. Messarosh. His camp nickname was "Beard" [...] after a counting check he took me as a communication agent [...]. My job was to distribute leaflets. I was like an orderly, I wore a white armband with a red cross [...] and a large quantity of bottles with some liquid, and in this way I passed into the area of other sections, even passing through to the Italians [...] then I met a (friend) fascist called Krasovskiy Gavril, and he [...] incriminated me, where I ended up in the punishment cell [...] then soon after the party meeting of the doctors [...] on 7-8 November among the doctors there was an enemy too and he betrayed - from our group were shot - good people and part of them were sent to the regime camp "Stutthof", where there were crematoria.

This is Comrade Suprunov<sup>3\*</sup> Fedor Fedorovich, who lives in Moscow.

[...] Leon Borisovich, Moscow [...] <sup>4\*</sup>

Soliban Dmitry [...]

Bespalko Roman Mikhailovich, Kharkov [...]

Solomonov Mikhail Ivanovich, major, commissar of division, lives in Krasnogorsk [...]

Rogozha Semyon Yakovlevich, Chernigov [...]

Simonenko Nikolai Petrovich, Chernigov region, Minsk district [...]

Petukhov Ivan Antonovich, Vitebsk [...]

Bryanskiy Vladimir Grigorievich

And many others were sent and me, and "Beard" [...] were sent to Norway as being politically unreliable. [...]

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 60. Sheets 55-57 (overleaf). Original. Manuscript.*

\* From letters of A.N. Oleynik to an employee of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local History G.G. Yakubenko, 1971. Since 1977 - Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.

\*\* Here and further the text is unreadable. The style of the document is preserved.

<sup>3\*</sup> So it is written in the document. Meaning: Soprunov.

<sup>4\*</sup> Residential addresses have been omitted.



49. **Transfer camp for prisoners of war. Occupied USSR territory.  
The author of the photo is a German photographer**

1941



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art –19210/51. Original.*

50. **From the memories of I. G. Novikov<sup>51</sup>, a former prisoner of the  
Ebenrode, Hohenstein and Metgethen camps**

*The 14th of June, 1966*

#### MY MEMORIES

I was captured on the Oredezh River while surrounded in the Luga marshes of the Leningrad region.

First, prisoners of war were gathered in an assembly camp in the city of Luga, and then we were loaded onto freight wagons and sent westward. I don't remember how many days we were on the road, because we lost track of the days and nights as we were locked in the wagons, where we couldn't even sit down. There were also wounded people here.

Many died of wounds and hunger on the way. After a while, the wagons were opened at railway junctions to remove the corpses of the dead, which emitted a decomposition odour. Finally, I don't remember what day the troop train stopped, the wagons were opened and we were pushed out with rifle butts. At the station we saw a sign in German "Ebenrode". Captured Poles passing by / they were without escort guards/ answered our question: "Where are we?" and said that it was East Prussia. So we found ourselves in a large prisoner of war distribution camp in Ebenrode. In fact, it was not a camp at all, but a huge field fenced in with several rows of barbed wire. Inside the camp there was a hastily built

kitchen and several prefabricated barracks, where the camp police, consisting exclusively of Latvians, were housed.

Two long tarpaulin tents housed wounded prisoners of war, girl nurses and other medical personnel, apparently captured during the first days of the war. All other prisoners of war were housed like cattle on the ground. Some dug small pits resembling small bomb craters. It was autumn and it rained heavily and the wind blew day and night, so they dug these pits to stay warm. For the slightest violation of the camp order / for being late for "Appell" – enquiry, for trying to get an extra portion of rutabaga broth, for not greeting a German and a Latvian policeman, etc. / the prisoners were punished with a rod and put face down on a bench. In those days I had to receive 20 blows with a rubber hose with sand for trying to get an extra portion of soup.

We did not stay in this camp for long. Soon, among other prisoners of war, I was sent by railway and ended up in the largest prisoner of war camp, Stalag I-B in Hohenstein. In one of the books about the liberation of East Prussia by our troops, this camp is called "East Prussia" by the author, which I do not agree with. This camp was first built for Polish, French and Belgian prisoners of war, and then, when the war with the USSR began, it was expanded and improved in terms of preventing possible escapes, and Russian prisoners of war were placed there. Poles, Frenchmen and Belgians had already been released from escort by that time and were placed in wooden barracks built just outside the camp. The camp inside was divided into so-called "blocks", of which there were about twenty at that time. Each such "block" inside the camp was separated from each other by a wire fence, which was forbidden to approach within a forbidden strip, which in turn was also fenced with barbed wire, but of a lower height. There were small towers for sentries armed with a machine gun and an electric light with a Jupiter-type (lens) reflector between the blocks.

Anyone who came close to the wire fence to exchange a few words with a comrade of a neighbouring block was shot from the tower by a sentry.

Each block had three barracks, about 15–200 metres long, made of thin timber and dense thermoplate. Inside the barracks in the middle were double-sided bunks in two stories.

More than two thousand people were accommodated in each block, sleeping on the bunks close to each other on turned into the dust wood shavings left by French, Belgian and Polish prisoners. There were a lot of lice in it and it seemed to move.

At night we got up and in the dim light of electric bulbs collected lice from our clothes, which was repeated 2–3 times a night. Many people, being already sick, were moaning, raving. In the camp there was a "Revier" like a medical unit, where in several barracks were placed the wounded and some of the sick, who miraculously got there with the help of our medical assistants. The medical workers were subordinated to German orderlies, who gave injections to the wounded with large syringes /what is for cattle/, after which they died in a few days.

On arrival at this camp, the newcomers were placed in so-called quarantine blocks. From there they were brought in small groups to a special building at the camp, where they were subjected to special inquiry. Germans in SS (Schutzstaffel) uniforms filled out cards, asking for full name, year of birth, place of birth, whether they were Party or Komsomol members, where they served, in which troops, where they were captured and under what circumstances, and so on and so forth. It seems to me that most prisoners of war lied to these questions.

Apparently there were spies in the barracks, because it often happened that one of the prisoners was summoned by the number assigned to each prisoner of war and did not return. Later the police reported that he had been a commissar or a communist and had been shot.

In the morning muddy tea, at lunch a litre of rutabaga broth, in the evening a loaf /approximately a kg and a half no more/ of substitute bread for 20 people. We were not driven to work. When someone from the "Grossbauer", the landlord, came to collect labourers,

everyone tried to get there. They will be given something to eat there, and who and in which manner will be able will bring some vegetables with them.

But not everyone was so lucky. Sometimes they were driven to work in a quarry where sand was extracted. It was hard work. From the deep quarry they carried the sand up the stairs and sent it somewhere by car. I had to work there for two weeks. Those who worked in this quarry were given a litre and a half of broth and a loaf of bread, not for 20 people, but for 15. But all this "extra food" did not compensate for the energy expended. Many people immediately collapsed and died later in the barracks.

At the beginning of the winter of 1941–1942 an epidemic of typhus broke out. At that time there were more than 80,000 people in the camp. Everywhere on the bunks there were typhus patients. The Germans did not enter the camp anymore. All the power in the camp was concentrated in the hands of the police. They distributed bread, took us for soup, kept order with batons. They stopped taking prisoners from the camp for labour, apparently fearing the spread of typhus among the Germans. Thousands died, and in the evenings the corpses of the dead were piled up like firewood on the hardstand, taken out of the camp, and buried in deep, long graves, 7 or 8 rows deep. During that winter alone, more than 50,000 prisoners of war died in this camp. It seems to me that when I arrive in Kaliningrad, I will find this burial ground of tens of thousands of my compatriots.

Not far from the camp there was a monument to Hindenburg<sup>52</sup>. A monumental fortress of red brick. Every day at exactly 12 o'clock a plane appeared in the sky above this monument fortress and made three honourable circles.

There were cases of cannibalism in the camp. A dead prisoner was found in the lavatory with his chest and abdomen open, from which the liver, heart and kidneys had been removed. The Germans discovered several comrades and hanged them immediately in the camp [...].

In this camp I also came through typhus, but fortunately I survived. The Germans put those who had survived typhus in separate barracks after they had been hygienically treated. They slightly increased the daily food ration and then sent people to the labour camps. Those who were still healthy and not sick were not sent to work. You had to get typhus, survive, and then you could either work on the landlord's farm or in the labour camps.

After my illness I was sent to the labour camp in the city of Angerburg, but when I arrived there on the third day I fell ill again, I had a high fever. The Polish doctor tried as best he could to help me and prevent me from going back to the Stalag, but he failed. And so I went back to that cursed Stalag I-B. Anyone who got sick in the labour camps in East Prussia was sent to this camp for "treatment". But we, the prisoners, knew that there would be no treatment. The owners of those factories or mansions where the prisoners are employed in labour camps do not want to feed the sick prisoner for nothing. Most of the sick comrades who were sent to this Stalag did not return: they died, but after 1–2 weeks I felt better. During my illness I was supported with food by a prisoner who worked at various jobs with the French and Belgians, and who used to earn some of their food by performing tricks and acrobatics. He said he was an artist from one of the troupes ... of Mosestrada, the last name I unfortunately forgot. In the summer of 1942, after I had recovered from my illness, I went to a labour camp at a locality of Metgethen in the Ostlandwerke factory. There they did boring of artillery barrels for anti-tank guns and assembly of guns from parts delivered from other factories.

At first there were no more than 200 people in this camp, and then it was expanded, there were about by 1943 more than 600 people. Many worked inside the factory. And most worked on the factory grounds, loading and unloading, and at the railroad station. Here the daily food ration was increased and the living conditions were a little better. Prisoners of war escaped from this camp directly from the factory in groups of 3–5–7 people.

Some were caught and killed about 10–15 kilometres from Metgethen. Of the others we were not aware.

Then came the summer of 1944.

I can't say exactly, but around July the Anglo-Americans began to bomb and raid Königsberg. As it turned out, after the first raids of their aviation, the POW camps were not bombed. Therefore, during the next raids the German workers of the Ostlandwerke factory came to the camp with the consent of the camp guards. The guards somehow drove us out of the barracks during the hours of bombing, poorly supervising the movement of people to and from the camp. At that time it was possible to escape at night.

Many prisoners in small groups began to prepare for the escape.

We made contact with French and Belgians, Ukrainians and Belorussians who worked in the cartridge factory. With their help we received clothes and some food, prepared knives, railroad maps of East Prussia.

For example, the German Emil Kristelait helped our group of 7 people to get food and clothes [...]

Some medicine was given to me by a Russian woman, Zina, the wife of a German, a former prisoner of war in Russia during the First Imperialist War. All this was hidden in a previously agreed to location with the help of Ukrainian girls, and we waited for the next raid of Anglo-American planes. And such a night came /unfortunately, I do not remember the date/.

The escape was led, as he told us, by Lieutenant Colonel, prisoner Kosenko.

Besides him, our group consisted of Sashka Popov, Vanya Zenkin, myself, and three other comrades, whose surnames I unfortunately don't remember.

During the bombing of the factory, the German workers began to come to the camp in a panic, also there were driven our prisoners who were working the night shift. They opened the factory gate opposite the camp gate, which was about 100–200 metres away. The prisoners were not counted, the lights were turned off, and we rushed in the mass from the camp to the gate. Although the prisoners coming from the factory had seen us, it was not the first escape, and no one betrayed us; on the contrary, they were glad that someone was leaving, and that he would survive to tell about the life of the prisoners in Germany.

Not far from the camp were two houses in which lived a German farmer who worked with his family on the factory's farm. Some prisoners were given to him for agricultural work. The other, they said, was a Russian emigrant. This was told to me by Emil Kristelait, but he himself, this peasant, denied it when he talked to our boys working in the fields. But he spoke good Russian. So we went in that direction, because it was risky to go towards the German barracks. Through this field we came to the forest, there we found hidden things and products, changed our clothes, buried our stuff well, camouflaged it and started on the way to the bypass of Königsberg.

Our group was led by our Senior KOSENKO. On the way we had great difficulties with orientation, food supply and rest. We had to face, if I may say so, at night /and we relocated only at night/, the guards of the anti-aircraft installations, which opened fire after the word "Halt". On the way we had to meet small groups of Poles, Russian civilians fleeing from the German farmers where they worked.

Some of us had the idea of going on together, but our leader Kosenko refused, saying that it would be easier to pass in small groups.

On one bridge we had to put a German sentry out of the way, the second one opened fire, but fortunately we managed to escape.

I will not describe all the details of the way because it would take up a lot of space. I will only say that we walked like this for more than three months. It was good that it was August-September, we didn't have to come close to the houses to replenish our food supply.



We had to make do with potatoes, vegetables and milk, which the Germans put in bottles in the evening for the night near the house, so that in the morning the machine for collecting milk could take it to the butter factories.

In October, we unexpectedly met a scout patrol while crossing the East Prussian border into Lithuania. They took us to the military unit at dawn. But there were no longer 7 of us, but 6. One of us was killed in the middle of the journey when he went to a farmer's house to get food. I can't say for sure if he was killed or if he ran away and couldn't find us, but we heard screams and gunshots. After waiting for an hour, as we had agreed, we decided to continue on our way to avoid any possible pursuit.

The military unit sent us to an unknown place in Lithuania, to one of the houses where there were already more than a hundred refugees like us. We were given regular soldier's rations, but we were under guard. After 3–4 days we were sent to the town of Taurage to the control and filtering station, where I stayed until the beginning of November 1944 and was subject to a background check [...].

After passing the check, I, already alone from our group, was sent with a sealed package to the field-type military commissar's office, located 20–25 kilometres from Taurage. From there, with a group of others like me, I was sent to Kaunas to the 55th Reserve Rifle Regiment as a medical assistant. It was only in January that I was summoned to the Unit's Commander. In the presence of the Major, they asked me where I had been imprisoned, for how long, and whether I knew the suburbs of Königsberg well. I replied that I knew Metgethen well and a little Juditten. I had been to the latter several times as a prisoner of war doing labour. Soon I was accompanied by a Non-Commissioned Officer and arrived at the 49th Independent Tank Battalion\* (as I was told), located already on the territory of East Prussia.

About January 20–21, I crossed the front line as part of a scouting group (the group was commanded by Sub-Lieutenant Nosov), and we headed on foot to Königsberg.

About the night of January 27th or 28th, the commander of our group led us to a place not far from the highway, near the cartridge factory in the locality of Metgethen. We took shelter in a small main forest plantation. We had a radio operator with us. My task was to find out if there were any troops in Metgethen, if so, which troops, how many, where they were located, and so on. I was also to find out about the prisoner camps, the camps for Ukrainian, Belorussian and Polish labourers. I had to know whether the "Feuerwehrschnule", a fire-fighting school in Metgethen was functioning, whether it had been evacuated, and many other questions. The whole group stayed to watch the highway to Königsberg. At night I came to the camp of civilian labourers who had been driven from the USSR. The safest thing was to go to the barracks where the families lived and find out from them what was going on. That's what I did. There, with the help of two Russians, I gathered as much information as possible and returned to my group before dawn.

Around dawn, our columns of tanks with machine gunners and paratroopers suddenly burst into Metgethen and opened fire. But at that hour there were no more German troops in Metgethen. Apparently they had left at dawn. Only isolated machine gunners positioned themselves in the attics, shot through the streets of the settlement. They were quickly covered from tank guns.

By the evening of 30 or 31 January the German, apparently having learnt that our forces were small in number, began to advance on Metgethen from the side of the railway station. All night long the battle lasted. At that time we moved towards Pillau 2–3 kilometres away from Metgethen and continued to monitor the movement of troops and military equipment from the direction of Pillau.

During the next twenty-four hours Metgethen was reliably secured by our reinforcements.

Apparently, our task was fulfilled, and we returned to Tilsit by the defence highway by hitchhiking.

Having rested three days, I was again seconded to the city of Kaunas in the 55th Reserve Rifle Regiment to my position and I did not take part in the battles for Königsberg. [...]

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 61. Sheets 26–33. Copy. Typescript.*

*Published: Nazovem poimenno (literally: Let's call them by name) vol. 13, supplementary.*

*(Information about those missing in action at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War and those killed in German captivity). – Kaliningrad: Yantarniy Skaz publishing house, 2000. – Pages 32–34.*

- \* This refers to the 89th Tank Brigade of the 1st Tank Corps, which on 28.01.1945 received the order to take Metgethen.

## 51. Stalag I-A camp. A theatre troupe formed from French prisoners of war

1940–1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 12159/9. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art from the Museum of Warmia and Mazury (Olsztyn, Poland) in May 1985.*

52. Stalag IA camp. Musical ensemble formed from French prisoners of war

1940–1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 12159/10. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art from the Museum of Warmia and Mazury (Olsztyn, Poland) in May 1985.*

53. Stalag IA camp. French prisoners of war go to work

1940–1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 12159/8. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art from the Museum of Warmia and Mazury (Olsztyn, Poland) in May 1985.*

54. Stalag IA camp. Polish prisoners of war in front of the infirmary

1939–1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 12159/7. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art from the Museum of Warmia and Mazury (Olsztyn, Poland) in May 1985.*

55. Numbered identity tags of prisoners of the Stalag IA camp  
(Nos. 25943, 65932)

1939–1945

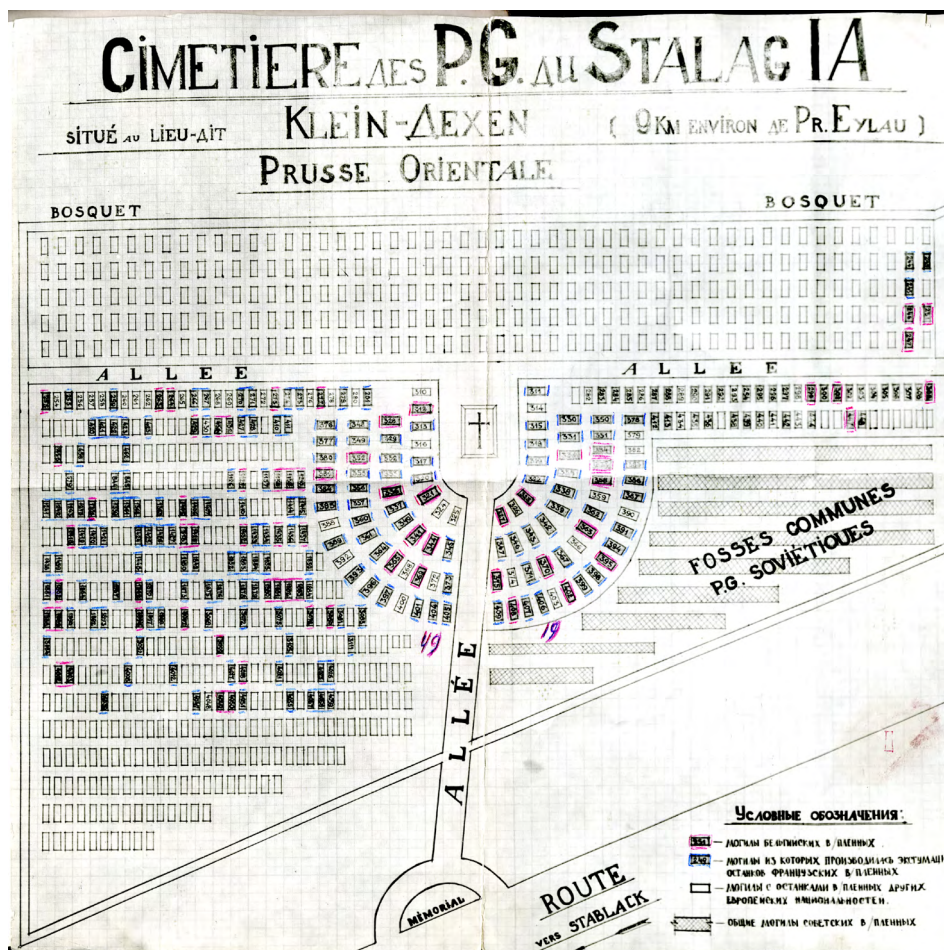


*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art -12159/12, 13. Donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art from the Museum of Warmia and Mazury (Olsztyn, Poland) in May 1985. Photo: E. I. Chepinoga.*



56. Scheme of the international cemetery of the Stalag IA camp in Klein Dexen small town

1972



Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 59. Sheet 14. Photocopy.

In 1972, the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore (now KOIHM) received information about the cemetery in Klein Dexen small town from a French pastor who was among the prisoners during the war. The scheme shows 4,172 individual graves in which Belgian, French prisoners of war and prisoners of war of other European nationalities are buried. Soviet prisoners of war are buried in nine ditches running one after another. In 1971, the remains of French prisoners of war were exhumed from 164 graves. In the annotation to the cemetery scheme, the pastor reported that the French and Poles, after paying a certain fee, could receive absolution from him and a place in a specially built cemetery. Soviet prisoners of war, according to him, after natural death or punitive actions, were thrown into ditches on the right side of the entrance to the cemetery. The burials took place from 1939 to 1944. (Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 59. Sheets 13, 15).

57. A group of French and English prisoners of war liberated by Red Army units. East Prussia. Photo by Venyatov

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art, main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art - 8994/11. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of the USSR (now the Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents) in 1971.*

58. A group of French and English prisoners of war liberated by Red Army units. East Prussia. Photo by Venyatov

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art, main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art - 8994/6. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of the USSR in 1971.*

59. French prisoners of war liberated by Red Army units.  
East Prussia, Insterburg town. Film image

February 1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art - 5744. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central Museum of the Soviet Army (now the Central Museum of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation) in 1950.*

60. French prisoners of war liberated by Red Army units. East Prussia

1945 г.



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art - 8994/19. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of the USSR in 1971.*



61. Foreign prisoners of war liberated by Red Army units. East Prussia

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art - 8994/9. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of the USSR in 1971.*



62. Foreign prisoners of war liberated by Red Army units. East Prussia

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art - 8994/10. The photocopy was donated to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of the USSR in 1971.*

<sup>1</sup> “Cyclone B” (*German*: Zyklon B) – a poisonous gas that stops cellular respiration. Used by the Nazis for the mass extermination of people in gas chambers.

<sup>2</sup> Senior Squad Leader (*German*: SS-Oberscharführer) – a rank in the SS. Corresponded to the rank of Sergeant Major.

<sup>3</sup> Wachmann (*German*: Wachmann) – a guard.

<sup>4</sup> SS Storm Trooper (*German*: SS-Sturmmann) – a rank in the SS. Corresponded to the rank of Corporal.

<sup>5</sup> Junior Squad Leader (*German*: Unterscharführer) – a rank in the SS. Corresponded to the rank of non-commissioned officer.

<sup>6</sup> Death's Head, the SS Battalion (*German*: SS – Totenkopfverbände, SS – TV) – the SS unit responsible for guarding the concentration camps of the Third Reich.

<sup>7</sup> Room Leader (from *German*: Stube, room) – a leader of the “stube” or room in barracks.

<sup>8</sup> Head Squad Leader (*German*: Hauptscharführer – chief scharführer) – a rank in the SS. Corresponded to the rank of Lance Corporal (*German*: Obergefreiter).

<sup>9</sup> Reich Leader (*German*: Reichsführer) – initially a special position, and then the highest rank of the SS. From 1929 to 1945, the position was held by Heinrich Himmler.

<sup>10</sup> Senior Group Leader (*German*: Obergruppenführer) – a rank in the SS and SA, corresponding to the rank of General of the Military Branch in the Wehrmacht.

<sup>11</sup> Regional Leader (*German*: Gauleiter) – the highest party functionary of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), who headed its district organisation.

<sup>12</sup> Assault Unit Leader (*German*: Sturmabteilerführer) – a rank in the SS and SA. Corresponded to the rank of Major.

<sup>13</sup> Head Storm Leader (*German*: SS-Hauptsturmführer) – a special rank in the SS. Corresponded to the rank of Captain (Hauptmann) in the Wehrmacht.

<sup>14</sup> Counterintelligence group (*German*: Abwehrgruppe) – a special formation of the Abwehr (*German*: Abwehr), the military intelligence and counterintelligence body of Germany in 1921–1944.

<sup>15</sup> Squad Leader (*German*: Scharführer) – a rank in the SS and SA. Corresponded to the rank of non-commissioned sergeant in the Wehrmacht.

<sup>16</sup> Storm Leader (*German*: Sturmführer) – a rank in the SA assault troops. Corresponded to the rank of Lieutenant.

<sup>17</sup> Appell (*German*: Appell) – a roll call.

<sup>18</sup> SDG (*German*: Sanitätsdienstgefreiter) – an orderly in the “medical corps” (*German*: Sanitätswesen) in a concentration camp.

<sup>19</sup> Head of the preventive detention camp (*German*: Schutzhaftlagerführer) – a deputy commandant of a concentration camp, supervising prisoners.

<sup>20</sup> Labour Supervisor (*German*: Arbeitseinsatzführer) – a supervisor of work in a concentration camp.

<sup>21</sup> Section Leader (*German*: Rottenführer, section leader) – an enlisted rank in the SS and SA. A Rottenführer commanded a section or detachment (*German*: Rotte) and reported to the Scharführer (SA) or Unterscharführer (SS).

<sup>22</sup> Luftwaffe (*German*: Luftwaffe) is the name of the air force within the German armed forces.

<sup>23</sup> Senior Storm Leader (*German*: SS-Obersturmführer) – a rank in the SA and SS, corresponding to the rank of Chief Lieutenant.

<sup>24</sup> OT Tannenberg – a territorial division of the Todt Organisation. (See note 30.)

<sup>25</sup> Commando Leader (*German*: Kommandoführer) – a leader of a group (commando) of camp prisoners, who accompanied them to their place of work and was responsible for their protection.

<sup>26</sup> Department D of the SS Main Economic Office (*German*: Amtsgruppe D “Konzentrationslager”) – a division (management group) of the SS Main Administrative and Economic Office, which managed the concentration camps.

<sup>27</sup> Comradeship leader (*German*: Kameradschaftsführer) – a leader of a group (comradeship) of 10 members of the Hitler Youth. (See note 32).

<sup>28</sup> Troop Leader (*German*: Truppführer) – a rank in the SA, existed from 1930 to 1945. A Truppführer usually held the position of non-commissioned officer of an SA platoon in a company.

<sup>29</sup> Senior Troop Leader (*German*: Obertruppführer) – a rank in the SA, existed from 1932 to 1945.

<sup>30</sup> TODT Organisation (*German*: Organisation Todt, abbr. OT) – a military construction organisation in Germany during the Third Reich. Named after its leader, Fritz Todt.

<sup>31</sup> The International Committee of the Red Cross – a humanitarian organisation that provides protection and assistance to victims of armed conflict and internal strife, based on the principles of neutrality and impartiality. Exists since 1863.

<sup>32</sup> Hitler Youth (*German*: Hitlerjugend) – youth organisation of the NSDAP (1926–1945). Covered German youth aged 10 to 18 years. Divided by age categories: 10–14 years old – Jungvolk; from 14 to 18 years old – the Hitler Youth itself. Only young men were members of the organisation. (See note 27.)

<sup>33</sup> Shvykova Nina Borisovna. Born in 1909. Education: secondary medical. In 1943, she was taken with her mother Nikiforova Elena Pavlovna from Sevastopol to work in East Prussia. Former prisoner of the Schichau and Metgethen labour camps (at the Ostland-Werke plant). Liberated by the Red Army in January 1945. After the war she remained in Königsberg-Kaliningrad. She worked as a senior nurse in the Office of the Chief of Works No. 230 (1945–1947), as an assistant epidemiologist at the city sanitary and epidemiological station (1947–1950), at the sanitary and epidemiological station of the Baltiysky region (1950–1969).

<sup>34</sup> Beet-root – a beet.

<sup>35</sup> Concertina wire (Bruno spiral) – a barrier in the form of a helical line (spiral), twisted from several intersecting strands of barbed or ordinary wire.

<sup>36</sup> The Russian Liberation Army (*abbr*: ROA) – an armed volunteer formation created in Nazi Germany from collaborators led by A. A. Vlasov.

<sup>37</sup> “Vlasov Committee” (*jarg.*) – a political association of Soviet collaborators led by A. A. Vlasov. Initially created as the “Russian Committee”, in November 1944 it was transformed into the “Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia”. (See note 36.)

<sup>38</sup> Special Leader (*German*: Sonderführer – special leader) – an official temporarily (for the period of war) appointed as a specialist in

a particular field with the right to wear a military uniform.

<sup>39</sup> Lance Corporal (*German*: Obergefreiter) – a military rank in the German army. Corresponds to the rank of Junior Sergeant.

<sup>40</sup> Fort Stiehle – built in 1889, was part of the complex of fortifications of Pillau fortress town. Named after Adjutant General Friedrich Wilhelm Gustav Stiehle (1823–1899), chief of the military engineering corps and Inspector General of fortifications.

<sup>41</sup> Igoshev Kuzma Ivanovich. Born in Akmolinsk city (Kazakh SSR, now Astana, Kazakhstan) in 1918. Date of entry into service: 1937. Serve in the Great Patriotic War since June 1941. Military rank: military technician 2nd rank. Order of the Patriotic War, II degree (1985). He was captured in June 1941. Until July 1943, he was in prisoner of war camps: in Dvinsk (June–August 1941); Oflag-52 (Ebenrode, East Prussia); Peyse (East Prussia); in Volkovysk (Belorussia). After escaping in June 1943, he fought as part of a partisan detachment on the territory of Belorussia. After the war, he lived in Tselinograd city (Kazakh SSR, now Astana, Kazakhstan). Author of memoirs “We looked death in the face. Memoirs of a former prisoner of fascist death camps” (1967).

<sup>42</sup> Bauer (*German*: Bauer) – a peasant, a farmer.

<sup>43</sup> Hauptmann (*German*: Hauptmann) – in German-speaking countries the military rank of Captain.

<sup>44</sup> “Kaputtchiki” (from German kaputt – death, end, *jarg.*) – a funeral commando of prisoners.

<sup>45</sup> A cachexic stage is one of the stages of nutritional dystrophy, a disease caused by prolonged malnutrition. Manifested by edema, gastrointestinal disorders, heart and liver failure.

<sup>46</sup> Parocholera is an intestinal infection caused by *Vibrio cholerae*. In Nazi camps, “parocholera” was the name for outbreaks of infections of unknown etiology, characterized by a high mortality rate among prisoners (up to 80%).

<sup>47</sup> Zaitsev Semyon Ivanovich. Escaped from camp Oflag-52 (Ebenrode), partisan in the Sergeev detachment in Belorussia.

<sup>48</sup> Zozulya Viktor Vladimirovich. Born in 1906 in Gudauta town, Sukhumi region (Abkhazia).

Educational: sanitary doctor. Former prisoner of the Oflag-52 camp (Ebenrode). After the war, he worked as a district epidemiologist at the Gudauta district sanitary-epidemiological station (1946–1971). Honored Doctor of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Died on 11.06.1975 in the Mogilev region (Belorussia).

<sup>49</sup> Messarosh Konstantin Nikolaevich. Born on 2 June 1896 in St. Petersburg. Service in the First World War. Member of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) since May 1919. Captain. Since August 1940 – commander of the 337th separate rifle battalion of the Baltic Military District (Virbalis, Lithuanian SSR). 22 June 1941. – first fight. 23 June 1941 – wounded near Kaunas. On 27 June, after the Germans occupied the city, he was captured. From September 1941 to September 1942 – prisoner of the Oflag-52 camp (Ebenrode, East Prussia), orderly; until June 1944 – Stalag IIB Hammerstein camp; until May 1945 – camps in the Northern Norway. In the summer of 1942, in Oflag-52 he created the patriotic group “Committee” (“Uncle Kostya’s

club”). Nickname: “Beard”, “Uncle Kostya”, “Political instructor of the convalescent team.” After the war, he worked as a state revenue inspector and accountant in Romny city, Sumy region (Ukrainian SSR).

<sup>50</sup> In 1941–1943, in the historical district of Kharkov, Kholodnaya Gora (literally Cold Mountain), one of the largest Soviet prisoner of war camps in the occupied territory of Ukraine was located.

<sup>51</sup> Novikov Ivan Grigorievich. Former prisoner of Oflag-52 (Ebenrode), Stalag IB, Metgethen camps (at the Ostland-Werke plant). He escaped from the Metgethen camp in the summer of 1944. As part of a reconnaissance company, he participated in the capture of Metgethen in January 1945. After the war, he lived in Star village, Dyatkovo district, Bryansk region. He worked as a medical assistant at a village hospital. Author of the manuscript about being in captivity, “My Memories” (June 1966).

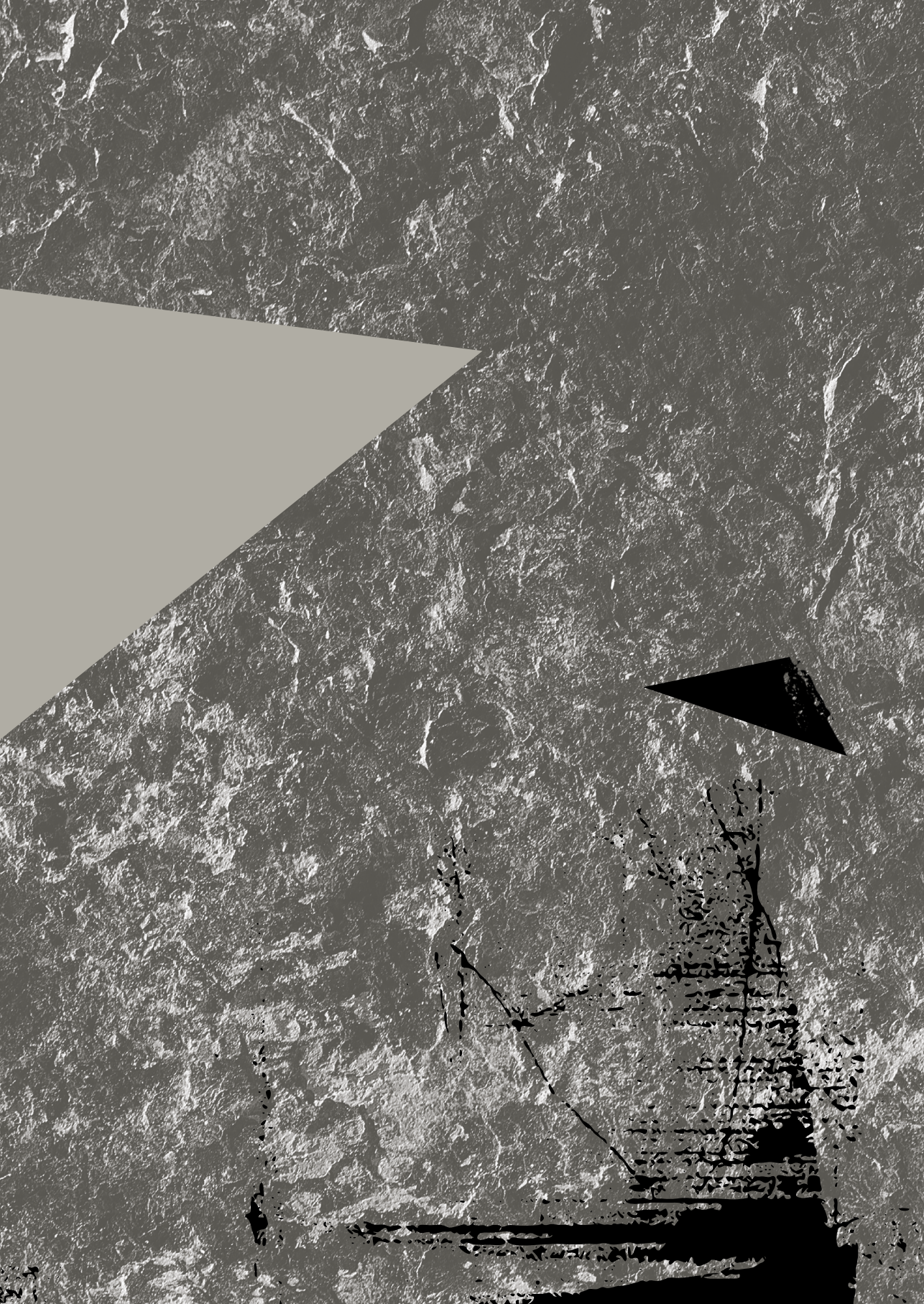
<sup>52</sup> National Monument in Tannenberg, in whose crypt Paul von Hindenburg, Reich President of Germany, was buried.



# SECTION 2

COMPULSORY  
LABOUR  
OF THE POPULATION  
DRIVEN AWAY  
TO GERMANY







63. **Order No. 4 of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment on the recruitment, custody, accommodation, feeding and treatment of foreign male and female workers**

7 May 1942

**Order No. 4**

of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment on the recruitment<sup>1</sup>, custody, accommodation, feeding and treatment of foreign male and female workers

dated 7 May 1942

In the immense momentous warfare of Europe, the Greater German Reich must, for the production of armaments and its food supply, admit into the Reich large numbers of non-German (foreign) working men and women. All these workers, including prisoners of war, are subjected to correct, good and humane treatment, in accordance with the oldest traditions of the German people and our race.

The recruitment of foreign workers takes place essentially on the basis of voluntariness. However, in occupied areas where the call for voluntariness is insufficient, compulsory conscription and recruitment must be carried out under all circumstances. This is an unconditional requirement of our labour regulation.

The implementation of recruitment must take place in a manner consistent with the authority of the Greater German Reich and the will of the Leader (Führer). Irresponsible promises concerning wages, labour agreements, housing conditions, and leisure activities must be avoided. The living conditions in Germany itself, which are better than anywhere else in Europe, can and should be emphasised, so that exaggerations are unnecessary. The Jewish methods of deceiving people, which have characterised democratic countries since the age of capitalism, are unworthy of the National Socialist Greater German Reich.

On the basis of the principles outlined, I order, inter alia, the following:

**I. General**

1. The recruitment of foreign labour in German-occupied areas, allied, friendly or neutral countries shall be carried out exclusively by my representatives or by the competent German military or civilian authorities responsible for labour deployment. Other authorities, organisations or persons are prohibited from employing foreign labour. Exceptions require my written authorisation. I also determine how and to what extent the parties (organisations, enterprises, administrations) participate in the recruitment of foreign workers. Participants in this process during the period of recruitment are subordinate to my representatives or to the competent military or civilian authorities involved in labour deployment.

My representatives in allied, friendly or neutral foreign countries are the former service instances of the main division V of the Reich Ministry of Labour. Henceforth, they will receive a service designation:

“Reich Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan<sup>2</sup>.

General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment

Instance (e.g. Italy, etc.).”

- I reserve the appointment of plenipotentiaries in other countries.
2. The custody of foreign labourers shall be exercised

a) up to the imperial border:

By my plenipotentiaries (proxies) or – in occupied areas – by the appropriate military or civilian authorities responsible for labour deployment.

The custody takes place in each case in cooperation with the foreign organisations concerned.

b) within the territory of the Reich:

1. By the German Labour Front<sup>3</sup> (Deutsche Arbeitsfront, DAF) in respect of workers not employed in agriculture.

2. By the Imperial Land Union<sup>4</sup> (Reichsnährstand) in respect of workers employed in agriculture.

The German Labour Front and the Imperial Land Union are guided in the performance of their tasks of custody by my directives.

The labour management authorities are obliged to provide full support to the German Labour Front and the Imperial Land Union in the performance of their custody tasks.

The empowerment of the German Labour Front and the Imperial Land Union with regard to the support of foreign workers does not affect my jurisdiction in these matters.

## II. Implementation of recruitment (enlistment)

1. a) The conduct of recruitment in allied, friendly or neutral foreign countries is the sole responsibility of my proxies. In all questions of political importance they must establish a mutual understanding with the head of the German diplomatic mission concerned and in this respect are obliged to follow the directives of the head of the diplomatic mission or his representative.

Heads of diplomatic missions should be informed of all matters of principle regarding the use of manpower. Negotiations of principle with foreign institutions and organisations abroad should be conducted in agreement with the relevant imperial mission or through its mediation. Discussions with foreign institutions and organisations abroad on the technical implementation of recruitment may be handled directly by my proxies.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has instructed the German diplomatic and consular missions abroad to provide my proxies with full assistance in their work and, within the limits of existing political opportunities, especially to ensure that foreign institutions, organisations or other authorities and persons do not unduly hinder my proxies in the performance of their tasks. In the event that Volksdeutsche live in the recruiting areas, my proxy should establish close contact with the relevant leadership of the German Volksgruppe, to the extent that the political situation allows, and if this is approved by the German diplomatic representation there.

b) The recruitment of labour in German-occupied areas is the sole responsibility of the appropriate service authorities of the military and civil administrations operating in those areas. I reserve the right to send special plenipotentiaries to these service authorities on a case-by-case basis.

c) The foreign institutions and organisations responsible for recruitment in allied, friendly or neutral foreign countries, especially the authorities defined in interstate



agreements, must be closely cooperated with by my proxies in the performance of their tasks. It should be borne in mind, however, that the management of the recruitment of labour, as far as possible, always lies on the German side. In other respects, my representatives must always bear in mind that they are regarded by the foreigners with whom they come into contact as representatives of National Socialist Greater Germany during or outside their work.

2. The following points of view should be considered in enlistment:

a) Enlistment preparation (propaganda).

Before advertising, the media of the country of enlistment shall, by one means or another, provide the public with comprehensive information as to the professions, jobs or workplaces for which workers are required. Advertising propaganda should be carried out in coordination with the relevant Reich representation.

b) Announcement of labour conditions and wages, and informing of the regulations concerning the transfer of wages.

1. When foreign workers are recruited on the basis of a mediation order, they are given as much information as possible about the working conditions and wages in a German enterprise in the Reich. At the same time, information should be given about the approximate amount of deductions from wages, so that the recruited workers get as clear an idea as possible of their actual earnings in the Reich. Under no circumstances should incorrect or unrealistic promises be made to the recruited workers.

2. Recruited workers should also be accurately informed of the available possibilities for transferring savings from their wages.

c) Reference to the general ("domestic") living conditions in the Reich.

When recruiting foreign workers, they should be informed that living conditions in the German Reich are better than in the rest of Europe. In doing so, to avoid any uncertainty, it should be pointed out that in Germany as well as in the home country of the recruited worker, accommodation, food and other living conditions are subject to the constraints of war.

d) Professional suitability.

It must be ensured that qualified specialists and trained workers, as a matter of principle, are employed in their professions. If the use of labour takes place, exceptionally, outside the profession (occupation), the persons concerned must be informed.

The recruiter must first verify professional suitability. The available certificates of qualification should be used and, if necessary, experts from the country of recruitment should be involved. In special cases German experts are available.

e) Medical examination.

In addition to a vocational aptitude test, foreign workers are subjected to a health examination (individual examination) by officially appointed doctors of the country of recruitment in accordance with German guidelines. Strict criteria are set in the general interest. If necessary, German physicians are involved in the medical examination. Doctors of non-German origin may also be invited.

f) Conclusion of labour agreements, issuance of enlistment certificates.

Written labour agreements should be concluded with foreign workers, in accordance with interstate agreements, as a matter of principle. If there are no such interstate agreements, in each case the recruited persons should be issued enlistment certificates containing the terms and conditions of employment and wages. Each worker shall be given the original labour agreement or certificate of recruitment in his or her native language at the time of enlistment. If collective labour agreements are provided for (e.g., in agriculture), the original agreement in the native language must be given to the appropriate labour leader. I reserve the right to deviate from the prescribed regulations on a case-by-case basis.

g) Clothing, footwear.

The war situation in the German Reich requires foreign workers to bring clothing appropriate to their work, including shoes. If the care of overalls and shoes is not assigned by interstate agreements to the enlisting state, the enlistment office must pay special attention to this matter. The workers must also bring the rest of their clothing, underwear and footwear from their homeland, since it is currently impossible for them to purchase such items in the Reich.

h) Identity cards.

Foreign workers must have a valid internal passport or at least an official document recognised in Germany that replaces the passport when crossing the German border and during their stay in the Reich. The passport or its substitute document must be stamped with an official German visa of the respective German representative office upon entry. In the case of group transportation, group visas which are attached to the itinerary are sufficient.

i) General information.

Foreign workers, as far as possible, should be given, at the time of enlistment, a memorandum on working conditions and wages, which should contain, in general terms, information on working hours, social security, taxes, money transfers, vacations, family visits, passport issues and other working conditions (rights and obligations) under which male and female labourers are required to work in the Reich.

### III. Performing transportation to the Reich

a) Basic.

After enlistment and during transportation to the Reich, care must be taken to treat the male and female workers correctly and in an impeccable manner in order to avoid prejudice to the willingness to work and the confidence of the enlisted persons. Recruited workers are as a rule to be transported collectively by special trains, in necessary cases by groups of regular trains.

b) Formation and management of transportation.

The formation and management of transport to the workplace is the task of my authorised persons in the occupied areas, and of the service instances of the military and civilian administrations for the use of manpower. In countries in which authorised persons of a foreign state accompany the transport to the border, the German enlistment authority must be involved in the supervision and custody of the transport.

The transportation commander is obliged to ensure the following during transportation

1. the cars should be clean at all times and are maintained at all times. Sanitary precautions must be ensured during transportation and in case of temporary accommodation in the assembly camp;
2. the cars are not overcrowded;
3. sufficient latrines are available – both during stops, and in the assembly camps (in this case, public toilets);
4. men and women are separated from each other;
5. Germans<sup>5</sup> are separated from foreigners as far as possible;
6. conflicts between foreigners of different nationalities are prevented via appropriate accommodation.

Otherwise, everything depends on the diligence and ingenuity of the person responsible for the formation and conduct of the transport, so that the transport under all circumstances is organised in such a way that its crew do not suffer damage that would have made them unfit from the very beginning for working properly in the Reich.

c) Meals during transportation.

The feeding of transported labour within the territory of the Reich is the task of the German Labour Front (DAF), the labour deployment department. In other cases during transportation will be organised by my service authorities. One should always remember, however, that individual enlisting countries are obliged by interstate agreement to provide food to transported persons before the border. The provision of sufficient and healthy food for transported persons within the constraints of war is of particular importance. This issue should be addressed conscientiously.

d) Disinfection.

If foreign workers come from areas where there may be a threat of contagious diseases, they must be disinfected repeatedly, if necessary. The second disinfection is carried out with a second medical examination; it is carried out in specially designated camps.

During their stay at the disinfection stations, male and female workers must be treated in a correct and impeccable manner.

#### IV. Implementation of custody

The custody of foreign labour employed in the Reich is exercised by:

- a) The German Labour Front (DAF) with regard to labour force not employed in agriculture,
  - b) The Imperial Land Union with regard to the labour force engaged in agriculture.
- The predominant camp accommodation of foreign male and female workers not employed in agriculture requires a particularly strict selection and implementation of custodial measures. I therefore order the following:

1. All foreign labour camps, no matter by whom they are established or who maintains them, are under the care of the German Labour Front (Labour Deployment Office).

Accordingly, camp personnel in such camps may only be appointed with the approval of the German Labour Front (Labour Deployment Office). The camp

commander must in each case be approved by the German Labour Front (Labour Deployment Office).

The German Labour Front (Labour Deployment Office) is responsible for the responsible for the uniformity of operation and ongoing training of camp personnel.

The assignment of guard and maintenance personnel in camps with Soviet-Russian labour is governed by a special agreement between the Reich Leader (Reichsführer) of the SS and the head of the German Labour Front.

2. The custody of foreign workers through local organisations (supervisors) is only permissible if they are established and operate within the organisation of the German Labour Front.

3. In the camps, the regulations established by the German Labour Front in agreement with me and the competent authorities are mandatory.

In order to implement the custody, I make the following rules:

a) Accommodation

The living quarters of foreign male and female workers shall be exemplary with respect to order, cleanliness and hygiene and shall be provided with all the necessary facilities. All institutions connected with the use of labour, service agencies of the German Labour Front, Imperial Land Union and the heads of enterprises must compete with each other to ensure that all employed foreign male and female workers

– be convinced of German superiority, German skill, and German organisation, as well as

– of German justice, incorruptibility and decency in public life, irrespective of whether the people in question are peoples close by blood or people from the Soviet areas.

In particular, the following should be taken into account:

The industrial foreign labourers are generally housed in common camps. As far as possible, separate camps are set up for individual nationalities. In any case, separate barracks must be provided for the individual nationalities; the political attitude of the nations towards each other must always be taken into account.

Accommodation in private apartments is permissible only in special cases. (e.g. an employee).

Camps must, under all circumstances, be sanitary and hygienic. Equipment must be fit for its purpose and at the same time remain limited by martial law. For example, the issuance of bedding depends on its availability.



New bedding may be purchased by enterprises only as an exception and only for the female labour force.

The placement of foreign agricultural labourers follows the same rules, in accordance with the special relations in German agriculture.

Great importance is to be attached to the fact that the placement should take into account, to the greatest extent that martial law permits, the national habits of foreign male and female workers.

b) Meals

Foreign workers receive food rations approved by the Reich Minister for Food Supply and Agriculture, which have as their basis the normal diet of the German civilian population. In camp accommodation, general meals are almost always provided. As far as martial law permits, however, the home habits of foreign workers must be taken into account.

The use of home-country cooks should be sought.

c) Organisation of leisure time

The organisation of foreign male and female workers' leisure time outside and inside the camp should be organised within existing military facilities in accordance with the characteristics of the persons under custody. In doing so, the habits of the foreign male and female workers should be taken into account as much as possible.

The planning and conduct of the spiritual and cultural communication of foreign workers must be carried out in harmony with the foreign workers' organisations which have representation in the German Labour Front (DAF), and in accordance with the directives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the individual nationalities.

In carrying out this task, the German Labour Front and the Imperial Land Union will use the experience of the existing officially recognised interstate associations in Germany.

d) Transfer of wage savings

Workers may send all or part of their wage savings to their relatives at home, in accordance with the regulations herein. The amount of contributions varies from country to country, and for agricultural and industrial workers, and follows from the instructions, which are sent to the heads of enterprises and to the workers' services responsible for the transfer of wages.

e) Sending letters and parcels

Foreign workers are guaranteed postal communication (letters and parcels) with their relatives in their home country.

f) Trips during vacations

The allocation and implementation of vacation travel for foreign workers is the responsibility of the German Labour Front and the competent service authorities.

## V. Special treatment of certain groups of foreign workers

The special orders regarding the treatment of certain groups of foreign workers remain unchanged.

## VI. Supervision and inspection of the measures taken

In the German Gau<sup>6</sup> the respective Gauleiters are responsible for the inspection and supervision of this regulation.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 3–6. Original. Typographical printing.*

### 64. Order of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment on the remuneration of foreign workers on private farms

11 June 1942

#### ORDER

on remuneration of foreign labour

in private farms.

On the basis of § 2 of the decree on the implementation of the wage formation decree dated 23 April 1941 (Imperial Law Gazette I p. 222) in connection with the decree on the issuance of legal acts by the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment dated 25 May 1942 (see p. 28) (Imperial Law Gazette I p. 347), I establish the following in the field of private farming:

#### § 1

Foreign workers may not be hired and work under more favourable conditions of labour and wages than are customary under the regulations in force for a comparable category of German labour.

#### § 2

If the working and wage conditions of a comparable category of German labour force in a particular case are unknown or doubtful, the decision of the Reich Labour Proxy Office, which regulates the working and wage conditions of comparable categories of German labour force, should be involved immediately.

#### § 3

If, in enterprises employing foreign workers or which have concluded business contracts with foreign companies, foreign workers are provided with better working conditions and wages than comparable categories of German workers before this regulation comes into force, the Reich Labour Proxy Office must be notified immediately; it determines the regulations governing the transition to the new legal regulations.

#### § 4

Whoever violates or circumvents this ordinance shall be punished according to § 2 of the wage formation ordinance dated 25 June 1938 (Imperial Law Gazette I p. 691) by imprisonment or a monetary fine – the latter without a limit – or one of these penalties.

#### § 5

- (1) This order shall enter into force on 1 July 1942. By that date all orders previously issued by the Reich Labour Proxy Office concerning the prevention of better remuneration for foreign workers than for their German counterparts shall cease to have effect; criminal proceedings initiated on the basis of the wage orders previously issued by the Reich Labour Proxy Office may, however, be continued.
- (2) Interstate agreements and other special regulations concerning foreign workers are not affected by this order.

Berlin, 11 June 1942.

Reich Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan

General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment

Saukel

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 8–9. Original. Typographical printing.*

### 65. Regulation of the Ministerial Council for the Defence of the Reich on the conditions of exploitation of Eastern workers

30 June 1942

#### REGULATION

on the conditions of exploitation  
of Eastern workers

From 30 June 1942 Imperial Law Gazette I. p. 419

The Ministerial Council for the Defence of the Reich<sup>7</sup>

issues a regulation having the force of law:

#### Section I

The concept of “Ostarbeiter” [Eastern labourer]

#### § 1

Ostarbeiter means workers of non-German nationality in the Realm Commissariat Ukraine<sup>8</sup>, in the General Commissariat White Ruthenia<sup>9</sup> or in the eastern regions bordering the former republics of Latvia and Estonia, who, after the occupation of these territories by the German Defence Force (Wehrmacht), were transferred to the German Reich, including the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia<sup>10</sup>, and engaged in work there.

## Section II

### Exploitation conditions

#### § 2

##### General conditions

Eastern workers in the Reich are subject to special conditions of employment. German administrative labour and security labour regulations apply to them only insofar as specifically agreed.

#### § 3

##### Remuneration of labour

(1) Eastern workers employed in the Reich shall receive differentiated pay for labour according to the work performed.

(2) The amount of this pay shall be calculated in accordance with the table which is attached to this regulation.

(3) In determining this payment, which shall be paid to the individual Eastern worker according to the attached table, the comparable wage rates (time wages, piecework wages, and bonus wages) of German workers are to be used as a basis. If part of the comparable wage consists of a performance in rem, it shall be valued in determining this payment at the respective conversion rates applicable to German workers in the enterprise in the case of compensation.

Any social allowances and social benefits that German workers are entitled to are not included in the calculation of comparable pay.

Wage supplements are included in the comparable pay in the same amount as they are paid to German workers in the enterprise for similar work. If an Eastern worker does not reach the average productivity of a German worker, the calculation of his remuneration should be based on the correspondingly reduced pay.

Allowances for hard and dirty work should, among other things, be taken into account when calculating the basic pay of the individual Eastern worker.

(4) An Eastern worker shall be paid only for work actually performed; however, provisions for absenteeism due to inclement weather shall apply in appropriate cases.

(5) A higher wage than that prescribed in this instruction may not be granted to an Eastern worker.

#### § 4

##### Allowances and other subsidies

Eastern workers are not entitled, unless otherwise determined by the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, to wage supplements for overtime, Sunday and



public holidays and night work. Compensation for travel, accommodation and meal expenses, as well as separation pay, shall not be paid.

## § 5

### Non-monetary payments

(1) In accordance with the table attached to this regulation, the remuneration due to the individual Eastern worker shall be paid in cash at the end of the billing period accepted by the enterprise after deduction of reimbursement for non-monetary payments made. Accommodation and meals provided by the employer shall be invoiced at the rates set out in the table attached to this regulation. Other non-monetary payments, such as clothing, shoes and so on, shall be invoiced at the respective prices.

(2) Heads of enterprises may transfer the transportation costs of Eastern workers to and from the place of work to all Eastern workers employed by them and reduce by this distributed amount the amount due in cash to each Eastern worker in accordance with the table attached hereto.

## § 6

### Payment of remuneration in case of illness

On days when an Eastern worker is unable to work due to illness or accident, in the absence of hospital care, the owner of the enterprise provides only accommodation and food free of charge. Otherwise the medical care of Eastern workers is governed by regulations issued by the Reich Minister of Labour.

## § 7

### Vacation and home visits to family

Vacation and home visits to family are not currently available. More detailed instructions on the introduction of vacation and family home visits shall be issued by the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment.

## § 8

### Pay sheets

Pay sheets are not provided to Eastern workers.

## § 9

### Exceptions

The Reich Plenipotentiaries or Special Reich Labour Plenipotentiaries are authorised to allow exceptions to the prescriptions of this regulation with regard to the calculation of wages.

## Section III

### Tax on Eastern workers

## § 10

### Obligation to pay dues

(1) Employers who provide work in the German Reich, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, must pay a tax according to the table attached to this regulation (tax on Eastern workers).

(2) Rural employers shall contribute only one-half of this tax.

## § 11

### Entitlement to tax

The tax on Eastern workers shall come exclusively at the disposal of the German Reich.

## § 12

### Exemption from tax on Eastern workers

Eastern workers shall not have to pay income and civil taxes during the period of their employment with the German Reich.

## Section IV

### Savings

## § 13

Eastern workers may save all or part of their remuneration for labour at interest; the accumulated amount is transferred to the home country and is at the disposal of the saver or his family members according to detailed instructions from the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Regions or the Defence Force (Wehrmacht) Command.

## Section V

### Authority

## § 14

(1) The General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment is authorised, in agreement with the ministers of the realm concerned, to issue regulations to implement, supplement or amend sections I and II of this regulation.

(2) The Reich Minister for Finance is authorised, in agreement with the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, the Reich Minister for the Interior, the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Regions and, insofar as Eastern workers employed in agriculture are concerned, with the Reich Minister for Food and Agriculture, to issue regulations for implementing, supplementing or amending Section III of this regulation.

(3) The Reich Minister for Finance may, in agreement with the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, modify the amount of the tax on Eastern workers following from the attached table.

(4) The Reich Minister for Economics, the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Regions and the High Command of the Defence Force (Wehrmacht) are authorised, in

agreement with the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, to issue regulations for the implementation and amendment of Section IV of this regulation.

## Section VI

### Entry into force and scope

#### § 15

(1) This regulation shall come into force on 15 June 1942. The precepts of sections II and III shall apply for the first time to remuneration for labour paid after 15 June 1942.

(2) § § 1–5 and § 7 of section I of the regulation on the taxation and administrative-labour regulation of labour from the newly occupied areas (StVAOst) dated 20 January 1942 (Imperial Law Gazette I p. 41), as well as the order of the Imperial Minister of Labour on the administrative-labour regulation of labour from the newly occupied areas dated 9 February 1942 (German Imperial Law Gazette No. 37 dated 13 February 1942) are invalid as of the entry into force of this regulation.

(3) This regulation shall also apply to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the annexed eastern districts.

Berlin, 30 June 1942.

Chairman

of the Ministerial Council for the Defence of the Reich

and Reich Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan

Goering

Reich Marshal of the Greater German Reich

General Plenipotentiary of the Reich Administration

Acting:

Dr. Stuckart

Reich Minister and Head of the Reich Chancellery

Dr. Lammers

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 8 (reverse side) –9 (reverse side). Original. Typographical printing.*

## § 5

(1) Diese Anordnung tritt am 1. Juli 1942 in Kraft. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt verlieren alle bisher von den Reichstrehändern der Arbeit erlassenen Lohngestaltungsanordnungen zur Verhinderung einer besseren Entlohnung der ausländischen Arbeitskräfte gegenüber vergleichbaren deutschen Arbeitskräften ihre Geltung; die auf Grund der bisher bestehenden Lohngestaltungsanordnungen der Reichstrehänder der Arbeit eingeleiteten Strafverfahren können jedoch weiter durchgeführt werden.

(2) Zwischenstaatliche Vereinbarungen und sonstige Sondervorschriften für ausländische Arbeitskräfte bleiben durch diese Anordnung unberührt.

Berlin, den 11. Juni 1942

Der Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan  
Der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz  
Sauckel

## VERORDNUNG über die Einsatzbedingungen der Ostarbeiter.

Vom 30. Juni 1942. RGBl. I. Seite 419

Der Ministerrat für die Reichsverteidigung verordnet mit Gesetzeskraft:

### Abschnitt I

#### Begriff des Ostarbeiters

##### § 1

Ostarbeiter sind diejenigen Arbeitskräftenicht-deutscher Volkszugehörigkeit, die im Reichskommissariat Ukraine, im Generalkommissariat Weißruthenien oder in Gebieten, die östlich an diese Gebiete und an die früheren Freistaaten Lettland und Estland angrenzen, erfaßt und nach der Besetzung durch die deutsche Wehrmacht in das Deutsche Reich einschließlich des Protektorats Böhmen und Mähren gebracht und hier eingesetzt werden.

## Abschnitt II

### Beschäftigungsbedingungen

#### § 2

##### Allgemeine Bedingungen

Die im Reich eingesetzten Ostarbeiter stehen in einem Beschäftigungsverhältnis eigener Art. Die deutschen arbeitsrechtlichen und arbeitsschutzrechtlichen Vorschriften finden auf sie nur insoweit Anwendung, als dies besonders bestimmt wird.

#### § 3

##### Arbeitsentgelt

(1) Die im Reich eingesetzten Ostarbeiter erhalten ein nach ihrer Leistung abgestuftes Arbeitsentgelt.

(2) Die Höhe dieses Entgelts bemißt sich nach der Tabelle, die dieser Verordnung als Anlage beigelegt ist (siehe Seiten 35—37).

(3) Bei der Feststellung des Entgelts, das dem einzelnen Ostarbeiter nach der beigelegten Tabelle zu zahlen ist, ist von den Lohnsätzen (Zeitlohn-, Akkord-, Prämiensätzen) vergleichbarer deutscher Arbeiter (Vergleichslohn) auszugehen.

Besteht ein Teil des Vergleichslohnes in Sachleistungen, so sind diese bei der Ermittlung dieses Lohnes zu den Sätzen zu bewerten, zu denen sie deutschen Arbeitern im Betriebe für den Fall einer Abgeltung in bar in Rechnung gestellt werden.

Sozialzulagen und Sozialleistungen aller Art, die deutschen Arbeitern zustehen, sind bei der Ermittlung des Vergleichslohnes nicht zu berücksichtigen.

Leistungszulagen sind in der gleichen Höhe in den Vergleichslohn einzubeziehen, in der sie bei gleichen Leistungen deutschen Arbeitern im Betriebe gegeben werden. Bleibt der Ostarbeiter in seiner Arbeitsleistung hinter der Durchschnittsleistung eines deutschen Arbeiters zurück, so ist bei der Feststellung des ihm zu zahlenden Entgelts von einem entsprechend verringerten Vergleichslohn auszugehen.

Erschwernis-, Schmutzzulagen u. ä. sind bei der Ermittlung des für das Arbeitsentgelt des einzelnen Ostarbeiters maßgebenden Vergleichslohnes zu berücksichtigen.



(4) Dem Ostarbeiter ist ein Arbeitsentgelt nur für die tatsächlich geleistete Arbeit zu gewähren; doch sind die Bestimmungen über Arbeitsausfall infolge ungünstiger Witterung entsprechend anzuwenden.

(5) Höhere Entgelte, als sich nach diesen Vorschriften ergeben, dürfen dem Ostarbeiter nicht gewährt werden.

#### § 4

##### Zuschläge und sonstige Zuwendungen

Die Ostarbeiter haben, soweit vom Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz nichts anderes bestimmt wird, keinen Anspruch auf Zuschläge zum Arbeitsentgelt für Mehrarbeit, Sonntags-, Feiertags- und Nachtarbeit. Trennungs- und Unterkunftsgelder sowie Auslösungen und Zehrgelder dürfen nicht gezahlt werden.

#### § 5

##### Sachleistungen

(1) Das dem einzelnen Ostarbeiter nach der dieser Verordnung beigefügten Tabelle zustehende Arbeitsentgelt ist am Ende des im Betriebe üblichen Lohnabrechnungszeitraumes nach Abzug des Gegenwertes für gewährte Sachleistungen in bar auszuzahlen. Die vom Unternehmer gewährte Unterkunft und Verpflegung sind nach den Sätzen in Rechnung zu stellen, die sich aus der dieser Verordnung beigefügten Tabelle ergeben. Sonstige Sachleistungen, wie Bekleidung, Schuhwerk usw., sind zu angemessenen Preisen zu verrechnen.

(2) Die Betriebsführer können Fahrtkosten der Ostarbeiter von und zur Arbeitsstätte auf die Gesamtheit der bei ihnen beschäftigten Ostarbeiter umlegen und den in bar nach der Tabelle auszahlenden Betrag um diese Umlage kürzen.

#### § 6

##### Entgeltzahlung im Krankheitsfalle

Für die Tage, an denen der Ostarbeiter wegen Krankheit oder Unfall nicht arbeiten kann, ist, soweit nicht Krankenhauspflege gegeben wird, lediglich freie Unterkunft und Verpflegung vom

Unternehmer zu stellen. Im übrigen regelt sich die Krankenversorgung dieser Arbeitskräfte nach den Vorschriften, die der Reichsarbeitsminister erläßt.

#### § 7

##### Urlaub und Familienheimfahrten

Urlaub und Familienheimfahrten werden zunächst nicht gewährt. Die näheren Vorschriften über eine Einführung von Urlaub und Familienheimfahrten erläßt der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz.

#### § 8

##### Entgeltabrechnungen

Entgeltabrechnungen sind den Ostarbeitern nicht zu erteilen.

#### § 9

##### Ausnahmen

Die Reichstrehänder oder Sondertrehänder der Arbeit können in bezug auf die Berechnung des Arbeitsentgelts Ausnahmen von den Vorschriften dieser Verordnung zulassen.

#### Abschnitt III

##### Ostarbeiterabgabe

#### § 10

##### Abgabepflicht

(1) Arbeitgeber, die Ostarbeiter innerhalb des Deutschen Reichs einschließlich des Protektorats Böhmen und Mähren beschäftigen, haben eine Abgabe nach Maßgabe der dieser Verordnung beigefügten Tabelle zu entrichten (Ostarbeiterabgabe).

(2) Landwirtschaftliche Arbeitgeber haben nur die Hälfte dieser Abgabe zu zahlen.

#### § 11

##### Abgabeberechtigung

Die Ostarbeiterabgabe fließt ausschließlich dem Deutschen Reich zu.

#### § 12

##### Steuerfreiheit der Ostarbeiter

Die Ostarbeiter haben keine Lohnsteuer und keine Bürgersteuer während ihrer Beschäftigung innerhalb des Deutschen Reichs zu zahlen.



#### Abschnitt IV

##### Sparen

###### § 13

Die Ostarbeiter können ihr Arbeitsentgelt ganz oder zum Teil verzinslich sparen; der ersparte Betrag wird in die Heimat überwiesen und steht dort dem Sparer oder dessen Familienangehörigen nach näheren Vorschriften des Reichsministers für die besetzten Ostgebiete oder des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht zur Verfügung.

#### Abschnitt V

##### Ermächtigung

###### § 14

(1) Der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz ist ermächtigt, im Einvernehmen mit den beteiligten Reichsministern Vorschriften zur Durchführung, Ergänzung und Abänderung der Abschnitte I und II dieser Verordnung zu erlassen.

(2) Der Reichsminister der Finanzen ist ermächtigt, im Einvernehmen mit dem Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz, dem Reichsminister des Innern, dem Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete und, soweit es sich um Ostarbeiter handelt, die in der Landwirtschaft eingesetzt sind, mit dem Reichsminister für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft Vorschriften zur Durchführung, Ergänzung und Abänderung des Abschnitts III dieser Verordnung zu erlassen.

(3) Der Reichsminister der Finanzen kann im Einvernehmen mit dem Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz im Verordnungswege die Höhe der sich aus der beigefügten Tabelle ergebenden Ostarbeiterabgabe ändern.

(4) Der Reichswirtschaftsminister, der Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete und das Oberkommando der Wehrmacht sind ermächtigt, im Einvernehmen mit dem Generalbevollmäch-

tigten für den Arbeitseinsatz Vorschriften zur Durchführung und Ergänzung des Abschnitts IV dieser Verordnung zu erlassen.

#### Abschnitt VI

##### Inkrafttreten Geltungsbereich

###### § 15

(1) Diese Verordnung tritt mit Wirkung ab 15. Juni 1942 in Kraft. Die Vorschriften der Abschnitte II und III sind erstmalig auf das Arbeitsentgelt anzuwenden, das nach dem 15. Juni 1942 ausgezahlt wird.

(2) Die §§ 1 bis 5 und § 7 Abs. 1 der Verordnung über die Besteuerung und die arbeitsrechtliche Behandlung der Arbeitskräfte aus den neu besetzten Ostgebieten (StVA Ost) vom 20. Januar 1942 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 41) sowie die Anordnung des Reichsarbeitsministers über die arbeitsrechtliche Behandlung der Arbeitskräfte aus den neu besetzten Ostgebieten vom 9. Februar 1942 (Deutscher Reichsanz. Nr. 37 vom 13. Februar 1942) treten mit dem Tage des Inkrafttretens dieser Verordnung außer Kraft.

(3) Diese Verordnung gilt auch im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren und in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten.

Berlin, den 30. Juni 1942.

Der Vorsitzende

des Ministerrats für die Reichsverteidigung  
und Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan

Göring

Reichsmarschall

Der Generalbevollmächtigte  
für die Reichsverwaltung

In Vertretung:

Dr. Stuckart

Der Reichsminister und Chef der Reichskanzlei

Dr. Lammers

66. **Instruction pamphlet No. 1 for heads of Reich enterprises on the employment of Eastern workers as a labour force**

*Not earlier than 30 June 1942\**

**INSTRUCTION PAMPHLET No. 1**

for heads of Reich enterprises

on the employment of Eastern workers as a labour force

A. General rules for the treatment of Eastern workers.

1. Eastern workers are workers of non-German nationality who are registered in the Realm Commissariat Ukraine, in the General Commissariat White Ruthenia or in the eastern districts bordering these territories or the former republics of Latvia and Estonia, who, after the occupation of these territories by the German Defence Force, were transferred to the German Reich, including the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and are employed here in work in the German Reich.
2. A large number of Eastern workers arrive in the Reich eager to work. They perceive the destruction of Bolshevism in their homeland as deliverance. Such Eastern workers should therefore be treated correctly and fairly. When employing such Eastern workers, anything that could, in addition to war-related restrictions, needlessly complicate and make their work and stay in Germany more difficult and unpleasant should be avoided. Initiatives, wishes and complaints of Eastern workers must be fairly and thoroughly checked. Misunderstandings related to the language barrier must be eliminated.
3. On the other hand, the Eastern workers were brought up by Bolshevism in a harsh and strict labour discipline. The slightest infractions were followed by severe punishment (imprisonment or camp); corporal punishment and other physical treatment were, however, generally unknown to the Soviet worker. In the case of infractions, merciless measures should be taken. Assaults of any kind on Germans must be punished immediately; violators must be handed over to the police and should not be allowed to work without punishment.
4. Persons who come into frequent contact with Eastern workers, both in their work and leisure time, should always bear in mind the responsibility that comes with dealing with representatives of peoples who were under Bolshevik domination for more than two decades. As destructive as the arbitrary and unjust treatment of the Eastern workers would be for the use of the labour force in Germany, it would be contrary to the honour of our people in times of hard war if they were brought closer or treated with trust. The Eastern workers, when treated unfairly as well as when treated with undeserved trust, very quickly cease to behave respectfully and greatly reduce their labour performance.

B. Labour conditions for Eastern workers.

1. Labour relations.

The Eastern workers employed in the Reich are in a special kind of labour relationship. The German regulations governing and protecting the labour relationship apply to them only in specially defined cases.

2. Use of labour in an enterprise.

When using labour in an enterprise, Eastern workers are usually separated from German and foreign workers, as well as from prisoners of war, which means that they work only in closed brigades. It is not contrary to the principle of brigade exploitation if brigades are divided into small groups in enterprises, if otherwise – as in the case of qualified workers, for example – the labour process would not be possible.

Where it is possible to use Ostarbeiters in individual workshops of a factory, it goes without saying that this should be done.

The employment of families with able-bodied children over 15 years of age, who will be primarily used in agriculture, should be used as well. There is no need to separate such families.

3. Remuneration of labour.

Eastern workers employed by the Reich receive certain remuneration for their work according to their output (see regulation dated 30 June, 1942\*\* (RGBl. I S. 419/424 on the conditions of exploitation of Eastern workers) pp. 32–34).

The amount of remuneration is determined according to the tables enclosed as to the above regulation (see pp. 35–37). (In agriculture, according to the tariffs issued by the Reich Labour Proxy Office).

In determining pay, comparable wage rates (time, piecework, bonus wage systems) of German workers should be used as a basis.

If part of the comparable wage consists of an in rem (in-kind) performance, it shall be valued in determining remuneration at the rates at which the in rem (in-kind) performance is credited to the German workers' account in an enterprise in case of cash reimbursement.

Social wage supplements and insurance benefits of any kind that German workers are entitled to are not taken into account when determining comparable wages.

Good-work allowances are equally included in the comparable wage, in which they are guaranteed to German workers in an enterprise at equal productivity. If an Eastern worker lags behind the average performance of a German worker, the correspondingly reduced comparable wage must be used in determining his compensation.

Allowances for hard work and work in dirty conditions, etc., should be taken into account when determining the basic comparable wage of an individual Eastern worker as compensation for work.



Remuneration is guaranteed to an Eastern worker only for work actually performed, but the rules regarding downtime due to inclement weather apply accordingly.

Eastern workers are not entitled to labour allowances for overtime, Sunday work, and so on. No money is paid for transportation to the place of work and accommodation, nor for work and meals away from home. Accommodation and meals provided by the host are billed according to the rates that follow in the table. Other in-kind reimbursement shall be billed according to the commensurate rates.

4. Tax on the use of Eastern workers.

Heads of enterprises that employ Eastern workers must pay the tax according to the attached table. (In agriculture according to the table issued by the Reich Labour Proxy Office).

5. Vacation, return home.

The employment of Eastern workers is of unlimited duration. Vacation and travel home are not granted at the present time.

6. Savings.

Eastern workers can save all or part of their wages with interest. The accumulated amount is transferred to the home country and is at the disposal of the saver (depositor) or his family members. Instruction pamphlets on this are issued through local labour departments; they are also available from the office of the Central Economic Bank of Ukraine, Berlin C 2, Grünstrasse 3/4. Heads of enterprises are encouraged to facilitate an Eastern worker's desire to save money to the best of their ability. The saving procedure at the same time provides an opportunity for the transfer of wages to the home country, which for technical reasons cannot be done otherwise.

7. Tax exemption.

Eastern workers do not pay tax on their labour income while working in Germany in the German Reich in accordance with the regulation dated 30 June 1942 (RGBl. I S. 419/424) on the conditions of exploitation of Eastern workers (see pp. 32–34).

8. Provision for relatives.

The relatives of Eastern workers displaced to the Reich receive an allowance of up to 130 rubles each month for the period of work. In case of flight home, unauthorised abandonment of work, serious violations of discipline, and death, a notice is sent to the appropriate labour department for termination of the allowance.

C. Custody.

1. General provisions.

Custody of Eastern workers shall be exercised by

- a) The German Labour Front with regard to industrial labour,
- b) The Imperial Land Union with regard to agricultural workers,
- c) by the Reich Ministry of Public Education and Propaganda through propaganda support.

2. Camp Management and Camp Order.

All Eastern workers' camps have a "Camp Order for Eastern workers". It is distributed free of charge by the labour departments and can be ordered for industrial workers from the publishing house of the German Labour Front, Book Sales Department, Berlin C 2, Märkischer Platz 1, and for agricultural workers from the district farmers' organisations. The camp order is posted in all camp premises in conspicuous places.

The camp leader in all Eastern workers' camps needs the approval of the State Police, the district office of the German Labour Front and the district farmers' organisation.

3. Accommodation.

The premises should be spotless in terms of order, cleanliness and hygiene (heating, sinks, and restrooms) and, if possible, equipped with all the necessary facilities (closets, beds, chairs, etc.). The equipment should be appropriate, but the war situation should also be taken into account. The campers should be taught to contribute to the decoration of the living quarters; the necessary hand tools and so on should be provided to the workers by the heads of the enterprise.

The heads of the enterprise must ensure that Eastern workers, no matter what nations we may be talking about,

a) were unquestionably convinced of German superiority, of German skill and German organisation, as well as

b) of German justice, incorruptibility and decency in public life.

In particular, attention should be paid to the following:

Industrial Eastern workers should as a rule be housed in common camps, with individual nationalities (Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Russians) – as far as necessary – separated.

Camp fencing should not be barbed wire. Any barbed wire still in place must be removed immediately.

Families should not be separated indoors. In closed camps their placement should be accommodated in special rooms.

In agricultural enterprises, female workers may in exceptional cases be housed with the heads of the enterprises, men in small agricultural enterprises only when there are firmly locked and well-guarded premises, and when German labourers are on the land.

4. Nutrition.

The Eastern workers receive the nutritional standards established by the Reich Minister for Food Supply and Agriculture, which are basically the same as those of the German civilian population (see Appendix)<sup>3\*</sup> (see p. 44). When organising catering in the camps, the culinary habits [of the Eastern workers] should be taken

into account in preparing meals. Efforts should be made to recruit cooks and kitchen labourers from the camp staff.

5. Clothing.

In really necessary cases, receipts for rationed goods are issued for Eastern workers, as for other foreigners, in the economic departments. In view of the strain of martial law, strict rationing rates should be established. Requisitions should be made only if necessary to maintain the labour capacity of the Eastern workers concerned.

Otherwise, the safety and care of the clothing brought in should be given special attention. Repair, sewing, and shoemaking shops should be set up in the camps, as well as clothing inspection.

6. Supplies.

Tobacco products are provided to Eastern workers in the same amount as to Poles. The camp heads shall submit a corresponding application concerning the number of male camp residents to the competent office of the German Labour Front Gau, to the camp custody department. Eastern workers housed separately receive a smoker's card like Poles. The head of an enterprise sends a petition to the distribution warehouse to obtain a smoker's card. The dispensing of alcoholic beverages is prohibited. Special stations shall be set up in the camps for the purchase of necessary daily items; otherwise, the provision of such items shall be regulated by the head of the enterprise.

Soap and detergents are issued upon request to the appropriate economic department.

7. Health care.

In order to ensure that only a medically fit labour force free of contagious and infectious diseases is supplied to the enterprises, it (labour force) undergoes several medical examinations and decontamination before being employed. Workers' clothes and luggage are disinfected each time. Nevertheless, if there is a large number of recruited workers, a shortage of doctors and language difficulties, there may be deliveries of unsuitable labour force. But workers cannot be considered unsuitable if they have bodily disabilities or ailments which are not contagious or transmissible and which do not interfere with stipulated or other work in the enterprise. Therefore, it is unacceptable to send such male workers (female workers) back to the Labour Department again.

Really unsuitable or sick Eastern workers who should definitely be sent back should contact the appropriate Labour Department for transportation. The Labour Department conducts a final medical examination with the help of its in-house physician. Based on the results of this examination, a final decision on return shipment is made. Unless otherwise determined by the physician, workers to be sent back shall remain in camp or in an appropriate facility until their departure.

The previously mentioned repeated disinfections prior to employment serve to control typhus, which is transmitted solely through lice. Experience has shown that two or three disinfections before employment do not completely eliminate lice. Companies

should therefore carry out two or more disinfections 5 days apart after the start of the labour process. During the disinfection of the persons concerned, their clothing, bedding, luggage and other household items are also disinfected. Later, similar disinfections and decontamination are carried out as necessary.

To ensure that these measures are carried out, enterprises that have received more than 500 Eastern workers or have already employed this number of workers will set up their own disinfection and decontamination facilities. Equipping such facilities is not expensive at all, as it can be done almost everywhere using existing production facilities with minimal use of raw materials. Advice and information is provided by health care institutions.

Enterprises that employ a smaller or very limited workforce from the east or southeast shall communicate regarding the further two disinfections and decontamination of clothing, linens, and baggage, and follow-up similar activities as needed, with public health agencies.

Camp facilities, especially the living quarters of workers, should be constantly inspected by the camp commander and the head of the enterprise for cleanliness and absence of harmful insects (lice, bedbugs, fleas). Disinfection of camp and living quarters is required from time to time and is carried out with the advisory support of health care institutions. During control activities, special attention should be paid to the presence (absence) of pests, especially lice. When cases of pediculosis are identified, disinfection measures are immediately carried out. When workers are constantly accustomed to cleanliness, this best prevents the occurrence or spread of contagious or transmissible diseases, or at least restricts them. The head of the camp or the heads of small enterprises can therefore actively and vigorously support sanitary measures. It is recommended that in camps and living quarters (in each individual barracks), the leaflet "Attention, bed louse" and the information board "Bed louse" developed by Dr. Hase should be placed in a visible place, preferably in the native language of the inhabitants. The leaflet and the information board should be ordered from the publishing house of Paul Parej, Berlin SW 11, Hedemannstrasse 28/29.

To improve preventive sanitary measures, which are carried out by occupational or camp physicians at certain times, special attention must be paid to the appearance of pests (lice) and contagious diseases.

Hospitalisation of Eastern workers is provided through the health insurance companies, which are responsible for the compulsory insurance of the work collective (Imperial Social Insurance Act). Heads of enterprises are obliged to pay a contribution to the health insurance funds from their own resources. The amount of the contribution must be communicated to the respective health insurance funds.

For those days when an Eastern worker is unable to work due to illness or accident, unless hospital care is required because of danger to life and health or for the prevention of contagious or transmissible diseases, free accommodation and meals are provided exclusively by the head of the enterprise.

For the treatment of minor illnesses, each camp should have one or more sanitary units, with two beds in a sanitary unit for every 50 foreign workers.

#### 8. Postal Service.



a) Within the Realm Commissariats of Ostland (including White Ruthenia) and Ukraine a service post is established. Postcards and ordinary and registered letters weighing up to 250 grams are authorised. Parcels must be delivered to the post office in an assembled form by the head of the enterprise or the head of the camp. The sender must be accurately identified. The postal fee is paid in cash at the post office. Delivery is made only to locations with official mail stations and post offices. When sending to places without an official mail station, it must be marked "through" the official mail station.

b) In the rear army area there is not yet a regular postal service. The following special regulation is adopted for Eastern workers:

Each Eastern worker may write a postcard twice a month with a paid reply postcard (internal charges). The postcards are delivered by the head of the enterprise or the head of the camp to the nearest post office. The mailing address must be clearly written in Latin letters and contain the following information:

To  
First and last name: .....  
Location: .....  
District: .....  
(If known, the name of the labour department conducting the enlistment)

For example

To  
Mrs. Maria Vitrishenko,  
Varkovo  
Orsha district  
Labour Department: Borisov.

On the side with the address of the reply postcard, the Eastern worker writes the exact address (postal code and the name of the camp). If possible, the destination in the address is stamped by the camp administration. The postcards are collected in the camp and delivered as a single item directly to the Foreign Correspondence Checkpoint.

Berlin W 62,  
Budapeshtskaya str. 20.

Mail destined for Germany (reply postcard with a prescribed address) can be handed over by relatives to the appropriate Labour Office in the occupied territory on the occasion of receiving aid. The Labour Office collects the mail and forwards it by field mail through the Foreign Correspondence Checkpoint in Berlin to the Eastern workers.

To paragraphs "a" and "b"

For workers employed in military enterprises, the sender is not the name of the enterprise (factory, plant) but the postal address or the name of the camp agreed upon with the competent postal institution, e.g. Berlin-Reinickendorf-Ost, "Schönholz" camp.

Parcels (packages) are not permitted at this time.

#### 9. Organisation of leisure activities.

##### a) General provisions.

Since Eastern workers spend their leisure time exclusively in the camp, it should be mainly a matter of organising leisure activities inherent in camp life. They should be encouraged to organise their own indoor leisure activities (music, folk dancing, crafts, sports, etc.). Heads of the enterprise should, to the extent possible, assist in acquiring necessary auxiliary materials.

##### b) Radio and cinema.

If radio sets are available, it is possible to listen to German music programs as well as official German news programs in Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian. According to the regulations in force, the head of the enterprise and the head of the camp are responsible for the maintenance of the radios. Films may be shown in camps and enterprises if they are authorised by the propaganda departments.

##### c) Newspapers.

Three camp newspapers are published for Eastern workers, one in Ukrainian ("Ukrainez"), one in Russian ("Trud") and one in White Ruthenian ("Bela ruski rabotnick").

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They should be ordered from the Foreign Language Service, Berlin-Charlottenburg 2, Knesebeckstrasse 28. It is of course necessary that the heads of the enterprises order a sufficient number of newspapers for their Eastern workers, since the latter are informed by the newspapers in the interests of the labour process. Moreover, an individual Eastern worker is not prohibited from having one of these newspapers himself.

When ordering, the heads of the enterprises and the heads of the camps must see to it that the three newspapers ordered correspond to the ratio of Eastern workers, who speak Russian, Ukrainian and White Ruthenian.

##### d) Other propaganda materials.

Other propaganda materials such as posters, brochures, leaflets, postcards may be requested from the Reich Ministry of Public Education and Propaganda, and photographers may be requested to take group photographs which Eastern workers are allowed to send home by post. Emigrant artists may not be invited to organise leisure activities. Also other measures of custody through emigrant circles, such as cash donations and distribution of clothing must be rejected.

##### e) Religious activities.

Spiritual custody by foreign or German priests is excluded. If Eastern workers in the camp wish to engage in or direct religious activity, there is no objection to this, as long as

it does not lead to disruption of camp life and work order. Church attendance outside the camp is not possible, even with a German escort.

f) Walking.

Reliable (proven) workers shall be given a walk in closed groups under German supervision as a reward. However, the walk (going out into town) must not lead to contact with the German population; therefore, attendance at public events, cinemas, variety shows, and so on is prohibited. The person responsible for ensuring the walk is the head of the enterprise, who must monitor both work performance and behaviour in the enterprise and in the camp (with the participation of the head of the camp).

D. Guards and guard-police regulations.

1. Guards should be posted

- a) at state enterprises (shipyards of the War Navy<sup>11</sup>, imperial railroad) from the security detachments provided for these institutions,
  - b) in enterprises with factory guards with reinforcement from the security service detachments,
  - c) at other enterprises with reinforcement from security service detachments. If it is not possible to engage the security service, a special self-defence guard service shall be organised under the control of the State Police Control Department.
- Special regulations shall be adopted by the state police authority on guard duty within the enterprise, on the way from the camp to the workplace and during walks.

2. Violations of labour discipline.

The disciplinary measures (warning, compensation) available to the head of the enterprise in relation to the German staff also apply to Eastern workers in case of labour violations. In addition, the normal allowance may be cut. The Confidence Council<sup>12</sup> is not involved in measures against Eastern workers. In case of serious violations, the heads of the enterprise must immediately contact the State Police authority. Directives (orders) have been and are being adopted by the state police authority.

E. Additional information.

Labour departments or other competent authorities shall provide additional information.

Saukel

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 12–15. Original.*

*Typographical printing.*

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- \* Dated according to the content of the document.
  - \*\* Is published under No. 65.
  - \*<sup>3</sup> Is published under No. 67.

67. Food Rations for male and female Workers in Military Industry, Manufacturing and Agriculture (Appendix to Instruction pamphlet No. 1 for heads of Reich enterprises on the employment of Eastern workers as a labour force)

*Not earlier than 30 June 1942\**

APPENDIX

A. Food Rations for male and female Workers in Military Industry and Manufacturing.

Receive:

a) an average worker:

bread ..... 2600 g per week  
meat ..... 250 g  
fat ..... 130 g  
potatoes ..... 5250 g  
cereals ..... 150 g  
sugar ..... 110 r  
tea substitute ..... 14 g  
vegetables ... on receipt (turnip)

b) a worker of heavy physical labour:

bread ..... 3400 g per week  
meat ..... 400 g  
fat ..... 200 g  
Other foods as in a)

c) a worker of extremely hard physical labour:

bread ..... 4200 g per week  
meat ..... 500 g  
fat ..... 260 g  
Other foods as in a)

d) a miner (mine work):

bread ..... 4400 g per week  
meat ..... 600 g  
fat ..... 300 g  
Other foods as in a)

e) Overtime and night allowances shall not be granted.

f) The above food rations shall also apply to women workers.

The supply of skim milk is cancelled.

Meat rations shall be supplied, if possible, with horse meat and conditioned meat at the full accrual rate.

The fat ration shall consist of margarine if possible.

Bread should generally be baked with 72% rye meal (coarse milling) and 28% full beet chips. As long as bread with beet chips is not supplied, regular bread is provided. Special attention is paid to making nutritious soups in accordance with the culinary habits of the Russians.



Instead of 500 g of bread, therefore, 350 g of rye flour or 380 g of rye meal or 360 g of rye groats can be provided.

B. Food rations of male and female workers engaged in agriculture, including horticulture and viticulture.

Bread..... 2375 g per week

Meat and fat..... 500 g

Margarine..... 100 g

All other foods to the extent of normal consumption rates of the civilian population.

In individual cases, the provision of a full bread ration is permitted if the local farm chief certifies, according to a strict criterion, that the Soviet civilian male (female) worker fully meets the production requirements of a German worker or that the provision of a full bread ration will increase labour productivity accordingly. Other high-value foods such as whole milk, eggs, and so on may not be issued to Soviet civilian male (female) workers. Butter may be issued or used only when the acquisition of margarine would involve special difficulties (e.g., lack of an established supply to the place of consumption, remote location, etc.). Special distribution of foods such as poultry, game or bean coffee, tea, pralines (filled chocolates) and so on are not entitled to Soviet civilian male (female) workers.

In small and medium-sized rural farms, in which food is prepared for Soviet civilian male (female) workers in common due to small numbers or local specifics and therefore meals are eaten simultaneously, the same allowance rates are issued as for other agricultural workers who work and eat at the enterprise.

The food allowances recognised for prisoners of war and Soviet civilian male (female) workers are appropriately invoiced to the heads of the enterprises (receipts for creditable amounts for ration cards and so on).

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheet 15. Original. Typographical printing.*

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\* Dated according to the contents of a related case document.

68. **Manifesto of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, addressed to all institutions for labour deployment and to the Reich Administration of Proxies in the Greater German Reich, friendly countries and all German-occupied areas of Europe**

20 April 1943

Top secret!\*

**TIDINGS**

of the Reich Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan  
General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment  
Berlin W8, Mohrenstrasse 65  
Released when necessary  
No. 4 Berlin, 1 May 1943

**MANIFESTO**

of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, addressed to all institutions for labour deployment and to the Reich Administration of Proxies<sup>13</sup> in the Greater German Reich, friendly countries and all German-occupied areas of Europe.

German men and women of all departments for labour deployment and the Reich Administration of Proxies in the Greater German Reich, in friendly countries and in occupied European areas!

**Conscientious fulfilment of duty in National Socialism**

In boundless love and affection for our Leader (Führer) Adolf Hitler, we solemnly swear on his present birthday to fully exert all our energies in order to be able to carry out the important tasks entrusted to us, which are decisive for the outcome of the war, labour deployment and the just regulation of pay in the most rapid and conscious manner possible in the spirit of the Leader's demands in this hard time of war\*\*.

Only when we approach our tasks as loyal and unwavering National Socialists and faithful followers of the Leader can we really be fully able to cope with them.

*I expect therefore that no official or employee of the subordinate agencies of the Reich Ministry of Labour and all foreign institutions connected with it will be surpassed by anyone in duty, attitude, punctuality, zeal, honesty in the National Socialist spirit and confidence in victory.*

Our departments and institutions in the homeland and in all occupied areas must become even more than before the spokesmen for the unconditional will to victory of our people, the centre of the most convincing propaganda, of our National Socialist outlook, and the cultural centres of a genuine and sincere National Socialist people's community.

*Prejudice against honest competent representatives of the working class and the last tendencies of the class struggle must be definitively exterminated in our institutions. I will not tolerate it anywhere else, even in its most covert form, and equally not with any resistance. в наших учреждениях.*

We have the privilege of performing for our dear people, dearly beloved by all of us, one of the most important, the most responsible, as well as the most beautiful and sacred

tasks, namely, to supervise their employment in time of war in an irreproachable manner in order to preserve, organise, and better develop their vital forces. In addition, we must guarantee them the best and appropriate working conditions and fair remuneration despite the long war and its harshness. Consequently, our social responsibility now, in time of war, is particularly enormous.

*In proud self-consciousness and unconditional cooperation with all instances of the Reich, the economy and especially the war industry, as well as with our Defence Force and the German police, without any vanity or considerations of prestige, we wish to work together, avoiding unnecessary friction and conflict, to achieve our common military goal.*

We always fanatically, and at the same time reasonably and cool-headedly, wish to contribute to the victory of the Leader and our people.

*I demand from every official and every employee unconditional obedience and iron discipline. In the reception rooms of our departments I demand absolute courtesy and kind treatment of everyone, especially women and girls.*

Rudeness and bad manners will not be tolerated by me under any circumstances. It is despicable to mock the people to whom we provide work.

Crimes against the impeccable behaviour of our countrymen and countrywomen I will relentlessly investigate in the future and punish. *It is not the people for us, but we are here for the people!*

*I demand henceforth that all my decrees, regulations, and orders be always carefully read, faithfully and as promptly as possible implemented, and their effect constantly monitored.* Only in such discipline and unity of our entire apparatus lies the guarantee of the complete success of our efforts. Otherwise they will be in vain.

*It has absolutely nothing to do with paper warfare or bureaucracy. Management, on the other hand, must be persistent and constantly promote all that is useful and necessary to be able to ensure that the increasingly difficult tasks of labour deployment are accomplished, and that appropriate working conditions and fair pay are provided.* I expect you, therefore, finally to ensure that all departments for our future work carefully take up my information and principles and to be guided by them with iron consistency throughout the Reich and in the areas of Europe occupied by us.

*We fanatically, persistently and resolutely wish, against all difficulties and obstacles, to bring the most powerful, but at the same time humanly morally blameless and most just organisation for labour deployment in the history of the world to its most perfect state.*

*With our strenuous efforts we want to secure for our beloved Leader, for our unique and beautiful people, a final victory which is in accordance with their right, their honour and their freedom!*

The following information and principles must therefore be taken into consideration by all departments in the future and implemented as soon as possible:

### **1. Total deployment of the labour force**

All available German male and female workers, without exception, who are fit for work are put on the register in their entirety in accordance with the implementation of my order on compulsory registration for German men and women dated 27 January 1943.

In the future under no circumstances will there be any more German labour reserves available.

## **2. Limitation of reserves**

On the contrary, with the war continuing, the number of German workers, due to the necessary conscription of soldiers from the defence industry into the Defence Force – in order to make up for the losses at the front – will be constantly reduced.

## **3. Recruiting convalescent soldiers**

Replenishment for the war industry, above all for German supervisory and security personnel, in a small amount is possible by recruiting convalescent soldiers and officers who have been maimed in the war.

This must be carried out as quickly and as extensively as possible (on a large scale).

## **4. Total mobilisation of the labour reserves in the occupied areas**

However, as a result of the absolute necessity to preserve German industrial power during the war and to increase it substantially, it is necessary to make total use of the population of all occupied areas in Eastern and Western Europe entirely in favour of the German war industry!

All obstacles and difficulties opposing this imperative necessity must be overcome with the greatest vigour.

## **5. Economical and rational utilisation of these reserves**

There is no doubt that for the foreseeable future these reserves for labour deployment in the service of the German war effort will be fully taken into account. They must therefore already now be utilised in the most rational and economical manner.

## **6. Scientific data and principles for the optimum use of labour**

The following conclusions must arise from this, to which the most careful attention must be paid immediately and constantly.

### **a) German cadre**

All German male and female workers of mental and physical labour, i.e. from the head of the enterprise, engineer, craftsmen, foreman to the young German workers, must in all enterprises and workplaces be used prudently and rationally, i.e. in the most important and appropriate jobs.

*They form the root and basis of German enterprises in the Reich, in agriculture, as well as in the entire military-industrial complex.*

*Both with regard to ensuring maximum output, and especially with regard to the need to maintain order in the enterprise and the impeccable moral and political behaviour of foreigners, German male and female workers are the decisive and only reliable factors. This is also important for the safety of the enterprises and the course of production. They are indispensable for training and mentoring as well as motivating foreigners. One of their most*



*important tasks is also the constant careful yet tactful supervision of them. Thus, this strong core of German workers in the enterprise is extremely important.*

#### **b) Political education of Germans**

In order to achieve this great goal, it is necessary that all German men and women receive regular political education. This task is best accomplished by mutual understanding between the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party), the German Labour Front (DAF) and the National Socialist Women's Union<sup>14</sup> in constant cooperation with the institutions for labour deployment. The systematic enlightenment and education of our German compatriots is therefore also of crucial importance.

*In cooperation with the Imperial Ministry of Propaganda, educational and propaganda material is constantly made available to all enterprises in the Reich and all occupied areas.*

#### **c) Developing total re-education measures**

However, not only the political training and education of all German workers and labourers should be immediately initiated, but to the same extent the professional and specialised mentoring and training to the degree of perfection that can only be imagined. Consequently, the total orientation of both political and at the same time vocational training must be harmoniously directed towards military needs.

*Re-training measures for important military professions must be carried out on a large scale and in the most intensive manner.*

*These efforts and expenditures are bound to pay off and will soon be generously rewarded.*

*The main objective must be the following: In view of the enormous and risky need to recruit millions of foreigners to work in the German military economy, all available German men and women must be educated exclusively as political and professional leaders. They must, on the basis of their own exemplary behaviour, be the guarantors of victory on the labour battlefield of productivity.*

#### **d) Recruitment of labour in the occupied areas**

Since, as has been established under paragraph 5, the human reserves in the occupied areas will also be fully accounted for in the foreseeable future, the engagement of these people in labour must fully follow the principle of maximum achievable economic utility and reason, that is to say, above all, maximum possible productivity.

Therefore, it is necessary:

3. *In the allocation of orders in the occupied areas, only economic contracts shall be concluded with German or foreign firms.*
4. *The remuneration of workers of non-German origin in the occupied areas must be made only on the basis of the principle of piecework wages. Also in their meals the principle of work performed must be applied, as in their accommodation and other services.*

In view of these inevitably necessary principles, all existing and Reich-operated enterprises in the occupied areas are to be inspected with regard to labour conscription,

and the number of workers required for them and their correct and economical employment are to be constantly supervised.

#### **e) Establishment of monitoring commissions**

*For this purpose, joint monitoring commissions composed of direct participants in the proceedings and the authorities concerned are universally established.*

The unnecessary involvement of these supervisory commissions should be avoided under all circumstances.

Only careful labour deployment guarantees effective productivity. It would be a fundamental mistake to achieve greater success by excessive use of labour power. Where labourers are found in excessive numbers, they interfere with each other and also have a negative effect on the productivity of other workers, thus reducing the consciousness of their value and indispensability.

#### **f) Consequences for the use of labour in the Reich**

Only with full consideration of the above-mentioned principles can both the fulfilment of labour and economic necessity for war production and agriculture in the occupied areas and the imminently necessary acquisition or release of a sufficient number of workers for the Reich itself be secured.

#### **g) Intensified training and retraining in occupied areas**

*Since the existing pool of skilled labourers in Europe is in full demand, the task of training and retraining of personnel for the iron and steel works, especially unqualified and occupationally unrelated male and female workers in the occupied areas, must be undertaken at the same time. They must be taught with the greatest vigour the skills of the professions important for the war effort. The mere vocational and mechanical retraining, for example, of foreign agricultural labourers into metal workers is not enough. They must, when recruited or forced to work for the Reich, be politically literate and loyal to Germany. This willful preparation, it is true, is infinitely more difficult and requires persistent endurance and difficult educational work. But it is also crucial.*

It is not enough that such training and education of foreign workers' collectives be undertaken only once; on the contrary, this training and education must be permanent and thus have a lasting effect on them.

#### **h) Limiting turnover among foreign workers**

*The turnover of labourers in enterprises in the Reich and in German war factories in occupied areas must be prevented by all means.*

In the case of inherently reliable workers this is done by complying with all regulations and directives concerning their treatment.

These regulations and directives, as well as supplements to them, must be brought to the attention of the Land Labour Departments and Labour Departments at least once a quarter and urgently to the attention of the enterprises and the heads of the camps of foreign workers as well as their personnel. Their actual observance should be constantly monitored.

It has undoubtedly turned out that where foreigners show low productivity or leave the enterprises and camps altogether and turn to flight, insufficient attention is paid to these regulations.

*On the contrary, countless examples prove beyond any doubt that in all enterprises where foreigners are treated correctly and their rights are realised, very good results are achieved and that industrial disturbances and discontent are least frequent.*

*Wherever my regulations and directives are taken into account, it is not only justified but also necessary to punish the bad elements among the foreigners, who have been placed at the disposal of the German economy in such enormous numbers, in the strictest possible manner and without delay, if they attempt to sow discord, darken the mood, reduce the productivity of the enterprise or generally harm it. Such interference should certainly be ensured in every case, but only with the help of the police officers responsible for it.*

#### **i) Implementation of the performance principle**

As already mentioned, the prevention of labour turnover in all enterprises, also in the occupied areas, especially in construction projects of various kinds and fortifications, is of crucial importance.

*In all circumstances, also in the eastern regions, the principle of efficiency must be implemented, and when using the labour of prisoners of war and civilian workers, it is necessary to eradicate the bad habit that out of a whole group only one works badly, while the other seven stand idly by, gazing and loitering.*

It is often seen that the German labourers appointed to supervise them, who should actually encourage and stimulate the foreign workers, are themselves doing the work for them.

*This intolerable situation, i.e., the waste of labour power, must be put an end to by systematic supervision of the work of prisoners of war and foreign workers by guard commands, both in the Reich and in the occupied areas. It is of the utmost importance that the military authorities in charge constantly explain to the guard commands the necessary measures, which are war-related and important for the outcome of the war, so that the prisoners of war are accustomed to high labour productivity. If we treat them fairly and appropriately, we have the right, in the common interest of preserving our Western culture and our living conditions with regard to the struggle for the destruction of Jewish Bolshevism, to demand from them high labour productivity.*

*Only through the energetic elimination of such deficiencies and bad phenomena, which hinder productivity and harm morale, can the tasks of using labour in the interests of the entire war economy in the Reich, as well as in the occupied areas of the West and East, be met in the future. For only through the employment of the entire labour force and its proper treatment in all German-protected areas of Europe, only through its full exploitation, can we in the long term guarantee the fulfilment of the Leader's programme for the use of labour and cope with the demands of Central Planning, the Reich Ministry of Armaments and War Production, the Four-Year Plan, mining, agriculture, etc. in the Reich. Only then can the enterprises of agriculture, additional armaments, shipyards, railway and road construction, etc., located in the occupied regions of the East and West, be supplied with sufficient labour.*

#### **j) Bringing the treatment of foreigners in the occupied areas into conformity with the principles of the custody of foreigners in the Reich with a view to increasing labour**

## productivity

*I therefore order that appropriate regulations and directives be issued for all occupied areas concerning the treatment, food, accommodation and wages of foreign workers, in the same way as they apply to foreigners in the Reich. They must be harmonised in each case with local conditions and applied sensibly.*

*In a number of eastern regions, local civilian labourers (men and women) who work in German war factories or service German Defence Force units are suffering from malnutrition. It is in the urgent interest of the German war economy to eliminate in these areas this dangerous and unproductive situation. It is therefore necessary to endeavour by all means to provide additional food for these workers and their families. This additional food must be provided exclusively according to the principle of work done.*

*The labour turnover in the Reich and in the occupied areas can only be reduced to a minimum by careful handling and preservation of all available European production capacities on the one hand, and by the strictest concentration, management and leadership on the other hand. Thereby a stable, lasting and reliable productivity of labour is also achieved.*

*In doing so, foreign workers who work for the Reich and the population in the occupied areas who are conscripted for German military service must be made to feel that it is in their interest to work honestly for Germany, and that in this alone they can see the only guarantee of insurance for their lives.*

*They must gain absolute confidence in the fairness of German institutions and their German employers. At the same time they must know that their low productivity, bad behaviour and so on will not be overlooked, but that they will be punished inexorably and severely.*

### **7. Principles of Operation of the Offices of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment**

During the past year 1942/43 it was possible to supply several million new foreign workers for the German economy in time. In addition, from the German economic life itself, many millions of new workers were made available through intra-plant, inter-production and inter-district equalisation, preventive measures, retraining and training, and the implementation of the decree on compulsory registration dated 27 January 1943.

The principles laid down in my programme dated 20 April 1942 and the orders and directives adopted since then have proved themselves at their best.

Even if the number of countable labour forces in Europe for the German war economy has now been greatly reduced, in the future, the tasks of labour deployment must nevertheless be unquestionably fulfilled.

On the basis of the assignment given to me by the Leader and his Plenipotentiary of the Four-Year Plan, Sir Reich Marshal of the Greater German Reich, and on the basis of my authority, I demand from all employees of the labour deployment agencies and the Administration of Proxies unswerving devotion to our common, increasingly difficult task, which is decisive for the outcome of the war.

All men and women in our departments must fulfil their duty with unbreakable will and scrupulous diligence. The principles I have promulgated and the binding regulations I have laid down must be strictly observed and unconditionally implemented. For it is only through the total concentration of all the forces available to us but very limited, only through the extreme exertion of our skill and will, that we can cope with the seemingly almost impossible tasks that have been set before us.



The time for theoretical reflections and discussions on labour deployment and its methods has finally passed. Only a common firm will and concerted, hard work will lead us to our goal.

I once again demand the unconditional fulfilment of all the tasks and duties that have been assigned to the institutions of the Reich Ministry of Labour and its foreign branches. *I therefore repeat once again at the end of this manifesto: The decisive moment for the fulfilment of our tasks lies in a clear and correct concern for all German male and female compatriots who come into contact with our institutions. Arbitrariness biased nagging, rudeness and impoliteness or even abusive language are completely undeserving of officials and employees of German labour and social institutions.*

In addition, every official and employee of the German Labour Department, both inside and outside the country, especially in times of war, must take care to behave in an irreproachable and exemplary manner. We must treat Germans from all walks of life, with whom we come in contact officially and unofficially, with complete courtesy. We must kindly and benevolently place ourselves at the disposal of all compatriots who come to us with a request or for advice. Even the visits of unpleasant petitioners should be treated with absolute correctness. In this way the Department for Labour Deployment will render a great invaluable service to the German people and its great Leader, not only by the performance of purely professional tasks, but also by strengthening the universal confidence in social justice in the Great German Reich. This general confidence of our people in the offices of the Labour Department is also a prerequisite for victory.

#### **8. Future tasks for labour deployment**

An unambiguous and clear objective lies before us:

1. The German Reich war industry as a whole and all occupied areas must be provided with all the necessary labour force, that is to say, not only the natural reduction of the workforce due to death, illness or conscription into the Defence Force must be compensated for, but new factories and the expansion programmes demanded by the Leader must be constantly supplied with new labour.
2. The labour productivity of German and foreign workers must be brought to the highest possible level and maintained at that level.
3. The prerequisites for achieving this are rational care, firm education, careful training of German and foreign workers, and their careful, sensible and expedient use.

Justice, reason, discipline and order, as well as their own exemplary behaviour, are the hard-to-account factors which the institutions and services for labour deployment must constantly be aware of in the performance of their immensely difficult and demanding tasks.

**All our labour and service agencies must be  
and remain strongholds of fanatical faith in victory and the will to win**

In conclusion, I expect that all officials and employees of the offices entrusted to me in the Reich and in the occupied areas *will realise their unswerving loyalty to our only Leader and their love for our great Adolf Hitler and will serve him faithfully and zealously, both in times of greatest success and especially in times of greatest hardship with all their strength, for he embodies the meaning and destiny of our most beloved German people.*

In a plane over the occupied Soviet-Russian territories, 20 April 1943.

Fritz Saukel,

General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1.  
Case 2. Sheets 31–36. Original. Typographical printing.*

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\* Italicised and bolded according to the document.

\*\* The style of the document is preserved.



*Streng vertraulich!*

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# MITTEILUNGEN

DES BEAUFTRAGTEN FÜR DEN VIERJAHRESPLAN  
DER GENERALBEVOLLMÄCHTIGTE FÜR DEN ARBEITSEINSATZ

BERLIN W8, MOHRENSTRASSE 65

ERSCHEINT NACH BEDARF

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Nr. 4

Berlin, den 1. Mai

1943

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## MANIFEST

des

Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz  
an alle Dienststellen des Arbeitseinsatzes und der  
Reichstreuhänderverwaltung im Großdeutschen  
Reich, in den befreundeten Staaten und in allen von  
deutschen Truppen besetzten Gebieten Europas.

69. **Circular letter of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour  
Deployment to Regional Leaders (Gauleiters) of the National  
Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP)**

*Not earlier than 5th February 1943\**

Circular letter  
To all Regional Leaders of the NSDAP as  
Plenipotentiaries for Labour Deployment

In the matter of: The treatment and custody of foreign workers and workers of national minorities.

1. One of the most difficult tasks, which I had to deal with for almost a year after I had been entrusted with duties on behalf of the Leader concerning labour deployment, was the treatment and custody of foreign workers and workers of national minorities.

In the meantime several million of them had arrived in the Reich and were employed in labour.

Most of them have settled in and acquired labour skills. Their labour productivity ranges from 65 to 100 per cent of that of German workers.

In view of the obviously even greater growth of the production programme of our military economy and especially of armaments, I am obliged, as instructed, to recruit and employ even greater numbers of foreign male and female workers from the East and the West of Europe for the Reich.

2. With regard to treatment, food, accommodation, clothing, hygienic care and the prevention of outbreaks of epidemics, I issue the necessary regulations and directives without delay in co-operation with the competent Reich services.

They are constantly communicated to the relevant government, party, military and economic institutions.

They are to be found, among other things, in the official "Tidings of the Reich Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan – General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment" No. 1, 2 and 3. They are set out separately in Order No. 4 dated 7 May 1942 on the recruitment, custody, accommodation, feeding and treatment of foreign male and female workers; also in Order No. 9 dated 15 July 1942 on the inspection of accommodation, feeding, heating and maintenance of the camp by attached artisans. They are also contained in "Instruction pamphlet No. 1 for heads of enterprises on the employment of Eastern workers, with an appendix of ration standards for male and female workers employed in military industry, the civil economy and agriculture, and, in addition, in "Instruction pamphlet No. 1 for Eastern workers".

**I hereby draw attention to the absolute necessity of continuing to explain the importance of these orders and directives in the enterprises, and of persistently implementing them where they have been neglected or forgotten\*\*.**

It should be noted, first of all, the gratifying fact that, thanks to the widespread observance of these regulations, the general productivity of foreign workers can be considered satisfactory and that epidemics, such as typhus, are not occurring on a larger scale.

3. Through the principles and regulations adopted, Germany's labour deployment is completely different from both the criminal methods of labour exploitation of the plutocratic states and the Bolshevik system of mass terror. In the soon to be mass-circulated brochure



"Europe Works in Germany", which is richly illustrated, this fact will be presented to the world with documentary proof.

After I, as General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, have done everything to ensure that foreign workers are treated in accordance with the authority and dignity of our National Socialist Reich, it is, on the other hand, equally imperative that all competent political, governmental and economic authorities ensure that foreign workers and workers of national minorities also prove worthy of such treatment and custody and cannot cause any damage to our production, labour discipline, peace and order.

I urge that such incidents be noticed and prevented through the close co-operation of relevant authorities and foreign workers.

4. I summarise my views on the treatment and custody of foreign workers and workers of national minorities here again, the relevant theses of a speech to the Reich Leaders (Reichsleiter)<sup>15</sup> and Regional Leaders of the National Socialist German Workers' Party in Posen on 5 February 1943:

"... I ask especially, however, of the Reich Leaders and Regional Leaders for the understanding that I, as a plenipotentiary of Adolf Hitler and Hermann Goering, give my all to ensure that now, when we are engaged in the severest and most ruthless decisive warfare in world history and our soldiers under the leadership of Adolf Hitler are covering their colours with glory and honour, Germany's use of labour under all military adversities and in defiance of the unspeakable restrictions which our own beloved people must put on themselves, was fundamentally different from the shameless and cruel exploitation practised by the plutocratic, capitalist world beast by which our enemies gained their accursed wealth, which they are using today for our destruction.

German labour must be worthy of the honour of our nation, of the principles of our worldview and, above all, of our Leader by its high standards.

You must be convinced that neither sentimentality nor romance guides my measures and orders, but only sober reflection and pure reason. The first and exclusive aim of my activities must be the greatest possible success in the use of labour.

The first prerequisite for this, however, is the awareness of our German countrymen and countrywomen of the necessity of full personal participation in labour for the war cause and their firm belief that National Socialism offers the only possible guarantee that the German worker of mental and physical labour will be provided with social justice as the only measure of all efforts in the field of labour. The German worker must be the unwavering guarantor of productivity and safety in all German enterprises and an example for foreign workers. For this, Reich Leaders and Regional Leaders, I need your help and support in the organisations and gau (regional associations) of the Party. Without them, I am doomed to failure.

It is not only honour and authority, our National Socialist outlook demands, in contrast to the methods of the plutocrats and Bolsheviks, that foreign – **and even Russian – Soviet – workers be treated with reason and care. Exhausted, sickly, dissatisfied, desperate and hate-filled slaves will never make it possible to maximise their productivity achievable under normal conditions.**

My ambition, therefore, is to free the foreign workers from all hindrances to effective labour by providing them with such working conditions that they, by comparing them with the conditions they had at home, would be able, to a certain extent, to reconcile themselves internally to their exploitation at home.

**Humans cannot be compared to even the most complex machine, which, in addition to a source of energy or fuel, also needs lubricating oil, and for which I must organise careful maintenance. Even the most primitive human being has a mental life, a character**

of his own, without taking account of which a satisfactory, maximally long-lasting performance is inconceivable. Since we shall need foreign workers for many years to come, and the possibilities of replacing them are very limited, I cannot exploit them on a short-term basis and waste their capacity for labour..."

Fritz Saukel

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 38 (reverse side) – 39 (reverse side). Original. Typographical printing.*

\* The date is set according to the content of the document.

\*\* Bold font is set according to the document.

## **70. Regulation of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment on the work record book for foreign workers**

*1 May 1943*

On the basis of the law on the introduction of the work record book dated 26 February 1935 (Imperial Law Gazette I p. 311) § § 1 and 5 together with the decree on the issuance of legal acts by the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment dated 25 May 1942 (Imperial Law Gazette I p. 347) it is prescribed:

### **§ 1**

(1) Foreign workers (employees and servants) employed in the territory of the Reich, outside the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, are subject to the prescriptions of the regulation on the work record book dated 22 April 1939 – ArbVO. – (Federal Law Gazette I p. 824) in accordance with the following determinations.

(2) Foreigners within the meaning of this regulation are considered to be all persons of non-German nationality, in addition citizens of the Protectorate, protected citizens (Schutzangehörigen – i.e. citizens of occupied areas), stateless persons and persons of undetermined nationality.

### **§ 2**

(1) Foreign workers shall receive a "Foreigner's Work Record Book" of a special type.

(2) A foreigner's work record book is officially issued by the Labour Department.

### **§ 3**

(1) A foreign worker or employee shall, upon employment, immediately hand over the work record book to the owner of the enterprise. He or she is obliged to keep and carry his or her work record book diligently before and after employment.

(2) At the request of the labour department, he or she shall also be presented or forwarded his or her work record book at any time.

(3) Other authorities shall be provided with the details of the work record book upon request.

### **§ 4**

In the event of termination of employment, the owner of the enterprise shall, after making the necessary entry in the work record book before returning it to its owner, present it to the labour department for an official record of termination of employment.

§ 5

Entries other than those prescribed or specifically permitted by the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment shall not be made in the work record books for foreigners. Official records of the work and personal conduct of the worker or employee shall be permitted by special order of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment.

§ 6

It is prohibited to take a foreigner's work record book abroad. The holder of the work record book must return it to the labour department if he or she leaves the Reich.

§ 7

For the purpose of recording foreign workers employed in the Reich on the basis of the work record book, a central file is established and continuously maintained in Berlin. The central file contains the basic data on the identity and occupation of the holder of a foreigner's work record book.

§ 8

(1) Whoever violates the provisions of § 3–6 wilfully or through negligence shall be liable to a fine of up to 150 Reichsmarks (German currency used from 1924 to 1948) or to arrest, unless a more severe penalty is prescribed by the penal code.

(2) The Labour Department may compel the owners of the enterprise and those responsible for keeping employment records to comply with the provisions of § 3 or 4 by means of a fine of up to 150 Reichsmarks.

(3) Otherwise the penal sanctions of § 27–29 ArbVO shall apply.

§ 9

(1) This regulation shall enter into force on the eighth day after publication. It shall also apply in the annexed eastern regions.

(2) The prescriptions of this regulation concerning the maintenance of a foreigner's work record book shall apply if he or she has been issued a foreign worker's or employee's work record book.

Berlin, 1 May 1943.

General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment

Fritz Saukel

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 39 (reverse side) – 40. Original. Typographical printing.*



satzes für die Kriegsaufgaben durchdrungen sind, und daß sie fest und unerschütterlich daran glauben, daß der Nationalsozialismus die einzig mögliche Garantie dafür bietet, daß dem schaffenden deutschen Menschen der Stirn und der Faust die soziale Gerechtigkeit als alleiniger Maßstab aller Maßnahmen auf dem Gebiet des Arbeitseinsatzes verbürgt bleibt. Der schaffende deutsche Mensch muß der unerschütterliche Garant der Leistung und der Sicherheit, Vorbild und Ansporn in allen deutschen Betrieben gegenüber den fremdvölkischen Arbeitskräften sein. Dazu, Reichsleiter und Gauleiter, ist mir Ihre Hilfe und Unterstützung in den Organisationen und Gauen der Partei unerlässlich. Ohne sie müßte ich scheitern.

Nicht nur die Ehre und das Ansehen und noch viel mehr unsere nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung verlangen im Gegensatz zu den Methoden der Plutokraten und Bolschewisten eine pflegliche Behandlung der fremden — also auch selbst der sowjetrussischen — Arbeitskräfte, sondern vor allem auch die kalte Vernunft. Unterernährte, dahinsiechende, unwillige, verzweifelte und haßerfüllte Sklaven ermöglichen niemals eine höchste Ausnutzung ihrer unter normalen Bedingungen erzielbaren Leistungen.

Mein Bestreben besteht daher darin, bei den fremdvölkischen Arbeitern alle leistungshemmenden Momente dadurch zu beseitigen, daß ich ihnen solche Arbeitsbedingungen gewährleiste, daß sie bei einem Vergleich mit den Bedingungen, die sie bei sich zu Hause hatten, sich mit ihrem Einsatz bei uns einigermaßen innerlich auszuöhnen in der Lage sind.

Menschen sind nun einmal nicht selbst der kompliziertesten Maschine vergleichbar, die ja neben der Energiequelle oder dem Betriebsstoff auch Schmieröl braucht, und der ich eine sorgfältige Pflege angedeihen lassen muß. Auch der primitivste Mensch besitzt ein Gemütsleben, einen Eigenwillen, ohne dessen Berücksichtigung eben eine zufriedenstellende, ja beste Dauerleistung undenkbar ist. Da wir aber die fremden Arbeitskräfte jahrelang brauchen und auch deren Ersatz sogar sehr begrenzt ist, kann ich sie nicht kurzfristig ausbeuten und ihr Arbeitsvermögen nicht verwirtschaften lassen. Ich muß sie vielmehr zu erhalten und ihre Leistung dauernd zu verbessern trachten. . . .“

Fritz Sauckel

Im Anschluß an meinem Erlaß  
vom 9.11.1942 - Va 5600/69/42

## VERORDNUNG über das Arbeitsbuch für ausländische Arbeitskräfte vom 1. Mai 1943

Auf Grund des Gesetzes über die Einführung eines Arbeitsbuches vom 26. Februar 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 311) §§ 1 und 5 in Verbindung mit der Verordnung über die Rechtsetzung durch den Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz vom 25. Mai 1942 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 347) wird verordnet:

### § 1

(1) Die im Reichsgebiet außerhalb des Protektorats Böhmen und Mähren eingesetzten ausländischen Arbeitskräfte (Arbeiter und Angestellten) unterliegen den Vorschriften der Verordnung über das Arbeitsbuch vom 22. April 1939 — ArbVO. — (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 824) nach Maßgabe der folgenden Bestimmungen.

(2) Als Ausländer im Sinne dieser Verordnung gelten alle Personen nichtdeutscher Staatsangehörigkeit, ferner die Protektoratsangehörigen, die Schutzangehörigen, die Staatenlosen und die Personen mit ungeklärter Staatsangehörigkeit.

### § 2

(1) Die ausländischen Arbeitskräfte erhalten ein „Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer“ nach besonderem Muster.

(2) Das Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer wird von Amts wegen durch das Arbeitsamt ausgestellt.

### § 3

(1) Der ausländische Arbeiter oder Angestellte hat das Arbeitsbuch bei der Aufnahme der Beschäftigung unverzüglich dem Unternehmer zu übergeben. Vor Beginn und nach Beendigung der Beschäftigung hat er selbst das Arbeitsbuch sorgfältig aufzubewahren und bei sich zu führen.

(2) Auf Verlangen eines Arbeitsamtes ist das Arbeitsbuch auch diesem jederzeit vorzulegen oder zu übersenden.

(3) Anderen amtlichen Stellen ist auf Verlangen Einsicht in das Arbeitsbuch zu gewähren.

### § 4

Bei Beendigung der Beschäftigung hat der Unternehmer das Arbeitsbuch nach Vornahme der vorgeschriebenen Eintragung vor der Rückgabe an den Inhaber dem Arbeitsamt zur Ein-



tragung einer amtlichen Bescheinigung über die Beendigung der Beschäftigung vorzulegen.

§ 5

Andere als die vorgeschriebenen oder vom Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz besonders zugelassenen Eintragungen dürfen im Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer nicht gemacht werden. Amtliche Eintragungen über die Leistungen und das persönliche Verhalten des Arbeiters oder Angestellten sind auf besondere Anordnung des Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz zulässig.

§ 6

Die Mitnahme des Arbeitsbuches für Ausländer in das Ausland ist nicht gestattet. Der Inhaber hat das Arbeitsbuch dem Arbeitsamt zurückzugeben, wenn er das Reichsgebiet verläßt.

§ 7

Über die im Reichsgebiet eingesetzten ausländischen Arbeitskräfte wird auf der Grundlage der Arbeitsbuchkartei eine zentrale Kartei in Berlin eingerichtet und laufend geführt. Die zentrale Kartei enthält die wesentlichen Angaben im Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer über die Person und die Beschäftigung des Inhabers.

§ 8

(1) Wer den Vorschriften der §§ 3 bis 6 vorsätzlich oder fahrlässig zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Geldstrafe bis zu 150 RM. oder mit Haft bestraft, sofern nicht nach anderen Strafgesetzen eine schwerere Strafe verwirkt ist.

(2) Das Arbeitsamt kann von Unternehmern und Arbeitsbuchpflichtigen die Einhaltung der Vorschriften der §§ 3 oder 4 durch Zwangsgeld bis zu 150 RM. erzwingen.

(3) Im übrigen gelten die Strafbestimmungen der §§ 27 bis 29 ArbVO.

§ 9

(1) Diese Verordnung tritt am achten Tage nach der Verkündung in Kraft. Sie gilt auch in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten.

(2) Die Vorschriften dieser Verordnung über die Führung des Arbeitsbuches für Ausländer finden Anwendung, sobald das Arbeitsbuch für den ausländischen Arbeiter oder Angestellten ausgegeben ist.

Berlin, den 1. Mai 1943.

Der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz  
Fritz Sauckel

VERORDNUNG

zur Durchführung und Änderung der Verordnung über die Einsatzbedingungen der Ostarbeiter.

Vom 5. April 1943.

Auf Grund des § 14 der Verordnung über die Einsatzbedingungen der Ostarbeiter vom 30. Juni 1942 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 419) wird im Einvernehmen mit dem Reichsminister der Finanzen folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

Allgemeine Beschäftigungsbedingungen

Der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz kann im Erlaßwege bestimmen, in welchem Umfange und mit welchen Maßgaben die deutschen arbeitsrechtlichen und arbeitsschutzrechtlichen Vorschriften auf die Ostarbeiter Anwendung finden sollen.

§ 2

Entgeltabrechnungen

Dem Ostarbeiter sind von dem Lohnabrechnungszeitraum ab, der nach dem 1. Mai 1943 endet, Entgeltabrechnungen zu erteilen, aus denen sich neben den Berechnungsgrundlagen (Vergleichslohn im Sinne des § 3 Abs. 3 der Verordnung über die Einsatzbedingungen der Ostarbeiter vom 30. Juni 1942) das Gesamtentgelt des Ostarbeiters (Spalte 2 der Entgelttabelle), die Abzüge für Unterkunft und Verpflegung und die Abzüge für sonstige Sachleistungen ergeben.

§ 3

Entgelttabelle

(1) Die der Verordnung über die Einsatzbedingungen der Ostarbeiter vom 30. Juni 1942 beigelegte Tabelle, aus der sich die Höhe des dem Ostarbeiter zustehenden Entgelts und die Höhe der vom Arbeitgeber zu entrichtenden Ostarbeiterabgabe ergibt, wird durch die dieser Verordnung beigelegte Tabelle ersetzt. Die neue Tabelle ist erstmalig für die Berechnung des Entgelts anzuwenden, das für den nach dem 1. Mai 1943 endenden Lohnabrechnungszeitraum ausgezahlt wird.

(2) Der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz oder die von ihm beauftragten Stel-



71. Foreigner's work record book in the name of Ukrainian Vasily Dyakul. (Deutsches Reich. Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer).  
German Reich

1941



1	Herkunftsland	Distrikt Galizien
2	Geburtsort	9. Februar 1902
	Geburtsort	Laschi - Dolue
3	Kreis	Uowostnilyska
	a) Staatsangehörigkeit	ungeklärt
4	b) Volkszugehörigkeit	Ukrainer
	c) Familienstand led., verh., verw., gesch.	verheiratet
5	b) Anzahl der minder- jährigen Kinder	

Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art– 19101/47. Original.

## 72. Instruction pamphlet No. 1 for Eastern workers

1942\*

Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan.  
General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment.  
K No. 5780. 28/2068  
INSTRUCTION PAMPHLET No. 1

### For Eastern workers

Male workers!

Female workers!

The German army liberated you from Stalinist terror and from the Bolshevik Jewish commissars.

The Bolsheviks, wherever they could, destroyed your factories, destroyed your provisions, burned down your homesteads and houses, deprived you of the basics of your life.

Germany can help you and wants to do so!

In Germany you will get work and bread, we guarantee you decent, fair and humane treatment if you work neatly and diligently and behave impeccably.

### Therefore, follow the instructions below:

1. Respect the manners and customs of the Germans.
2. Be sympathetic to the activities of German institutions and heads of enterprises. In this way you will gain the trust of your supervisors and make your stay in Germany easier.
3. Be satisfied with what Germany offers you. Confide your wishes to your superiors. They will help you in the best possible way.
4. Do your work willingly, be accurate, reliable, and then the German Reich will help you and take care of you. How you behave in Germany will determine how you are treated.
5. You must be diligent so that the German does not despise you.
6. Germany is a country of order, cleanliness and diligence. Therefore, subject yourself to German order, be tidy and look after your health.
7. Maintain order in your environment, avoid quarrels and arguments. Carry out the instructions of your camp commanders.
8. The German woman and the German girl are under the protection of strict German law protecting them from the encroachment of foreigners. They are inviolable for you.
9. Do not forget that there is a war going on, and bear this in mind in all your claims.

The following measures have been taken specifically to secure your working conditions:

Working hours in Germany are regulated by law. However, in times of war, usual working hours may be lengthened. The benchmark for determining your salary is the comparative earnings of German workers. As your families back home receive benefits and you receive accommodation and food, you will be paid a correspondingly lower salary. But you do not pay any more taxes or contributions. You can save your earnings and earn interest on them. The amounts saved are put at your disposal or sent to your family. Earnings are saved by putting special stamps on savings cards issued to workers' names and given to them. In this way you can always know the amount of your savings. When you return home, you can exchange this savings card for money at any convenient branch of the relevant banking institution and receive the interest due to you, but you can send the savings card back to your home country after a quarter of a year, or at a later date if you wish, where the money,

including interest, will be paid to your families. For further savings you will be given a new card in the German Reich immediately, if necessary several. In this way you can make savings which, after your return home, will serve as a basis for various economic endeavours, such as the purchase of implements, tools, the setting up of your own agricultural production and so on.

It is not advisable to take money with you from your home country. It should be pointed out that German currency denominations circulating in the occupied territories are invalid in the Reich, and you will not find it possible to use sums of money in rubles in the Reich either.

The accommodation of workers is subject to wartime restrictions. The accommodation meets the requirements of cosiness and hygiene, washing and lavatory facilities are available. Do not tolerate any insects on your person, also in your linen, clothes and belongings. Insects can spread contagious diseases. By being unclean, you expose yourself and your mates to the danger of getting sick. Above all, beware of lice. Report lice immediately. No one will be fined for this! Disinfection will not harm you or your belongings.

Meals are generally served in special, designated common areas. The rations are based on the norms established for the German civilian population. Special supplements are provided for persons performing heavy and particularly heavy work, as well as for those working in mines and shafts. As far as military conditions permit, your home habits will be taken into account when drawing up the menu. In order to ease the transition to German food, it is recommended that you take with you, if possible, storable food from home when you leave for Germany.

You should bring clothes suitable for your work, winter and summer clothes, shoes, underwear and, if possible, blankets as well. In Germany, as in all other countries, the possibilities of obtaining clothing are limited due to the war.

In case of illness, the production manager will provide you with accommodation and care. Medical treatment is provided free of charge by the health insurance company.

You can spend your free time as you wish in the camp. Therefore, take musical instruments, games, hand tools for crafts, etc. with you from home.

In order to be always ready for document checks, every male or female worker arriving in Germany must carry an identity card which states nationality, name, place of residence, marital status, profession, etc. Having a good identification card protects you from confusion and additional questions. The identification card with a photograph does not have to be issued by a German military or civilian institution; a certificate issued in Russian, Ukrainian or another language containing all the necessary data is sufficient.

The transport of other printed matter of all kinds /books, Russian textbooks, newspapers, brochures, etc./ as well as insignia from your home country, e.g. parts of uniforms, armbands, cockades, etc., is not permitted.

You can write home and receive letters from home all the time, once or twice a month. Sending parcels is currently impossible due to transport difficulties.

You may receive, each in your own language, a weekly newspaper specially published for you, from which you learn about the most important events in your home country and in the world, in addition to radio programmes which are broadcast specially for you at lunchtime.

If you behave appropriately, you can, when you have a lot of free time on Sundays, go on collective walks, sightseeing tours or small excursions led by Germans. These excursions allow you to familiarise yourself with the surrounding area close to your place of work.

While working in Germany, you and your family will receive benefits from the land allocation in your home country. For these benefits, you will need to obtain a certificate about your work in Germany from the labour department before you go home.



Germany endeavours to make your existence bearable. Be grateful for this and behave in accordance with the above guidelines!

SAUKEL

*Translated from German into Russian by L. Tsypin*

*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 6–11. Original. Typescript. Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 15–16. Original. Typographical printing.*

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\* The date is set according to the content of the document.

**73. Soviet citizens driven by the Germans to labour camps.  
Occupied territory of the USSR. The author of the picture –  
a German photographer**

1941



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art – 19210/15. Original.*

## 74. District administrative division of the Labour Departments of the Province of East Prussia\*

26 July 1943

	Gau Labour Department	Location	Administrative-territorial unit	Departments (branches)
1	East Prussia	Königsberg	Province of East Prussia	Allenstein, Goldap, Gumbinnen, Insterburg, Königsberg, Lieck, Memel, Ortelsburg, Preussisch-Holland, Rastenburg, Scharfenwiese, Schröttersburg, Sudauen, Tilsit, Wormditt, Zichenau

[...]

Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan

General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment

Berlin, 26 July 1943

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheet 43. Original. Typescript*

- \* Extract from the general list of district administrative divisions of the labour departments of the Third Reich.

## 75. Report of the Head of the District Department of the German Labour Front (DAF) on the use of foreign workers in February 1943

2 March 1943

Königsberg/ Prussia/  
2 March 1943

/To the 2nd paragraph/

Special tasks

In the reporting month, 216 Polish and 225 French civilian workers were involved in the work process. Their placement did not cause any difficulties. The French workers were assigned to the repair workshops of the Schichau shipyard, the Polish workers to the War District Medical Depot and to the factory camps.

/To the 3rd paragraph/

Exploitation of foreigners

Appointed hours for the reception of foreigners were set in all district offices. Recent events on the Eastern Front made Poles, Eastern workers and Ukrainians alert. On the basis of personal observation I have established that in private homes, as well as in cafés frequented by foreigners, these ragamuffins are well informed about the progress of military operations in the east. I have ascertained the following. Such news comes from private households because our housewives who have foreign women labourers leave them alone

in their houses for hours and these labourers are definitely trying to listen secretly to some enemy radio station. It would be appropriate to point this out at a housewives' meeting.

On Sunday, 21.02.1943, I, together with the police and Frau Hecker, the head of the district migration service, raided the foreigners' club for the Ukrainian Lapschies. The Ukrainian Stolarec, a police informant, distributed in large numbers to all foreigners the licence cards for the aforementioned club. I found that this club was attended by up to 70 % of Eastern female workers. Stolarec testified that *he had obtained from a Gestapo officer and party member Sonnenschein\** permission for 50 Eastern workers to attend the club. It was established by control that the number of visitors significantly exceeded the decreed figure. The certificates were issued not only to those within the city limits, but also to those in the neighbourhood. /See the identification card/. In this case we are not talking about the Ukrainian, but also about an Eastern worker who was detained at 23 hours at the Northern Railway Station. And this is not an isolated case. In any case, *the issuing of these IDs by the gau police informant should be prohibited.*

/To the 4th paragraph/

#### Camp services

A total of 48 camps were surveyed during the reporting month. It was not possible to move foreigners from private flats to German Labour Front (DAF) camps. The camp on Dirschauerstrasse is being filled as the barracks are prepared for occupancy. Work to prepare the camp at Lovis-Corinth Strasse was partially suspended. Only in a few months will the camp be ready for occupancy. The architect in charge of this construction is not doing a good job and in my opinion should be replaced by another more suitable one. If we look at the short time in which the barracks were prepared by other departments, we can even speak of some malicious intent, especially since we are talking about barracks that are needed by the German Labour Front itself. Since more and more men fit for military service are being conscripted into the army, it is urgent to place foreign labourers in large camps and to strictly control their free time here.

/To the 5th paragraph/

#### Cultural services

Cultural services to Ukrainians, Eastern workers and Belorussians resumed. In the reporting month, 3 comedies and 1 film – “The Highest Order” – were shown.

Signature:

Wolff

Head of the District Office

*Translated from German into Russian by L. Tsypin*

*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 12– 14. Original. Typescript. Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 51– 51 (reverse side). Original. Typescript.*

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\* Here and hereafter italicised according to the document.

76. Concerning the report of the Head of the District Department of the German Labour Front (DAF) on the use of foreign workers in February 1943

12 March 1943

Labour Deployment  
To the District Office of the German Labour Front

Königsberg

Concerning the report on the use of foreign workers in February 1943.

In your work report you informed me that a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, Wolff, held an event in a club for Ukrainians on 21.02.43 in connection with the Lapschies case. The facts established by you were more than interesting for me. I myself will visit this establishment on occasion, but I ask you to take the Ukrainian club and other similar establishments under constant supervision.

Enclosed I am sending you a copy of the list of persons to whom our informant issued control cards for the right to visit the Ukrainian club, so that you can immediately ascertain whether the pass is included in the list.

The Ukrainian identification card No. 75/43, which you sent me, is on the list. However, it is not an Eastern worker in question here, since the foreigner in question came from the General Governorate.

Appendix

*Heil Hitler!*

Signature  
Queda, Head of the German Labour Front Department.

*Translated from German into Russian by L. Tsypin*

*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheet 15. Original. Typescript. Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheets 52. Original. Typescript.*



77. Wolodymyr Lukawetskyi's pass for the right to visit the cafe reserved for Ukrainians

7 February 1943

75/43 PASS

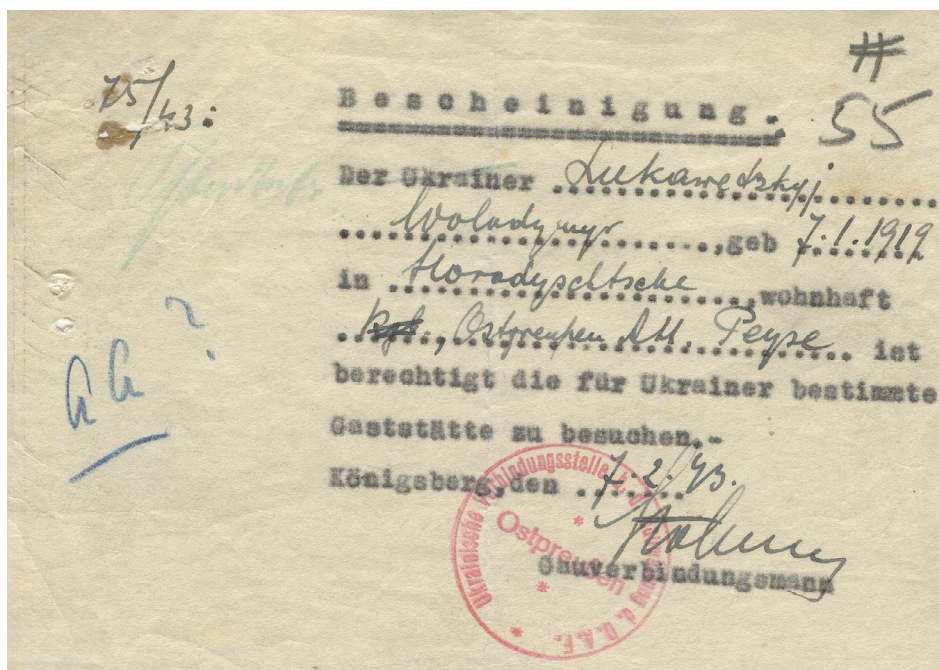
Ukrainian LUKAWETSKYI Wolodymyr, born on 07.01.1919 in Gorodishche, currently residing in Peyse, East Prussia, has the right to visit the cafe reserved for Ukrainians.

Königsberg. 07.02.1943

Communication agent of the gau (Ukrainian bureau)\*

*Translated from German into Russian by L. Tsypin*

*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheet 20. Original. Typescript, handwriting. Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheet 55.*



\* The signature is indecipherable.

78. From the report on the use of labour force in the Reich

15 February 1944

SECRET

Use of labour force in the Greater German Reich  
Nr 4/5 from 31 May 1944

5. Foreign workers and employees, as well as workers and employees from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, with indication of nationality or country of origin

from 15 February 1944

Labour departments of the gau of East Prussia	Foreign workers and employees with indication of nationality (or) country of origin												Workers and employees from the protectorate	In total
	Belgium	France	Italy	Yugoslavia (without Croatia)	Croatia	Netherlands*	Hungary	Russian area (Eastern workers)	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	General and the District of Belostok**	Under the protection of the German Reich	Other foreigners		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
East Prussia	153	15691	798	17	11	239	16	37534	7377	67922	66393	7538	303	203992 [...]
Greater German Reich	209976	650230	126411	42608	66592	266827	24863	1872516	35460	1028816	590581	260458	279290	5454628

Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 2. Sheet 57. Original. Typescript.

\* Handwritten "Holland".

\*\* Handwritten "Poland".

Geheim B 57

3. Die ausländischen und die protektoratsangehörigen Arbeiter und Angestellten<sup>1)</sup> im Großdeutschen Reich<sup>2)</sup> nach den wichtigsten Staatsangehörigkeiten in den Gauarbeitsamtsbezirken am 15. Februar 1941

Gauarbeitsamtsbezirke	Ausländische Arbeiter und Angestellte mit der Staatsangehörigkeit bzw. mit dem Herkunftsland												Protektoratsangehörige Arbeiter und Angestellte	Ins-gesamt
	Belgien	Frank-reich	Italien	Ehem. Jugoslawien (ohne Kro- atien)	Kro- atien	Pol- Nieder- lande	Ungarn	Alt- sowjet- russisches Gebiet (Ost- arbeiter)	Ehem. Est- land, Lett- land und Litauen	General- gouvernement u. Bezirk Bialy- stok	Schutz- ange- hörigkeit des Deut- schen Reichs	Übrige Aus- länder		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Ostpreußen .....	153	15 691	798	17	11	239	16	37 534	7 377	67 922	66 393	7 538	303	203 992
Oberschlesien .....	791	15 751	3 449	163	935	338	69	58 008	157	26 634	47 698	6 022	4 875	164 890
Niederschlesien .....	1 116	17 768	2 173	346	318	813	123	62 634	239	51 614	71 814	7 204	16 854	233 016
Mark Brandenburg .....	10 079	31 784	2 919	1 491	2 362	11 076	656	121 424	4 714	54 539	71 142	12 400	6 711	331 297
Berlin <sup>3)</sup> .....	32 730	56 889	7 371	5 141	8 564	34 077	2 996	71 876	2 657	29 847	9 218	45 135	23 530	330 031
Pommern .....	1 377	21 029	1 352	456	823	1 648	221	55 494	4 172	60 764	53 745	5 857	1 273	208 211
Mecklenburg .....	1 006	5 580	1 167	431	831	1 988	575	40 106	1 312	36 521	18 497	7 136	723	115 873
Schleswig-Holstein .....	5 307	11 241	2 435	422	764	6 946	135	46 302	2 041	25 954	14 392	7 933	1 643	125 515
Hamburg <sup>4)</sup> .....	4 814	7 196	547	210	569	5 956	175	8 520	587	5 241	447	4 388	528	39 178
Wezer-Ems .....	7 302	13 322	1 487	538	387	25 332	128	39 804	121	13 016	12 365	2 957	1 982	118 741
Stthannover .....	4 004	8 924	3 739	1 287	1 483	2 394	226	37 607	102	19 238	15 836	4 200	1 276	100 376
Südhanover-Braun- schweig .....	12 876	23 469	7 459	1 854	2 076	11 658	962	80 764	652	35 670	31 136	9 753	8 891	227 219
Magdeburg-Anhalt .....	19 403	20 349	3 542	557	1 038	6 232	270	60 066	381	45 811	18 849	6 795	4 948	188 241
Halle-Merseburg .....	3 925	16 940	4 440	254	2 318	2 937	158	49 110	110	26 125	13 261	6 204	4 216	122 998
Sachsen <sup>5)</sup> .....	20 401	34 166	3 287	1 143	4 338	6 295	535	86 206	2 043	39 936	11 296	9 687	18 054	238 387
Sudetenland .....	676	19 357	3 374	381	1 405	524	391	49 074	75	42 945	2 691	10 561	85 505	216 959
Thüringen .....	7 052	23 011	2 261	511	2 244	3 799	139	73 982	818	29 534	12 493	2 858	4 025	162 727
Kurhessen .....	4 718	11 811	747	548	287	8 152	81	22 336	1 166	13 050	6 572	2 427	526	72 421
Westfalen-Nord .....	4 352	9 598	1 091	1 500	784	13 852	394	59 767	172	22 875	13 496	2 284	1 063	131 228
Westfalen-Süd <sup>6)</sup> .....	5 531	18 016	2 015	1 184	749	8 611	456	84 986	123	17 872	9 299	2 716	945	152 503
Essen .....	3 585	10 035	2 020	2 028	638	35 073	352	49 605	55	8 795	3 285	1 795	972	118 308
Düsseldorf .....	10 542	14 225	2 299	525	456	16 297	140	57 017	68	13 648	3 691	2 446	738	122 022
Köln-Aachen .....	11 084	11 105	2 064	513	387	22 321	155	43 262	20	15 390	5 518	3 298	337	115 454
Moselland mit Luxem- burg .....	4 720	8 308	3 746	122	76	1 907	46	20 254	68	5 518	1 790	1 448	280	48 283
Westmark mit Lothrin- gen .....	3 191	32 225	16 809	1 638	855	2 215	241	56 277	160	29 730	5 801	6 410	985	156 537
Rhein-Main <sup>7)</sup> .....	8 298	25 105	2 630	478	816	8 047	205	54 729	3 863	19 818	4 542	5 277	1 410	135 218
den mit Elsaß .....	3 365	15 334	4 976	769	453	6 959	293	37 055	141	29 116	4 047	6 478	1 481	110 467
Württemberg .....	6 258	25 313	4 294	1 926	2 336	11 406	1 422	67 614	104	36 917	4 917	5 592	4 085	172 184
Mainfranken .....	855	2 906	145	33	42	521	14	13 719	39	11 219	1 458	342	806	32 099
Franken .....	2 170	17 102	1 203	805	989	763	183	29 616	36	13 385	1 834	1 685	4 280	74 051
Bayreuth .....	950	7 854	315	231	287	439	142	34 008	139	39 186	3 026	930	2 748	90 255
München-Oberbayern .....	2 109	23 801	5 708	2 305	3 836	3 354	1 560	40 032	194	25 329	2 284	5 597	7 559	123 668
Schwaben .....	864	5 051	1 389	219	307	503	299	21 823	11	14 843	2 486	1 149	1 669	50 613
Wien .....	1 197	23 089	3 088	3 493	8 646	1 312	2 967	24 784	149	6 278	361	21 938	24 670	121 972
Niederdonau .....	1 245	15 956	1 562	1 550	5 124	517	3 193	45 716	382	34 478	842	10 993	21 241	142 799
Oberdonau .....	779	8 514	5 468	529	1 679	812	794	34 151	42	19 343	1 052	6 738	11 541	91 442
Tirol-Vorarlberg .....	519	3 059	5 252	140	774	151	87	11 434	10	3 719	912	2 006	754	28 817
Salzburg .....	125	2 327	1 261	229	439	116	452	5 553	10	4 578	1 007	809	575	17 481
Kärnten .....	20	1 147	3 345	3 231	990	112	138	8 703	102	11 177	2 912	1 259	582	33 718
Steiermark .....	93	7 325	2 726	3 351	5 140	370	3 454	31 018	239	17 438	5 886	8 680	4 198	89 918
Danzig-Westpreußen .....	392	8 557	458	59	36	765	20	46 552	549	3 800	32 290	1 533	508	95 519
Großdeutsches Reich	209 976	650 236	126 411	42 608	66 392	266 827	24 863	1 872 516	35 460	1 028 816	590 581	260 458	279 290	5 454 628

<sup>1)</sup> Einschluß der Nichtbeschäftigten und der Personen ungeklärten Verfalls. — <sup>2)</sup> Ohne Reichsgau Wartheland, Reg.-Bez. Zichenau und Kreis Sudauen, aber einschl. Elbaß, Lublitz und Lauenburg. — <sup>3)</sup> Es folgen die Ergebnisse der Wirtschaftszweige 1 und 2. — <sup>4)</sup> Nur Beschäftigte, aber auch diese Zahl ist unvollständig. — <sup>5)</sup> Für den Arbeitsamtsbezirk Leipzig sind die Ergebnisse vom 15. II. 1943 eingesetzt worden. — <sup>6)</sup> Für den Arbeitsamtsbezirk Dortmund fehlen die Zahlenangaben für Männer. — <sup>7)</sup> Für den Arbeitsamtsbezirk Frankfurt a. M. sind für Frauen die Ergebnisse vom 15. II. 1943 eingesetzt worden.



79. From the statistical report on the workload of general camps with labour force for industry in the gau East Prussia in July 1944

Not earlier than July 1944

Data on general camps with labour force for industry in the gau East Prussia in July 1944

Summary table  
[...]

Secret! Confidential  
Central Statistical Office of the German Labour Front  
(Institute for the Study of Labour at the DAF)

In total	2		District	No. of the camp	The camp can maximally accommodate / feed		Numerical composition of camps												Foreign workers								
						58998	Prisoners of war		English				French		Soviet		Others		Judicially imprisoned		Guard units		Norwegian		Dutch		Holland
							Jewish people*		Foreign workers		Volksdeutsche		In total		Domestic workers		In total		The camp can maximally accommodate / feed		Belgian						



Camp type	Gau	District	No. of the camp	Foreign workers (nationality)																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
				French people		Spanish people		Italians		Protectorate citizens		Slovaks		Hungarians		Romanians		Croatiains		Serbians		Bulgarians		Greeks				In total				Poles				Ukrainians				Others																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
				m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m

[...]

Camp type	Gau	District	No. of the camp	Foreign workers (nationality)																											
				Protected by the Reich								Ostarbeiters																			
				In total				Poles				Others				Latvians				Lithuanians				Among them							
																								Among them							
				m		f		m		f		m		f		m		f		m		f		m		f		m		f	
In total	3042	571	2853	452	189	119	1	16	45																						
			351																												
											</																				

Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1. Case 3. Sheets 12, 23, 34. Original. Hand-filled typed form.

\* Incomplete columns in the first and second tables according to the document.

\*\* Figures in the blank columns of the third table cannot be recovered, the sheet of the document is obliterated.

# 80. List of foreign labour force employed in the Gau of East Prussia as of 30.09.1944\*

30 September 1944

List of foreign labour force employed  
in the Gau of East Prussia as of 30.09.1944

District Labour Departments with DAF areas**	Foreigners in general, men and women	Among them, Eastern workers	Male foreigners	Female foreigners	Among them, Eastern workers (male)	Among them, Eastern workers (female)
<u>Allenstein</u> <u>Neidenburg</u> <u>Osterode</u>	20.283	7.734	12.680	7.603	4.003	3.731
<u>Goldap</u> <u>Angerburg</u> <u>Troiburg</u>	13.407	3.515	8.143	1.834	1.681	1.834
30.06.44 <u>Gumbinnen</u> Ebenrode Schlossberg	11.653	1.335	6.861	4.792	622	713
<u>Insterburg</u> <u>Angerapp</u> <u>Gerdauen</u>	15.986	3.065	9.558	6.428	1.231	1.834
<u>Königsberg</u> Zamland Heiligenbeil Labiau Velau	68.917	11.588	47.446	21.471	5.492	6.096
<u>Lick</u> Johannisburg Lötzen	20.569	8.768	12.299	8.270	4.469	4.299
30.06.44 <u>Memel</u> Heidekrug	13.862	1.487	8.052	5.810	630	857
<u>Ortelsburg</u> Rössel Sensburg	17.750	5.247	10.917	6.833	2.800	2.447
<u>Ave. Holland</u> Morungen	8.702	1.150	4.891	3.811	464	686
<u>Rastenburg</u> Bartenstein Ave. Eylau	16.236	3.945	10.155	6.081	1.768	2.177
<u>Tilsit-Ragnit</u> Elchniederung	19.697	1.663	12.297	7.400	751	912
<u>Heilsberg</u> Braunsberg	10.167	3.409	5.380	4.787	1.304	2.105
In total:	237.229	52.906	148.679	88.550	25.215	27.691

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund R-21. Inventory 1.  
Case 2. Sheet 58. Original. Typescript.*

\* Document title

\*\* German Labour Front

58 #

Liste der im Gaugebiet Ostpr.eingesetzten ausl nd.Arbeitskr fte  
(Stichtag 30.9.1944)

Arbeitsamtsbezirke mit folgenden DAF-Kreisen:	Ausl�nder insges. M�nner u. Frauen:	davon Ostarbeiter	Ausl�nder		davon Ostarbeiter	
			m.	w.	m.	w.
<u>Allenstein</u> Neidenburg Osterode Ostpr.	20.283	7.734	12.680	7.603	4.003	3.731
<u>Goldap</u> Angerburg Treiburg	13.407	3.515	8.143	1.834	1.681	1.834
30.6.44 ✓ <u>Gumbinnen</u> Esterode Schlossberg	11.653	1.335	6.861	4.792	622	713
<u>Insterburg</u> ✓ Angerapp Gerdaunen	15.986	3.065	9.558	6.428	1.231	1.834
<u>K�nigsberg Pr.</u> ✓ Samland Heiligenbeil Labiau Wehlau	68.917	11.588	47.446	21.471	5.492	6.096
<u>Lyck</u> Johannisburg L�tzen	20.569	8.768	12.299	8.270	4.469	4.299
10.6.44 <u>Memel</u> Heydekrug	13.862	1.487	8.052	5.810	630	857
<u>Oranienburg</u> Rossel Sensburg	17.750	5.247	10.917	6.833	2.800	2.447
<u>Pr.Holland</u> M�hrungen	8.702	1.150	4.891	3.811	464	686
<u>Rastenburg</u> Bartenstein Pr.Eylau	16.236	3.945	10.155	6.081	1.768	2.177
<u>Tilsit-Ragnit</u> ✓ Eichniederung	19.697	1.663	12.297	7.400	751	912
<u>Heilsberg</u> Braunsberg	10.167	3.409	5.380	4.787	1.304	2.105
Sa:	237.229	52.906	148.679	88.550	25.215	27.691



81. Record card for Jean Barberé, Frenchman, born on 14.02.1915, F. Schichau Königsberg shipyard. Department for the Use of Foreign Labour of the German Labour Front (DAF)

1943

**Ausländerbetreuung der DAF.**  
Erfassungsanzeige

Barberé Jean  
Name Vorname

am 14.2.15 in Grusnes  
tsangehörigkeit Frankreich

den seit dem 1. August 1943 Beiträge (zur DAF) einbehalten.

tragsquittungskarte ausgestellt am 1.8.1943

F. Schichau Königsberg  
Personalamt für Angestellte  
Stempel und Unterschrift

chtung! Erfassungsgebühr in der Höhe von RM 0,50 ist nur einzubehalten, falls der Ausländer zum ersten Male im Reichsgebiet zum Arbeitseinsatz kommt.

F 2155

Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art 1/51 – 19400/1. Original.

82. Record card for Pawel Kanzmit, Belorussian, born on 10.10.1914, Krages and Kriete factory. Department for the Use of Foreign Labour of the German Labour Front (DAF)

1942–1943

**Beitragsquittungskarte**

Kanzmit Pawel  
Name Vorname

10.10.14 in Radymow  
gehörigkeit Warspitzhausen lt. Paß oder Arbeitsgenehmigung

abzug ab 1. November

Krages & Kriete  
Gefolgschaftsteilung  
Stempel und Unterschrift

scheiden des Ausländers aus dem Betrieb ist die Beitragsquittungskarte zuständige Verwaltungsstelle der Deutschen Arbeitsfront weiterzuleiten!

F 2155

Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art 1/51 – 19400/2. Original.



83. Political report from the head of the political department of the 11th Guards Army, Guards Colonel D. F. Romanov to the head of the Political Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front, Major General S. B. Kazbintsev on the situation and mood of Soviet citizens, who were in East Prussia

2 February 1945

Secret.

To the head of the Political Department of the 3rd  
Belorussian Front  
Major General

To comrade Kazbintsev.

Political report

on the situation and mood of Soviet citizens,  
who were in East Prussia.

In the course of our advance in East Prussia we liberated a large number of Soviet citizens who had at some point been taken away or had voluntarily gone to work in Germany, as well as many Soviet prisoners of war.

From conversations held with these people and from documents captured by us, it is evident that many Soviet people working in agriculture in Prussia were in difficult conditions and strove in every possible way to return to their homeland.

On 23 January, seven Russian families who had been taken away from the Leningrad region by the Germans in August 1941 were welcomed at the estate of the landowner Fritz Thiess in Almenhausen. Maria Mikhailovna Tavgina and Evdokia Vasilievna Nikitina told the Red Army representatives that two Polish families and ten Soviet prisoners of war worked for the landowner Thiess, who owned more than 2000 morgens<sup>16</sup> of land. Everyone worked from sunrise to sunset and the food was poor. The landlord beat his workers for any minor faults. Once, while stacking hay, a prisoner of war Korobkin, was slow in putting the hay on the cart, the landlord saw this, he came up to Korobkin and hit him on the back with the reins and after that he created such unbearable conditions for Korobkin's life that he soon died and was buried alone in the forest, far from the cemetery.

According to the accounts of these women, Russian prisoners of war lived even worse in the estate of a neighbouring landowner in Puschdorf. Prisoners of war who became incapacitated were sent to the camp in Osterode, which was called the "death camp", since no one ever returned from there [...]

Fekla Fominichna Gavrilova from Vitebsk region told representatives of the Red Army: "My daughter and I, my nephew of 8 years old and my sister with two children were forcibly taken to Germany by the Germans in the spring of 1944. It took us about a month to get there; the wagons were overcrowded with people. On the way we were not given water and many died of hunger and disease. After arrival we were distributed like cattle among landowners. I got to work for the landowner Smailius. I worked from dawn to dusk, but we were not paid anything.

We received 1.5-2 kg of bread for a week. We were given no other food except watery soup. The landlord beat us with anything he could get his hands on. My sister and my nephew died from these tortures, and we barely survived until you came."

Letters addressed to a Soviet girl Lidia Adamyuk, who worked for a Prussian kulak, were found in the village of Wickbold. These letters reveal the sentiments of certain categories of Soviet people taken to work in Germany.

In 1943, Lydia received a letter from her sister from Ukraine, in which she wrote:

"Sis, don't be sad, maybe we'll see each other soon, as they say that they will take to Germany people born in 1927 and 1928. That's the way things are."

Soon this sister - Maria - was also taken to Prussia and in a letter dated 17 July 1944 she writes:

"A big wedding has started and one can really hear the drumming. Probably Kolya Fedorov is not far from us" / we are talking about the Red Army advance in Belorussia/. In another letter dated 18 August 1944 she writes:

"... but I have no fun in my life and only work and work, and even on Sunday I don't go anywhere, and nobody comes to see me either."

Maria Mikhalyuk, who was also in Prussia, writes many tragic letters to her friend Lidia Adamyuk. On 12.03.[19]44 she writes:

"I wish you all the best for your young and broken life in a foreign side, where life is so hard. It is a life I will remember to the death."

In another letter she writes:

"Dear friend, don't miss or grieve so much, they won't let you go home anyway. Maybe we'll get what we want and there will be some doom on them, on the Germans."

"... Work here, my friend, you can never overwork. I cut and chop firewood with a Ukrainian, I milk, carry rutabaga and borage from the cellar, I do everything, everything at all, and I keep thinking when we will get out of this hell. If I could get home now, I wouldn't let my father and mother do anything, I would do everything for them. After all, I had never listened to my parents at home as much as I did here to the damned German."

"... That's how lucky Pyotr is that he got away. Now he's as free as a nightingale. And when will we get out of this hell?! Maybe we'll have to suffer here all our lives. God knows how it will be."

Ukrainian Grigory Sats worked in Königsberg for a tailor. In his letter to Lidia Adamyuk of 17.02.[19]44 he wrote:

"Every Saturday I receive 12 marks. I have only one tailor's job. I start working at 7 o'clock in the morning and finish in the evening also at 7 o'clock. On Saturday I work only until 3 o'clock, and then I am free. On Sunday, too, the whole day is free.

I didn't take my harmonica from home, I don't need it here. You know, it would be good for me at least. We just have to live here, that's all. If we return home happily, we shall have everything we need again."

A small diary of a Russian girl and her sketches were found in the village of Grünheide. This girl, as the diary shows, went to Germany voluntarily. On 2 November 1942 she writes: "On Wednesday it will be three weeks of my stay in the East Prussian village of Grünheide. I did not come here by chance. I wanted to get a glimpse into the lives of other people, to get to know other politics, the opposite of Stalin's, the way it looks in reality."

Once in a foreign country, this girl is often sad about her homeland, about her loved ones. She writes in her diary:

"Oh, motherland. Will I not enter your land soaked with the tears of mothers and the blood of sons and brothers?"

No fulfilment of her material needs was apparently obtained in Germany either. This is evidenced by the drawing of wooden boots and the caption to them:

"I'll get a big salary and I'll buy myself some new clothes: a skirt made of various patches and proper white klumps. An aspen handsel from my salary for the new year."

The sketches made by this girl mainly reflect her moods of sadness: "The guardian of the grave" - /the cat on the tombstone/, "A Pole in Prussia" - /a captured Pole at work in Germany/, "a monument to the dead of the World War" - and so on and so forth. And among these sketches there is a clearly drawn mausoleum of Lenin.

Along with this, among the Soviet people who were in Germany, there were many who were hiding there from the hardships of war, actively serving the Germans and the fate of their country, and their people did not bother them. These people now, when they come to us, willingly or unwillingly praise the German order and do not express any particular joy at their liberation.

Thus, on 20.01.[19]45 our troops liberated a group of women who served German soldiers in a rest house. Natalia Parakhina, a former teacher of the Mtsensk district of the Oryol region, left with the Germans during their retreat from near Moscow in 1941. When telling about her life in Germany, Parakhina discreetly praised the order of the Germans and the good food she received there. Describing her work in a rest home, Parakhina emphasised the "culture" of the German soldiers she served.

Parakhina has a letter dated August 1944 from a Russian Nikolai Parfenkov, also in Germany, who cynically writes to Parakhina about his good and dissolute life with the Germans, "... and let the fools fight there." All this shows that when solving the numerous issues related to the repatriation of Soviet citizens from Germany, it is necessary to take a differentiated approach. It is necessary to carry out a serious study of the various categories of citizens at the transfer points where all liberated citizens of the USSR, as well as nationals of other states, are currently gathered.

Head of the Political Department of the 11th Guards Army  
Guards Colonel ROMANOV [D.F.].

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 241. Inventory 2656. Case 189. Sheets 36–40. Original. Typescript.*

84. Copy of a letter of a Russian girl written on the wall  
of a landowner's house in Klein Batchen small town (East Prussia)\*

20 January 1945

A LETTER WRITTEN ON THE WALL OF A LANDOWNER'S HOUSE IN KLEIN BATCHEN.

Hello, dear brothers. How are you doing in your homeland.

A Russian girl lived here, worked as a slave for 2 years in Germany, it is very bad for us here, but there is no way to get out of here, whoever stays here is being shot\*\*.

Dear brothers, let us go free as soon as possible. It's very bad for us here, we're crushed by work.

... This was written in 1944, the 22nd of October. Who will read this, send to my relatives that I am still alive, but it is very hard here.

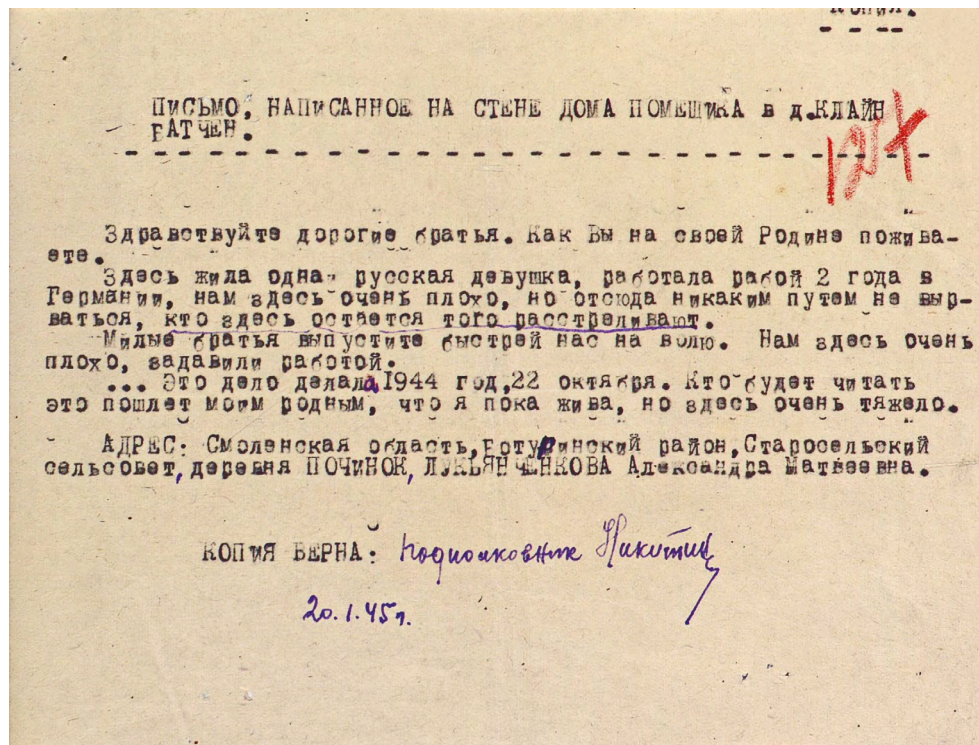
ADDRESS: Smolensk region, Baturinsky district, Staroselsky village council, POCHINOK village, LUKYANCHENKOVA Aleksandra Matveevna.

TRUE COPY: Lieutenant Colonel Nikitin  
20.01.45

Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 241. Inventory 2656.  
Case 215. Sheet 127. Certified copy. Typescript.

\* "Klain Batchen" in the document.

\*\* Underlined in handwritten copy.





3 February 1991

*Interview with Lyudmila Mikhailovna Golikova, born in 1920, Russian, non-party, living in Kaliningrad [...].*

"I am from Yaroslavl. The city was not occupied, but I was taken prisoner at the beginning of September 1941. With the beginning of the war, I went to the courses for members of a medical detachment (sometime at the end of June). Once I was called to the district committee and asked if I knew how to use a sanitary bag. They said that they were sending me for a month. They put us in a cargo train (there were 700 people from our district) and brought us to Valдай. We had to build anti-tank ditches. Bombing was a terrible thing. Men were more afraid of bombing than women. They built these fortifications in twenty days. Some of the men were sent back, and some went further. Nobody knows where - apparently to Kalinin or Velikoluk region. That's where we were captured on the second day.

The train stopped somewhere without a station, we were given a lorry for the sick. We came to some village on the main road. Some driver was passing by and said to us: "Where have you come to, the Germans will be here in two hours." The village is somewhat empty... then the second car passes by. They warn us too. It's all strange somehow. We went to the commander, and he said: "Don't give in to provocations."

We calmed down, went for rations. As soon as I got in line, suddenly there was machine-gun fire. I hid in the potatoes. Suddenly I hear: "Stop! Who's coming?" But the voice wasn't Russian. Some old woman is coming. She says: "I'm going home, my dear fellow." She's walking and looking round. He asks: "Why are you looking back?" - "I'm afraid you'll shoot."

"No, I won't. I'm in combat and you're a prisoner."

As soon as he said that, I had a terrible sinking feeling. Well, I think that's it. People came from somewhere... there was no resistance from our side. There was only one machine gunner. He was killed, of course. The tanks go on and on, endlessly. I saw a burnt aeroplane.

The Germans were coming, they even gave us candy.

That's how we got surrounded.

Then the girls and I met up. We were hungry, so we started to cook (I even remember what - rutabaga porridge with millet. It was very tasty). And then our troops began to bomb. Everything in the village was burnt out from landmines and lighters. We decided to go to the front.

How long we walked!.. Once we walked into a minefield. German patrols shouted at us: "Mines! Mines!" They were shelling us.

We walked like that until the frost came. We all wanted to get to our people. We fooled the Germans once. We asked for a car, and said we were from Kholm'sk.

They took us there and handed us over to the commandant's office. We sat there, the Germans fed us (300 g of bread a day and buttermilk). There were refugees with us. We were sometimes used as labourers (shovelling snow and so on).

Closer to the summer of 1942, we were taken out, put all of us in a freight train and taken to Pskov. In Pskov we were transferred to passenger wagons. We reached the border. There we were dropped off, forced to undergo disinfection. Then they put us back in the carriages and drove us further. In various directions.

We were taken to Königsberg, to what is now the South Railway Station. All the German women were dressed up, wearing neckerchiefs, and we... were standing, holding on to the German who had brought us. Then we sat in the common hall, under the roof on the platform. We were sitting (20 of us), crying. It's scary, everything is foreign. These ladies are so pompous. The last thing left of Russia was this

German soldier who had brought us here and who would soon leave us. Some old woman, I remember, came up to our soldier and asked him something. Probably she thought he was offending us.

Then we were brought to the Arbeitsamt (work department), somewhere in the centre of the city. We were given blue-coloured patches with "Ost" written in white. Soon I was called in and shown to the landlady. She was about 35-36 years old. She smiled at me.

We got on the tram. I saw a girl with whom I had travelled together on the train, I turned to her and started talking. The landlady said to me, "Don't!" It turned out that it was forbidden for us to ride in trams. If anyone saw, the landlady would have been in trouble.

There we went. Our "Strasse der SA" (today's Frunze Street)17, under the arch was house No. 10 (I went to look at it later, the house had not been preserved, there was a telephone box, I recognised the place by it). The house was five-storeyed; the flat was on the 4th floor. Three rooms. It was a rich family. The owner's name was Alois\*\* Seitz, he served somewhere in Lithuania. The landlady's name was Erne. Three children: a son Jochim, 16 years old (he lived somewhere separate, he was a chimney sweep), a daughter Kätchen, 12 years old and the youngest - a boy Hans Jorigen, about 2,5 years old, Butse.

In honour of my arrival a table had been set in the big room, the landlady had laid the cutlery. I was frightened and took a knife and fork the other way round. The girl noticed and I cried, left everything and ran away.

The landlady treated me very well. She taught me the language. And I had a rather limited vocabulary. My duties: in the morning, when the landlady was still asleep, I ran to get milk. There was 1 litre of whole milk for a boy and 0.5 litres of buttermilk for adults. It was all on coupons. Then I make coffee for the girl, prepare her breakfast, and she goes to school.

Then I put up dark curtains (for light masking). There was daily wet cleaning. The landlady herself showed me how to clean, how to make the bed. She paid me 10 marks 20 pfennigs. I couldn't spend it on anything except lemonade, because everything was on cards.

She cooked by herself. We all ate together in the kitchen, and I did too. In fact, I was like a member of the family.

I was also responsible for dressing the baby. At first, he was capricious, he lashed out. Then he got used to it and even liked me. I charmed him with lemonade. I had nothing to spend money on anyway.

He and I used to go for walks on Litovsky Val18. How beautiful it was there! Like a boulevard or something. I remember some bust. People were walking around. There was a stork's nest on Litovsky Val. I remember a song I used to sing to little Butse:

"Störch, Störch, du lüder  
Pringht du mir ein Bruder.  
Störch, Störch, du nester  
Pringht du mir ein Schwester."

Literally, it translates as:

"Stork, stork, you  
Bring me a little brother  
Stork, stork, you  
Bring me a little sister."

I went with him to the zoo (Tiergarten). Not much has changed there. It's even prettier now, our people have built on it.

Frau Erne sympathised with our people. She came in one day and said: "Lucy! I've given your people bread coupons. Just tell them to get bread when there's no one in the bakery." She was the one who gave our prisoners of war the cards.

The landlady's husband was a bastard.

When he arrived, the peace and tranquillity of the house disappeared. Of course, the idyll at the dinner table was out of the question. I could see that he was hurting Frau Erne too. She often cried, and I was ready to kill him for it.

As a rule, guests would be invited when the landlord arrived. Then the table was set in the big room. The landlady was a very good cook, always baking something. Of course, I wasn't at the table in this case either. But Frau Erne never left me without a treat. I remember one time she baked an extraordinary cake. She cut it open, gave me two large pieces and said, "Lucy, this is for you." I said: "Nain, Mrs Erne, you did it, you can see now that the cake is not whole." She laughed, waved her hand, and arranged the pieces on the plate nicely, as if it was the right thing to do. Among the guests I remember a respectable gentleman, Herr Schwerendt, the owner of the laundry factory. Frau Erne's sister also came. Her husband was killed in Ukraine, and there were two children left.

Besides hating the landlady's husband, I hated it when he left. Because in that case he made me carry his suitcase to the railway station. He wouldn't let me get on the tram, so I had to carry this heavy suitcase and keep up with him, because men usually walk faster.

I used to ride the tram when he was away. I didn't wear a patch. I had a badge (I think it was "Liberated Ukraine"), and I could go to the cinema with it. There was no dancing. Although I had only one day off, on Sunday.

It is interesting to compare the household appliances of German housewives and our present-day ones.

For washing dishes, a frame with two basins fixed in it was pulled out of the table, as it seems. These basins could be easily removed so that water could be poured out and so on. The dishes were washed in one basin and rinsed in the second. The rubbish buckets had a pedal. There was a gas cooker in the kitchen. Twice a year all the carpets were beaten out. For this purpose there were screwed rods on the blank wall of each house. If necessary - unscrewed, moved away from the wall. To knock out - put the rod back in place. In short, very thoughtful and convenient. Yes, there was no bath in the flat.

The landlady gave me all my clothes. Only my coat was mine. In the evenings we mended stockings. The landlady had a whole pile of them. We were working and the landlady was telling us what carnivals used to be like. She told us about her admirers. It was interesting. It often happened that we were sitting, mending, and on the radio: "Flieger alarm!" ("Air raid!"). We have to go to the shelter.

The neighbours treated me well. One of them even took me to church. I must say that I often had to deal with critical attitudes among the inhabitants of Königsberg. As a rule, it was discontent on everyday grounds (cards, shortages of food and goods), as well as household jokes, which acquaintances and relatives of my landlady told even in front of me.

Soon the Eastern workers were driven to dig a bomb shelter (in the afternoon until evening). Poles were also working with us, they wore the letter "P" on a yellow background. Their superior was Herr Lösch, who had a limp on both legs. He said that it were the Cossacks who whipped him in WW1. He was not bad, he even stood up for one girl, who was beaten by her landlady: he managed to get this girl transferred to another landlady.

I got acquainted with our guys from Ukraine and Belorussia during the construction of the bomb shelter.

They mostly worked as I did - in service. At the Shichau shipyard (today's Yantar) there were many underground members from among those who had been taken out to work. A man came from the Volkovysk forests - a partisan region - to organise the underground. (However, I learnt all this when I was in the Gestapo). They managed to send the first group of people. It was a serious matter, because they travelled in cars, with passes. They were detained at the border and had to fight. From there the thread led to Königsberg. The Gestapo was not slumbering.

One of the prisoners of war, whom I met at the construction of a bomb shelter (his name was Lyosha), asked me to get a compass. I took it from the window, the landlord's. And the compass, as it turned out later, was a child's compass. Then this compass led the Gestapo to me.

They gave me a task: to organise a group of radio operators. I organised only one girl.

Lyosha worked for a baker. He gave me away. But I don't blame him. He was beaten up very badly.

It was morning when the Gestapo came for me (February 1943). I was carrying a parcel. I'm coming back, in a hurry. Shortly before that I had met two Czechs, and they invited me to the opera. The landlady didn't allow them to come (people might think that these men were visiting her). And they have to come in the morning and tell me if they've got tickets. That's why I'm in a hurry. And two men in civilian clothes are walking ahead, looking at the house numbers. Because of them I can't walk fast. I asked, "This way?" And I've got my keys. They said, "Yes, this way." When the landlady saw them, she turned as white as a ghost. One of them showed her a clip from his pocket.

My landlady often warned me: "Lucy, I beg you, don't get involved in anything. It's very dangerous." I promised her.

The Gestapo searched my things. I wasn't afraid because I didn't have any evidence. I reassured the landlady, saying it was a misunderstanding, everything would be sorted out and everything would be all right. I didn't believe it was serious.

As they were taking me away, the baby said: "I'm going with Lucy." He didn't understand a thing. The landlady gave me her warm underwear.

Just as we turned the corner, there was a car. I was warned that talking was not allowed. In the car sat Lyosha, his hands were in shackles. That's when something stopped inside me.

They brought us to the Gestapo. It was in the KTI (Kaliningrad Technical Institute) building, the entrance was from a side street. I was immediately interrogated. He was taken away somewhere.

Interrogation, personal search. Then they took me to the first floor, to the women's ward. First they put me in a common cell. A lot of people crammed in, half a room's worth of bunks. There are sick people lying next to each other. There's a small window at the top, under the ceiling. It's stuffy, cramped. They brought me lunch, a piece of bread with jam (Germans called it marmalade). I sat up all night, I couldn't sleep.

In the morning they called me in for interrogation. They chained one hand to some guy of ours. They brought me to the Gestapo. They couldn't get anything out of me, because I knew nothing. The underground was well organised, I only knew Lyosha.

Then they moved me to the third floor, to the political area. There were six of us in solitary confinement. I was never called in for interrogation again. I was not allowed to go for a walk ("political prisoners" were not allowed). We were fed three times a day: bread and coffee (a surrogate) for breakfast, soup with rutabaga for lunch, and bread with marmalade for dinner. The only thing that saved us was salt.

They kept me there for about 1.5 months. Then they sent me to a concentration camp. First to Danzig (we spent several days in prison there); I remember a stop in Stettin, there was such a terrible bombing, everything was burning from phosphorus bombs. The final stop was Ravensbrück.

The car was packed to the brim, it was impossible to move. They brought us in, lined us up. They shaved our heads, gave us striped dresses and patches. They made us wash with cold water. The patches were on the sleeves and on the chest.

The women prisoners composed a song about this camp, I remember it a little:

*(Translator's note: Literal translation of the poem)*

I live near the big city of Berlin,



which is an island surrounded by water. There is  
a small plain there  
and a concentration camp stands behind.  
Thirty-three wooden barracks,  
kitchen, concentration camp  
and Revier.

Our girls go without Jacken,  
Even though the weather is cold.

"Jacke" is "jacket" in German. You could not speak loudly or you would be beaten. There were European and Gypsy barracks with small children. Our work: unloading coal, carrying rubbish.

They woke us up at 4 o'clock in the morning. "Tea" (just water) without bread, without anything. Then a roll call (Appell). Then the sanitary ward. But we knew we couldn't go there. If they put you in the Revier (sanitary unit, infirmary), you would not come out alive. The camp doctors conducted all kinds of experiments on prisoners, infected them, and tested vaccines.

I was in Ravensbrück for no more than a month. It was scary. But they fed me better than in other camps: they gave me hot soup and salt.

I was sent to Czechoslovakia (the town was called Falkenau and the concentration camp was called Zwodau). There were many different nationalities there. There were many French women, even some Jewish women, but they were shot just before our troops arrived. How they cried, how they wanted to live!

In the last days the food was terrible: they gave 70 grams of bread a day, and that was all. There was no salt in the food at all. I had been in that concentration camp for over a year.

We were liberated on 7 May 1945 by Anglo-American troops. A French woman met her husband. The Czech women were released home, the German too. There were only French women, Polish women and us. They said they'd give us some injections. I met Marfushka, with whom I had been in prison in Königsberg.

In general, it was a crazy day. I remember the women caught the warders and cut their hair off. We laughed at them like crazy. I think it's one of the most powerful means of humiliation, especially for women.

Later the Russians came. We didn't recognise them at first: shoulder straps, tubs. Our people put up a slogan: "The motherland is waiting for you!". Then they sent us to the Soviet zone of occupation, to the town of Bunzlau. There was a camp for repatriated people. We stayed there until February 1946. I worked there in the medical centre. Then Bunzlau was handed over to the Poles and we were released.

I returned to Yaroslavl. My passport for 1946 was issued with restrictions (I could not leave the city). The NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) kept an eye on me, inspecting me thoroughly. Even my acquaintances told me not to be outspoken, because they would be questioned about what they were talking to me about. I was deeply offended by all this fuss. All through the war I dreamed of returning to my homeland. I met a French woman in the camp, and she kept asking me to go to France with her after the war. I only dreamed of home. And now it turns out that after so much suffering I am suspected of being recruited by foreign intelligence! Of course it was nonsense, but it hurt me. Therefore, when I received my passport for 1947, without any restrictions, I immediately went to Riga to my sister.

I moved to Kaliningrad in 1959. I worked in the tram and trolleybus department. I am currently retired.

- Tell us, Lyudmila Mikhailovna, what other impressions do you have of Königsberg? Did you manage to go to the opera?

- Yes, I went once, with those Czechs I knew. We sat in the gallery. We watched a Beethoven opera (I don't remember the title, but I know it's the only opera he wrote)<sup>3\*</sup>. The voices were weak (I'm good at it, my sister sang in opera too). But I liked the building of the opera house itself.

Somehow everything was cultured. When a tram stops, men will never pass in front, but they will definitely let women do so.

- Lyudmila Mikhailovna, I know that you write poetry. Do you have anything left from the war time?

- I have a poem about Ravensbrück concentration camp, which I wrote in 1944. Here, listen to it.  
(Translator's note: *Literal translation of the poem*)

#### RAVENSBRÜCK CONCENTRATION CAMP

And is this also life,

Or is it just a dream,

A dream full of horrors, languor and torment?

A million of us are suffering here

In the fascist KZ <sup>19</sup> (concentration camp) of Ravensbrück.

There is no mercy here for the elderly or children.

Here you will become an old man from a young man.

Spitting, slaps, kicks and whips -

All this was prepared by the fascist executioner.

And everything is for us.

It's still 4 o'clock in the morning. It's still dark -

But they're already shouting: "Appell!" (*means "roll call"*)

Be ready in a minute,

And, as fast as you can, run to the exit

Where the door is open.

There is no end to the crowd of people at the door;

Everyone is trying to run forward.

If you get stuck, the block commandant will hit you on the cheek:

"Run quickly, you damned idiot!"

It's cold and dark outside.

In stocks on bare feet, without stockings

And with uncovered shaved heads,

Exhausted people draw up in the line.

The roll call is over and they are sending us to work.

They give us shovels, and no matter the snow or hail,

They lead us to dig holes in the swamps

So that others can bury them tomorrow.

Work, move fast, don't even think about looking back,

Even if you no longer have the strength, even if you are drenched in sweat.

After all, there is a patrol above you,

It doesn't let you wake up,

It growls like an animal: "Dig, dig, dig!"

And so all day long. There is no rest for a minute.

You barely come to lunch, and there

They'll feed you unsalted gruel,

While you're carrying it, they push you and you'll spill it.

And only in the evening, when the siren sounds

And the block commandant shouts: "Lager, Ruhe!"  
 You will quietly bend over to your friend's knees  
 And burst into tears, cursing your fate.  
 And tenderly, like the warm wind of the south,  
 She will hug you with a gentle hand  
 And quietly say: "Believe, my friend,  
 Retribution will come soon with the heinie.  
 After all, there is no history  
 In which the Russians were defeated,  
 And our boys, brothers and fathers,  
 Who so bravely defended Stalingrad,  
 Are now in battle as brave fighters.  
 The day will come in Ravensbrück KZ,  
 And all the damned SS executioners  
 Will raise their hands on the bayonets of our mighty brothers  
 Believe, my friend, soon they will all come to an end."  
 And in my thoughts again my native house on the Volga,  
 My old mother, familiar places,  
 And a quiet evening full of tender affection,  
 Freedom, peace and endless happiness.

— Yes, I should definitely say that when I was already in the camp, my landlady sent me parcels there, and she tried to put exactly what I liked. And I was very fond of apples. And in one parcel there was a letter from her, which said something like the following: "Dear Lucy! I'm sending you some apples. I'm sorry that some of them are spoiled. It was Butse who insisted, he said you like them that way." I was very touched that the kid remembered me and remembered what I liked.

Frau Erne wrote to me for a while. Later I was already being followed, and after the interrogation in the NKVD and the night spent there in a cell, without any reason, I could not answer her. I have regretted it all my life. I do not know how her life turned out. When Königsberg was bombed, she wrote to me that she had moved to the town of Markneukirchen. It must have been close to the Zwodau concentration camp where I was held after Ravensbrück, because Frau Erne wrote that she would have come to visit me if she had been allowed. I remember her and little Butse all this time, all my life.

3 February 1991

*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Auxiliary fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 11898/1. Interviews of the first settlers who arrived in the Kaliningrad/ Königsberg/ region in 1945-1946. Volume 15. Original. Typescript.*

*Interviews were conducted by members of the Kaliningrad branch of the Soviet Association of Young Historians at the request of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art in 1991.*

*Partially published: East Prussia through the eyes of Soviet immigrants: The first years of Kaliningrad Region in memoirs and documents. Saint Petersburg, 2002. pp. 9-11.*

\* The interview was conducted by L.N. Tkachik, a researcher at the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.

\*\* Handwritten word in italics.

3\* "Fidelio"

86. Eastern female worker Zoya Ivanovna Godyaeva (Bodrevskaya)\*. The photo was taken in spring 1943 during forced labour in Germany, Bocholt, Westphalia



*Spring 1943*

*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Auxiliary fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 11880/1. Original.*

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\* Z. I. Godyaeva arrived in Königsberg in 1945 and stayed in the Königsberg (Kaliningrad) region.



87. Eastern female worker, Germany

1942–1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19101/27. Original.*

88. Eastern male worker, Germany

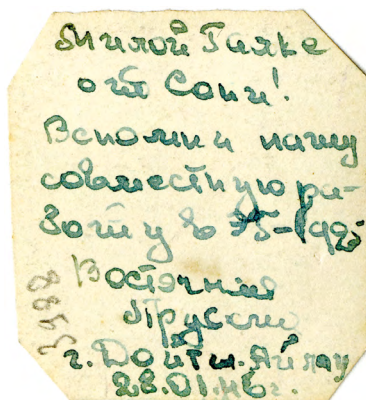
1942–1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19101/11. Original*

89. Former Eastern female worker, Deutsch-Eylau, East Prussia

28 January 1946



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19340/4. Original.*

*Inscription on the back: "To my dear Galka from Sonya! Remember our joint work in 35- 1925. East Prussia. Deutsch-Eylau\*. 28.01.[19]46".*

\* In the document "Doitsch-Ailau".

90. Eastern workers from Ukraine, Germany

2 April 1944

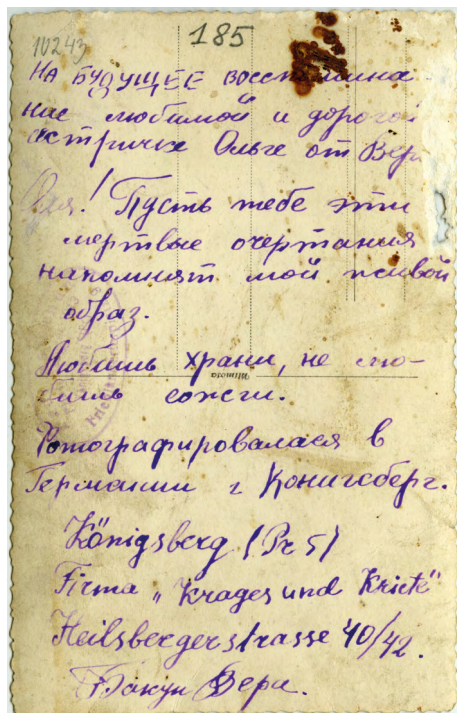


*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19101/5. Original.*

*Inscription on the back: "For a kind long memory to friend Sasha from Polya during his stay in blooming Germany. 2/IV - [19]44."*

91. Eastern female worker Vera Bakun from Zhabinka (Belorussia), Königsberg, East Prussia

1942–1945



Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19340/2. Original.

Inscription on the back: "For future remembrance to my beloved and dear sister Olga from Vera. Olga! May these dead outlines remind you of my living image. If you love – keep it, if not – burn it. I was photographed in Königsberg, Germany\*.

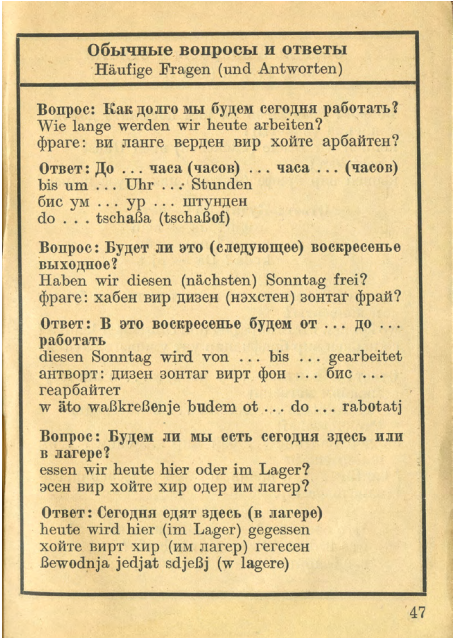
Königsberg (Pr 5) Firma "Krages und Kriete" Heilsbergerstrasse\*\* 40/42. Bakun Vera".

\* Same as in the document.

\*\* Königsberg (Prussia 5) Firma "Krages und Kriete" Heilsbergerstrasse



1942–1945\*\*



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19373/23. Original.*

- \* Bilder-Wörterbue zur Verständigung ohne Sprachkenntnisse für den im Reiche tatigen" ("Picture Dictionary for Mutual Understanding without Language Knowledge for Eastern Workers Working in the Reich").
- \*\* Dated based on the contents.

### 93. Eastern workers from Ukraine, Leipzig, Germany

13 авзycja 1944 з.



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19101/22. Original.*

*Inscription on the back: "This photograph recalls a terrible era in Leipzig - the time of bombing. All these countrymen worked with me for one German, Robert Kutscher, [...]\*, Leipzig. [19]44 - VIII-13."*

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\* Indecipherable.

## 94. Eastern workers from Ukraine, Stuttgart, Germany

13 November 1943



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 19101/46. Original.*

*Inscription on the back: "Photographed on 13/XI - 1943 in Stuttgart. It will be a great memory for life, the memory of this hard life in the Streicher 20 days. Often we argued\*, but more often we longed for our native land together. Of course, there were many arguments, but this, as we know, always happens where people live together.*

*Besides, it's proof of our hard lives.*

*Standing: Georgette, Sonya, Vera, Tanya, Vera, Galina, Ganya (from left to right).*

*Sitting: Nastasya, Marusya, Olya and me (from right to left).*

*- it remains a reminder."*

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\* Argued or quarrelled - Indecipherable.

95. **From the memories of E.D. Sigarevich<sup>21</sup>, a former prisoner of the camp B-1, Königsberg**

16 March 1971

"It was like this. It was autumn, 1943. We lived in Zaporozhye. That year the Germans were taking a lot of people to Germany for forced labour. It did not pass over us: me, my husband and my mother. In 1941 the fascists opened a labour exchange in Zaporozhye. In the questionnaire, which had to be filled out, there was also such a question - do you want to go abroad? Some young people were interested in this. They were immediately sent to Germany. They soon learnt all the delights of a "trip abroad". Few of them returned home. But the "voluntary" recruitment was clearly not enough to provide labour for the German war economy. From 1942, young people and then older people were forcibly exported.

We were taken in freight wagons. On the way to Germany, people were sorted out into other labour camps. We arrived in Königsberg and were assigned to the camp B-1, which was located behind the modern "Stroydormash" factory. We were placed together with the French, because the sector of Russian "Eastern workers" was overcrowded. Across the road was a camp of Soviet prisoners of war. There were 300 of them. Their guards were strict, so there was no practical communication with them. However, sometimes our prisoners delivered vegetables to the camps. Some of it went to us. In the area where our camp was located, there were camps of French prisoners of war, Belgians, Poles, and Italians. Their regime was much weaker than that of our prisoners. They could walk even without an escort. They all worked at the locomotive repair plant. My husband worked there as a draftsman. He was an engineer by profession.

I worked in the kitchen at the French prisoners of war camp. There were 600 of them. In total there were about 3,500 foreigners working at the factory. I don't know directly about the working conditions at the factory because I didn't have access to it. I will say that the French were better fed and dressed than our people. They were helped with parcels through the Red Cross. And I had an opportunity to feed a little from them. But in general food for us was meagre: a little bread (though, real baked), liquid soup.

We did not walk around the city much. What can be said about the attitude of the inhabitants to us – "Eastern workers"? As the events at the front changed, so did their attitude towards us. This was especially noticeable at the end of the war.

There were no escapes from the camp. We learnt about events at the front from the Germans by listening to their radio. I understood German very well. Of course, the Nazis did not immediately inform us about their affairs, but after a certain period of time they had to talk about the situation at the front.

Whether there was an underground anti-fascist organisation I do not know. But I do know that they damaged parts at the factory and tried to work unproductively. The Germans gave the French posters, which were directed against the Soviet Red Army; they incited national discord and so on. The French put them up only in the lavatory and then, after a while, someone tore them down.

In general, most importantly during the years of captivity in the camp people were friendly with each other; they tried to help and support each other. This made our condition as captives much easier. The French were especially good to us, and they were very friendly with each other.

When our captives were taken somewhere, the French came to our aid, if possible. There are known cases of changing Soviet prisoners into the clothes of French prisoners. I



have only good memories of them, the French prisoners. In this camp I met the storming of Königsberg by our Soviet troops.

By this time my husband had died, my mother and I were left alone. [...]"

*Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Fund 1. Inventory 6. Case 62. Sheets 36–37. Copy. Typescript.*

96. **Fragment of plaster with the inscription "1945 after a huge bombardment, the house was being repaired by 6 Ukrainian people. 13/3 1945", Königsberg**

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 9249. Original. Plaster from the building of the former stock exchange of Königsberg (now the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Fine Arts). – a finding from the 1971 expedition of the museum staff.*

*Photo: E.I. Chepinoga.*

97. From the reports of the political departments of the armies  
of the 3rd Belorussian Front on the experience of party-political  
work in advancing battles

Not earlier than 10 March 1945\*

[...] The relocation of military operations to East Prussia changed the content of the divisional newspapers in many ways. New issues and topics appeared in the newspapers, and the issues that had been raised for more than one time were raised in a new way.

The divisional newspapers reflected well the mood of the soldiers and officers who had crossed the border into East Prussia.

The newspaper of the 88th Rifle Division “Za Rodinu” (*literally* “For the Motherland”) /editor Captain LABUDIN/ printed many correspondences of soldiers and officers in connection with the crossing of the border of Germany. In the note “The time of retribution has come” junior lieutenant VOROBIEV wrote:

“For all my life I will remember December 1942.

Then the Hitlerites shot my mother, father and  
three sisters. For many months I cherished a dream of revenge, of the day when I would  
come to the land where

the murderers of my family came from.

The day has come. Yesterday we crossed

the German border. I told my men:

- Comrade Stalin ordered us to kill the German

beast in its den. The fascists have brought us

much grief. Now the time of retribution has come. Ahead of us

is the land of murderers, robbers and rapists. And on this

land we enter as merciless avengers and formidable judges.”

Other divisional newspapers reflected the moment of crossing the border into East Prussia in much the same way.

During the battles in East Prussia, the divisional newspapers continuously fostered the Soviet soldiers' hatred of the Nazi invaders. Stories of Soviet men freed from Nazi servitude were often used as materials. These materials were particularly lucid, because the soldiers themselves saw large crowds of Soviet people working for Prussian kulaks and landlords every day.

On 5 February [1945] the newspaper “Za Rodinu” printed a letter from a group of Soviet people freed from fascist captivity to the soldiers-liberators. In this letter, the Soviet people described what they had experienced in German captivity and thanked their liberators. Having placed in the same edition three Red Army notes of hatred against German slave owners, the editorial called on the division's personnel to take revenge.

Newspaper of the 62nd Rifle Division “Na razgrom vraga” (*literally* “To annihilate the enemy”) /editor Major LISIN/ on 3 February [1945] published a letter of a Soviet girl Lyuba KAZACHOK, freed by our soldiers from fascist captivity. She wrote:

“Comrade fighters, dear ones! Thank you very much.

You took me, my mother and many friends out of German

bondage. Happy days have returned to us again.

The months I spent in the estate of the Prussian landlord

stand before me like a terrible nightmare.

He considered us slaves, called us pigs, and forced us

to work almost all day long.

Not everyone could withstand this abuse. Katya PETROCHUK, driven to despair, hanged herself in the stables.

Tanya PETROVA drowned herself. From the beatings, the hard labour and a life of starvation, many of us fell ill and became invalids. The fascist, who tortured us, tried to humiliate us in every possible way. He kept praising the Germans, saying that other nations should serve them. It was intolerable to listen to it. I couldn't stand it and sharply declared that it wouldn't be like that, that our people would come and free us, and he would have to answer for everything. Since then, my life has become even worse."

The newspaper of the 54th Rifle Division "Na boevom postu" (*literally* "On duty") / editor Captain KUZENKO/ on 10 February [1945] printed a letter of a Ukrainian girl Ganna LEVITSKAYA, together with other Soviet citizens liberated by our troops from fascist captivity. In this letter she says:

"I come from the village of Yaruga, Mogilev-Podolsky district, Vinnitsa region. In September 1941, the Germans burned our village, shot more than 100 people of collective male and female farmers, and we, young girls and boys, were driven into wagons and taken to the cursed country.... In Goldap all the girls and boys were driven into barracks. There was a slave market here. We'll never forget those terrible days. Almost every day German men and women came here. They took us girls out of the barracks and ordered us to strip naked. They looked into our teeth, touched our bodies. The German women were especially cruel. They pinched our bodies painfully, slapped our faces, pulled our hair. 6 other girls and I were bought by a Prussian landowner, Alber WEISS, for 15 marks per soul. Without giving the opportunity to get dressed, we were chased through the city naked. The Germans were standing on the pavements, laughing with pleasure, spitting and throwing stones at us ... Hurry forward, comrades! Thousands more of our Russian people are waiting for you, save them from death, snatch them out of the hands of the vile Prussians".

The same newspaper published a note by Sergeant SLOBODTSEV in which he told of a meeting with a girl he knew who also worked for a Prussian kulak. The girl asked Slobodtsev to exterminate the Germans mercilessly so that they would repay the suffering of the Soviet people with their blood.

"I gave her my word," the sergeant writes in this note, "that her request would be fulfilled, and when we faced the Germans, I remembered what the girl I knew had told me. Only in one battle I destroyed from my machine gun up to 20 Hitlerites, but all this is not enough. I want to destroy these executioners as much as possible and more."

The newspapers of all divisions printed similar articles and notes. They also printed notes from soldiers who discovered on German farms large quantities of farm implements

and household items stolen by the Germans in the Soviet Union. The newspapers also printed inscriptions left on the walls of buildings by Soviet men who had been taken by the Germans deep into Germany. In these inscriptions, the Soviet people appealed to the fighters to rescue them from Nazi slavery. The newspaper of the 331st Rifle Division “V boi za Rodinu” (literally “Into the Battle for the Motherland”) /editor Major LEBEDEV/ printed an inscription found on the walls of one of the houses in Goldap:

“Here Russian girls from Smolensk  
Tatiana G., Valentina S., Galina T.,  
Vera K. lived and suffered in a foreign land,  
we were forced to work 16 hours a day.  
The damned German executioners beat us  
with whips and sticks, mocked us as they could.  
Our dear brothers, we know that  
the Red Army is near. Save our young  
lives, free us from fascist captivity.  
They're taking us deep into Prussia, we'll be doomed there.  
The guards have become so vicious,  
they beat us to blood for every little thing. And we don't  
want to die in a foreign land at our young age.  
Comrade fighters, our darlings, our dear ones!  
Hurry forward, save us.”

Some divisional newspapers printed correspondence about fascist prisons, on the walls of which Soviet citizens had left inscriptions. In particular, such inscriptions were found in the cells of the Gestapo in Landsberg. In these inscriptions Soviet citizens tell what terrible tortures they were subjected to in the Gestapo cells.

On 25 February [1945] the newspaper of the 220th Rifle Division “Za Rodinu” /editor Major BITYUKOV/ printed an article “Inscriptions on the walls”. In this article the newspaper reproduced the inscriptions found on the walls of the Gestapo cells of the town of Landsberg. Here are some of these inscriptions:

“Here, in this cell, sat I, Zhenya  
LEONTYEVA, born in 1924. I am from  
the Leningrad region. How hard it is here.”  
“Terrible tortures and torments I am going through  
in this prison, I will probably die. But how I want to live. Petya  
NIKIFOROV.”

“I am a proud Russian girl, I would rather die than be  
a slave to the damned executioners. I would write a lot,  
but I don't have a pencil, I write with my fingernail. Russian girl ANYA.” [...]

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 241. Inventory 2656. Case 175. Sheets 81–84. Original. Typescript.*

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\* The document is dated according to related documents in the case.



98. Liberated women and children, residents of the Luzhsky district of the Leningrad region, who were taken to Germany, talking to the assistant commander of the 3rd motorised rifle battalion on the economic part of the 44th motorised rifle brigade, Captain of Intendant Service E. D. Chernomazov, Stallupönen, East Prussia. The author of the photo is F. Kislov

27 November 1944



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 5708. The photocopy was given to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of the USSR (now the Russian State Archive of Film and Photo Documents) in 1950.*

99. Conversation of fighters with liberated Soviet citizens, East Prussia.  
Motion picture

March 1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 5757. The photocopy was given to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central Museum of the Soviet Army (now the Central Museum of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation) in 1950.*

100. Freed forced labourers of different nationalities, Preussisch Eylau, East Prussia. The author of the photograph is V.I. Arkashev

February 1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 10222/49. Original.*

101. Liberated Soviet citizens return to their homeland, East Prussia

February 1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 5714. The photocopy was given to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central Museum of the Soviet Army in 1950.*

**102. Soviet citizens released from places of forced labour return home, East Prussia**

*April 1945*



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. - 11487/6. Photocopy.*

**103. Soviet citizens released from places of forced labour return home, East Prussia**

*1945*



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 11217/25. The photocopy was given to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central Museum of the Soviet Army in 1950.*



#### 104. Soviet citizens liberated from labour camps, East Prussia

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. - 11217/26. Photocopy.*

#### 105. Liberated from labour camps, East Prussia

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 8994/13. The photocopy was given to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of Leningrad in 1971.*



**106. Soviet citizens liberated from labour camps return to their homeland, East Prussia**

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 8994/25. The photocopy was given to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of Leningrad in 1971.*

**107. Soviet citizens liberated from labour camps return to their homeland, East Prussia**

1945



*Funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art. Main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art.- 8994/23. The photocopy was given to the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of Local Lore by the Central State Archive of Film and Photo Documents of Leningrad in 1971.*

108. From the questionnaire for those who returned to the Homeland from German captivity for E.F. Skulova

Not earlier than May 1945

Questionnaire

for those who returned to the Homeland from German captivity

Skulova Elizaveta Fyodorovna, born in 1906, head of doctor's station No. 4 of Novokubansky district

[...] We were sent by echelon to the city of Warsaw. [On the way] they did not feed us even once during 7 days. In Warsaw for the first time the doors of the wagon were opened, where we were allowed through the bath and fed [by] the Red Cross organisation, [it was] soup with rye flour and 100 grams of bread.

[Afterwards we were] sent under convoy to the labour camp No. 1 [in Königsberg, East Prussia]. [The camp] was fenced with wire and guarded by sentries.

[...] From there, we were transferred to France, to a labour camp to rebuild the railway transport. After that, we were sent to Belgium to the mines.

[In the camp in Königsberg] we worked under convoy. The working day started from 5 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock in the evening. The work consisted in earthworks, mainly in reclamation of marshes, construction of embankments and barracks, highways, petrol reservoirs; there was no payment, except for food, which consisted of: 250 grams of bread, coffee in the morning, not sweet, and lunch - balanda with rutabaga, coffee in the evening. Shoes and clothes were not provided. Guards were [near us] at all times.

During my time in German captivity I was imprisoned three times. The first time I was imprisoned in Prussia, in Königsberg, at the camp, for 5 days for sabotage. The second time was in France, in Lyon, in prison for 7 days for insulting a German officer, and the third time was in the prison of Kouwen, [in] Belgium for 10 days for escaping from the camp, and from there I was released by the Allied troops.

The camp commander Zurkov, and Chagin, his assistant, systematically beat [us] with whips. Chagin Dmitry, who wears a beard, is a brunette of average height, bald and brown-haired\* [...].

*State Archive of the Krasnodar Territory (Krai). Fund P-897. Inventory 1. Case 7. Sheets 367–368 (reverse side). Original.*

*Published in: No Statute of Limitations: Crimes of the Nazis and their collaborators against the civilian population in the occupied territory of the RSFSR during the Great Patriotic War. Krasnodar Krai: Collection of archival documents. - Moscow: Fund "Svyaz Epoh" (Connection of Epochs), 2020.- P. 469.*

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\* So the document states.

109. Questionnaire for those who returned to the Homeland from German captivity for E.S. Bugleeva\*

1946\*\*

1. Surname, first name and patronymic  
*Bugleeva Evdokia Stepanovna*
2. Year of birth  
*1887*
3. Place of birth  
*ge of Berezovsky village council of Nevelsky district*
4. Home address  
*Uryukovo village of Berezovsky village council of Nevelsky district*
5. Where and at which profession worked before being taken into German captivity  
*In agriculture in Uryukovo village of Berezovsky village council*
6. When was taken (year and month), from what town, district, village?  
*5 October 1943, from Uryukovo village of Berezovsky village council of Nevelsky district*
7. Which of the Germans (Hungarians, Romanians, etc.) led the forcible transfer, who assisted them:  
*The commandant of the German garrison located in Uryukovo village of Berezovsky village council*
8. Where was sent to (country, city, district)?  
*Königsberg East Prussia*
9. Summary of circumstances on the way to German penal colony:  
*Carried under convoy in freight wagons. No food was provided on the way.*
10. What happened on the spot (purchase and sale, examination at the labour exchange, transfer under escort, imprisonment in concentration camps, etc.)  
*On arrival in Königsberg was imprisoned in a concentration camp.*
11. Where worked (detailed name of the enterprise, surname and name of the owner, mistress, their personal details)  
*BW railway depot, don't know the name of the owner*
12. Address of owners' residence (city, district, street, house No.)  
*East Prussia, Königsberg, don't know the street*
13. Address of owners' residence (city, district, street, house No.)  
*Don't know*
14. Brief description of working and living conditions in captivity, type of work, number of hours of work, payment, food, lodging, supply of necessary items - shoes, clothes, etc., guards, etc.)  
*I worked 10 hours a day cleaning the premises. We were paid 10-14 marks a month; we were given 200-300 grams of bread a day, almost no food. We lived in cold barracks. We were not provided with shoes and clothes, we were under convoy. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire*
15. Summary of the facts of abuse, violence, torture, beatings and other criminal actions of the owners of the enterprises, their employees, owners, mistresses and others towards those taken into German captivity  
*Russian citizens and prisoners of war working in the depot were very often*

*beaten by German soldiers and policemen. They abused them in every possible way, forced them to crawl on their stomachs, etc.*

16. Enumeration of persons of the administration of the enterprise, camp, hostel, policemen and other persons guilty of exploitation and torture of Soviet citizens (surnames and names, positions, if possible, their addresses, and notes), as well as members of the family of the owners, with a characterisation of their attitude

*I do not know their surnames*

17. Special remarks<sup>3\*</sup>  
*Signatures of the interviewee for Kosarev*  
and the interviewer<sup>4\*</sup>

*Velikoluksky branch of the State Archives of the Pskov Region. Fund P-894. Inventory 4. Case 2. Sheets 108–109 (reverse side). Original. Hand-filled typewriting form.*

*Published in: No Statute of Limitations: Crimes of the Nazis and their collaborators against the civilian population in the occupied territory of the RSFSR during the Great Patriotic War. Pskov region: Collection of archival documents. - Moscow: Fund "Svyaz Epoh" (Connection of Epochs): Kuchkovo Pole Museon, 2020.- pp. 431-432.*

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\* Document title.

\*\* Dated from related documents in the case file.

<sup>3\*</sup> This item is not filled in.

<sup>4\*</sup> The interviewer's signature is missing from the document.



## Опросный лист

для возвратившихся на родину из германской неволи

1. Фамилия, имя и отчество

Бурцева Евдокия Степановна

2. Год рождения

1887.

3. Место рождения

д.р. Уриково Березовского у.с. Сивинского р-она

4. Домашний адрес

д.р. Уриково Березовского у.с. Сивинского р-она

5. Где и кем работал до угона в германскую неволю

в личном хозяйстве в д.р. Уриково Березовского у.с.

6. Когда был угнан (год и месяц), из какого города, района, села

5 октября 1943. из д.р. Уриково Березовского у.с. Сивинского р-она

7. Кто из немцев (венгров, румын и др.) руководил насильственным угоном, кто им помогал:

командант немецкого гарнизона расположенный в д.р. Уриково Березовского у.с.

8. Куда был направлен (страна, город, район)

г. Кенигсберг Восточная Пруссия

9. Краткое изложение обстоятельств в пути в германскую каторгу:

Везли под конвоем в товарных вагонах. Дорогой питанием не обеспечивали.

10. Как происходило на месте (купля—продажа, осмотр на бирже труда, направление под конвоем, заключение в концлагери и т. п.)

По прибытию в г. Кенигсберг была заключена в концлагерь



109  
11. Где работал (подробное название предприятия, фамилия и имя владельца, хозяина, хозяйки, и другие приметы),

Минзподфоринхоз дпо Б.В. фамилию и имя владельца не знаю

12. Адрес предприятия (страна, город, район, улица, № дома)

Восточная Грузия  
1. Ленинск-дегн фамилию не знаю

13. Адрес местожительства хозяев (город, район, улица, № дома)

не знаю

14. Краткое изложение условий работы и жизни в лагере, род работы, число часов работы, оплата, питание, жилище, снабжение необходимыми предметами — обувью, одеждой и др., охрана и т. д.)

Работала на фабрике помидоров по 10 час. в сутки  
Платили по 10-14 марок в месяц хлеба давали 200-300  
гр. в сутки, при этом почти не давали  
Меня в холодных бараках. Одежда, одежды не  
снабжали, находившиеся под охраной. Лагерь был окружен  
колючей проволокой

15. Краткое изложение фактов издевательств, насилий, взысканий, побоев и других преступных действий владельцев предприятий, их служащих, хозяев, хозяек и других лиц по отношению к угнанным в германскую революцию.

Работавшие в фирме русские франкози и военнопленные  
очень часто избились немецкие солдаты и полицейские  
Владельцы издевались, заставляли работать на немцев  
и т. д.

<sup>1</sup> General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment (*German*: Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz) was an official appointed by the General Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan to coordinate and centralise the use of labour in the interests of the Third Reich's economy. From 1942 to 1945, Fritz Saukel held this position. Executed by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

<sup>2</sup> "Four-Year Plan" (*German*: Vierjahresplan) – a plan to create a closed (autarkic) economy and rearmament of German industry. It was officially proclaimed at the NSDAP Congress in 1936. G. Goering was appointed as the General Plenipotentiary for its implementation. In 1940 the plan was extended for another 4 years.

<sup>3</sup> The German Labour Front (*German*: Labour Front) (*German*: Deutsche Arbeitsfront, DAF) was a united trade union of workers and employers in Nazi Germany.

<sup>4</sup> "Imperial Land Union" (*German*: Reichsnährstand) – an official organisation of peasantry in Germany during the period of National Socialism in 1933–1945, the ideologist and creator of which was Richard Darre.

<sup>5</sup> Volksdeutsche (*German*: Volksdeutsche) refers to ethnic Germans who lived in diasporas outside Germany.

<sup>6</sup> Gau (*German*: Gau) was the main territorial and administrative unit in Hitler's Germany. The whole territory of the country was divided into 42 gau (by 1945), each headed by a gauleiter (Regional Leader).

<sup>7</sup> The Ministerial Council for the Defence of the Reich (*German*: Ministerrat für Reichsverteidigung) – approved general decisions on issues of German defence and armament. The Council included the General Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan, the Reich Minister of the Interior, the Reich Minister of Economics, the Chief of Staff of the Defence Force High Command, and the Chief of the Reich Chancellery.

<sup>8</sup> Realm Commissariat Ukraine (*German*: Reichskommissariat Ukraine) was an administrative-territorial unit created by the German occupation authorities during World War II. It included a significant part of the occupied territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>9</sup> General Commissariat White Ruthenia (*German*: Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien)

– the highest body of the occupation civil administration of the General District of White Ruthenia (Generalbezirk Weissruthenien), an administrative-territorial unit of Nazi Germany within the Realm Commissariat Ostland with the centre in Minsk. Ruthenia is one of the medieval Latin variations of the name of Russia. The use of this term reflected not only the craving of the political leadership of the Third Reich for archaics, but also its use as a tool of politically motivated differentiation of the Eastern Slavs, in this case Belorussians and Russians.

<sup>10</sup> The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (*German*: Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren) was a dependent state entity established by the authorities of the Third Reich after the German occupation of Czechoslovakia (1939–1945).

<sup>11</sup> War Navy (*German*: Kriegsmarine) – the official name of the naval forces of Nazi Germany.

<sup>12</sup> The Confidence Council (*German*: Vertrauensrat) – a lower administrative level of the labour camp, consisting of the headmen of the residential barracks and supervisors of the labour teams.

<sup>13</sup> Reich Administration of Proxies (*German*: Reichstreuhänderverwaltung) is a special body for resolving disputes between entrepreneurs or enterprise administrations on the one hand and workers on the other. Among other things, it is involved in preventing and combating economic sabotage.

<sup>14</sup> National Socialist Women's Union (*German*: Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft) – a public women's organisation, one of the divisions of the NSDAP. It existed from 1931 to 1945.

<sup>15</sup> Reich Leader (*German*: Reichsleiter) – the highest party functionary in charge of one of the main areas of NSDAP activity.

<sup>16</sup> Morgen (*German*: Morgen) is a unit of area equal to approximately 0.56 hectares.

<sup>17</sup> Strasse der SA (*German*: Strasse der SA) – the street was named in honour of Nazi assault units. It is now Frunze Street in Kaliningrad.

<sup>18</sup> Lithuanian Shaft (*German*: Litauer Wallstrasse, Litauer Wallstrasse) is a street in Königsberg.

<sup>19</sup> "KZ" (abbreviation) – concentration camp (*German*: Konzentrationslager, abbr. KZ).

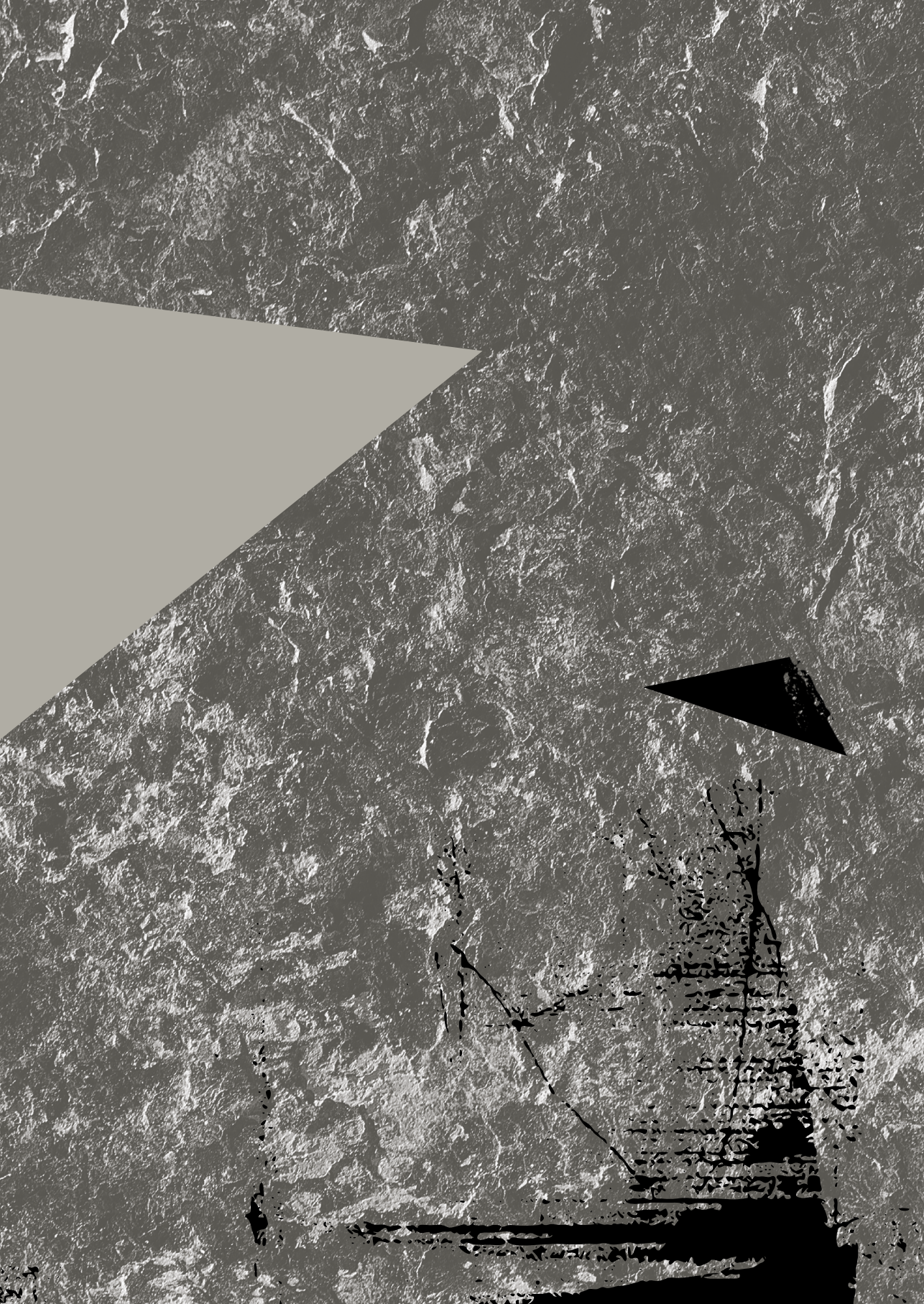


<sup>20</sup> Julius Streicher — SS Group Leader, Regional Leader of Franconia, ideologist of racism. Executed by sentence of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

<sup>21</sup> Sigarevich Ekaterina Dmitrievna. Was born in 1909. Education: 7 classes. In autumn 1943 together with her husband and mother was taken from Zaporozhye for work in East Prussia in

Königsberg. The former prisoner of the camp B-1 (Königsberg). She was liberated by the Red Army in April 1945. After the war from 1947 to 1975 she worked in the Branch Hospital of the station “Kaliningrad” of the Baltic railway as a medical registrar.







# SECTION 3

CIVILIAN  
POPULATION  
EXTERMINATION  
OPERATIONS

**110. Act on the discovery of citizen corpses of different nationalities (appendix to the report of the head of the Political Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front, Major General S. B. Kazbintsev, to the head of the Main Political Department of the Red Army, Colonel-General A. S. Shcherbakov)**

6 February 1945

C o p y.

A C T

The 6th of February 1945. We, the undersigned, Guards Major SMORODOV P. L., Guards Major LUKINOV A. A., Guards Senior Lieutenant TERESHENKO\* P. N. and Guards Senior Lieutenant of Medical Service BAGRINTSEV have drawn up this act that on 6 February 15 km north-west of Königsberg in the forest near the Dallwehnen\*\*- Galtgarben road, up to 100 corpses of Soviet people and people of other nationalities were found, these were men, women and children from 12 years and older, brutally shot by the SS men. In addition, a buried pit 5 x 4 metres in size was discovered, in which the corpses of similar people were found during a surface excavation.

The medical examination revealed that the vast majority of them had characteristic wounds from point-blank explosive bullets fired into the head. Due to the freezing weather, the corpses had not undergone decomposition and it is clearly visible how terribly exhausted they were. They all wore torn shoes, were dressed in rags instead of clothes, had twine and wire instead of belts, and some of them were dressed in prison dressing gowns. They all had five-digit numbers stitched on their sleeves.

From the testimonies of local residents, German subjects from the village of Dallwehnen, Wanda and Ella Gau, Gustav Lange, Albert Schlick and others, it was found out that a few days before the Red Army came here, in the period of 27–29 January, the Gestapo took from concentration camps, prisons of Königsberg and other cities people who had been forcibly taken to Germany in the number of up to 10,000 people. On their way to Pillau they were shot and laid on the roadsides. On the order of the burgomasters, 2–3 people with a wagon were allocated from each courtyard, who took the corpses to the forests and buried them in pits. Thus, on 29–30 January, on the basis of this order, the Poles Joseph, Endek and Jan Wrobel, labourers of Wanda Gau, buried 30 people in a pit. This location has not yet been established.

These new facts of the fascists' brutal slaughter of defenceless, suffering people in the German penal servitude, which took place on the roads of East Prussia, deeply outrage the Soviet soldiers and call us to the merciless total extermination of the fascist cannibals.

The act was signed by:

GUARDS MAJOR – SMORODOV

GUARDS MAJOR – LUKINOV

GUARDS SENIOR LIEUTENANT – TERESHCHENKO

GUARDS SENIOR LIEUTENANT M/S BAGRINTSEV

=====



Correct: Head of the Information Department of the Political Department of the 3rd  
Belorussian Front  
M a j o r  
GREBNEV [A. P.]

3-zsh<sup>4\*</sup>

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11289.  
Case 285. Sheet 178. Copy. Typescript.*

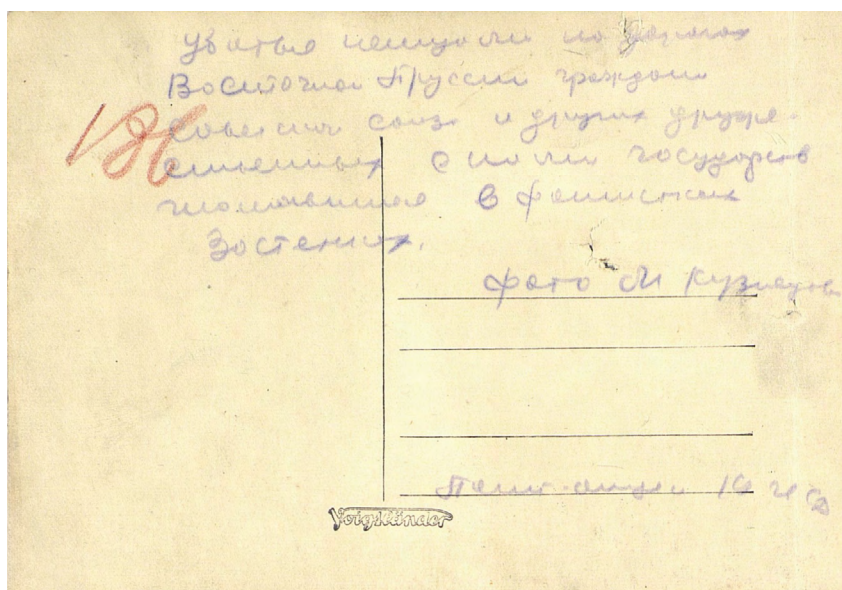
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\* Hereinafter in the document "Tereshchenko".

\*\* In the document "Lalvenen".

<sup>3</sup>\* It is so in the document.

111. Citizens of different nationalities killed by Nazis on the roads of East Prussia. 1945. Photographer – M. Kuznetsov



Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11289. Case 285. Sheets 186–186 (reverse side). Original.

Inscription on the reverse: "Citizens of the Soviet Union and other friendly states who languished in fascist custody and were killed by the Germans on the roads of East Prussia.

Photo by M. Kuznetsov.  
Political Department of the 19th Guards Rifle Division"

112. Victims of Nazism. East Prussia, 1945. Photographer – M. Kuznetsov



*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11289. Case 285. Sheets 187–187 (reverse side). Original.*

*Inscription on the reverse: "Victims bloody German fascism\*."*

*The picture shows a pit in which dead captives of the German penal servitude are buried. The pit is close to the piled up corpses.*

*Photo by M. Kuznetsov.  
Political Department of the 19th Guards Rifle Division"*

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\* *It is so in the document.*

113. Victims of Nazism. East Prussia. 1945. Photographer – M. Kuznetsov



*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11289. Case 285. Sheets 188 – 188 (reverse side). Original.*

*The inscription on the back: "Soviet citizens killed by German fascist monsters on the roads of East Prussia and taken to the forest near the village of [...]"*

*Photo by M. Kuznetsov.  
Political Department of the 19th Guards Rifle Division"*

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\* Unreadable, possibly "Dallvenin". Meaning: Dallwehnen.



114. Corpses of citizens killed by the Nazis during the retreat.  
East Prussia. 1945. Photographer – M. Kuznetsov



*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11289. Case 285. Sheets 189 – 189 (reverse side). Original.*

*The inscription on the back: "The photo shows the corpses of Soviet citizens killed by the Nazis during the retreat and taken to the forest near the village of [...]"\**

*Photo by M. Kuznetsov.  
Political Department of the 19th Guards Rifle Division"*

---

\* Unreadable, possibly "Dallvenin". Meaning: Dallwehnen.

115. Victims of Nazism. East Prussia. 1945. Photographer – M. Kuznetsov



*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11289. Case 285. Sheets 190 – 190 (reverse side). Original.*

*Inscription on the reverse: "Victims killed by German invaders on the Königsberg-Pillau highway and taken to the forest near the village of Dallwehnen"*

*Photo by M. Kuznetsov.  
Political Department of the 19th Guards Rifle Division".*

116. Special report from Colonel I. L. Iofis, Plenipotentiary of the NKVD of the USSR for the 43rd Army, to I. M. Tkachenko, Plenipotentiary of the NKVD of the USSR for the 1st Baltic Front, Commissar of State Security, on the fact of the brutal extermination of citizens of the USSR, France and Romani

23 February 1945

Top secret

to PLENIPOTENTIARY of the NKVD of the USSR  
for the 1st BALTIC FRONT – COMMISSAR OF STATE  
SECURITY –

Comrade TKACHENKO

SPECIAL REPORT

on the fact of the brutal extermination of  
citizens of the USSR, France and Romania

On the 15th of February 1945, during the search of settlements and forestlands in the area of deployment of the 319th Rifle Division / 1.5 km north-east of Kumehnen, East Prussia/, more than 100 corpses of civilians brutally tortured and shot by the Germans were found in a forest ravine.

A special commission to investigate the case found that among those tortured and shot were Russians, Jews, Frenchmen and Romanians, most of them were women aged from 18 to 35.

They were shot at close range – in the back of the head. All the people were severely emaciated, dressed in various torn clothes, wearing wooden boots, and some of them were barefoot. The clothes of those shot had patches with a six-pointed star and five-point numbers on the left sleeve and on the chest.

In the pockets of some of the dead were found foodstuffs:

small potatoes, rutabaga, oats, wheat grains, and utensils tied to their belts: mugs, cups, wooden spoons, and so on.

On the basis of the cadaveric changes it can be assumed that the execution took place at the end of January 1945 during the German retreat from East Prussia. I am reporting the above for your information.

I enclose the act of the commission

*PLENIPOTENTIARY of the NKVD of the USSR  
for 43 ARMY – COLONEL–IOFIS [I. L.]*

*“23” February 1945.*

*Notes in the upper left corner: “[...]” \* Write a message to comrade Beria, enclose copies of the act. 24/II – Tkachenko.”*

*“Executed No. 52 dated 28/II.”*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheet 1. Original. Typescript.*

\* Surname is unreadable.



*Написать  
Т. Бегия, ценомист  
акта 24/II*

Уполномоченному НКВД СССР по 1-му Прибалтий-  
скому фронту - Комиссару Государственной  
Безопасности -

товарищу ТКАЧЕНКО

СПЕЦИАЛЬНОЕ

О факте зверского истребления  
граждан СССР, Франции и Румынии.

15-го февраля 1945 года при проческе населенных пунктов и  
лесных массивов в районе дислокации частей 319-й стрелковой дивизии  
в 1,5 км. северо-восточнее местечка Куменен, Восточная Пруссия,  
в лесном овраге было обнаружено свыше 100 трупов гражданского  
населения зверски замученных и расстрелянных немцами.

Специальной комиссией по расследованию данного факта уста-  
новлено, что среди замученных и расстрелянных имеются: русские,  
евреи, французы, румыны, из которых большинство женщин в возрасте  
от 18-ти до 35-ти лет.

Расстрел производился на близком расстоянии - в затылок. Все  
люди сильно истощены, одеты в разнообразную рваную одежду, на ногах  
деревянные колодки, а часть - разутые. На одежде расстрелянных на  
левом рукаве и на груди имеются нашивки с изображением шестиконеч-  
ной звезды и пятизначных номеров.

В карманах некоторых убитых найдены продукты их питания:  
мелкий картофель, брюква, овес, зерна пшеницы, к поясам привязана  
посуда: кружки, чашки, деревянные ложки и т.д.

На основании тропных изменений можно предполагать, что  
расстрел был произведен в конце января месяца 1945 года при отступ-  
лении немцев из районов Восточной Пруссии.

Об изложенном сообщаю для сведения.

Акт комиссии прилагаю.

Уполномоченный НКВД СССР по  
43 армии - ПОЛКОВНИК -

/И О Ф И С/

"23" февраля 1945 года.

№ 1061



117. Act on the atrocities of the German fascist invaders (appendix to the special report from Colonel I. L. Iofis, Plenipotentiary of the NKVD of the USSR for the 43rd Army, to Plenipotentiary of the NKVD of the USSR for the 1st Baltic Front, Commissar of State Security I. M. Tkachenko, on the fact of the brutal extermination of citizens of the USSR, France and Romania)

15 February 1945

Copy.

A C T

15 February 1945

Acting Army

We, the undersigned – Major of Medical Service L. O. SPASSKY, Military Doctor of the 2nd rank N. I. TITAEV, Guards Major I. S. KONONOV, Guards Captain of Justice Y. S. DUDKIN, Captain of Justice I. S. SHAPOVALOV, Major KUDYASHEV, Sergeants TKACHENKO and KOLBIN, Red Army men SHCHEPOCHKIN and FROLOV have drawn up this act as follows:

On this day, northeast of Kumehnen /East Prussia/, one and a half kilometres from the place, more than 100 corpses of civilians brutally tortured and shot by the Germans were found in a forest ravine. The corpses were in three places in the snow. Among them were Russians, Jews, French, Romanians. Most of the tortured were women aged from 18 to 35 years.

On examination of the corpses it was established that all persons had been shot methodically at close range in the well-known German method of exterminating people – in the back of the head. All the people were severely emaciated and some of them were barefooted. On the clothes of those shot on the left sleeve and on the chest there are patches with the image of a six-pointed star and a five-digit number, e.g. Nos. 6566, 85373, 85254, 73123 and so on.

On the basis of cadaveric changes it was established that the execution took place at the end of January 1945 during the hasty retreat of the Germans under the onslaught of the Red Army. In the pockets of some of the dead were found foodstuffs: small potatoes, rutabaga, oats, wheat grains and so on. Among the dead was found the corpse of a medical worker with a Red Cross bandage on his sleeve.

We believe that the atrocities are the unified aim of the policy of the German-Fascist government and its commanders, with the aim of exterminating progressive humanity.

The act was signed by\*:

Major – /SPASSKY/  
Military doctor of the 2nd rank – /TITAEV/  
Guards Captain of Justice – /DUDKIN/  
Captain of Justice – /SHAPOVALOV/  
Major – /KUDYASHEV/  
Major – /KONONOV/  
Sergeant – /TKACHENKO/  
Sergeant – /KOLBIN/  
Red Army Sergeant – / SHCHEPOCHKIN/  
Red Army man – /FROLOV/

Correct: – CRIMINAL INVESTIGATOR of the NKVD  
RESPONSE FORCE under the 43rd ARMY  
CAPTAIN – /GOLYSHEV/

Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the

К о п и я. 2  
81

А К Т

О зверствах немецко-фашистских захватчиков.

15 февраля 1945 года Действующая Армия.

Мы, нижеподписавшиеся – майор мед. службы Л. О. СПАСКИЙ, военврач 2-го ранга Н. И. ТИТАЕВ, гвардии майор И. С. КОНОНОВ, гвардии капитан юстиции Я. С. ДУЛКН, капитан юстиции И. С. ШАПОВАЛОВ, майор КУЛЯШЕВ, сержанты ТКАЧЕНКО и КОЛЫН, кр-цы ШЕПОЧКИН и ФЕЛОВ составили настоящий акт в нижеследующем:

Сего числа северо-восточнее полутора километрах от местечка Куменин /Восточная Пруссия/ в лесном обрае было обнаружено свыше 100 трупов из гражданского населения, зверски замученных и расстрелянных немцами. Трупы находились в трех местах на снегу. Среди них русские, евреи, французы, румыны. Большинство замученных женщин в возрасте от 18 до 35 лет.

При осмотре трупов установлено, что расстрел всех лиц был произведен методически на близком расстоянии известным немецким способом уничтожения людей – в затылок. Все люди сильно истощены, одежда на них разнообразная, рваная. Обувь деревянная – колоды, а некоторые разутые. На одежде расстрелянных на левом рукаве на груди имеются нашивки с изображением шестиконечной звезды и пятизначного номера, например 6566, 85372, 85254, 72423 и т.д.

На основании трупных изменений установлено, что расстрел был произведен в конце января 1945 года при поспешном отступлении немцев под натиском Красной Армии. В карманах некоторых убитых найдены продукты их питания: мелкий картофель, брюква, овес, зерно пшеницы и т.д. К поясам привязана посуда: кружки, чашки, деревянные ложки и т.д. Среди убитых найден труп медицинского работника с повязкой красного креста на рукаве.

Считаем, что зверство – единая цель политики немецко-фашистского правительства и его командования, имеющей целью истребление прогрессивного человечества.

Акт подписали:

Майор – /СПАСКИЙ/  
Военврач 2 ранга – /ТИТАЕВ/  
Гв. капитан юстиции – /ДУЛКН/  
Капитан юстиции – /ШАПОВАЛОВ/  
М а й о р – /КУЛЯШЕВ/  
Гвардии майор – /КОНОНОВ/  
Сержант /ТКАЧЕНКО/  
Сержант – /КОЛЫН/  
Красноармеец – /ШЕПОЧКИН/  
Красноармеец – /ФЕЛОВ/

Верно:– ОПЕКУПОМ ОПЕКУПОВ НКВД пр-м  
43 АРМИИ КАПИТАН – /ГОЛЫШЕВ/

---

\* Personally signed by Golyshev only.

118. Report of the military prosecutor of the rear of the 2nd Belorussian Front on the investigation by the front military prosecutor's office of the case concerning the production of soap from human corpses in the German anatomical institute in Danzig

Top secret

Exemplar No. 2

*2 June 1945*

TO A MEMBER OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 2ND  
BELORUSSIAN FRONT, LIEUTENANT GENERAL

Comrade RUSSKIKH.

TO THE HEAD OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE  
REAR UNITS AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE 2ND  
BELORUSSIAN FRONT

Comrade PODGAETSKY.

The military prosecutor's office of the rear of the 2nd Belorussian Front investigated the case of the production of soap from human corpses in the German anatomical institute in Danzig.

The investigation established that:

The director of the Danzig Anatomical Institute, Professor Rudolf SPANNER, developed a recipe for making soap from human fat in 1943.

In the same 1943, in the courtyard of the anatomical institute, a brick one-storey building 5 x 12 metres in size was built with special equipment for the production of soap from human fat and for the incineration of leftover meat and other parts of corpses.

From November 1943, Professor SPANNER ordered his preparators van BERGEN, MAZUR, REICHERT and OPINSKY to collect human fat from the treatment of corpses.

Senior preparator van BARGEN\* was appointed head of the soap laboratory.

Professor SPANNER kept extensive correspondence with German prisons and concentration camps, from which he took murdered and tortured people to the Anatomical Institute.

The corpses were taken from prisons and camps in Königsberg, Danzig, Elbing, Stutthof and Bydgoszcz.

148 human corpses were found in the vats of the basement, including 18 female corpses, 4 children's corpses, 126 male corpses and one corpse of a monkey.

An examination of the corpses revealed that 82 of them had been decapitated. Execution by beheading was carried out by guillotines installed in Danzig and Königsberg prisons. The anatomical institute's preparator MAZUR testified:

"When I came to the prison to get the corpses, the corpses were fresh, fresh from the execution and we took them in the room next to the one where the guillotine was located, the corpses were still warm".

89 severed human heads were found in vats and iron tanks in the basement of the anatomical institute.



On some of the corpses, various tattoos were found on the skin in the area of the chest, shoulder and forearm – depicting the five-pointed star, Polish national flags and others.

The forensic medical examination of 18 corpses established that in 15 cases violent deaths and in 3 cases deaths due to disease were detected. Thus, in 8 cases of decapitated corpses, it was established that the severing of the head from the torso had been carried out pre-mortem, as evidenced by the presence of exsanguination of the corpses, small haemorrhages in the tissues at the site of the incision and abundant dried ray-shaped blood flows and clots in the respiratory tract on the chest, back and shoulders.

“In 4 cases, death was caused by asphyxiation, as a result of being struck with a noose, as evidenced by the presence of horizontally located, below the thyroid cartilage, strangulation furrows with small dot haemorrhages in the skin and subcutaneous tissue of the neck”.

“In 3 cases, death was caused by damage to the skull caused by a hard blunt object”.

10 corpses were examined by Professor of the Department of Forensic Medicine of the University of Warsaw, Doctor of Medical Sciences [Wiktor] Grzywo-Dombrowski, and it was established: decapitation – 4 cases, death from damage to the bones of the skull – 1 case, death from disease – 3 cases.

Regarding soap boiling, the preparator MAZUR testified:

“I made soap from the corpses of men and women. One production boil took several days, from 3 to 7 days. Of the two boils known to me, in which I was directly involved, more than 25 kilograms of finished soap came out, and 70–80 kilograms of human fat were collected for it, from about 40 corpses. The finished soap was delivered to Professor SPANNER, who kept it personally. I myself, for my own needs – for toileting and washing – used this soap from human fat and took 4 kilos of it for myself. REICHERT, BORKMANN, van BERGEN and our chief professor SPANNER, as well as all other employees, also took the soap for themselves.”

Examination of the room where the soap-making was carried out revealed: in the first room, a cauldron for boiling body parts containing a human torso and, next to it, an autoclave filled with human bones. In the second room, on a table, 4 pieces of semi-finished soap, a metal box filled with 165 cuttings of human skin, a degreasing apparatus and cabinets filled with small bones of feet and hands and jars of caustic soda.

In the third room there were three enamelled buckets with soap residue and a cast-iron cooker, among the ashes of which are charred bones of human vertebrae and ribs.

In the attic of the soap factory, a large number of cleaned human bones were found, including more than 100 skulls.

The Hitler government was interested in the anatomical institute's work on soap making from human corpses and human leather tanning.

The Institute was visited by Minister of Education of RUST, Minister of Health of CONTI, Gauleiter of Danzig Albert FORSTER, and others. The investigation material is being transferred to the Extraordinary Commission.

I report the above in the order of information.

Military Prosecutor of the Rear of the 2nd Belarusian Front,  
HETMAN Lieutenant Colonel OF Justice.

*Notes after the text: “Correct” [...]\*\*\*”.*

РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО

Сов. секретно

экз. № 2

Мел. № 045 89  
2/7-457

ЧЛЕНУ ВОЕННОГО СОВЕТА 2 БЕЛОРУССКОГО ФРОНТА  
ГЕНЕРАЛ-ЛЕЙТЕНАНТУ

ТОВ. РУССКИХ.

НАЧАЛЬНИКУ ПОЛИТОТДЕЛА ТЫЛОВЫХ ЧАСТЕЙ И УЧРЕЖДЕНИИ  
2 БЕЛОРУССКОГО ФРОНТА ПОЛКОВНИКУ

ТОВ. ПОДГАЕЦКОМУ.

Военной прокуратурой тыла 2 Белорусского фронта  
произведено расследование по делу о производстве мыла из чело-  
веческих трупов в немецком анатомическом институте г.Данинг.

Расследованием установлено:

Директор анатомического института г.Данинг профессор  
Рудольф ШАННЕР в 1943 году выработал рецепт изготовления мыла  
из человеческого жира.

Во дворе анатомического института в этом же 1943 году  
было построено кирпичное одноэтажное здание 5 x 12 метров со  
специальным оборудованием для производства мыла из человече-  
ского жира и для сжигания остатков мяса и других частей трупов.

С ноября 1943 г. профессор ШАННЕР отдал приказание  
своим препараторам Ван БЕРГЕНУ, МАЗУРУ, РАЙКЕРТУ и ОЛИНСКОМУ  
собирать человеческий жир при обработке трупов.

Начальником лаборатории мыловарения был назначен стар-  
ший препаратор Ван БЕРГЕН.

Профессор ШАННЕР вел обширную переписку с немецкими  
тюрьмами и концентрационными лагерями, из которых брал в анатоми-  
ческий институт убитых и замученных людей.

Трупы брались из тюрем и лагерей г.г.Кенигсберг, Данинг,  
Эльбинг, Штутгоф, Бидгощь.

В чанах подвального помещения обнаружено 148 чело-  
веческих трупов, из них женских 18, детских 4, мужских 126 и  
один труп обезьяны.

Смотром трупов установлено, что 82 из них обезглав-  
лены. Казнь посредством отсечения головы производилась гильо-  
тинами установленными в Данингской и Кенигсбергской тюрьмах.



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Препаратор анатомического института МАЗУР показал:

"Когда я приезжал в тюрьму за трупами, то трупы были светлые, только, что после казни и брали мы их в комнате соседней с той, где находилась гильотина, трупы были еще теплые".

В чанах и железных баках подвального помещения анатомического института обнаружено 89 отсеченных человеческих голов.

На некоторых трупах на коже в области груди, плеча и предплечья обнаружены различные татуировки-изображающие пятиконечную звезду, польские национальные флаги и другие.

Произведенным судебно-медицинским исследованием 18 трупов установлено, что в 15 случаях была обнаружена насильственная смерть и в 3-х случаях смерть от заболевания. Так в 8 случаях обезглавленных трупов установлено, что отсечение головы от туловища производилось прижизненно, о чем свидетельствует наличие обескровленности трупов, мелких кровоизлияний в ткани на месте разреза и обильные засохшие лучеобразно-расходящиеся по груди, спине и плечам потеки крови и сгустки крови в дыхательных путях.

"В 4-х случаях смерть наступила от асфиксии, в результате удавления петлей, о чем свидетельствует наличие горизонтально-расположенных, нитевидного хряща, стрипсуляционных борозд с мелко-точечными кровоизлияниями в коже и под-кожной клетчатке шеи".

"В 3-х случаях смерть наступила от повреждения черепа, нанесенного твердым тупым предметом".

10 трупов исследованы профессором кафедры судебной медицины Варшавского университета доктором медицинских наук г-ном ДОМБРОВСКИМ причем установлено-прижизненное обезглавливание 4 случая, смерть от повреждения костей черепа 1 случай, смерть от заболевания 3 случая.

По поводу варки мыла препаратор МАЗУР показал:

"Мыло варил я из трупов мужчин и женщин. Одна производственная варка занимала несколько дней, от 3 до 7 дней. Из двух известных мне варок, в которых я принимал непосредственное участие вышло готовой продукции мыла более 25 килограмм, причем для этих варок было собрано 70-80 килограмм человеческого жира, примерно с 40 трупов. Готовое мыло поступало к профессору ШТАЙНЕР, который его хранил у себя лично.



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Сам я лично для своих потребностей для туалета и стирки употреблял это мыло из человеческого жира и взял для себя лично этого мыла 4 килограмма. Также брали для себя мыло РАЙХЕРТ, БОРМАН, Ван-ВАРГЕН и наш шеф профессор ШАННЕР, а также все остальные сотрудники".

Осмотром помещения, где производилось мыловарение установлено: в первой комнате котел для выварки частей тела, в котором находился человеческий торс и рядом с ним автоклав, заполненный человеческими костями. Во второй комнате на столе 4 куса мыла-полуфабриката, металлический ящик заполненный 165 вырезками человеческой кожи, прибор для обезжиривания и шкафы заполненные мелкими костями стоп и кистей и банками с каустической содой.

В третьей комнате три эмалированных ведра с остатками мыла и чугунная печь среди золы, которой обгоревшие кости человеческих позвонков и ребер.

На чердаке фабрики мыла обнаружено большое количество очищенных человеческих костей, среди которых свыше 100 черепов.

Работами анатомического института по мыловарению из человеческих трупов и выделке человеческих кож интересовалось гитлеровское правительство.

В институт приезжали министр просвещения РУСТ, министр здравоохранения КЮНТИ, гаулейтер Даниишского округа Альберт ФОРСТЕР и другие.

Материал расследования передается Чрезвычайной комиссии.

Докладываю об изложенном в порядке информации.

Отп. 3 - экз.

№ 1-2 - адрес  
№ 3 - в наряд  
Исп. Каденский

2.VI.45 г. АБ.

ВОЕННЫЙ ПРОКУРОР ТЫЛА  
2 БЕЛОРУССКОГО ФРОНТА  
ПОДПОЛКОВНИК ИСТИННИН:-

/ГЕ. ТМАН/

*Веро. Васильев*

*Для информативности  
наклей пометку 2/VI-45.*

*Шаннер*



*"The package was received for the political department of the rear. 2/VI-[19]45. [...]³\*"*

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 46. Inventory 2422. Case 53. Sheets 63–65. Original. Typescript.*

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- \* Above "van BERGEN."  
\*\* Signature indecipherable.  
³\* Signature indecipherable.

**119. Act on the atrocities of the Nazi invaders in the area of Germau (East Prussia) (appendix to the report of Major-General I. M. Andreev, Deputy Head of the Political Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front, to Colonel-General A. S. Shcherbakov, Head of the Main Political Department of the Red Army)**

*17 April 1945*

**ACT**

The 17th of April 1945. Commission consisting of Major-General DANILOV V.V., Colonel VASYAGIN S.P., Guards Colonel of Justice BEREZOVSKIY A.M., Guards Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Service VASYUTA D.K., Lieutenant Colonel KRUGLOV V.K., Army pathologist Major of Medical Service GEVORKYAN G.G., Army forensic medical expert Guards Captain of Medical Service SVYATSKIY M.A., Captain POLYAKOV A.V., Guards Captain of Justice DOLGOPYATOV G.M., Guards Lieutenant PISKAREV V.I., Guards Staff Sergeant KUZMIN V.I., Guards Private BURDINSKIY N.K., Guards Staff Sergeant RYZHAKOV N.E. – have drawn up the present act as follows:

On 15 April 1945, when the Red Army liberated the area of GERMAU (SAMLAND PENINSULA, EAST PRUSSIA), half-buried corpses were found on the southern edge of the ELLERHAUS forest, 4 km south-east of the settlement of GERMAU.

The inspection revealed 4 graves located in a swampy area of the forest. 3 graves were excavations, 1–1.5 metres deep; the 4th grave was a trench 3 metres long, 2 metres wide and 1.5 metres deep.

From the mentioned graves 86 corpses were extracted, of which 80 were female and 6 male, aged 20–40 years.

The corpses were dressed in tattered, lice-ridden rags, sackcloth, paper, and broken shoes with wooden soles.

Each corpse has a number and a six-pointed star on the left sleeve of its clothing. All but one of these numbers, 82113, had been erased and it was impossible to make them out.

The corpses also had six-pointed stars on their backs.

All the corpses appeared to be girded with scraps of telephone wires with bowls or mugs made of tin cans attached to them.

Pieces of fish, potatoes and rutabagas were found in the pockets of some corpses. A thorough examination of all the corpses revealed no documents or belongings. All the corpses were extremely emaciated, lice-ridden, with sharply expressed signs of pellagra (starvation).

In the head area of each corpse there were traces of gunshot wounds with extensive crushing of parts of the skull.

The corpses had multiple injuries to the limbs and chest, indicating that they had been shot at point-blank range with automatic rifles.

The putrefactive changes on the corpses, as well as the condition of the internal organs indicate that the killing was carried out in December 1944 – January 1945.

On the basis of the materials presented, the commission found that:

1. The condition of the corpses' clothes, armbands with numbers, emaciation, lack of documents indicate that the executed belonged to the camp population.
2. All the victims found in the graves were brutally tortured and shot by the German fascist invaders.

К в. 1280 / инд.  
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# А К Т

17 апреля 1945 года. Комиссия в составе Гвардии генерал-майора ДАНИЛОВА В. В., полковника ВАСЯГИНА С. П., гвардии полковника встиции ВЕРЕЗОВСКОГО А. М., гвардии подполковника м/с ВАСЮТА Д. К., подполковника КРУГЛОВА В. К., Армейского патолога-анатома майора м/с ГЕВОРКЯН Г. Г., армейского судебно-медицинского эксперта гвардии капитана м/с СВИТСКОГО М. А., гвардии капитана ПОЛЯКОВА А. В., гвардии капитана встиции ДОЛГОПЯТОВА Г. М., гвардии лейтенанта ПИСНАРЕВА В. И., гвардии ст. сержанта КУЗЬМИНА В. И., гвардии рядового БУРДИНСКОГО Н. И., гвардии ст. сержанта РЫЖАКОВА П. Е. — составила настоящий акт в следующем:

При освобождении частями Красной Армии 15 апреля 1945 г. района ГЕРМАУ (ЗЕМЛАНДСКИЙ ПОЛУОСТРОВ, ВОСТОЧНАЯ ПРУССИЯ), на южной опушке леса ЭЛЛЕРБАУЗ, что 4 км. юго-вост. населенного пункта ГЕРМАУ были обнаружены полузарытые трупы.

Осмотром выявлено 4 могилы, расположенные в заболоченном участке леса. 3 могилы представляют из себя котлованы, глубиной 1-1.5 м.; 4-я могила имеет форму траншеи длиной в 3 м., шириной в 2 м. и глубиной — 1.5 м..

Из указанных могил извлечено 86 трупов, из коих 80 — женских и 6 мужских, в возрасте 20-40 лет.

Трупы одеты в рваное, зашивленное тряпье, мешкотару, бумагу, разбитую обувь с деревянными подошвами.

На левом рукаве одежды каждого трупа имеется номер и шестиконечная звезда.

Все эти номера, за исключением одного, — 82113, стерлись и разобрать их не представилось возможным.

На одежде трупов, в области спины, также имеются шестиконечные звезды.

Все трупы оказались подпоясанными обрывками телефонных проводов с прикрепленными к ним мисками или кружками из консервных банок.

В карманах одежды некоторых трупов обнаружены кусочки рыбы, картофеля, брынзы.

При тщательном осмотре всех трупов никаких документов и вещей не обнаружено.

Все трупы исключительно истощены, зашивлены, с резко выраженными признаками пелагра (голодание).



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В области головы каждого трупа имеются следы огнестрельных повреждений с обширным раздроблением частей черепа. На трупах множественные повреждения конечностей и грудной клетки, что указывает на расстрел в упор из автоматов.

Гнилостные изменения на трупах, а также состояние внутренних органов указывают, что умерщвление произведено в декабре 1944 года - январе 1945 года.

На основании изложенных материалов комиссия установила:

1. Состояние одежды трупов, наружные знаки с номерами, истощенность, отсутствие документов указывают на принадлежность расстрелянных к лагерному контингенту.

2. Все жертвы, обнаруженные в могилах, зверски замучены и расстреляны немецко-фашистскими захватчиками.

КОМИССИЯ:

Гвардии Генерал-Майор:-	<i>В. Данилов</i>	(ДАНИЛОВ)
Полковник:-	<i>Б. Васягин</i>	(ВАСЯГИН)
Гвардии полковник юстиции	<i>А. В. Верезовский</i>	(ВЕРЕЗОВСКИЙ)
Гвардии подполковник м/с:-	<i>А. С. В. А. Т. А.</i>	(ВАСЮТА)
Подполковник:-	<i>Крутов</i>	(КРУТЛОВ)
Майор м/с:-	<i>Геворкян</i>	(ГЕВОРКЯН)
Капитан м/с:-	<i>Святский</i>	(СВЯТСКИЙ)
Гвардии капитан:-	<i>Поляков</i>	(ПОЛЯКОВ-)
Гвардии капитан юстиции:-	<i>Долгопятов</i>	(ДОЛГОПЯТОВ)
Гвардии лейтенант:-	<i>Пискарев</i>	(ПИСКАРЕВ)
Гвардии ст. сержант:-	<i>Кузьмин</i>	(КУЗЬМИН)
Гвардии рядовой:-	<i>Бурдинский</i>	(БУРДИНСКИЙ)
Гв. ст. сержант:-	<i>Рылаков</i>	(РЫЛАКОВ)



COMMISSION\*

Major-General –	DANILOV V.V.
Colonel –	VASYAGIN S.P.
Guards Colonel of Justice –	BEREZOVSKIY A.M.
	Guards Lieutenant Colonel of
Medical Service –	VASYUTA D.K.
Lieutenant Colonel –	KRUGLOV V.K.
	Army pathologist Major of
Medical Service –	GEVORKYAN G.G.
	Army forensic medical expert Guards
Captain of Medical Service –	SVYATSKIY M.A.
Captain –	POLYAKOV A.V.
Guards Captain of Justice –	DOLGOPYATOV G.M.
Guards Lieutenant –	PISKAREV V.I.
Guards Staff Sergeant –	KUZMIN V.I.
Guards Private –	BURDINSKIY N.K.
Guards Staff Sergeant –	RYZHAKOV N.E.

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11032. Case 248. Sheets 46 – 47. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Seal of the Political Department of the 2nd Guards Army.

**120. Act on the atrocities of the Nazi invaders, drawn up by representatives of the units of the 2nd Guards Army in the area of Krakstepellen small town, Samland Peninsula (appendix to the report from Major-General S. B. Kazbintsev, Head of the Political Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front, to Lieutenant-General I. V. Shikin, Deputy Head of the Main Political Department of the Red Army)**

21 May 1945

Copy  
ACT

Commission to establish atrocities caused by Nazi invaders in Krakstepellen small town /East Prussia/.

1945. 21 May. The commission under the chairmanship of the deputy head of the political department of the army, Guards Colonel Comrade KHABROVITSKIY and members: Guards Lieutenant Colonel Comrade SUGLOBOV, Guards Major Comrade LIZBANOV, forensic medical expert of the Army, Guards Captain SVYATSKIY, forensic medical expert, Guards Captain YASKEVICH, head of the German civil hospital KURT RIEDEL /German/, head of the infectious disease department of the civil hospital ERWIN SCHRUEDEL /German/, Guards Captain-Engineer ZDANOVICH, Guards Captain KRASNOPOLSKIY, Commandant of the town of Palmnicken, Guards Captain DOROGIN, Guards Captain MAKHLYAK, Guards Private SHUMCHENKO, Guards Sergeant VOLKOV, have drawn up the present act to the effect that during the inspection of the places of brutal extermination and burial of Soviet citizens by the German fascist invaders in the area of the north-western outskirts of Krakstepellen small town, which is 300 metres south of the amber factory, have established the following:

Between 27–29 January 1945, the German fascist invaders brought to the area of the quarry 5,000 Soviet citizens, who, according to the testimony of German residents of Palmnicken /Gol\* Frans, Frieda Lütha, Frieda Zimmel and others/, were shot on the ice and lowered under the ice. Some of the most emaciated and most exhausted, who could not reach the destination of their extermination, were shot and killed with rifle butts on the road between Germau and Krakstepellen.

263 corpses were found in a ditch measuring 30×2×1.6 metres in the area of the Amber Factory during engineering works. In the ditch where the tortured and shot citizens were found, there were 59 male corpses and 204 female corpses, ranging in age from 16 to 35 years old. The corpses were stacked in 3–4 layers in rows, and in some places they were dumped in disorder. Above the top layer of corpses there was an embankment from 50 cm to 1 metre.

The top layer of corpses contained men stacked in disorder and the subsequent layers were women stacked in close rows. The clothes of the corpses were torn rags of the camp pattern, striped with numbers stitched on the chest – six-pointed stars on the back and on the sleeve.

Here are two such numbers – 372228 and 98988.

Most of the corpses had wooden shoes, and [...]\*\* corpses had their feet wrapped in rags. All corpses are lice-ridden and extremely emaciated. All male corpses have, as a rule, a gunshot wound to the skull with crushed bones, indicating that they were shot at close range; some of the corpses have several additional gunshot wounds, indicating that the shootings were carried out with automatic weapons using bursting bullets. Most of the female corpses had crushed skulls and broken limb bones, indicating brutal destruction by blows with blunt weapons. Some of the corpses of young women had their underwear ripped

and removed from their thighs, and some of the corpses of women were found in cynically mocking poses with their legs behind their heads and their underwear removed.

The main perpetrators of the brutal extermination of Soviet citizens are the German fascist invaders, and the direct perpetrator of the extermination of these 5,000 Soviet citizens is the former commandant of Königsberg, General LYASH, who did not have time to exterminate the Soviet citizens in the city of Königsberg, which is why he sent 5,000 of them to Krakstepellen and handed them over to the local field gendarmerie for extermination.

In addition to the above-mentioned exterminated Soviet citizens, according to the testimony of two Russian women /Guryanova Valentina, 29 years old, and her mother Aleksandra, 47 years old/, who had previously lived in Smolensk city at the address 1 (Pervogo) Maya Street, house 25, and who were forcibly taken to Germany, on 27 January 1945, the German fascist monsters gathered 8,000 Soviet citizens into barracks in the port of Pillau and at night blew up the barracks together with the prisoners sleeping in them. According to the testimony of local residents, there are similar places of extermination and burial of Soviet citizens in the area of Germau, Sorgenau and the Amber Factory.

In view of the above, the commission considers it necessary to continue excavations in the area of Germau, Sorgenau, the Amber Factory and Pillau. The corpses from the ditch were removed and buried in a mass grave with all military honours, a meeting was held at the mass grave before the burial. A monument was erected at the mass grave.

Signature. Seal. COMMISSION CHAIRMAN

GUARDS COLONEL – KHABROVITSKIY

Members of the commission:

Guards Lieutenant Colonel Comrade – SUGLOBOV

Guards Major Comrade – LIZBANOV

Forensic medical expert of the Army, Guards Captain – SVYATSKIY

Forensic medical expert, Guards Captain – YASKEVICH

Head of the German civil hospital – German – KURT RIEDEL

Head of the infectious disease department of the civil hospital – German – ERWIN SCHRUEDEL

Guards Captain-Engineer – ZDANOVICH

Guards Captain – KRASNOPOLSKIY

Commandant of the town of Palmnicken Guards Captain – DOROGIN

Guards Captain – MAKHLYAK

Guards Private – SHUMCHENKO

Guards Sergeant – VOLKOV

1945 May 21st day.

Small town of Krakstepellen

/East Prussia/.

Correct: Major Grebnev [A.P.], Head of the Information  
Department of the Political Department of the 3rd  
Belorussian Front.

*Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation. Fund 32. Inventory 11032.  
Case 334. Sheets 110–110 (reverse side). Copy. Typescript.*

\* Surname is indecipherable.

\*\* Word is undecipherable.

**121. From the testimony of a former prisoner F. A. Gawrilewicz  
(or Gawrylewicz) (Klajnman)\***

29 April 1945

29 April 1945

Acting Army

I,\*\* — Guards Captain [...]\*\*\* questioned as a witness —

Frida Abramovna GABRILOVICH\*, born in 1922, a native of  
Lodz /Poland/, Jewish, student, 8 grades of education, from the  
labourers, at present she is at the collection point of the Army.

She has been warned of liability for giving false testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

/Signature/

The interrogation was conducted in Polish, through the interpreter ARSAKOV Agube Gubadieyevich, a native of the village of Galiat in the North Ossetian Autonomous Republic, born in 1918, who was at the collection point of the Army, and who has been warned of liability for incorrect translation under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR /Signature/.

[...] Question: — How long were you kept in the camps?

Answer: — I was in the Auschwitz camp for 4 days, and then I was sent in a group with others to special labour camps in Seerappen /East Prussia/. There we were exhausted from the hard work, from the abuse inflicted on us by the German camp commanders.

On cold winter days we were forced to dress in old torn clothes and were driven to cold barracks, where we stayed until night, and then we were driven out on the road. Many fell ill and died.

They worked in the camp from early morning to late evening. The food was absolutely insignificant: 250 grams of bread and 0.5 litres of soup per day.

With the approach of the Red Army, Hitler's hordes decided to finally massacre the people left in the camp.

On the frosty night from 31 January to 1 February 1945 we were driven first to Königsberg and then to Palmnicken. We were driven at a fast pace, and those who could not run were shot. The road from Königsberg to Palmnicken looked very terrible. Every 3 kilometres for 50 kilometres there was a person killed by SS men.

When we were driven to Palmnicken, we were put in a camp where we were kept for 5 days without any food. On the 6th day we were taken to the seashore for the last massacre. The SS men took groups of 10 people to the sea one by one and shot them. It was a cold, dark night. The screams, groans of children and women, and the shooting of the SS men merged into one terrible picture of what Hitler's vicious beasts were doing.

Panic-stricken men rushed from side to side, fell from bullets, broke through the thin ice and were swallowed by the sea water. Those who survived or were wounded were shot. I was taken to the sea in a group of 10 men to be shot. I lost consciousness and fell on the ice. At the same time shots rang out. Many were killed. I was wounded in the stomach and in the leg.

A few hours after the SS men left, I regained consciousness, gathered my strength and crawled ashore. Miraculously, 10 more people survived out of the 5,000 Jews whom the Germans had driven from Königsberg to Palmnicken.

All 11 people reached the village of Sorgenau the same night and, pretending to be Poles, lived there until the Red Army occupied the village.



Question: – Name the persons known to you from the administration of the above-mentioned camps?

Answer: – I do not know any of their names.

The record of interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words and was read to me

/Signature/.

Interpreter –

/Signature/.

Questioned by<sup>5\*</sup>  
Guards Captain –  
[...]<sup>6\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 74–76. Copy. Typescript.*

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\* The testimony of F.Gawrylewicz (Klajnman) is also published under Nos. 13, 122.

\*\* The name is shaded out.

3\* Shaded.

4\* Correctly Gawrylewicz.

5\* The name is shaded.

6\* Shaded.

## **122. From the testimony of a former prisoner F.A. Gawrilewicz (or Gawrylewicz) (Klajnman)**

*29 November 1963*

[...] There were several thousand prisoners, men and women, without children, aged about 30. The girls were disinfected, and the next day they were lined up in a column several hundred metres long and driven on. Again, we were not fed on the way. We were accompanied by guards from our own and other camps, as well as by female guards. Our only food on the way was snow, but it was also dangerous to grab snow, because the guards shot on the spot girls who fell behind. Denis, whom I mentioned, advised us to try to escape, as he said we were being driven to extermination. Where, however, could we run to? There were only three men left in the row of five in which we marched. After several days of marching, we eventually reached a populated area where we were placed in a large factory shop. It turned out that we were in Palmnicken. In this workshop we were given food, even the local population brought us food. We could sense from the Germans' behaviour that they did not know what to do with us. Many Germans came, they consulted, talked to each other and probably expected instructions. After a few days we were taken out of this workshop; they said we would be loaded onto a ship that would take us to safety. We were led at night, the area was deserted, only snow fields were visible. It turned out that we were walking on the coastal ice of the Baltic Sea. It was only later that I learnt that there were resorts like Sorgenau and others nearby. Suddenly someone opened fire, firing a rocket. It became light and we heard firing. A girl who ran past my marching column reported that the Germans had begun shooting the male prisoners who were marching at the end of the column, namely, in such a way that they cut off groups of 50 men, forced them to lie down on the ice and shot them with automatic

rifles. At first we thought this girl was crazy. But then the turn came to us, female. They separated 50 girls from the column, ordered us to lie down on the ice; they started shooting at us. We – me and the girl lying beside – were not even wounded. One German shouted: “Quickly get up and run!” Driven by instincts, I tried to get up, but my friend named Lola pressed me to the ice. The footsteps receding, but after a while the Germans came back again and opened fire. I was wounded twice: in the stomach and in the leg.

After the war, the medical academy in Danzig extracted a bullet from my leg. I still have it (it was a 9 mm bullet used by the German Defence Force for Walther and Parabellum rifles and pistols – as J. Paluszewski, who conducted the interrogation, noted). I also had an X-ray taken after the war. After the wound I lost consciousness and I don't know how long I lay there. I woke up at dawn; my companion was already dead. I was on an ice floe. I could not get up, as my legs would not move, they were in the water. With great exertion I managed to get up, took the wooden shoes off one of the corpses and looked round. There was no one on the shore, almost no corpses, only bloody footprints. It must be assumed that the ice had cracked under the weight of so many warm human bodies, the corpses had sunk to the bottom, and the wounded people had drowned. During the shooting I remember the man who gave the orders: tall, slender, about 40 years old, he also spoke Ukrainian. I think his name was Stock or something like that. I crawled to the shore, where I met two girls whom I don't know by name. We reached some village and went into a barn. Through a crack I saw a girl at the well. When I came out of the shed, I told her what had happened to us. It turned out that she was a Polish girl from the Lublin area, and here she was on forced labour. Her name was Wanda Grochowska and she worked for a German woman called Hertl. This girl took me to her landlady, who dressed my wounds, gave me food and hid me. She took care of me like a mother. The two girls who remained in the barn were probably found by someone and shot after I left the barn. I heard gunshots and Wanda Grochowska could no longer find them. A few days later this village – Sorgenau – was occupied by Russian paratroopers, who, however, were again forced out by the Germans the next day. The commandant of the district in this locality was an elderly man with the rank of fieldfebel. Some time later Sorgenau was again occupied by the Russians. It turned out that in the same village, namely at the home of Mrs Loni Harder, who now lives in Chemnitz / Upper Bavaria, Hauptstrasse [...] three other Jewish women escaped, namely Genia Biederman, who now lives in the USA, Cyla Maniewicz, who lives in Jerusalem, Mania Glaiman, who also lives in the USA.

I still correspond with Mrs Harder. I testified in Polish, which I know very well. I am ready to repeat this testimony in a German court.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 12. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

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\* Part of the document is published under No. 13.

## 123. From the testimony of a former prisoner P. E. Grinbaum

Not earlier than 15 April 1945\*

4 April 1945\*\* Acting Army

I,<sup>3\*</sup> – Guards Major<sup>4\*</sup> questioned as a witness:

GRINBAUM Pearl Elyashovna, born in 1928, a native of Belzice, Lublin district /Poland/, Jewish, 5 grades of education, non-party, currently at the collection point at the 2nd Guards Army.

She has been warned of liability for giving false testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. The interrogation was carried out through the interpreter Moisey Iosifovich ROTSHILD /at the collection point of the 2nd Guards Army/, who has been warned of liability for incorrect translation under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

[...] During the period when the Red Army began its attack on the Lublin area, the Germans killed and then burned in the crematorium [of the Majdanek concentration camp] up to 15,000 Jews. This whole picture was being perpetrated before our eyes. When the Germans retreated from Lublin, the Germans took with them about 2,000 Jews to the town of Pleszew and from there to Auschwitz /Upper Silesia/. The living conditions in the camps of these towns were no different from those in the Majdanek camp. In Pleszew every Jewish woman was tattooed with "IZ", in Auschwitz – with a tattoo "A", followed by a number. I, for example, had the number: "A-23203", which is still easy to read today. Near the camp in Auschwitz the Germans burned Jews on fires. It was done in the following way: near the camp SS soldiers lit fires, then brought people in cars, undressed them and threw them into the fire. People died in terrible agony. This was done both at night and during the day. I personally saw a lot of such cases. Many women lost their minds at the sight of such pictures. From the camp in Auschwitz we were sent to the camp in Danzig. In total I went through 11 camps and everywhere it was the same: shootings, bonfires, beatings, disease and hunger. In January 1945 in Königsberg 5,000 Jews, drawn from 5 camps in East Prussia, were gathered in the camp. On 25 January 1945, from the Königsberg camp, the entire column of 5,000 people was sent towards Palmnicken. On the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken the entire column of 5000 men was killed. On the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken, up to 1200 Jews were killed and the rest were imprisoned in a special camp in Palmnicken.

On the night of 1 February 1945, all the Jews from the special camp in Palmnicken were taken to the seashore, driven into the sea, and a mass execution was started. The SS soldiers fired with automatic rifles. The air shook with the moans and screams of the people, and the SS men laughed loudly. The wounded were drowning, calling for help, but no one could help them. The soldiers were relentlessly throwing the wounded and firing into the crowd. I was wounded in the leg, fell into the water, but was thrown ashore by a wave. Thanks to the fog, I was not seen by the soldiers. After resting, I got up and made my way to the village of Sorgenau, where I hid in a group of Jews until the day of liberation by the Red Army – 15 April 1945. My sister was killed on the seashore during a mass Jewish execution on 1 February 1945. [...]

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 71–73. Copy. Typescript.*

\* The date is established by the content of the document.

\*\* Date is incorrect.

3\* Name is shaded.

4\* Shaded.

124. Special Report No. 4014/3 dated 26 May 1945 on the results of the investigation by a special commission into the mass shooting of Soviet citizens in Palmnicken

26 May 1945

Top secret  
[...]\*

SPECIAL REPORT

On the atrocities committed against Soviet  
citizens in Palmnicken small town

On 18 May of this year [in] 1 km north of Palmnicken /East Prussia/, in the area of the location of the 1st Rifle Battalion, 82 Guards Rifle Regiment, 32nd Guards Rifle Division, while equipping firing positions for a mortar company above the seashore, a pit with the corpses of civilians buried in disorder, who had been brutally shot by the Germans in January 1945, was discovered near the railway bed.

In order to determine the atrocities committed by the Germans against Soviet citizens, on 19 May of this year a commission was set up consisting of representatives of the political department, the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department, the Prosecutor's Office, the Military Tribunal and the staff of the medical unit of the 32nd Guards Rifle Division, which excavated the corpses and investigated the matter.

The Commission for the Establishment of the Facts of the Brutal Shooting of Soviet Citizens in Palmnicken, established the following:

In January 1945 the German command of the SS troops from the Königsberg camp brought to the area of Palmnicken small town up to 5,000 civilians of different nationalities who were placed on the coast of the Baltic Sea and, due to lack of food, were doomed to starvation.

The Soviet citizens who had been driven from the camp, here in Palmnicken small town, were shot in groups by the Germans and indiscriminately buried in pits.

At the end of January of this year the Germans drove the survivors, more than one thousand Soviet citizens of this camp, onto the ice and subjected them to shooting with machine guns and rifles. The corpses of those shot were thrown under the ice into the sea.

According to the testimony of the inhabitants of Palmnicken small town, all persons from the Königsberg camp were Soviet citizens and all of them were shot on the coast of the Baltic Sea, north of 1-2 kilometres from Palmnicken.

During excavations in the area where Soviet citizens were shot, 5 pits were found, from which 250 corpses were extracted, including over 100 women.

A forensic medical expert established that the shooting of civilians was carried out with firearms, at point-blank range, from behind, into soft tissues, such as the abdomen and chest cavity.

The shot Soviet citizens were buried in disorder in pits in 2-3 rows, at a depth of 2-3 metres.

[...]\*\*

Guards Major-General

[...]\*\*\*



"26" May 1945

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 69 – 70. Original. Typescript.*

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- \* Shaded.  
\*\* The name is shaded.  
3\* The signature is shaded.

**125. Supplement to Special Report No. 4014/3 dated 26 May 1945 on the results of the investigation by a special commission into the mass shooting of Soviet citizens in Palmnicken**

Top secret  
[...]\*

SPECIAL REPORT

On the atrocities against Soviet  
citizens in Palmnicken small town

6 June 1945

In addition to special report No. 4014 dated 26.V.45 on German atrocities against Soviet civilians in Palmnicken small town, I hereby inform you that the following has been established by on-site visit in the course of further investigation of the said atrocities:

The mass shootings of imprisoned Soviet citizens in and around the small town of Palmnicken were carried out by guards of the SS team, who led a column of imprisoned Soviet civilians from Königsberg to Pillau. The said SS team consisted of about 100-135 men, the number of this unit has not yet been established.

The interrogation of witnesses from among Germans, local residents, from the participants of the said atrocities, who were members of this team, revealed:

1. The head of the team - Senior Storm Leader (Obersturmführer) WEBER, name not established, about 30 years old, tall, dense build, black-haired, round-faced, speaks the language of the Germans of the Rhineland.
2. Section Leader (Rottenführer) WILHELM JAN, 23 years old, German, a resident of Essen-Ruhr, Dinnendalstrasse [...], where his mother and father live, son of a merchant, medium height, blond, thin, oblong face, broad nose, thick lips, wears his hair parted to the right, walks briskly, slender.

Karla ZIMMER, the cohabitant of WILHELM Jan, questioned as a witness, testified that after the mass shootings of civilians, Wilhelm lived in Palmnicken town for three to five weeks, and when she asked him about the purpose of his residence, he said that he was left to catch escaped Jews and shoot them. In the shooting of civilians, among whom there were a large number of Jews, persons from among the civilian population of Palmnicken town also took part, of whom we detained:

1. FRISCHKIESEL Herman, born in 1883, a native of Fischhausen, a resident of Ilniken village, Fischhausen district, Königsberg region, German, non-party, 7 grades of education, married, merchant.

On interrogation, FRISCHKIESEL testified about his activities:

“Personally, I, together with the Gendarmerie officer GERITKE, from 25 February 1945 until April of this year, i.e. until the arrival of the Red Army, were engaged in the seizure of all foreigners, including women and children, who were in the villages in the area of Gross Kuhren, Heiligenkreuz, Weidehnen-Schreiberg and their imprisonment in concentration camps in Gross Schreiberg and Gross Dirschkeim.

On 28 January 1945, on the orders of the Head of the Gendarmerie, FRAENGAGEL \*\*. I took two steam wagons with coachmen from the amber factory in Palmnicken and sent them to Sorgenau to collect the corpses of executed Soviet citizens. On the way I collected 240 corpses of the executed by SS troops, which were taken to the eastern outskirts of Palmnicken.

During the collection of the corpses I detained 4 Jewish women who had escaped from the execution. I delivered these women to the burgomaster of the town and, on his orders, took them into custody.”

2. AUKSCHUN Anton, born in 1890, a native of Gross Lädtkaim village, Samland district, Königsberg region, peasant, kulak, German, 8 grades of education, non-party, a resident of Palmnicken small town, worked as an auxiliary policeman and personally took part in the shooting and detention of Jews who evaded execution by escaping.

A witness BETTY OTTO, a resident of Palmnicken small town, testified under interrogation that she was an eyewitness to the shooting by Anton AUKSCHUN of a woman who was hiding in the forest after escaping from the shooting.

“AUKSCHUN Anton came to the forest where the woman was and chased us away from her. When we all moved 50 metres away from this girl, AUKSCHUN shot twice, what happened there, we don't know. I remember at the same time a German refugee asked AUKSCHUN what he had done with the girl found in the forest, AUKSCHUN replied that he had shot her on the order of the Burgomaster of Palmnicken.”

The testimony of Betty Otto about the shooting of the woman in question by Anton AUKSCHUN was confirmed by witnesses REISE Elsa and Zielke HELMUT, the latter testifying that, as a member of the Hitlerjugendvolk (German: Jungvolk in der Hitlerjugend), he was obliged to report to the authorities about all hiding persons, and when he found the woman hiding in the forest, he reported this to Anton AUKSCHUN.

“AUKSCHUN, on coming into the forest, chased us all away from the woman, and himself stayed with her. I hid behind the house, 50 metres away from AUKSCHUN, and watched his actions and saw how he shot the Jewish woman with two shots from a rifle at point-blank range, after which he returned home. After AUKSCHUN left, I approached the woman lying there and saw that she had been killed with one shot to the head and another to the chest.”

Members of the local Hitler Youth organisation and Hitlerjugendvolk<sup>3\*</sup> organisation also took part in the raids to apprehend persons who had escaped from execution, of whom we apprehended 3 persons:

1. HARDEL Horst, born in 1930, a native and resident of Palmnicken small town, from a labourer's family, German, 8 grades of education.
2. LILIENTHAL Georg, born in 1929, a native and resident of Palmnicken small town, from a labourer's family, German, 8 grades of education, in the Hitler Youth organisation since 1939.

3. WESSEL Gerhard, born in 1929, a native of Sorgenau village, Samland district, Königsberg region, from a labourer's family, German, 6 grades of education, in the organisation Hitler Youth since 1942.

HARDEL Horst testified about the participation of the Hitler Youth organisation members in apprehending persons escaping from firing squads during interrogation on 3 June 1945:

"At the time of the search for persons who had escaped from execution, the local government had at its disposal an armed group of members of the Hitler Youth local organisation, which raided and searched the forests where persons who had escaped from execution were hiding.

The Hitler Youth organisation members took all detainees to the local administration, from where they were taken to a local anti-tank ditch and shot there.

Apart from the Hitler Youth organisation members, this group included several members of the Hitlerjugendvolk organisation. I myself am a Hitlerjugendvolk organisation member and together with other young men I took a direct part in apprehending those who escaped from the firing squad."

We are conducting the investigation in the direction of establishing and documenting all the facts of Hitlerite atrocities against Soviet citizens committed in Palmnicken, identifying and searching for the participants in these atrocities and the organisers of the mass shootings - SS men.

In view of the fact that a part of the SS men could have remained on the Samland Peninsula and been captured by the Red Army units, I am sending a task force to the prisoner of war camps, using as identifiers the detained by us LILIENTHAL, witnesses: ZIMMER, FOLGER and the victim who escaped from the shootings HAUPTMANN. [...]

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 82 – 85. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Title, name and signature have been shaded.

\*\* Probably Paul Freyenhagen.

3\* That is, "Jungvolk".

## **126. From the materials of the investigation case against persons involved in the execution of civilians in Palmnicken in January 1945 (Berlin, 1965)**

*24 March 1965*

[...] I. The prisoners who were victims of the death march consisted not only of (predominantly female) prisoners from the external camps of Heiligenbeil, Schippenbeil, Seerappen and Jesau, but also among them were 400 male Jewish prisoners who were housed in Königsberg itself in the external camp (on the grounds of the Schichau shipyard). They worked at the Königsberg Steinfurt Carriage Works until the camp was dissolved. The last commandant of this camp was the defendant Fritz Weber, who committed suicide in the detention cell. In the same area were several barracks and a mothballed factory building. In

this building and the barracks the prisoners from the four above-mentioned external camps were initially housed, as they arrived, and were to march on Palmnicken together with the prisoners of the external camp in Königsberg a few days after their arrival (around 25 or 26 January 1945).

According to the testimonies of former prisoners interviewed so far, which are substantially in agreement with each other, shootings and other acts of murder took place both in the individual external camps and on the march from there to Königsberg. For example, the witness Kleinman, a former inmate of the Seerappen external camp, testifies that a girl who stepped away from her workplace was shot by a warden. She also testifies that many prisoners were shot on the march from Seerappen to Königsberg. The witnesses Ojzerowicz, Haitler and Feder, who were prisoners in the Schippenbeil camp, describe that when the camp was dissolved, a barrack with sick prisoners (about 100–150 people) was blown up. In addition, the witness Ojzerowicz points out that one of the female wardens beat to death many prisoners in the camp. And according to Haitler and Feder, the camp leader at that time, Erich Meisel (or Meisler), beat prisoners to such an extent that they died from their wounds. In addition, Meisel (or Meisler), several times shortly before the dissolution of the camp, loaded prisoners onto lorries about 700 prisoners in total to take them to the Baltic Sea to be shot there. The witness Zwardon says that in the Heiligenbeil camp many prisoners were shot by OT people while working. The then camp leader Hans Glük (or Glükmann) shot about 15–20 sick people in the so-called “recovery block” shortly before the evacuation of the camp, as well as 100 women who could not walk. Other shootings took place during the march from Heiligenbeil to Königsberg. Also the witness Herzberg says that also on the march from Jesau to Königsberg, prisoners who could not go further due to health reasons were shot. In this connection it should be noted that, in addition, the accused Otto Knott mentions the shooting of 7–10 women in the basement of a factory building in the Schichau shipyard by two Gestapo officers.

II. As to the question on whose initiative the march to Palmnicken took place according to the original plan for the extermination of the prisoners in the adit of the Anna mine, and who for this reason is to be regarded as the main person responsible, the interrogation of the accused Weber did not bring the expected clarity to this question either. In this connection Weber only points out that Hauptsturmführer Sonnenschein in Königsberg had only passed on to him the order had only given him the order to take the prisoners to Palmnicken, where an SS group was supposed to be ready with the task of destroying the prisoners. Criminal Investigation Inspector Wilhelm Sonnenschein, born on 15 July 1909 in Essen-Katernberg, according to the entry in the Bochum-Mitte registry book, died in Königsberg on 9 April 1945, is referred to by two witnesses as a former employee of the State Police establishment (Stapo) in Königsberg. In addition, he mentions Sturmbanführer Krause of the Gestapo in Königsberg, with whom he said he discussed the situation in the camp he was in charge of after prisoners from other external camps arrived there. According to Weber, during the discussion, Krause announced to him that Weber was no longer subordinate to Hoppe (as the head of the Stutthof concentration camp at that time), but that he was subordinate to Krause and that he should be at his disposal. This was also confirmed by Hoppe to Weber by telephone shortly after his conversation with Krause. The accused Knott recalls in this connection that Weber told him that the order to march came from the Stapo (State Police). He does not know, however, whether Weber meant the Stapo in Königsberg or in Pillau.

III. With regard to the accused Gerhard Rasch, as a possible source of advice in the extermination action, no further aggravating circumstances have so far come to light. Most of the witnesses who mention his name can only testify that they had rumoured to have heard that Rasch had informed the responsible institutions in Königsberg about the abandoned



adit in Palmnicken. The only witnesses who, apart from this, gave more specific testimony are Horch and Folger. Horch explains that after the Russians arrived, one of the Russian criminal investigators informed him that they were looking for Rasch, who was responsible for the whole action. Folger speaks of a conversation between Weber and Feyerabend, during which Weber allegedly said that during a meeting in Königsberg, at which it was discussed what to do with the Jewish prisoners, Rasch joined the discussion with the initiative that the Jews should “disappear” in this adit. In this connection it may be of interest that Rasch was very well acquainted with the then head of the Königsberg criminal police, Hellmuth Müller, according to the latter.

IV. With regard to the shootings during the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken, the following can be established from the present state of the investigation. The accused Weber, who, however, can only name two of the guards in the convoy, namely, a sanitary doctor Otto Knott and Hauptscharführer Kaufeldt, while he claims to have forgotten the names of the others (even if he knew them), although he agrees that shots were fired during the entire march, he claims that he did not personally shoot anyone. However, not only did he not give the order to shoot, but on the contrary, he reprimanded, albeit unsuccessfully, other senior members of the convoy for shooting.

He describes these shootings as excesses, which he attributes to the drunkenness of the convoy teams, who were “drunk and firing during the whole affair”. The defendant Knott, who claims to have been riding on a sledge at the end of the convoy at all times during the march, and was not himself involved in the shootings, mentions a conversation that took place between him and Weber at one of the stops. In response to Knott's reference to the countless shootings Weber, in his words, objected to him, “What am I to do with this horde?” (by which he obviously meant the convoy teams). Knott, he says, had the impression that these shootings were “not at all convenient” for Weber. On the other hand, Knott makes it clear that he sees the driving force behind their actions, unlike Weber, not the drunkenness of the convoys, but rather their desire to march as fast as possible to avoid falling into the hands of the oncoming Russians. But even if we disregard the statements of the two direct participants in the march, the accused, — then, dignifying all other circumstances of the crime, we can come to the conclusion that the shootings during the march were by no means the execution, in accordance with the order, of the instructions of the persons or person in charge of the whole action. The initiators of the march were interested that the execution of their orders for the killings should take place without unnecessary noise and publicity, especially taking into account the feelings and mood of the population, as well as the certainly expected retribution on the part of the Russians, whose further advance into the Königsberg area, given the military situation at that time, could be expected in the near future. The fact that the plan was based on orders given in Königsberg by those in charge to drive the prisoners into a tunnel outside Palmnicken and to kill them there unnoticed by the population speaks in favour of the correctness of this understanding. If, for whatever reason, the publicity of the act was not feared, it is difficult to explain why the order was not given to exterminate the 5,000 to 6,000 prisoners on the spot, either in the external camps or by rounding them up together in Königsberg. Moreover, according to the rather truthful testimony of the accused Weber, he was clearly ordered to follow a certain route with the convoy from Königsberg to Palmnicken. Sonnenschein, as the person who gave the order, handed him a map of the General Staff, which showed the way, namely a route that was exclusively roundabout. While the shortest distance by road between the two settlements is about 50 kilometres, the chosen route would have taken the column 80-85 kilometers before reaching its destination. And it follows from this fact that those in charge did everything to make the very movement to the planned place of extermination as inconspicuous as possible.

And it would have been a completely irreconcilable contradiction to the whole planned way of action if, on the other hand, an order had been issued to shoot sick or retired prisoners during the march. Because then, as it actually happened, the action could not have been concealed, because the population would have heard the shots and seen the traces of the shootings in the snow, even if at the same time measures had been taken to transport the corpses shot on the sledge, which did not happen, because the corpses remained lying by the roadside and were seen by witnesses even on the next day! Therefore, Knott's statement that Weber attacked one of the escorts who started shooting within the city limits of Königsberg for this very reason (because of this, contrary to the intention of those who gave the order, an intention that Weber knew about, the inhabitants of the city learnt about what was happening and were rightfully outraged by it) sounds quite plausible and understandable. Another indication, in this case, however, valuable only for general understanding, that in the last months of the war an attempt was made to refrain from shooting sick and unable to walk concentration camp inmates during the evacuation, is the order (Einsatzbefehl) No. 3 dated 25 January 1945 (para. 9 aa0), in which the commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp at the time, in connection with the evacuation of the camp, explicitly ordered that prisoners unable to walk should be carried on sledges during the march.

Drawing a conclusion from all this, it can be established that the shootings on the march were not the execution of orders given by those in charge, but rather the excesses of individual members of the convoy teams, which, if all the circumstances are taken into account sensibly, contradicted the intentions of those who gave the orders.

C I. Of the convoy teams, after Weber dropped out due to suicide, only the defendant Otto Knott, who lives in this judicial district, has been found so far. Apart from mere participation in the death march, no party has so far made a concrete accusation against him against him. No one has pointed to him as the perpetrator, and his name only came up in the course of the general investigation in this case when looking through the deeds of case 17 Ks 1/55 of the district court in Bochum. There he together with Hoppe was accused of complicity in the gas extermination in the Stutthof concentration camp and was sentenced to 3 years and 3 months of hard labour prison. In view of the objections he presented, it is not possible to expose his personal participation in the shootings. Even if it were possible to prove his guilt in the course of further investigation, Knott, in comparison with the identified defendants, can in no way be regarded as the main accused in this complex trial, since he, as Unterscharführer and orderly, acted as a subordinate, without having even the slightest influence on the course of events as a whole.

II. A much greater degree of responsibility and guilt concerns the accused Kurt Friedrichs as the then burgomaster and head of the district cell of the NSDAP in Palmnicken, who – according to his own testimony – by his behaviour contributed significantly to the completion of the extermination action. After the initial plan to drive the prisoners immediately upon their arrival in Palmnicken into the adit of the Anna mine and kill them there had been foiled due to the energetic intervention of the director of the Feyerabend estates, Weber did not know what to do at first. When asked by witness Folger what he now thought he should do, he replied that he could do nothing at all at the moment, since Feyerabend had taken over; and he wanted to wait until he received new orders. In the days that followed, Friedrichs repeatedly sought out Weber to induce him to withdraw the prisoners from Palmnicken “in some way.” In addition, a rumour spread in Palmnicken that Friedrichs, together with Weber and other SS men, had inspected Katzengründe, an area near Dirschheim with many ravines and gorges, to assess its suitability for an extermination action. After Feyerabend, as leader of the Palmnicken Volkssturm, had left with his men on orders, and thus the very man who – as before – could oppose any action to exterminate the prisoners was no longer

in place, Friedrichs once more went to Weber to induce him to finally see to it that the Jews would "disappear" from Palmnicken. In doing so, he (Friedrichs) realised that he was creating a decisive prerequisite for the subsequent extermination of some 3,000 prisoners, because it was clear to him that Weber, if he yielded to his entreaties, would seek and find a solution to the problem in the extermination of the Jews. Immediately after the extermination action, Friedrichs assigned several members of the Palmnicken Hitler Youth organisation, whom he also provided with carbines, the task of searching the district forests and buildings within the settlement in order to catch surviving marchers. He left it up to them to either shoot the escaped prisoners on the spot or take them to the Church Community House, where they would be handed over to the remaining convoy's "shot in the back of the head commissar" "Willy", who would then shoot them. However, Friedrichs also used adults to pursue escaped prisoners. Thus, to witness Plau reports that Anton Aukschun told him that Friedrichs had given him the task of finding escaped Jews and, in general, to "kill" anyone who would interfere with the fulfilment of the task. According to the witness Venohr, it was Aukschun who, together with his two sons shot the Jewish woman.

III. With this result of the earlier investigation, there is no reason to doubt that the main focus of the trial should not be on Knott, but rather on Friedrichs, among the previously identified named and still living defendants. While Knott may at best be prosecuted as an accidental perpetrator (because of the shootings during the march) or as a so-called recipient of orders (because of the shootings on the beach at Palmnicken), Friedrichs is already under strong suspicion that he initiated the shooting of some 3,000 prisoners on the beach at Palmnicken, as well as the later captured prisoners who had escaped the shootings.

D. The following data are important for further work on the case. The criminal police, who have so far been involved in the investigative work, have compiled a file on persons and acts, as well as case volumes on witnesses and defendants. In addition, a copy of the investigation report has been drawn up, which should be at the disposal of the representative of the prosecutor's office at the main trial. Also, 5 search warrants have been issued so far. In order to avoid unnecessary duplication of work, it would be preferable to include this data. In connection with another promising possibility to establish the names of guards from the Stutthof concentration camp and the external camps who may have participated in the death march, we point to sheet IX /1818a, sheet X/1981 in the file.

5. Other orders are given separately.

Berlin, 24 March 1965,

Greiner, Public Prosecutor

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 4. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

**127. From the materials of the investigation of the charges against persons involved in the execution of civilians in Palmnicken in January 1945 (Berlin, Lüneburg, 1967-1973)**

*29 May 1967 – 22 October 1973*

2 a Js 405/65 Sheet of the Case 1204, 22.10.1973

1. Note:

The subjects of the investigations were:

A. The execution of 22 prisoners in the former Palmnicken punitive labour camp between January and March 1945

And

B. the murder of approximately 5,000 Jewish prisoners during the liquidation of the Stutthof concentration camp and its external camps from mid to late January and early February 1945. From the external camps of Heiligenbeil, Schippenbeil, Seerappen, Jesau, and Königsberg, approximately 5,000 prisoners were rounded up and marched to Palmnicken in mid-January 1945. On the march and in Palmnicken, almost all of them were killed.

The preliminary investigation was conducted by the Central Supervisory Institution of the State Justice Authorities, which referred the case to the prosecutor's office in Kiel because the main defendant, former SS Senior Squad Leader (Obertscharführer) Fritz Weber, lived there.

After Weber committed suicide in pre-trial detention in January 1965, the case was transferred to the prosecutor's office in Berlin, where former SS Junior Squad Leader (Unterscharführer) Otto Knott resided. Since there was no specific aggravating evidence against him, the Berlin prosecutor's office referred the case to the Lüneburg prosecutor's office, in which district the former burgomaster of Palmnicken, Kurt Friedrichs, who is suspected of having assisted in the Palmnicken murders, lives.

A. Murders in the Palmnicken punitive labour camp.

[...] From 1942 there was a penal labor camp on the territory of the Amber Factory, mainly for Polish prisoners. The camp was subordinate to the Justice Department and apparently operated by the prison of the Regional Court of Königsberg. The staff consisted of officials from the Ministry of Justice, assisted by employees of the amber factory as wardens. The prisoners worked in open-pit mining and in the workshops of the amber factory.

The last commandant of this labor penal camp, to which also German prisoners were transferred from the end of 1944, was the then senior justice official Hermann Julius Janz, born on 12.02.1890 in Posenberg, who was declared dead on 12.03.1950. He is believed to have died in Königsberg or Palmnicken in Soviet captivity.

Among the German prisoners in Palmnicken was a witness Alfred Krämbing, who indicated that between the end of January and the beginning of February 1945, Janz, together with "the director of the Königsberg prison" and "in the presence of the president of the supreme regional court of Königsberg," killed 22 prisoners, including three Jews and two Poles, with shots to the back of the head. He, Krämbing, saw all the shootings himself, except in four cases, all the corpses he had to bury. Apparently, he said, the shootings were carried out on the instructions of two SS men who stood nearby during the executions. The SS men themselves did not shoot, only once one of them finished off one of the victims with a shot.

In its details, however, this testimony must be assessed with caution, since Krämbing had previously been punished for slander, and on a subsequent attempt to question him



announced that he no longer wished to say anything. In essence, however, his description is plausible. Shootings of Jews, Poles and other prisoners at the behest of SS men were not uncommon at the time of the act. In addition, another witness, Laatsch, had also heard of shootings in a labour camp in Palmnicken, although he could not give any details. Although Krämbing claimed that Funk, a former volunteer policeman, could say more, as he was believed by Krämbing to have participated in the shooting of Jews, Krämbing was unable to ground his suspicion. The involvement of the expeditor Walter Funk, born on 03.08.1904 in Königsberg, residing in Ewer, Tilsiter Strasse [...], who was an assistant policeman in Königsberg during the war, is being considered. Funk, however, claims to know nothing about the shootings in Palmnicken. No other aggravating circumstances were found against him.

The last president of the supreme regional court of Königsberg is known to have been executed in the last days of the war, as Krämbing mentions, however.

The identity of the "director of the Königsberg prison" could not be established. The search for SS men is unpromising, as Krämbing did not specify either ranks or names [...].

## II. The Stutthof concentration camp and its neighbouring camps.

### 1) Stutthof Concentration Camp.

Stutthof is a small village 36 kilometres east of Danzig at the beginning of the Frische Nehrung Spit. In 1940 a special SS camp was built there, which was transformed into a State Concentration Camp in February 1942. It was a labour camp with numerous production plants and workshops in which prisoners were forced to work. The convoy teams and administrative staff belonged to the SS Death's Head unit of the Stutthof concentration camp. There were also Germans from Hungary in this unit, which is documented by "Commandant's Order No. 81" dated 04.12.1944.

Like all large concentration camps, the Stutthof camp had to serve a large region with cheap slave labourers, who were partly housed in external camps far away from the main camp. Such external camps for Stutthof were the camps in Pomerania, Warthegau and East Prussia. By the end of 1944, the Stutthof concentration camp and its external camps held about 100,000 prisoners.

This large number of prisoners was a consequence of the fact that in the summer of 1944 the liquidation of concentration and labour camps in the Baltic States, especially in the Riga area, began, and prisoners, mostly Jews, were transferred to Stutthof and from there to other external camps. On the other hand, a large number of prisoners were transferred to the Stutthof concentration camp and neighbouring camps from the Auschwitz concentration camp, which was abandoned at the end of 1944 due to the approaching front.

The last commandant of the Stutthof camp and its external camps was the SS Sturmbannführer Paul-Werner Hoppe, who had already been convicted in a separate case. In the present case, we are only interested in the external camps of Heiligenbeil, Schippenbeil, Seerappen, Jesau and Königsberg.

### 2) Heiligenbeil External Camp.

Heiligenbeil is located 45 kilometres south-west of Königsberg, halfway between the road and the railway to Elbing, adjacent to the coast of Frisches Haff Bay. In the external camp there were between 1,000 and 1,500 prisoners, mostly women, who worked on road construction and at the airfield.

### 3) Schippenbeil External Camp.

Schippenbeil, 55 kilometres southeast of Königsberg. It also held about 1,500 prisoners working on the expansion of the airfield. Here, too, most of the prisoners were women. Conditions were so bad and the death rate so high that when the camp was liquidated in mid-January, only 700 prisoners remained.

### 4) Seerappen External Camp.

The Seerappen camp, about 14 kilometres north-west of Königsberg, held about 2,000 prisoners, also mostly women, who were employed in road construction.

#### 5) Jesau External Camp.

At the Jesau airfield, 18 kilometres south of Königsberg, there was a camp with 1,000 female prisoners from Auschwitz and about 500 Jewish men from the Vilnius ghetto. Prisoners here also had to work on the airfield.

In these four camps, the prisoners were supervised by several lower SS officials, who were subordinated to SS guards and OT (Totd Organisation) officers.

#### 6) Königsberg External Camp.

In the city of Königsberg, on the grounds of the Schichau shipyard, in the city district of Kontinen, there was an external camp in which approximately 400 Jews were held. Every day they were transported by ferry across the Pregel and sent to work in the Steinfurt AG Carriage Works. The leader of this camp was the already mentioned Fritz Weber, at that time an SS Senior Squad Leader (Oberscharführer).

### III. Liquidation of the external camps and the march to Königsberg.

In the middle of January 1945, the external camps Heiligenbeil, Schippenbeil, Seerappen and Jesau were dissolved and the prisoners were marched on foot to Königsberg. The prisoners were severely weakened by the inhuman conditions in the labour camps, they were not wearing clothing appropriate for winter weather conditions, and their endurance was low. Already on the march to Königsberg, many weak and exhausted prisoners who could not keep up with the pace of the march were shot by convoy teams consisting of SS camp staff and OT guards.

In Königsberg, the Jews were distributed in several groups. One group went to the external camp of the Schichau shipyard, another to the spinning combine on Reichsstrasse 1, which had previously housed a Gypsy camp, and a third group was housed in barracks in the city's Kalthof district near the airfield. In all, there were about 5,000 Jewish prisoners, about 4,000 women and 1,000 men.

### IV. March to Palmnicken.

On approximately 23.01.1945, these 5,000 prisoners set off on foot for Palmnicken. The leader of this column was presumably SS Senior Squad Leader Weber, who marched with his group through Königsberg. Other groups joined him outside the city.

In Königsberg, some of the prisoners were not fed, so they were not prepared for the trials of a long foot march. Back in the city of Königsberg, many of them were shot and the corpses were simply left lying in the street.

The route led exclusively by roundabouts past the settlements of Metgethen, Druggenen, Kumehnen, Polenen, Kirpehnen, Germau, Palmnicken.

Here, too, many prisoners were shot on the way or left lying on the road, victims of exhaustion, starvation or 20-degree cold. Both Jewish and German witnesses reported continued shootings and corpses along the way.

The number of prisoners who died on the way was approximately 2,000, as only 3,000 of the 5,000 Jews in Königsberg reached Palmnicken.

### V. Stay in Palmnicken.

On the night of 26 or 27 January 1945, a convoy of prisoners entered Palmnicken. The frightened population was awakened by the shots of the guards and at first thought that the Russians had already entered the town. Several witnesses watched during the night as the column of Jews entered, as prisoners were shot by the escorting convoys, but none of the witnesses could say anything about the perpetrators.

That same night, the Jews were housed in the large hall of the locksmiths' workshops of the amber factory.

The next morning the population became very agitated. Only now the extent of the shootings became visible. Numerous corpses lay in the streets of the town and on the road behind it. Between Palmnicken and Sorgenau about 200-300 corpses were found on the 2 km long road, one witness counted about 400 corpses. The management of the amber factory sent several carts and sledges to remove the corpses. They were buried in a mass grave on the territory of the Anna mine. A witness Otto Wottke, who was a coachman at the time, said that he alone took between 200 and 300 corpses to the mass grave.

In addition, the convoy caused a commotion because Palmnicken was already overflowing with refugees and military units. After all, the population suspected, as it later turned out, that something terrible would happen to the Jews, and feared retribution from the Soviet troops in the immediate vicinity. The guards did not tell much, but some of them announced that there were Jews in the convoy "who would be massacred (or shot) here."

The leader of the convoy, SS Senior Squad Leader Weber, also announced to the director of the amber factory, Landmann, that he had been sent from Königsberg to Palmnicken to take the Jews into an abandoned tunnel and kill them there. Landmann, however, opposed this and said that this was out of the question even if only because the adits were used for water supply. Landmann was vigorously supported by Feyerabend, the director of the amber factory estates. Feyerabend was a major in the reserve and at the same time commander of the local People's Storm (Volkssturm). He rejected any possibility of killing Jews and declared in a conversation with Weber that he would not allow Palmnicken to become a second Katyn, as witnesses to this conversation report. He took very active care of the Jews, got hay and food for them, provided them with a kitchen at the combine and gave them large quantities of peas, bread and meat from the stocks. A part of the population supported him.

However, on 30 January he was suddenly sent to the front, only 20 kilometres to the east, with a People's Storm unit, where he died the same day under unclear circumstances. Whether he died, committed suicide or was killed on behalf of the security police has not been clarified.

#### VI. Murders on the night from 31 January to 1 February 1945 and later.

1) On the night between 31 January and 1 February 1945, the Jews who had been housed in the locksmith's workshop of the Amber Factory were again sent on the march. They were told that they would be brought to the Baltic Sea to be loaded onto ships and taken to safety. In fact, they were to be killed. Weber ordered the men to march at the end of the column. The column was led to the coast in the direction of Sorgenau (south). The road ran along the shore of the icy Baltic Sea. Starting from the end of the column, groups of 50-100 prisoners were formed, who had to stop, and then they were shot by convoy teams or driven into the icy sea. Almost all prisoners were killed in this way. Only a few, about 200, were able to escape from the column, with individual convoys helping them, or they managed, albeit wounded, to escape from the ice floes that night or the next morning. Witnesses observed the shootings on the coast and others saw the bodies in the following days. They could not testify against the specific perpetrators.

The escapees and survivors tried to find protection and help from the population. Some of them were taken in by the German inhabitants of Palmnicken and neighbouring villages and estates, who took care of them and hid them until the Russians arrived, as shown not only by German witnesses, but also by Jewish witnesses who are still in contact with their rescuers. In one case, the German doctor Schröder not only treated a wounded Jewish woman from Auschwitz, but also removed a concentration camp number tattoo from her elbow.

2) After the massacre, the convoy team left Palmnicken, with the exception of one SS man of unknown rank, whom everyone called "the commissar for shots to the back of the head". Under his leadership or on his orders, search teams were formed, which were partly

composed of members of the Hitler Youth organisation. These teams searched for escaped Jews and some of them were caught. Those caught were first led to the offices of the burgomaster and the head of the local NSDAP cell, Kurt Friedrichs, and then handed over to the "commissar for shots to the back of the head." Either he or members of the Hitler Youth organisation shot those caught at the Anna mine.

These episodes were reported not only by direct witnesses, but also by former residents of Palmnicken, who heard shots at night by the sea and later learnt that the Jews had been driven into the sea, and who were also told how the prisoners who managed to escape were hunted down. These episodes were on everyone's lips in Palmnicken. After the Soviet troops occupied Palmnicken on 15.04.1945, they ordered the German women to open the mass graves on Trinity 1945 and to bury the corpses in a solemn ceremony, and a monument was erected here. Approximately 500 bodies were reburied in this way.

They also investigated and executed several Palmnicken residents, including Lesch and Emil Egert, whose names do not appear at all in the case documents.

#### VII. Persons who may come under suspicion of committing crimes.

The following groups of persons may be accused:

- 1) Those who gave the order for the liquidation of the external camps.
- 2) Those who ordered the march to Palmnicken.
- 3) Convoy teams, if it is possible to prove their participation in the shootings on the road or in Palmnicken.
- 4) All other persons who suggested or assisted in the killing of Jews in Palmnicken.

- 1) Those who ordered the liquidation of the external camps.

The question of who ordered the dissolution of the concentration camps in the East at the end of the war is sufficiently clear. Both at the Nuremberg trial against Göring and others and at the trial against high-ranking functionaries of the SS administrative and economic department it was said that Reich Leader of the SS Himmler had given orders to the top leaders of the SS and police, according to which, when the front approached, they were to liquidate the concentration camps lying in the area of their responsibility. It must be borne in mind, however, that such statements by witnesses and defendants must be assessed with caution, since everyone who was affected in any way tried and still tries to absolve himself of responsibility. Neither the Institute of Contemporary History nor the Federal Archives have any documentary data on this issue. However, with regard to the Stutthof camp, a document has been preserved. It is about the "Operational Order No. 3" dated 25.01.1945, which was issued by the then camp commander, SS Assault Unit Leader Hoppe. This order begins as follows:

"According to the order of the head of the SS and Police Compound "Vistula", the SS Group Leader and Waffen-SS Lieutenant General Katzmann, all male and female prisoners, starting from 25.01.1945 at 6:00, are led back on foot..." This is followed by detailed instructions about the division into marching columns, guards, route and so on. Lauenburg/Pomerania is mentioned as the objective of the march. During the march, reports were to be constantly sent to the supreme leader of the SS and Police "Vistula", and upon reaching the district of Danzig - West Prussia, to the supreme leader of the Police and SS compound "North", who was responsible for it. From this it can be deduced that at least the dissolution of the Stutthof concentration camp was ordered by the respective supreme leader of the SS and Police.

The following paragraph of the order is relevant to the present case:

"During the march the completely outgoing marchers are to be handed over to the police guards in the individual localities and later taken away on sledges by the last column passing through there.



For the burial of the dead on the march, the convoy commander must allocate a special burial group. The burial must be done by verbal order. The tools for the burial must be provided by sledge". The order does not say anything about the dissolution of the subordinate camps. Hoppe himself testified that he approached Katzmann about the dissolution of Stutthof and received orders from the latter to liquidate the main and external camps as quickly as possible. He first ordered the dissolution of the main camp, which cannot be said of the external camps, as he had no connection with them. However, he assumes that the external camps were ordered to liquidate by the top SS and police leader in Königsberg. That Hoppe was not involved in the liquidation of the camps in this case, which were all east of Elbing, seems plausible; after all, when he issued his "Operative Order No. 3", the fighting was already going on beyond Elbing, so contact with the external camps was already at a minimum.

Weber testified that after the arrival of prisoners from other external camps, he discussed their situation in the external camp he was in charge of at the Schichau shipyard in Königsberg with SS Assault Unit Leader Krause of the Königsberg Gestapo. At this Krause announced to him that he, Weber, was no longer subordinate to the commander of the Stutthof concentration camp, but was subordinate to him, Krause, and he was now to be at his disposal. Hoppe himself soon confirmed to Weber by telephone that he was no longer subordinate to Hoppe.

By this logic, one must assume that the instructions to liquidate the external camps of the Stutthof concentration camp appearing in this case, as well as the liquidation of the main camp, were given by the supreme leader of the SS and "Vistula" police compound. Whether the commandants of the external camps had now received the corresponding orders directly from the institution of the supreme head of the SS and Police or ex officio through the Head of the Security Police and the relevant Gestapo units is not ascertainable. Nor has any indication been revealed as to the persons who transmitted such orders.

The supreme leader of the SS and Police was at that time SS Group Leader and Police Lieutenant General Friedrich Katzmann, born on 6.5.1906, who died 19.09.1957.

Major Krause, named only by Weber, could not be identified, as there are no detailed indications of face and official position.

Other persons in the circle of suspects could not be identified either.

Further investigation of this item is not promising.

2) The persons who gave the order for the march to Palmnicken.

Weber gave the following testimony concerning the reason for his march to Palmnicken:

In the morning two SS leaders came to his camp and ordered him and his men to march to the police-presidium, where SS Head Storm Leader (Hauptsturmführer) Sonnenschein would be waiting for him. He marched out and met Sonnenschein, who gave him a general map on which the route to Palmnicken was plotted. Sonnenschein said that an SS team was waiting at Palmnicken. It became clear to him, Weber, that the Jews in Palmnicken were to be killed.

Sonnenschein also said that he should contact the head of the amber factory in Palmnicken, who was aware of the matter. On the basis of this order he left with his 400 prisoners. On the way he was joined by other columns, among them one led by a senior commander from the OT, unknown to him, and another led by SS Head Squad Leader Kaufeldt. On two occasions a vehicle (kübelwagen) appeared on the way, in which there were several junior SD (Security Service of the Reich Leader) commanders. One of them, with the rank of Head Squad Leader, announced to him that he was to supervise the column and make sure that it did not get onto the main road, while he, Weber, was to make sure that those in the column stayed together.

Weber's account is wrong when he says that it was only after leaving the camp that he learnt that the prisoners would have to be led to Palmnicken. Such a march required organisational preparations, which, however, were actually carried out already in the camp. Weber himself testified that at the end of his column was a sledgeman Knott, who was looking after the sick. The then SS Junior Squad Leader (Unterscharführer) Otto Knott, who had arrived at the external camp Königsberg at the Schichau shipyard a few days before leaving the camp, in fact gave a similar and more plausible description of the events that took place, differing only in details. According to his recollections, he was transferred to the external camp as an orderly on 20.01.1945. He, Knott says, introduced himself to Weber, who informed him that the camp would soon be dissolved. Weber called a lot and told him that the Jews would go to Palmnicken, so he, Weber, was ordered by the Gestapo, and he, Knott, does not remember now whether he meant the Gestapo in Königsberg or in Fischhausen. On the day of the convoy's departure, Gestapo men appeared and began shooting at the prisoners. Back at the camp, Weber ordered that he, Knott, should ride on a sledge at the end of the column and look after the sick. Knott described the rest of the events in much the same way as Weber, but stated that Weber was the leader of the entire column.

According to the testimony of Feyerabend's widow and Landmann's widow, Landmann received a telephone call from Königsberg shortly before the prisoners arrived in Palmnicken, and was told that a column of prisoners was arriving and that Jews were to be killed in one of the tunnels. It was not possible to establish who made the call.

The then head of the State Amber Manufactory in Königsberg, Gerhard Rasch, testified that the SS leader Rosenbaum or Rosenstock asked him about the possibility of accommodation in Palmnicken.

Weber himself told the witness Folger in Palmnicken that he had received orders in Königsberg to bring Jews to Palmnicken. After Feyerabend and Landmann had opposed the extermination of the Jews, Weber told Folger that he was now waiting for further orders "from Königsberg".

The commander of the Stutthof camp, Hoppe, recalls that in February or March 1945 near Stutthof, corpses with gunshot wounds were washed ashore. Hoppe then learnt from conversations that there had been shootings at Palmnicken, and he surmises that these executions came from the leading department of the Königsberg State Police. Weber's testimony, in connection with other statements, suggests that he received the order to march to Palmnicken from the leading department of the Gestapo in Königsberg. The named Head Squad Leader Sonnenschein is apparently identical with the then criminal commissar Wilhelm Sonnenschein, born on 15.07.1909 in Essen-Katernberg, who died in Königsberg on 09.04.1945. He was in charge of the Königsberg Gestapo department as head of section IV 2 a (Jewish matter).

From the summer of 1944 the head of the Gestapo department in Königsberg was government counsellor and SS Assault Unit Leader Kurt Gornig, born on 15.11.1912 in Leobschütz, who was killed at the takeover of Königsberg and later recognised as dead. According to the testimony of the former SS Assault Unit Leader Rühberg, at the end of the war Gornig was once personally engaged in sending prisoners of one of the external camps of the Stutthof concentration camp to Palmnicken. A significant influence on Gornig at the time was allegedly held by the then police secretary Joachim Siebert, who also volunteered for an unknown execution. Siebert died during the battle for Königsberg.

The SS leader Rosenbaum or Rosenstock, mentioned only by witness Rasch, was not found. Only former SS Junior Storm Leader (Untersturmführer) Wilhelm Rosenbaum has been identified, who, however, was in Salzburg until the end of the war and is therefore excluded

from the case, as is his missing brother, who was only an SS Squad Leader (Sharführer). Further investigations are not promising.

### 3) Convoy teams.

Nothing definite could be established about the convoy teams. According to numerous witnesses from Palmnicken, they were three SS men of lower officer ranks, 22 SS soldiers and about 120-125 OT guards. That these included OT personnel seems to be consistent with reality, because numerous witnesses said so, and Knott speaks of the OT men as escort guards. Other witnesses, however, indicate that the escort guards were "Vlasov soldiers" or Ukrainians and Belorussians, foreigners, Hungarian, Belgian or Romanian SS soldiers and Lithuanians, Latvians or Estonians. Weber said that one of the columns was accompanied by 60-80 Cossacks, the other column by Walloon, Flemish and Belgian members of the OT.

One does not exclude the other. If we take into account that by the time of the deed all possible peoples were in a variety of uniforms, and that according to "Commandant's Order No. 81" of the Stutthof concentration camp also Germans from Hungary served in the SS, we must assume that among the convoy teams there were a certain number of foreign OT members, SS men and members of other so-called foreign formations.

It has only been established with certainty that the leader of the convoy was the already named SS Senior Squad Leader Fritz Weber, who committed suicide in pre-trial detention, and that the convoy team also included SS Junior Squad Leader Otto Knott. Weber, it is true, denied that he himself shot Jews, but at the very least he may be responsible for the mass shootings on the coast of Palmnicken and the shooting of prisoners on the march. However, he is dead.

Knott, on the other hand, has no aggravating circumstances. Although he denied at the first interrogation that he had been on the march to Palmnicken at all, he gave evidence at the second interrogation which in a substantial part coincides with the information already received and seems plausible. Knott indicated that in Königsberg he had received orders from Weber to follow the column on a sledge and look after the sick. Weber confirmed this. Knott, as he says, in Palmnicken loaded some sick Jews on several sledges and travelled with them to Pillau, where the Jews were taken from him. And this is confirmed by Weber. However, neither Jewish nor German witnesses mention Knott by name or by his function (orderly, wagon driver). Involvement in acts of murder prosecuted under the law cannot be proved against him.

Weber and Knott were one and the same in stating that in addition to them there were also 8 SS soldiers, as well as about 100 people from the OT and "Cossacks".

An unknown OT leader, who may have been an employee of the Reich labour service, in or near Königsberg fled with a sledge full of food. According to Weber, he had 5-7 SS men in his command, among them Knott, whom he mentioned by name, he could not give any other names of his men, and Knott did not give any other names of men in his command. Neither characterised any of the SS officers named by other witnesses as participants in the death march, nor did they know those names.

Weber, however, pointed out that the leader of one of the women's columns was the SS Head Squad Leader Kaufeldt. Kaufeldt told him that he had previously been with his Jews in Metgethen and had taken part in building fortifications there. Since Seerappen is only 4 kilometres from Metgethen, it is reasonable to conclude from Weber's words that Kaufeldt was the leader of the external camp there. The name Kaufeldt is not mentioned again by any of the witnesses. On the other hand, one of the witnesses mentions SS Obergruppenführer Schäfer as the leader of the Seerappen camp. According to Weber, Kaufeldt travelled with him from Palmnicken to Pillau, where he lost sight of him. Weber gave no aggravating evidence against Kaufeldt. However, he reported that an SD (Security Service of the Reich

Leader) Head Squad Leader, whom he had already seen travelling in a car (Kübelwagen), suddenly appeared in Palmnicken and demanded that the Jews in the adit be exterminated. He, Weber, refused to do so and was supported by Kaufeldt. After that the SD Head Squad Leader had conversations only with Kaufeldt.

When asked whether Kaufeldt had fired shots on the way and in Palmnicken itself, Weber explained that he did not wish to speak about this matter.

The investigation into Kaufeldt was inconclusive.

Knott also indicated that SS Senior Squad Leader Johann Meyer, head of the Heiligenbeil external camp, who was not mentioned in the case documents, was also on the march. If Weber indicated that an unknown OT leader was in Kaufeldt's group, Knott believes that this OT leader was in Meyer's group. Knott said nothing about Meyer's possible involvement in the murders. He also does not know where Meyer has gone. Meyer, in the rank of SS Senior Squad Leader, could not be identified during the investigation. And the other prisoners at Heiligenbeil did not mention Meyer's name. The commandant of the external camp Heiligenbeil is called SS Squad Leader or SS Senior Squad Leader "Hans" Glük or Glükmann, who had a dog and who had a dog and is said to have shot 15-20 patients in Heiligenbeil shortly before the march to Königsberg. According to the testimony of several Jewish witnesses, he marched with them on the march to Palmnicken, and both on the way and on the coast shot a large number of prisoners. His search was unsuccessful.

In the external camp of Heiligenbeil there was also an SS warden, Erna Neumann, who also accompanied the column of prisoners to Palmnicken, and took part in the shootings on the coast. She also could not be found. Knott said that he remembered that there were one or two female guards in the convoy teams, but could not give further details.

Another name given is Schäfer, an SS officer. Witness Arms, who lived in Palmnicken at the time, believes that this was the name of the convoy leader. There may have been a confusion with Weber. A witness Pola Zwardon, an outside prisoner at Heiligenbeil, gave the name Schäfer during the second interrogation as the temporary commandant of Heiligenbeil, who was replaced 4 weeks later by Glük/Glükmann. She did not give aggravating evidence against Schäfer. She did not name Schäfer during the first interrogation.

A witness Frida Klajnman referred to SS Senior Squad Leader Schäfer in the second interrogation as the commander of the Seerappen camp, whom she did not name in the first interrogation.

And although the documentation centre in Berlin has looked through more than 500 files on the surname "Schäfer", no hard evidence could be found. It is possible that there is a confusion with Knott's named Johann Meyer.

SS Senior Squad Leader Stock or Rosenstock "or a person with a similar surname" is named as the leader of the external camp Jesau, who, according to testimony, on the night of the murder in Palmnicken ordered the shooting of those fleeing. Numerous records from the documentation centre with the surname "Stock" were checked, but no sufficient grounds for identifying the wanted man were established. Further investigations are not promising here either, in particular because the correct surname has not been established.

About the staff of the Schippenbeil camp, former camp inmates said that the commandant was first an elderly SS man who behaved honourably towards the inmates. His successor was SS Senior Squad Leader Erich Meissel or Meissler, who was 50 years old and a butcher from Berlin. He was cruel to the prisoners, loaded them with hard work, and under his command the death rate increased. He led the prisoners of his camp to Königsberg, but then returned to Schippenbeil, and was not named as a member of the convoy team on the march to Palmnicken. He himself explained that he was from the Baltics, where he was involved in the "final settlement of the matter".



In Schippenbeil he beat a Jewish woman, Mary, so badly that she died soon afterwards. Then he beat Esther Berlinska and Leja Nejman, who also died of beatings. A witness to the beating was Alta Feder.

In Max Kaufmann's book "The Extermination of the Jews of Latvia", SS man Meisel, who was among the staff of the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga, is mentioned - but only once briefly. In the Hamburg trial against Maywald and others (Latvian trial) the witness Esra Jurmann reported about Head Squad Leader Meissels from Kaiserwald, who on 25 or 28 July 1944 led the action in the Stradsenhof camp.

Of the more than 150 identified "Meissels" and others, the then SS Head Squad Leader can probably be regarded as this person

Erich Meissel,

Born on 22.1.1912 in Danzig-Langfuhr, now residing at Stapel-Moorweide [...], Leer district.

He had been in various concentration camps and most recently (from early 1944 until the surrender) was a member of the SS Katzmann guard battalion in Danzig-Matzkau.

Since there is no evidence to prove that Erich Meissel participated in the death march and in the coastal executions, and there is aggravating evidence against him "only" in connection with three murders in the external camp Schippenbeil, the case against him is singled out and handled in a special manner, since further investigation seems promising.

Two SS guards, one named Trude, who behaved humanely and died while still in the camp, and another named Annilotte Schmidt, who was said to have beaten to death several prisoners in the camp, are also named as supervisory personnel from the external Schippenbeil camp. However, according to witnesses, she remained in the camp and was not part of the convoy on the march to Palmnicken. No other clues to her identity have been revealed.

Among the other members of the convoy teams, only the French OT employee "Denis", who was on the staff of the Seerappen camp, is mentioned by name, but is characterised as a man who came to the rescue. He could not be traced either.

Although more than 150 people were questioned during the investigation, some repeatedly, it was not possible to find out more about the convoy teams. This is because the convoy was not part of any particular formation, but consisted of units from different origins. Witnesses often saw the escorts, most of whom had little or no knowledge of German, only briefly, often only once. No documentary material is presented and probably does not exist, given that the relevant orders in those turbulent times were mostly given orally. Further searches for convoys are therefore out of the question.

4) Other persons who offered or helped to kill Jews in Palmnicken. As described above, after 01.02.1945, Jews caught again in Palmnicken were shot by an SS man designated as the "commissar for shots in the back of the head". According to some witnesses, this was a man who had been separated from his unit, an SS Squad Leader or Senior Squad Leader who was not part of the convoy. His name was "Walter" or "Willy" and he seemed to be from Cologne. He was related to Karla Zimmer, who died on 09.09.1945.

According to other witnesses, he was a member of the convoy. He himself allegedly said that he was a guard at the Stutthof concentration camp. He was also last seen in Stutthof. The search for him was fruitless, although other Stutthof court cases were analysed in this regard. In the absence of further details about this unknown SS man, there is no scope for further investigation.

Numerous witnesses point to a rumour in Palmnicken at that time that the then commercial director of the State Amber Manufactory in Königsberg, Gerhard Rasch, born on 27.05.1905 in Rüdesheim, now living in Hamburg 13, Mittelweg [...], proposed to bring

Jews to Palmnicken and there to drive them into an abandoned adit to kill them by gas or explosion, or to close the adit after them. This was said to be the only reason the prisoners were brought to Palmnicken. However, most of the witnesses were unable to point out any specific facts.

The then secretary of the amber factory in Palmnicken, Maria Arms, said that she learned at the time from Mrs Landmann that her husband had received a telephone call from Königsberg informing him of the arrival of a shipment of prisoners, and that this conversation had been reported by Rasch. Although Landmann's widow recalls that her husband received a phone call from Königsberg one night and that she even picked up the phone herself at first, she does not now remember whether the name Rasch was mentioned - she knew Rasch personally and remembers him in another connection.

The secretary of the director of the Feyerabend estate, Gertrud Kohnke, reportedly heard the conversation between Landmann and Feyerabend after the convoy arrived. In doing so, she reports that Landmann told Feyerabend that Rasch had made sure that the Jews came to Palmnicken and that he had told Regional Leader Koch or his staff that there were old adits in the Palmnicken combine in which Jews could disappear. Both Landmann and Feyerabend, she said, were terribly angry with Rasch because of this.

The widow Feyerabend remembers that Landmann received a phone call asking about the old tunnels. However, it was only after the war that she learnt that Rasch had prompted the SD (Security Service of the Reich Leader) to bring the Jews to Palmnicken.

The then burgomaster of Palmnicken, Friedrichs, said that Landmann called him and told him that several thousand Jews had come. Landmann was very angry and mentioned that Rasch had ordered it that way. In the conversation that followed, Landmann told him that Rasch had called to inform him that the Jews were coming. And in another conversation, in which Landmann and Feyerabend, in addition to him, took part, as well as the SS man in charge of the convoy, it was mentioned that Rasch was the one to be "thanked" for this circumstance.

And a witness Folger expressed himself in the same spirit. He was then an accountant at the amber factory in Palmnicken and heard the conversation between Feyerabend and the convoy leader. According to Folger, the SS leader said that a gentleman named Rasch had suggested that there were empty tunnels in Palmnicken.

The defendant Weber did not mention the name of Rasch, nor did he recall it in other testimony. Rasch himself described what happened as follows: at night in Königsberg he received a telephone call from the head of an SS institution, whose name he cannot now remember exactly, either Rosenbaum or Rosenstock. He told him that there were about 5,000 Jews on their way to Palmnicken. It was not possible that they would end up in the hands of the Russians, so he asked him if there were any accommodation facilities in Palmnicken. He himself replied that there was a large workshop there, and that there were cabins above the Anna mine which were used by holidaymakers. Finally, he referred in the conversation with the SS leader to Landmann, who is an influential person in Palmnicken. He cannot remember any other details of the conversation. He found out later what happened next. However, according to him, not only did he not propose to kill the Jews in the adit in Palmnicken, but he also did not call Landmann. On 16.02 and 01.03.1945 he was once more in Palmnicken and spoke there with Landmann, who did not reproach him in any way in this respect. He was perhaps aware of the rumour that he, Rasch, was in charge of the "funeral march", but this does not correspond to the state of affairs.

In this result of the investigation, which must be regarded as conclusive, it cannot be sufficiently proved that Rasch was involved in or assisted in the acts connected with the Palmnicken murders. The fact that he refers to an unidentified SS leader Rosenbaum or

others is not an aggravating circumstance; it is quite possible that he cannot remember the name of the person who called him only once. The expression used by Rasch in his testimony - "It was not possible that the Jews would end up in the hands of the Russians" - does, it is true, raise the suspicion that he must have inferred from this the planned extermination event. But his objection that he was speaking only of the emplacements and houses above the mine, and not of the adits, cannot be refuted. It may also be that the unidentified caller referred to Rasch in his conversation with Landmann, and Landmann thought that Rasch had a decisive influence on the arrival of the column of Jews in the already overcrowded Palmnicken. One can also imagine that Landmann and Feyerabend reprimanded themselves in their indignation regarding the culprit, in their opinion, Rasch. And while there remains some suspicion of participation in the massacres against Rasch, a charge of accessory to murder with a lack of hard evidence does not promise success.

Essentially, the witnesses in their testimony, based on what they heard from others, accuse the pensioner Kurt Friedrichs, born on 8.07.1883 in Königsberg, residing in Winzen/Lue, Schusterwall, near Marquardt, of being the burgomaster and leader of the local NSDAP cell in Palmnicken at the time of the deed. Friedrichs was considered a native National Socialist who was poorly liked. He was often under the influence of alcohol. After the prisoners arrived, he allegedly said that all Jews should die and not be fed. Other witnesses, on the contrary, say that they heard that Friedrichs was disgusted by the very question of the Jews and wanted nothing to do with it, and that he was against shootings. Numerous witnesses testified that after the mass shootings he formed or ordered the formation of search teams of armed members of the Hitler Youth organisation, who caught the escaped Jews and led them to Friedrichs' offices, from where they were taken away by a "commissar for shots in the back of the head." All this is known to the witnesses only by hearsay. On the last point alone there are two witnesses who testified on the basis of their own observations. Bruno Schröder, then 16 years old, was himself a member of one such Hitler Youth search team.

The 15-year-old Franz Suhr received a carbine from Friedrichs and was assigned to a patrol to watch for possible Russian parachutists.

Finally, the witness Folger mentions that the convoy leader asked Friedrichs about a suitable place in the neighbourhood for the discreet extermination of Jews.

Weber testified that he had met the leader of the local party cell only once in his flat when an unknown SD (Security Service of the Reich Leader) Head Squad Leader was in Palmnicken. This Head Squad Leader asked the local party leader about the availability of several boats on which Jews could be transported. But the head of the local party cell did not place any boats at his disposal. He, Weber, did not make contact with the leader of the local party cell to find a suitable place for the execution.

During the first testimony, Friedrichs himself said that he only knew that many people from the convoy of prisoners had been shot on the way. During the second interrogation in June 1961, he said that Landmann had informed him in the morning that Jews had come from Königsberg during the night. He, Friedrichs, contacted Feyerabend, who took care of the supply of Jews. He himself saw Jews shot in the street. He gave instructions to take the corpses to the Anna mine. He and Landmann repeatedly approached the SS convoy leader and asked that the Jews be removed from Palmnicken "in some way". It was clear to him, he said, that with such harsh winter weather and inadequate supplies, this meant the death of the prisoners, but he did not have other measures of violence in mind.

On one occasion the leader of the convoy asked him about a low place or a bay where the Jews could be shot discreetly, but he objected that there was no such place. In the course of many discussions he learnt that originally the Jews were to be driven into a tunnel and

killed there, which he learnt that Feyerabend strongly opposed and prevented this course of events. He had nothing to do with it; all the aggravating statements of the witnesses against him, he said, were untrue. According to the results of this investigation, although it cannot be proved with regard to the accused Friedrichs that he himself was involved in the shootings on the coast in the criminal sense, yet he is under strong suspicion that he later gave instructions for the creation of search teams of Hitler Youth members and organised the search for escaped Jews. Whether he knew or expected that these captured Jews would also be shot, since the "commissar for shots in the back of the head" had already shot about 50 Jews, cannot now be established with certainty, even if the preceding events make this scenario regarding the recapture of Jews highly probable. Further investigation, however, seems unnecessary, since at present the 83-year-old defendant Friedrichs, according to the official medical report, is paralysed on his right side after repeated strokes, suffers from cerebral sclerosis and other ailments, and is unable to stand trial.

In addition to members of the Hitler Youth organisation, other persons were said to have been involved in the search for the escaped Jews. The blacksmith Anton Aukschuhn allegedly not only participated in the execution by the sea, but also with his two sons - later missing - personally shot two escaped Jewish girls.

Aukschun died in 1947 in Sorgenau.

The then Staff Sergeant (Oberwachmister) of the Gendarmerie Paul Freyenhagen, born on 29.10.1890, according to witnesses, also took part in the searches and shootings at the amber factory. However, he died in Kalwa on 27.10.1960.

The following was established about former members of the Hitler Youth organisation:

a) Bolgen Günter, born on 6.01.1928, was allegedly in the search team, but no specific charges were brought against him. He himself denies any involvement in the persecution of Jews.

b) Bollgönn Karl-Heinz, born on 10.02.1929, no evidence against him, he himself allegedly knows nothing.

c) Bollgönn Hans-Günther, commander of a unit of the Jungvolk Hitler Youth Organisation, died on 26.03.1947.

d) Bartke, allegedly in a search team, there is no further information about him.

e) Harder Horst, allegedly chased Jews to the Anna mine, died in Soviet captivity.

f) Heil Eckehardt, born on 06.07.1928, named only as a member of the Hitler Youth organisation, reports dead people he himself saw. No charges were brought against him.

g) Karschau Heinz, witnesses Wittke and Laatsch testified that they had heard from Folger that Karcshau and Zur had participated in the shootings. Folger did not confirm this. There were probably two men with the surname Karschau, one of whom was already in the army at the time of the deed, the other allegedly died in Sorgenau. Nothing further has been established about either of them.

h) Kecker Lothar, born on 12.05.1929, is described only as a member of the Hitler Youth organisation. He himself reported the shootings on the coast.

i) Lilienthal Georg, allegedly drove Jews to the Anna mine, died in Soviet captivity.

j) Magath Max, born on 28.02.1929, described only as a member of the Hitler Youth organisation, no testimony against him, was sentenced by the Soviet authorities, allegedly because of his participation in the shootings, to 25 years hard labour and released in 1956.

k) Nass Lothar, died in Soviet captivity.

l) Räse Gerhard, died in Soviet captivity.

m) Scharnofski Horst, born on 20.10.1928, described only as a member of the Hitler Youth organisation, also sentenced to 25 years and released in 1953. There are no charges against him.



n) Schröder Bruno, born on 18.10.1928, according to his own words, he was in a search team that caught Jews and handed them over to the administration. Everything else was handled, according to him, by an unknown SS man. This evidence - and no other evidence against him - is not sufficient to prove that Schröder, then 16 years old, was legally prosecuted for his participation in the shootings. Delivering escaped Jews, who were considered prisoners under the conditions of the time, is not in itself punishable. Whether the accused knew what was going to happen to the prisoners will never be known with certainty. In no case, however, in view of his then young age and circumstances, can it be shown that he could have perceived or perceived the possible slaying as murder. It would be possible, at best, to prove aiding and abetting non-aggravated premeditated murder, the statute of limitations for the prosecution of which has already expired.

o) Schröder Lothar, born on 13.09.1930, is described only as a member of the Hitler Youth organisation, against whom there are no charges.

p) Sohn Helmut, died in captivity.

q) Suhr Franz, born on 19.10.1929, admits that he was armed with a carbine and sent on patrol to protect against parachutists, but denies participation in the shootings. He was also sentenced to 25 years of forced labour, released in 1955. There is no sufficient evidence as to the acts he committed.

r) Wessel Horst or Gerhard, there were several Wessels, who were members of the Hitler Youth organisation. None could be identified.

2. The case against Friedrichs in accordance with paragraph 205 of the CPC (Criminal Procedure Code) is temporarily dismissed, as well as paragraph 170, paragraph II, of the CPC. Lüneburg, 29.05.1967, Hoenisch, prosecutor.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 4. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

## 128. From the testimony of a former prisoner L. E. Hauptmann

31 May 1945

I,\* Guards Major [...]\*\* this day questioned as a witness the citizen –

Laura Emmanuilovna HAUPTMANN, born in 1919, a native of Borislav city, Lviv region, Kostyushko street, [...], a resident of the same locality, Jewish by nationality, secondary education, social origin of a civil servant, father worked as an accountant, student, non-party, citizenship of the USSR, has not been under trial or investigation, married, maiden name Bakhman.

A witness citizen HAUPTMANN has been warned about responsibility for giving false testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code. RSFSR. Hauptmann

[...]

QUESTION: – In which concentration camp were you last held before your release from German captivity?

ANSWER: – From the Auschwitz concentration camp I was sent in a column of about 2[000]-3000 people to the Stutthof camp near Gdansk, from where we were transferred to the camp of the village of Ezov<sup>3\*</sup>, 25 kilometres from Königsberg. Here we built an asphalt

road to the airfield. From the camp of Ezov we were sent by stage in January 1945 through the city of Königsberg to Palmnicken.

On the way, many prisoners froze because of severe frosts, and those who could not walk were shot by the guards accompanying us right on the roads.

The SS guards accompanying us shot about 500 people on the road, who were unable to move on foot because their feet and hands were frozen and weakened.

QUESTION: – When did you arrive in Palmnicken and where did the Germans send you?

ANSWER: – Our convoy of surviving prisoners arrived in Palmnicken town at the end of January 1945. In Palmnicken we were gathered in the locksmiths' workshops, which were located on the seashore. Here we were told that we would not be fed any more. We were kept in Palmnicken for two days, and on the 1st or 2nd of February 1945, in the evening, at about 10 o'clock, all the prisoners were taken to the road above the seashore and led in the direction of Pillau, and it was announced that we were to be evacuated deep into Germany.

When we were moving along the seashore, the Germans suddenly began to shoot us, first men and then women, they shot us gradually five by five right on the seashore, on the ice, in the dark. They shot us in the back, and some of those who were still alive were killed with the butts of carbines.

QUESTION: – How did you manage to avoid death during the shooting?

ANSWER: – When the turn of shooting came to our five, the Germans who were guarding us, 3 soldiers, took us like all the others, took us aside to the very shore, put us facing the sea and started shooting in the back. A bullet hit me in my right arm, below the elbow joint, the bullet went through. I immediately fell down with the other four women and tried not to scream or cry.

Apparently, the Germans who were shooting us thought that we were all dead and did not approach us, but followed the rest of the column, which was moving on.

QUESTION: – Can you recognise by sight the Germans who shot you?

ANSWER: No, I cannot recognise them, because it was at night and, moreover, they were shooting in the back.

QUESTION: – Who helped you to escape from the place of shooting and with whom did you subsequently hide?

ANSWER: – I got out of the place of shooting with another citizen who was wounded in the right lung, her surname was Stella ART. She and I left the place only after 3–4 hours, when the Germans who shot us had gone far away. After that Stella and I went into town. I went to a building in Sorgenau, 1.5–2 kilometres from the town of Palmnicken, knocked on the window and asked for permission to get warm and have something to eat. I was let in by a German woman who, having learnt my story, gave me something to eat and suggested that I leave her flat because she was afraid of being responsible for me. I left her and headed for the town of Palmnicken, having decided to go there to see a doctor. When I was moving to Palmnicken, on the outskirts of the town I met a German woman who, seeing my wounded arm, immediately asked me: "Are you one of those women who were shot at night?" When I answered her in the affirmative, she took me in and from then on I hid with her until the Red Army came to Palmnicken.

ART lived in Palmnicken, I do not know, as I never went out during the whole time I was in hiding. It seems that my landlady, with whom I was hiding, that is, Berta Pulver<sup>4\*</sup>, should know of her location.

QUESTION: – Were any other women or men who were shot together with you saved?

ANSWER: – I know from Berta Pulver's account that three other women were hiding with her sister, but they were evacuated to the rear of the Soviet Union as soon as the Red Army entered, I do not know their names.

QUESTION: – How many people approximately did the Germans shoot on the day they shot you?

ANSWER: – I can't say exactly, but I think that the column in which I was, about 3,000 people, they shot all of them. I was told by Berta Pulwer that the SS guards were searching for survivors the next day and they shot those they found.

QUESTION: – Who can you point out or name among SS guards and officers who carried out shootings and abuse of prisoners in the Palmnicken camp, and did you see any of them after the Red Army came to Palmnicken?

ANSWER: – No, I cannot mention the names of such persons, because I do not know anyone by name or rank. I cannot give any signs either, because I was in Palmnicken for only two days before the execution.

After the arrival of the Red Army in Palmnicken I did not see anyone from the camp guards, so I did not go anywhere, as on the day of the arrival of the Red Army in Palmnicken I was wounded by a shell splinter in my left shoulder and went back to bed, and later I was sent to this hospital, where I am at the present time.

QUESTION: – What more can you add to your testimony concerning the atrocities committed by the Germans against civilians or prisoners of war?

ANSWER: – I have nothing more to add to my testimony. /Drawn up from my own words correctly and read out to me/.

QUESTIONED BY:<sup>5\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Case 70. Sheets 79–81. Copy. Typescript.*

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\* Name's shaded.

\*\* Shaded.

3\* Probably Jesau.

4\* Berta Pulwer's testimony is published under No. 129.

5\* Name and signature are shaded.

**129. From the record of interrogation of Berta Pulwer, a former Palmnicken resident**

*23 February 1961*

Criminal Police Office of the Federal State of Hesse,  
Branch V of the Special Commission  
Mülheim, 23.02.1961 [...]

I remember exactly that in January 1945 a large number of Jews from Königsberg were driven to Palmnicken. I saw Jews who came on foot from Königsberg on the highway as they were driven to the amber combine in Palmnicken. I also saw many shot Jews lying in the street. I can no longer say now exactly who was escorting the Jews, but I know that there were OT men there, because they were dressed in Defence Force uniforms and brown uniforms that had an armband with the letters "OT." The Jews, then, were driven to the amber combine and they stayed there for several days. There they were to be gassed in the adit, but the director of the estate named Feyerabend opposed the shootings. Later this director was shot because of his humane attitude, but nobody knew who did it.

One evening, I don't remember the exact date; I heard gunshots from the sea. My house was very close to the sea and I could hear the shooting clearly. So I called the burgomaster and asked him what the shooting meant. He told me that the Jews were being driven to Pillau. I, however, now understood what that meant. I can't tell you who was shooting, because you couldn't show your face there. The next day I wanted to escape and I passed by the sea. I saw many shot Jews on the shore and in the forest that faced the sea. Since the roads were clogged and impassable, I returned home again. On the way back I met some guys who were leading a Jewish woman who had escaped being shot. I told them that I was taking this Jewish woman to hand her over to the police in Palmnicken. They gave me this Jewish woman, but I did not hand her over to the police, but hid her in my home for more than three months. Her name was Dora Hauptmann\*, from Boryslaw. I do not know where she is now. I would also like to mention that she had a wound in her arm. She also had a seven-digit number tattooed on her right forearm.

I did not know anyone from the convoy. The leader of the local party cell, Friedrichs, who, as far as I know, lives near Flensburg, involved children in the shootings. That he did this, I know for sure. I also know that the Hubner family, who also lived in Palmnicken, did not allow their son to participate in the shootings. Where this family lives now, I don't know. Whether Friedrichs himself took part in the shootings, I really don't know.

I don't know Rasch, a former director of the amber manufactory. Therefore I do not know to what extent he participated in the shootings.

I know the former coachman Gustav Lange personally. I cannot say anything about his present location.

I also knew Anton Aukschun. I know that he took part in the shootings. Children told me that he shot several Jews before their eyes. I later heard from the Russians that he was dead.

Karl Monien I don't know. In Palmnicken there was only Artur Monien. His brother's name was Theodor and he lived in Pobeten. Where Theodor is now, I don't know. Arthur Monien rents a room from me. Asking him about the events of that time seems to me a pointless endeavour, he can't remember anything else. He's 68 years old, and he can't think straight anymore. Sometimes he can't even remember who I am, that is, he doesn't know me anymore.



Julius Mallerius was a blacksmith at an amber factory. Where he is now, I don't know. I once heard that after the Russians came he hanged himself. There is a former secretary of Mr Feyerabend living in Hannover. His name is Max Komm. Mr Komm was in Palmnicken when these events with the Jews took place and can probably tell you about them. There is also a former director of the amber factory in Palmnicken who lives in Hannover, who is again the director of the factory in Hannover and has workers who are also from Palmnicken. I can't give you the surnames, I've forgotten them. Definitely the surnames are remembered by Mrs Rosine Sabbatin, who lives in the Hamburg suburb of Lürup, Langbargheide [...].

Anton Baumeister also lives in Hannover. His exact address can be obtained from Mrs Sabbatin. Where the former Hitler Youth organisation member Karschau is now, I do not know. His mother lives in the FRG. Mrs Sabbatin also knows the address, as does Suhr.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 1. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

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\* Lora Hauptmann

### **130. From the testimony of a former prisoner Bluma Lonicki (Bronislawa Krakauer)\***

*22 December 1963*

[...] We stayed in Königsberg for a few days. Then we built a marching column of 5,000 people, of whom there were 1,000 men. We were driven for more than 24 hours. On the way, the escort guards shot on the spot those who either lagged behind, stumbled or tried to grab a bit of snow. In Palmnicken we were housed in a factory. A hot meal was given at night. We were in Palmnicken for about 5 days. From the factory we were driven to the Baltic Sea coast. I can't remember that we went through the settlement. If another witness says that we were only in Palmnicken for one day and then went through the settlement, then in my opinion this witness could only have escaped from the marching column before it reached the factory. I personally did not notice the fact that we were on the seashore. I was walking in the front rows, after 50-100 metres the column stopped, and, as it later turned out, 500 people were separated from behind each time, driven into the sea and shot.

We were in the front rows and did not know what was happening every time in the back rows. We even thought that the shots were heard because of the approaching Russians. Eventually, there was a small group of us left and we noticed that the Germans were about to destroy us. I still remember now how one of the German guards pointed his finger at me to come over. But I went to another guard who grabbed me and pushed me into the sea. I remember lying on my right side among the corpses. I heard gunshots and German voices. I think one of the Germans complained that there were not enough cartridges, and the other answered: "They are not needed... These women will lie in the water a little longer and they will be finished, one way or another." After a while everything went quiet around me. When I opened my eyes, it immediately struck me that about fifty men who had been wounded were still alive. A German was standing on the rampart - he had a gun and was dressed in civilian clothes, he was from the People's Storm (Volkssturm) - he called us to him and took us to a barn. There we were given warm black coffee. This German offered to take us to the assembly point. Two women, whose [real] fate is unknown to me, and I decided to turn aside and not follow him. We tried to find shelter in various houses in Sorgenu, but no one

would let us inside. We wandered around all day, it was 1 February 1945. In the evening we hid in a chicken cage in one of the cattle sheds. There we were discovered by a German who showed us the way to the police station, so that we could check in there. We went from house to house again, in vain, because nobody wanted to take us in. So we decided to surrender to the authorities. On the way there, we knocked on one of the doors again. We passed ourselves off as Poles in conversation with the woman, to which she answered us, "I know for a fact that you are Jews, but it doesn't matter. Tomorrow there will be Russians here." This woman prepared a hot bath for us, gave us clean clothes, fed us and put us in a room with three beds. Her surname was Venohr and she lived with her husband in a mansion with a garden. She must have been in her 40s and her husband in his 50s. In my pocket I found a tin can in which I kept salt. The tin was pierced through with bullets, and only at that moment I realised that this tin had saved my life. I am placing this tin at the disposal of the police so that it can be photographed.\*\* If the judicial authorities wish, I am prepared to submit it as evidence.

The next day, towards evening, the Russians came to Sorgenau, after 5-6 days they had to retreat back. The Germans came back again and settled in this house, and we had to leave it.

I stayed in several more camps for Polish refugees before I was liberated. We were liberated in the second half of March 1945, namely in a camp for foreign workers in Kaiserhaven near Danzig.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 12. Microfiche 1.*

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\* Part of the document is published as No. 11.

\*\* Translator's note: the photograph is in the case file.

### 131. From the testimony of a former prisoner Chana Ojzerowicz

25 December 1963

Chana Ojzerowicz

Former surname: Klinowska [...].

Date: 25.12.1963, place of interrogation: Tel Aviv [...]

We left the Schippenbeil camp in January 1945. The warden and the sick who could not walk, as well as a few prisoners "at posts" remained in the camp. Immediately after liberation, I was told in Lodz, Poland, that as soon as we left the camp, the barrack where the sick were lying was set on fire. The foot march from Schippenbeil to Königsberg lasted several days; we were accompanied by Ukrainians from Todt's organisation, as well as the camp leader. In Königsberg we were housed in the building of a dismantled factory. Germans who lived nearby threw bread to us. We stayed in Königsberg for several days. One night we were rudely thrown out into the street and formed into a marching column. Those prisoners who could not stand on their feet were shot on the spot. About 5000 people left Königsberg, we marched all day and all night. On the way a lot of people were shot, especially those who could not stand the pace of the column or who tried to pick up some snow to eat. On the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken probably 2,000 people were killed. In Palmnicken we arrived at the factory grounds, peasants from neighbouring villages brought us hot beans

to eat. We spent several days there. One day, the Ukrainian OT guards blabbed to some Jewish women with whom they had spoken on the road that the Germans intended to drown all the Jews in the sea. At night we were led out of the factory grounds; we had to behave quietly, they said we would go to Estonia. We walked through snowdrifts. When I took some snow and ate it, I found it salty. A Jewish prisoner passed us and said that men were being drowned at the very end of the column. I heard gunshots. I was in the last group of those doomed to die. I saw how people behind us were being driven into the sea and shot at. When a Ukrainian came up to me, I asked him to let me live because I was still young and had my whole life ahead of me. He answered me: "Then run," pointing to a hillside. But the second Ukrainian grabbed me by the scruff of the neck and pushed me into the water; immediately shots rang out behind me. I was lying on the ice-floe under the body of another woman, and this circumstance saved my life. After a while I managed to get ashore and hid in the dunes between the trees. From there I could see the male SS men returning to the shore in sledges and killing the survivors. Then I came to a settlement and asked for food in one of the houses. The German I met in the house said: "You are Jews, and if you don't disappear, I will go to the burgomaster and report you." Regina Celnikier was with me at the time. I don't know where she is now. We then went further and asked another German for help. He told us, "I must ask the Baroness." It was the village of Nodems, as it turned out later, the property of a German baroness. First we were allowed to spend the night in the pigsty of this German, whose name was Zimmermann. He dried our clothes and brought us food. He left me there on the condition that we would start work immediately. Celnikier, on the contrary, fell into the camp of the Polish workers. I stayed with Zimmermann for several weeks. After my liberation in Fürth near Nuremberg, I learnt from a German refugee stranger from East Prussia, who lived with Zimmermann, that after the Russians came to Nodems, Zimmermann committed suicide. Shortly before the liberation, I worked for a German farmer named Kirschner in Sorgenau. He was a carpenter by trade. Although he knew that I was Jewish, he did much to get the head of the local party cell in Palmnicken to issue me with Polish papers. My liberation took place on 15 March 1945 in Sorgenau, and I returned to Poland.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 12. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

### **132. From the record of interrogation of Emil Plau, a former Palmnicken resident**

*8 December 1964*

Eschingen, 8.12.1964 [...]

Prosecutor's Office of the City of Kie [...]

I was a storekeeper at the amber combine in Palmnicken. At the end of my work on 27.01.1945 I went home. I then lived in Palmnicken near the weather station, namely on Lindenstrasse. [...] At about at 22 o'clock, the watchman of the enterprise showed up at my place. I don't remember who it was anymore. We had three watchmen at that time. They were Kahnau, Pries and Höppner. This watchman told me that he was sent by Landmann. We're going to have lodgers at the combine. The watchman said that Landmann ordered me to come with other people to the combine. I did so. I went to my neighbours at the combine who lived not far from me and took them with me. I still remember that I tracked down Fritz

Mehr and Emil Glaubau. All in all I came there with 4 or 5 people and the coachman Rockel. When I arrived at the combine, I went to Landmann's bureau. Landmann told me that people were being moved in. It was necessary to allocate rooms and get straw. I remember very clearly that during this conversation Landmann did not tell me anything about the fact that Jews would be placed in the combine. Nor did he say how many there would be. Landmann always spoke only about the settlement. I also remember that Landmann told me that if the carriage room, carpentry room and kitchen were too small, then the locksmith's shop should be used.

To get straw, I sent Rockel, the coachman, by coach to the Palmnicken estate.

I went ahead and found Molter, the inspector of estates.

To Molter I had to knock on the door. With Molter I had a conversation about the straw. In the meantime, the coachman Rockel arrived. Then I went back to the combine. Two carts of straw had been delivered from Palmnicken. I ordered the first carriage to be sent to the locksmith's shop at once. The second one remained unloaded for some time.

The light was on in Landmann's office. Through the frosted windows I could see movement inside. I could see the silhouettes of several people. I never spoke to Landmann again that night, nor did I see him again. Sometime between 11pm and 1am I saw that the gates of the combine were open and people were entering the territory. It was a very frosty night. It was almost 20 degrees below zero, and it was snowing. I immediately saw that there were some special people coming in. They were walking in rows of four people. The rows were tightly closed. There were many, many women among them. I also saw men. Separately, I still have this picture in front of my eyes - children! They were children aged 12-14 years old.

I did not see any younger children. To the right and left of the column that passed through the gate were armed guards. I still remember very well that some of the convoy had automatic rifles. The people who entered our courtyard were in a terrifying condition. They could only drag themselves. It was a pathetic column. I still remember how they held their little food containers in their hands. I remember it all as if it happened a couple of days ago. These people were dressed in rags. Their legs were wrapped in rags. Small food containers partially frozen to the rags they had wrapped around themselves for protection from the cold. I can only say that the view was frightening. The column was quite long. Later I was able to get a better look at these people. So I can say that there were probably about 2,500 people in total. I came very close to the column and I could see quite clearly that they were Jews.

This column went straight towards the locksmith's shop. None of the guards even spoke to me. I assume that a decision was made at the front gate as to where the Jews would go. Someone from the combine must have shown the guards the way to the locksmith's workshop. But I don't remember anything about that. But the impression of the column was so strong that at first I was completely devastated by what I saw.

I know for a fact that the Jews came to the combine on the night of 27 to 28 January 1945. 27 January 1945 is also the Kaiser's birthday. It is also Arthur Klüver's birthday. These are my reference points to memorise.

When the Jews were taken inside the locksmith's room, I was soon told to go to the telephone. Before that I was on my way home with Arthur Klüver. At the water tower, namely at the barrier, I and Klüver found a corpse. It was quite clear that it was the corpse of a Jew from the column. Before the column of Jews reached Palmnicken, I had already heard shots. When Klüver and I found the corpse, we immediately ran quickly back to the combine and went to the registrar's office. Klüver called the burgomaster and the head of the local party cell Friedrichs. Then he put me on the phone and told me that Friedrichs



wanted to speak to me. He told me that a military lorry with soldiers would soon arrive and that I should show them where Palmnicken ends. Friedrichs said nothing more to me. Soon a medium-sized military lorry actually arrived. There was one non-commissioned officer or field officer and four or five soldiers. I drove with these soldiers to the southern part of Palmnicken and further along the road in the direction of Germau. After a while, the lorry stopped. I sat in the driver's cab and only had time to say that we had not yet reached the border of Palmnicken. But the truck stopped anyway. Because they had been given the task of collecting the bodies lying on the highway and in the roadside ditches. So they did. Then we drove back, stopping all the time. Whenever there were corpses lying somewhere, the car would stop and the soldiers would load the corpses into the back of the truck.

On the way back, we hadn't even reached the church in Palmnicken yet and the car was already full. It was a mountain of corpses. They were everywhere. I think there were at least 30-40 bodies in that lorry. When the back was full, the lorry first drove up to the combine gate. I called Friedrichs. He told me to drive with these soldiers to the Anna mine. I replied that I didn't want to do that because I had had enough. Friedrichs told me that then someone else should go instead of me who knew about the old mine. It could only be Fritz Mehr. I told Friedrichs about that. Then Mehr left with the soldiers.

It was already 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. After that night I didn't want to go home anymore. I went to my bureau and stayed there until daylight.

Early in the morning, I got a phone call. I can't remember now who spoke to me at the time. I was told that I should send a coachman on a sledge to remove the corpses that had not yet been removed. I instructed my coachmen Lange and Morr accordingly. I know that the two of them found many more corpses and took them to the Anna mine. I advised them to stay away from the village street, but to drive in the nooks and crannies, and that the children should not see this nightmare. I myself never saw those corpses again, which were collected and taken out by the coachmen Lange and Morr.

The Jews were guarded by quite a large number of guards. I cannot say exactly how many there were. I have never seen these guards all together. I can say with certainty that among them were German SS men. But there were foreign SS men there too, probably from the Baltic States. There were also escort guards in brown uniforms and swastika armbands.

I'm asked if they were employees of the Todt organisation. Yes, that may well be so, I don't know what the uniforms of the Todt organisation look like. I don't know if there were officers among the SS. And I didn't know who was the commander of all those SS men. Besides, I don't know about SS ranks and insignia. I did not see Landmann or Feyerabend talking to these SS men. Fräulein Kohnke and Mrs Arms can give more precise information on this matter. I think that Alfons Bardtke should also know something about it. He worked in the registrar's office and should know more about telephone conversations in particular. I assume that Alfons Bardtke is now living in Hamburg. After the war he worked for Rasch in Hamburg. I can also tell you about Mr Kasper, who must know where Alfons Bardtke is. Kasper used to work in a manufactory in Königsberg.

I am shown a number of photographs. I do not know the faces in them. I am now told that photograph No. 3 shows Fritz Weber, who, according to the investigation, was at that time the leader of a convoy of Jews. With all due respect, I do not know this man. At this point I would like to emphasise that I did not have any conversations with any of the SS men who guarded the Jews in Palmnicken. And even if you showed them to me now, I would still not be able to recognise them.

The Jews were at the combine for 4, 5 or even 6 days. And then one afternoon they were taken out of the combine. Through the back north gate. I saw the Jews being led from the locksmith's shop to the north gate. It was in the afternoon. It was probably around the

beginning of the 5th. It was getting dark. And after a while I heard gunshots. It sounded like gunshots coming ashore.

The answer to a separate question:

I know nothing about whether and how many Jews were shot or killed in those 4, 5 or 6 days. I did not see any of this. Nor did I hear it. When the Jews were taken away, I was given the task of tidying up the locksmith's shop.

That was done. At the same time they found a dead body in one of the mines. I don't remember if it was a man or a woman. This person must have died there.

Note:

The interrogation began at 9 o'clock this morning. It was interrupted at 11:30 and was to be continued at 13:30.

The interrogation continues at 13:00.

When the Jews moved on their way from the combine, I saw that there were also several sledges with them. The sledges were horse-drawn. I know that these sledges were definitely not from our combine. The sledges, together with the horses, were taken from the refugees who reached Palmnicken. I don't know whether the owners gave the sledges and horses voluntarily or whether they were simply requisitioned. I do not know, whether the SS convoy team had their own vehicles (lorries, cars, motorbikes or sledges), I do not know. I personally did not see any such vehicles on the territory of our combine. I am asked what were the conditions of accommodation for Jews in the locksmith's workshop.

I can say the following:

The locksmith's shop was a fairly large building. There was a glass roof on top. Under one part there was a basement (heating) - one room 50-60 metres long and 10-12 wide. The office of the master of repair shops was located inside this room, namely it was attached to one of the walls. It was a glass booth. And while the Jews were housed in the locksmith's room, SS guards sat in this booth. Of course, there was a lot of machinery in the locksmith's room. On the first day the Jews were not fed. Then they cooked something for themselves in the combine kitchen, which was in another building. Then everyone around knew that it was Feyerabend who made sure that the Jews were fed. During that period of time, while we had Jews at the combine, I saw Feyerabend at the enterprise. There was also a grain warehouse and a combine on the premises.

I am asked when I first saw Feyerabend after the arrival of the Jews. The Jews arrived on the night between the 27th and 28th of January 1945. The next day, that is on 28.01.1945 I did not see Feyerabend. I saw him for the first time at the combine only on 29 or 30 January 1945. The sanitary conditions in the locksmith's room were good: a sufficient number of toilets as well as a large wash room.

I don't know if any of the Jews in the locksmith shop died while they were there. The locksmith's shop was located very close to the open development, and my office was near the administration building. The distance was about 150-200 metres. From my bureau I could not see the workshop through the window.

The guards were located in the carpentry workshop, in this glass booth in the locksmith's room (guard post) and in a small shed next to the locksmith's room. The SS men were also stationed in the administration building. I don't know exactly where food was prepared for the SS convoys. I assume also in the combine's kitchen, there were many cooking facilities. It was a big service kitchen.

Now I can no longer say when the People's Storm (Volkssturm) moved out of Palmnicken. I also don't know whether the People's Storm moved out of Palmnicken first, or whether the Jews were moved out of the combine first, or vice versa.

Question:

And after the Jews were taken out of the combine in Palmnicken, did any of the SS men remain at the combine or anywhere in Palmnicken at all?

Answer:

[...] A few days later Aukschun came to me at the combine and demanded that I give him a sledge. Aukschun had a carbine slung over his shoulder. He was in civilian clothes. He said that I should immediately give him a sledge, because by order of Friedrichs he had to pursue the Jews. I told Aukschun that I would not do such things. Then Aukschun explained to me that he had an assignment from Friedrichs, and anyone who did not fulfil it was entitled to be put to death on the spot. I didn't actually view Aukschun as completely sane and just turned my back on him. Aukschun walked away. An eyewitness to this conversation was Karl Hamann. He now lives in Hannover. Some time after this conversation with Aukschun, Friedrichs came to see me together with Aukschun. Friedrichs asked me why I did not want to give a sledge. I said that my coachmen were not on the spot. And although it was a trifle for me to find a coachman at that moment, I didn't do it. It was my way of getting rid of Friedrichs. He grumbled for a while, and then went away.

I myself was not an observer of what kind of search for Jews was organised by Friedrichs and Aukschun with the involvement of the Hitler Youth. I know they were looking for Jews. That's true. After all, everyone in Palmnicken knew about it. I know that those Jews who were found were shot, but I cannot say who and where, and how many Jews were killed in this way.

Aukschun, when the Russians came, was imprisoned for some time, and he died in 1947. I know nothing about any of the remaining SS officers shooting the Jews who were found. I was told by the interrogating officials that they had established this in the course of the investigation. Perhaps, according to them, this man's name was Willy, and his girlfriends were Ruth and Karla Zimmer. Generally speaking, Fritz Mehr should know something about this. Mehr is a relative of Karla Zimmer. I have not heard anything about SS man Willy still remaining in Palmnicken and shooting Jews found there. Aukschun had one son, maybe two sons. One son became an invalid in the war (lost a leg). That son must now be living in Westphalia.

Answer to additional question:

I cannot say whether Friedrichs had any special negotiations with SS men who brought the Jews to Palmnicken.

Question:

Are you familiar with Friedrichs' driver?

Answer:

In 1945 a certain Möller was the messenger in the community. What his name was, I don't know. Möller was a member of the SA. He was a slim man at that time. Before Möller, the messenger was Fritz Joppien. Fritz Joppien died in the war. I don't remember when he died. Before Fritz, his own father was the messenger for the community. I think that Fritz was driven by the messenger of the congregation Möller in 1945.

Question:

Can you tell us who worked in the administration of the Palmnicken congregation?

Answer:

Friedrichs was a burgomaster and head of the local party cell. About the messengers of the community I have already said everything I know. Also working in the village government were:

Ida Fischer.

Fräulein Köpping.

Emma Wolkowski.

Answer to additional question:

I cannot say anything about whether the SS convoys in the vicinity of Palmnicken were looking for a suitable place to shoot.

I have not heard of any other convoys or shootings of Jews taking place in or near Palmnicken.

I have already said that the witness could be Karl Hamann. Hamann worked in the bureau as a clerk. He therefore had to go to the administration building often. I think that Karl Hamann can say more about the SS convoys than I can. I also talked about Alfons Bardtke. Bardtke worked at the reception desk.

Long-distance telephone calls went through the registrar's office.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 10. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

### **133. From the record of interrogation of Oskar Laatsch, a former Palmnicken resident**

26 January 1961

Criminal Police Office of Baden-Württemberg  
Special Commission  
Central Office

Diary number SK. ZSt. I/8-167/60  
Essen, 26 January 1961

Stamp:  
Central Office  
6 February 1961  
Ludwigsburg

#### Record of the interrogation

[...] My daughter Renate Bartning, who now lives in Essen, Kleine Steinstrasse [...] was just that day on a business trip to Königsberg in the car of the mining combine management with the chief accountant Gustav Korkowski. My daughter was working at the time in the savings bank in Palmnicken. On their way back they drove a car past a column of Jews and saw that there were many shot Jews lying on the road. Then they saw the guards shooting children and adults who could not keep up. This event had such an effect on my daughter that when she returned home, she made my wife so desperate right away that they immediately fled from Palmnicken the same day in a hurry, because they were afraid that when the Russians came here, the same fate would befall them [...].

A few days after the column arrived in Palmnicken, I was again with Albert Kreutzenstein in the field guard at Sorgenau. Here he told me that one of the Jewish girls had escaped from the convoy in Sorgenau and hid in a rabbit hutch. It was strange that an adult could fit in such a pen. We all wondered how she did it. The Jewish woman, they say, was found by a convoy. What they did to her, I don't know [...].

As far as I remember now, on the day after the convoy arrived, when I went out to work, I learnt that the Jews were housed in the repair shops of our combine. At the same time I



also learnt that the director of the Feyerabend estate had supplied the Jews with blankets, peas, bread and horse meat. As far as I remember, the column consisted of men, women and teenagers. I myself saw one such Jewish teenager, who I think was about 13-14 years old.

Everyone at the combine said that the director of the amber manufactory in Königsberg, Rasch, had ordered or advised that these Jews be taken to Palmnicken, that they be driven there into a bomb shelter tunnel that had been preserved, and that they be blown up. The decision to use this bomb shelter could only be made by Landmann. But everyone said that this daring demand of the convoy headquarters had been rejected, namely by a special bombing team - whose chief was foreman Rudat [...].

A few days after the arrival of the convoy of Jews - with all my desire I cannot say exactly when - the People's Storm (Volkssturm) head, Major Feyerabend, called the heads of the platoons and companies of the People's Storm of Palmnicken to a meeting in the administrative building of the amber combine. The head of the Jewish convoy was also present at this meeting.

When he came into the room where we were gathered, Feyerabend went up to him and said, as far as I remember, "Senior Squad Leader Weber" - I can say for sure that this man's name was Weber, but I cannot say whether Feyerabend called him "Senior Squad Leader" or "Senior Storm Leader" - and said to him quite clearly: "You have desecrated the honour of the German soldier, you have dragged the German banner into the mud by killing innocent people. We do not fight innocent civilians, especially women and children."

Weber, with tears in his eyes, said the following, standing at attention: "Sir Major, I ask permission to speak as man to man. I did not receive an order or give an order to shoot these people. The Lithuanian and Estonian SD men (Security Service of the Reich Leader) who followed me did that."

To this Feyerabend stretched out his hand to Weber and said: "This concludes the matter for me."

I think Weber was from the north of Germany, he had a good figure, blond hair and was about 1.78 metres tall.

I can't vouch for it, but I think Weber was about 30 years old. It seems to me that this incident happened quite recently, because it is so vivid in my mind. I have only met this one supervisor and I cannot say whether he had subordinates. Nor can I give exact figures about the number of escorts. I think that the ones I saw were 6-7, wearing grey field uniforms. These people, whom I saw exactly, were stationed in my bureau and spoke German. I don't remember what uniform the group commander wore, but in any case his uniform was not black. I also remember that there were 2 or 3 girls from Estonia or Latvia, I spoke to them and from their pronunciation I noticed that they spoke broken German, and they told me that they were either from near Revel or near Riga. Whether there were Latvians or Estonians in the convoys, I cannot say. I have neither seen nor heard that there were OT servicemen in the convoys. I heard that on one day Weber's men\* went to investigate the "Cat Gully"\*\*\* to find out what kind of place it was in order to determine whether it was possible to finish off the Jews there. Whether Friedrichs or Weber took part in this, I do not know. Nor do I know whether Freyenhagen was involved.

As I heard, about 2,000 Jews arrived in the column at Palmnicken. At that time, when the Jews were housed at the combine, I never went into the workshops. When the Jews arrived, it was terribly cold, a lot of snow. As far as I remember, the Jews were dressed very shabbily, and some of them had no shoes at all. A few days after the arrival of the column in Palmnicken, this was after the conversation between Feyerabend and Weber, I met the coachman, that is, the coachman of the combine, Gustav Lange- where he is now, I don't know, when he drove up in his high-sided cart.

I was just getting water. Lange came in his transport from the workshop and headed towards the sea, that is, the Anna mine. Lange stopped and I said to him, as I thought his load consisted of raw meat: "Where did you get so much meat at once?". When I came closer, I bounced back in horror, noticing that there were naked corpses lying in the cart. I think there were somewhere between 40-50 corpses in this cart 1.2 metres long and 1.5 metres high. Lange sobbed like a child and said to me: "Mr Laatsch, I will never forget this in my life, I haven't eaten anything for two days because of disgust and nausea."

I deduced from the blood trail there that Lange must have taken out several wagons of corpses by now. I did not ask him, and I learnt nothing from him about the manner of their deaths. I could not say whether they were men or women among the dead. I was so shocked by what I saw that I did not ask Lange any more questions.

About five or six days, one week, after the arrival of the convoy of Jews, the battalion of the Palmnicken People's Storm was alerted and sent to Kumehnen. I think we left Palmnicken just after lunchtime, so that we arrived at Kumehnen just after dark. We had not yet taken up field positions in Kumehnen that night, but were looking for a place to camp for the night. I cannot tell now whether Major Feyerabend arrived before or after us in Kumehnen. As far as I remember, part of the People's Storm from Palmnicken was moved to the nearby front line, namely to reinforce the soldiers there. It was also said that part of the People's Storm would be guarding the Royal Tigers. I then heard that Feyerabend was inspecting the positions of his People's Storm battalion's location late at night. Since Feyerabend did not return from this inspection, company commanders Karl Monien (where he is now, you can probably find out from the daughter of Mrs Pulver), Franz Glaus (he now lives in the Soviet occupation zone) went in search of Feyerabend. They are said to have found him dead. His pistol was lying next to him. How Feyerabend died, I did not find out. But there's no way I'm going to believe he shot himself. His death caused deep mourning in the community and in the battalion, because we knew Feyerabend and respected him as a decent, ready-to-help comrade and man. When the People's Storm returned to Palmnicken a few days later, it was said everywhere that Feyerabend had been killed by the "security service" because he had interceded for the Jews who were housed in the factory in Palmnicken.

When we returned to Palmnicken again, I learnt that at that time the Jews housed in the factory were driven to the seashore below Seeberg and shot.

I cannot say who took part in the shooting. But I heard that Friedrichs gave the order. It also came to my ears that also members of the Hitler Youth organisation and Anton Aukschun participated.

Question:

Was Aukschun a member of the People's Storm, and did he also return with you to Palmnicken after the operation in Kumehnen?

Answer:

I cannot say with certainty whether Aukschun took part in the fighting at Kumehnen, but I assume that he was there, because I know for a fact that he was a member of the People's Storm.

And if he was in Kumehnen, of course, he could not have taken part in the shooting of Jews in Palmnicken at the same time.

Question: Have you heard or seen that after the action with the Jews, members of the Hitler Youth organisation, armed with Friedrichs under Freienhagen, searched the surrounding forests for escaped Jews? Could it be that Aukschun participated in this search action on his own initiative, and maybe he himself shot the captured Jews?

Answer:

I believe that I learnt from Folger during my visit to Düsseldorf that members of the Hitler Youth organisation and Aukschun participated in the action with the Jews. I did not hear about Friedrichs arming the members of the Hitler Youth organisation who, under the direction of Freienhagen, allegedly searched the forests.

I do not know how Aukschun was involved in the action with the Jews. I only heard that he seemed to be acting in concert. Since that time I have known the teenagers Karschau, Suhr, Lilienthal, Harder. I think I heard from Folger that Karschau and Suhr were involved in the shooting. Later, when I was a prisoner of the Russians in Rauschen, I saw Aukschun, he was then in the barracks for the "heavy", that is, "candidates for death." As far as I heard, Aukschun is alive and in West Germany. Perhaps Mrs Gerda Spitz, mentioned on sheet 8 of the interrogation, can shed some light on his present location.

I do not know whether Karl Joppien, who was a minister of the congregation towards the end, was a member of the SS. I never saw him, one way or another, in the black SS uniform.

In response to a question:

I know from conversations that Max Kowalewski, a former bureau employee of our combine, in 1943 or 1944 wrote a denunciation against a waiter who in Sorgenau had spoken critically about the regime of the time. The waiter was then arrested and executed. I never found out how it had happened. This incident caused widespread outrage in the village at the time. Whether Friedrichs took part in it, perhaps set a hand to it somehow, I cannot say. Friedrichs was not liked in the community, but I cannot testify for sure whether he took part in the shooting of prisoners and Jews. Friedrichs was a drunkard, rude to the townspeople and yelled at them on every occasion. I avoided him wherever I could, and he also spoke ill of me because my family was in the Baptist community.

When I am asked again about who ordered the Jews to be led from Königsberg to Palmnicken, I can only say that there was talk in the village that the head of the amber manufactory in Königsberg - Rasch - probably gave the institution that was responsible for transporting the Jews the idea of taking them to Palmnicken and blowing them up there in the tunnel of the bomb shelter.

When at that time the People's Storm was engaged in Kumehnen and was on the march, I saw that from Palmnicken to Kumehnen, at a distance to the right and left of the road, corpses were piled up. Some of the bodies had clothes with blue and white stripes on them. I never learnt where these Jews came from, meaning from which camp they came. Later I learnt that these Jews were from the military airbase Jesau near Königsberg [...].

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 1. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

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\* In the document the surname is striked through.

\*\* Rugged terrain near Palmnicken.

**134. From the record of interrogation of Rudolf Folger, a former resident of Palmnicken**

*24–26 January 1961*

Criminal Police Office of Baden-Württemberg  
Commission for Special Cases  
Central Office  
Düsseldorf, 24 January 1961  
Received at Ludwigsburg on 6 February 1961  
Record of the Interrogation [...]

It was at the end of January 1945, on a Friday night around 23:00. I heard the siren announcing the air raid [...] When I heard the siren, I went out of the house and checked if there was anything visible. I saw that over Pillau searchlights were searching the sky for aeroplanes and that anti-aircraft shells were exploding. I then went home and told my wife and sister to calm down because it was happening over Pillau. Then I was awake and wanted to wait for the air raid to end. At about 2:00 or 3:00 I was standing in front of the house and I heard single rifle shots. I still could not understand where they were firing from, and I was almost certain that the Russians were getting very close to Palmnicken. When I heard the firing, I did not go to bed and wanted to wait to see what would happen. Suddenly I saw a lorry drive by from the direction of Königsberg, the headlights were off. I stood at the gate to see what kind of lorry it was. When it passed my house, I saw that there were about 20 soldiers in the back of the lorry. In the darkness I could not distinguish whether they were German soldiers. Very soon afterwards, a second lorry arrived with only a few soldiers in the back. I realised that the trucks were going in the direction of our combine. When the second lorry passed, I heard human voices even more clearly and shooting. This interested me and I realised that a column of people was coming. I then took cover behind my house because they were shooting all the time. And then I saw a long column of people, most of them women, on the main street heading towards the village. I also saw that the column was escorted by soldiers with rifles. There were many people in the column, and in the darkness it was impossible to estimate their number. Suddenly, two shots rang out in front of my house. People screamed when the shooting started. This shooting continued all the way to the village. When the column passed, I went to the road and saw two shot women 20 m from my house, towards the centre of the village. I approached them and realised that they were dead. The women were wearing pathetic clothes. The night the convoy arrived, there was a heavy snow blizzard with an icy wind, something like 15 degrees of frost. There were 8–10 soldiers in the tail of the column. When the column passed and the shooting stopped, I went into the house and went to bed. The next morning, Saturday, as usual, I left the house at 07:30 to go to work. On the way to the combine, I saw several other women shot and bludgeoned to death at the edge of the road. Those who had died from the blows had their heads bashed in for the most part, the dead looked horrible. Where the dead lay, the snow was red with blood. It took about 15 minutes to walk from my house to the combine. On the way that morning I saw 20, maybe more, dead bodies lying there.

And on my way to work I met some people from Palmnicken – they were women – who were walking to the dairy farm, they stood together and discussed what had happened during the night. I then told some of them about what I had seen early in the morning, that a large number of people had marched along the main road from Königsberg to the centre of the village, that they were being chased by soldiers. Neither I nor the women at



that moment were yet aware that the column had been placed at our combine. There were women standing near some of the dead and crying because no one could understand how this could have happened at all. We also did not know who these people were. The news spread quickly through the village, causing great alarm, as no one had ever seen such horrific events here before.

There was a great alarm at the combine, and I learnt that the people seen during the night were housed on the premises of the combine. Even at the entrance, the watchman informed me that a convoy of Jews had arrived today and was housed in the locksmith's shop. On the way to the office I saw that a large number of soldiers were sleeping on the floor. And the other administrative offices were occupied by soldiers, even in the corridor there were several soldiers sleeping, so that it was impossible to pass by them. But I still went into my bureau and wanted to get something out of my desk. At that moment an elderly non-commissioned officer woke up, he was wearing a grey-brown uniform. I asked him: "What is going on and why are you here?" He responded by making a defensive movement away from me with his hand: "That's not talked about." And then I realised that the man was speaking in broken German. From the look of his uniform I assumed that he was an employee of Todt's organisation [...].

After that, I had to go to my bureau several times to pick up papers for work. By then the soldiers had already got up and the non-commissioned officer was sitting on a chair in front of my desk. I asked him if everything was so secret and it was not even possible to find out what was wrong with these men. He made a contemptuous gesture with his hand and said: "They are Jews, they will be dealt with here." In the morning the cadre officer ordered not to talk to the soldiers and to stay away from the case.

In response to a question:

When I entered the combine in the morning, several workers were standing at the security gate discussing a particular incident. At that time the night guard, Mr Höpfer, now deceased, had been replaced by a day guard, Kanau, who I think now lives in the Soviet occupation zone. He now described what he had learnt from his predecessor (Höpfer) about the arrival of the column:

"The column approached the main gate in the morning, which was closed for the night. He did not allow the column to enter the territory. After that, the SS Senior Storm Leader (*German*: Obersturmführer) demanded the chief (Landmann) to talk to him. Höpfner established a telephone connection between the watchman's booth and Landmann's flat. During the conversation between Landmann and an SS Senior Storm Leader, Höpfner overheard the following: he, the SS Senior Storm Leader, came from Königsberg with a column of Jews and Landmann had to show him the tunnel into which the Jews were to be led. From the telephone conversation Höpfner was able to understand – as he told his successor on the shift – that Landmann knew nothing about the case, and he told the SS leader that he had no adits, since the existing adits served to supply the community with drinking water.

After Landmann refused to make the adit available, he and the SS leaders agreed that for the time being the Jews would be housed in the workshop of the locksmith's shop.

The Jews were then – as agreed – housed in the locksmith's shop. I am not in a position to report what the SS leader and Landmann discussed on Saturday morning regarding the fate of the Jews.

In response to a question:

Where the conversation between the SS leader and Landmann took place on Saturday morning, I do not know. Nor can I say whether Fräulein Gertrud Kohnke, Landmann's personal secretary, was present during this conversation. It may be that Landmann informed Fräulein Kohnke of the conversation, so that she may be in a position to give more detailed testimony.

There is, moreover, the possibility that Mr Laatch, who had a bureau over the chief's room, may have something to say on the subject.

The Jews were now housed in the locksmith's room without any bedding, and no man was concerned about their sustenance. At the combine on Saturdays – namely in the office part – they worked until 13:00, and at the combine itself until 22:00. I went home at 13:00, and had to sit on the phone on Sunday from 8:00 until the afternoon of 14:00. This was an event conceived by Landmann in connection with the approaching front [...]

I would add to this that the convoy of Jews was escorted by three SS leaders, of whom one SS Senior Storm Leader and two SS Storm leaders, twenty-two SS men and approximately 120–125 OT officers.

Question:

Describe in detail the uniform of an SS officer and SS men?

Answer:

Everyone at the combine said that the column was accompanied by a Senior storm leader and two Storm leaders, as well as twenty-two SS officers and the number of OT personnel I mentioned. As far as I remember, the SS men had grey field uniforms and the OT men wore grey-brown uniforms. I did not know at that time what ranks and what special insignia SS members wore, and at that time I could not distinguish between a Defence Force soldier and an SS man. The reason I know that they were SS men is that on Thursday, six days after the arrival of the convoy of Jews, an SS man came into my flat and asked me to give him a civilian uniform. He said to me: "I do not belong to the regular SS, I was lying in the infirmary and after I came out of it I was assigned to this SS team. I don't want to be involved in this case and I want to try to escape."

Because of the situation and the attention of our local party cell leader and burgomaster Friedrichs, I had to refuse his request in order not to be in danger myself.

Returning to the conversation I had with Feyerabend early Sunday morning. He demanded that I bring the leader of the column. On this assignment I went to the place where the SS leader lived in the office building and put him on notice that the director of the estates and the reserve major and the head of the People's Storm wanted to talk to him. The three SS leaders got dressed and came with me.

In the corridor of the administration building, the SS leaders and Feyerabend met, and I took part in the conversation. When the SS leaders arrived, Feyerabend asked them a question:

"Who have you brought here and from where?" To this the SS Senior storm leader replied, "I received orders in Königsberg to report on Friday afternoon to the North Station near the police-presidium, where I will receive further orders. When I arrived at the specified place in Königsberg, I was told: "You are to bring a group of Jews, about five thousand people, to Palmnicken. You will be given two more Storm leaders, a detachment of SS men and a detachment of OT officers to accompany you."

The SS Senior storm leader continued: "According to the order, I took charge of the column of Jews at the railway station with the escort personnel and two SS Storm leaders assigned to me and led the column at night to Palmnicken."

Question:

Did the SS leader mention in the course of the conversation from whom he received this order in Königsberg?

Answer:

I remember that in the course of this conversation an SS Senior Storm Leader said something about the Supreme Court in Königsberg. But I cannot say whether he received an order from there to bring the Jews from Königsberg to Palmnicken. The Senior Storm

Leader's utterance concerning the Supreme Court may have been made in the connection that Feyerabend asked him what was to happen to the Jews. To this the Senior Storm Leader said that he had received orders in Königsberg to take the Jews to Palmnicken, where they were to be driven into one of the tunnels of the amber combine. To this Feyerabend asked him, "How does the Supreme Court in Königsberg know that there are tunnels in Palmnicken?"

At that time the SS Senior Storm Leader explained that there were constant telephone conversations about the movement of the Jews to Palmnicken and about their fate in Königsberg. I don't remember who was talking to whom on the telephone. Maybe they did not talk about it at all. From this conversation I understood that at first there were doubts in Königsberg as to where the Jews should be transferred to. After that there were probably telephone conversations. I am, however, not in a position to say which institutions were involved. The SS Senior Storm Leader further explained that in connection with the transfer of the Jews to Palmnicken, a certain Mr Rasch from the Amber Manufactory in Königsberg had suggested to the court that there were tunnels in Palmnicken.

I cannot say, however, whether Rasch himself was in favour of moving the Jews to Palmnicken in his contacts with the Supreme Court, or whether the court asked Rasch about what was available at the combine in Palmnicken. In any case, I know for a fact that the name Rasch was mentioned in this connection.

Rasch is, no doubt, the then deputy director of the Königsberg Amber Manufactory. I know that Rasch was a member of the Party, and I also think that in connection with his position in the Party he had considerable influence. But I cannot say what position in the party Rasch held in Königsberg at that time. I saw Rasch several times in Palmnicken. Mostly he came to the combine if he needed a special stone. I had no personal contact – as I said – with him.

After the SS Senior Storm Leader had told Feyerabend how and why the Jews had been taken to Palmnicken, I joined the conversation and said that Landmann had not authorised any tunnels because, as already mentioned, they served to supply the community with drinking water. Feyerabend then asked the SS leader where the people were now. The Senior Storm Leader said that they were housed in a locksmith's workshop. Feyerabend then asked him: "Have the men received food, is there any straw in the locksmith's shop for them to lie on?" The Senior Storm Leader answered in the negative to both questions.

Then Feyerabend said: "That is the way you have treated people from Saturday morning to the present. And now I take responsibility for these people. I will not have anyone else killed here [...]". After Feyerabend had made it clear to the SS Senior Storm Leader in a perfectly clear manner what he thought of the case and what he thought of doing, the SS leader asked the director of the estates in an agitated tone, "What will be done to us if you intend to let the Jews go?". To this he was explicitly told by Feyerabend: "The released Jews would then probably behave towards the convoys in the same way as they had behaved towards them on the road".

This statement by Feyerabend was swallowed by the three SS leaders without objection. Feyerabend concluded by giving me the task of sending the Sunday courier Reimann to the Palmnicken estate and informing the manager Emil Harder (who was responsible for the distribution and execution of the work) – he is already dead – to immediately hitch up a sledge and send it to Heiligenkreuz in order to take the 25 quintals of bread stored there for the People's Storm and distribute it to the Jews. At the same time, Feyerabend ordered that coffee be brewed for the Jews in the combine's kitchen. In addition, he ordered that two large carts be brought from the Palmnicken estate to bring straw as bedding for the Jews. Peas were also to be given from the mill of the combine, and cattle were to be slaughtered

in the Palmnicken estate to provide hot food for the Jews. From then on, the Jews were fed three times a day. The SS leaders did not interfere in these actions and kept aloof.

I do not know whether the convoys, including the leadership, ate the food that was intended for the Jews. In this connection I wish to relate for the record the following incident, which was described to me by Mrs Edith Ackermann, who lives in Düsseldorf-Oberkassel, Hansa-Allee [...], a few days ago:

In those days one of the OT staff came to her house (in Palmnicken) and asked to be given something to eat. She gave him a few pieces of bread, to which he said: "If the Russians come now, they will kill four Germans for every Jew." This OT officer spoke in broken German. From this report by Mrs Ackermann it follows that the convoys in Palmnicken had to find their own food. It may be that the convoys were not given food for a long stay in Palmnicken, because the plan was to immediately exterminate the Jews after their arrival, so that the convoys could return back to Königsberg on Saturday.

In response to a question:

On Monday I had the opportunity to speak with an SS Senior Storm Leader. If I remember correctly, this SS leader's name was Weber. I think I heard that surname when a subordinate called him that. Judging from his speech, he was from the northern coastal areas of Germany. As I recall, he was about 35 years old at the time, about 1.78 metres tall, and had a youthful appearance. The officer wore a field grey uniform with a pistol and boots with a socket.

On Monday afternoon I had to go to the bureau where the people were stationed in order to pick up a couple of documents there. On this occasion I went to the room where three SS officers were stationed, and, as the door was open, I spoke to the SS Senior Storm Leader: "Well, what are you going to do with the people now?" To this he answered me, "We can do nothing at all at the moment, since Mr Feyerabend has taken over responsibility for the Jews; we are waiting to receive new orders from Königsberg."

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 1. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

### **135. The record of interrogation of SS Senior Squad Leader Fritz Weber at the Kiel prosecutor's office**

*11-14 January 1965*

Public Prosecutor's Office Kiel  
2 Js 359/64  
Kiel, 11.1.1965  
Interrogation

Fritz Weber, a government employee residing at 88 Esmarhstrasse, Kiel, is brought to the pre-trial detention centre in Kiel.

Surname: Weber  
First name: Fritz  
Born: 15.11.1908 in Gumbinnen, East Prussia  
Profession: Government employee  
Occupation and position at the time of the deed: Waffen-SS reservist  
Income:



- a) At the time of the act: Group VII and allowance
- b) Presently: DM 780 (without deduction of taxes and contributions)

Marital status:

- a) Married
- b) Spouse's first and last name: Margarete, maiden name Sontag
- c) Spouse's residence: at her husband's place of residence.

Children:

- a) Number: 2
- b) Age: 23 and 26.

7.

a) Father, first and last name, occupation, place of residence: Friedrich Karl Weber, retired telegraph inspector, missing in action

b) Mother: Henriette, maiden name Kaspereit, deceased

c) Guardian: none

Nationality: German

State and other public honours: none.

Identification: according to the law Art. 131.

Previous convictions: none.

On-topic:

I was born in Gumbinnen/East Prussia. When I was 6 years old, my father was transferred to the telegraph office in Danzig. In 1915 I went to school. At first I studied three years in a secondary school in Danzig. Then I went to an auxiliary class for one year and after that I went to the Danzig City Gymnasium. In 1927 I left the gymnasium after completing seven grades. And then attended the Higher Trade School in Danzig for two years. After that I got a job as a trainee cashier at Danzig City Enterprises. At the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930 I was employed on a permanent basis. Until August 1933 I worked at the City Enterprises, then I got a job with the Regional Police. In the spring of 1937 the Regional Police was abolished. I returned as a cashier in the city companies of Danzig. On 28 June 1939 I was called up to the police as a reservist. At that time I was a non-commissioned police officer, serving as a platoon commander.

In March 1940 I went to Stutthof for the first time as security personnel. There was a police labour camp in Stutthof until 1942. We, police officers from the reserve, served there as guards. We were rotated at certain intervals. We were rotated every month. We had three companies of four platoons. The first company served in the guard, another company served in training, and the third company was assigned to other services, for example, guarding facilities. I was then in the third company, in the 1st platoon. I was the commander of this platoon and deputy company commander at the same time.

In 1942 the Stutthof police labour camp was transformed into a concentration camp. By then I was with my company in the Thorn external camp. In the summer of 1943, perhaps it was June, we returned back to Danzig. The third company became a training company. The older soldiers were assigned to other companies and went back to guarding Stutthof. I myself stayed in the training company.

At that time I was Staff Sergeant of the police. During my trip on duty, our police unit was transformed into the Death's Head compound. On that occasion I became an SS Junior Squad Leader. It turns out that at that time I was demoted by one rank. In March 1944 I joined the 2nd Company, became a Senior Squad Leader and a petty officer. The 2nd Company together with the 1st and 3rd took turns being the guard company in Stutthof. We eventually got the 4th Company, which became a training company.

In November 1944, I was transferred to the external labour camp Stein-Königsberg. This external labour camp worked for the Steinfurt company, a wagon factory. About 400 Jewish prisoners from Vilna, Riga and other Baltic cities worked in this team. At one time I took over from Senior Squad Leader Böhme. At that time the Steinfurt firm complained about Böhme, and so he was replaced. Only Jewish men worked in this labour commando. I had seven guards and an orderly. At the end of December the orderly was replaced. Knitt arrived as an orderly. He was a defendant in the recent jury trials in Tübingen. These 7 guards were elderly, above all there were some who had previously served in the Defence Force. All of them were already fit for limited military service. These 7 guards wore SS uniforms, but with the difference that they had a swastika on their buttonhole. I can't tell you the names of the seven now. My camp was on the territory of the Schichau shipyard. So, as a matter of fact, we didn't need any guards at all. I can now tell you exactly when I joined the labour commando. It was three days before my birthday - 15 November.

In January 1945, a party of Jewish women came to us. There were several hundred of them. I can't tell you the exact number now. Anyway, this party arrived after 6 January 1945. This convoy was accompanied by OT guards and Ukrainian Cossacks. The head of the convoy was a senior from the OT. The Jewish women were housed in an abandoned factory on the territory of the Schichau shipyard. Some of these Jewish women were housed in barracks. The head of this convoy asked me to help him to house the people and get food. I helped with food as much as I could. Then I spoke to Stutthof on a special wire. First with the adjutant of the camp commander, and then with Hoppe himself. Hoppe told me that he knew nothing about this convoy of Jews. According to him, I should not allow them to be "loaded" on me. If anything should be done, it was the competence of the Regional Leader. I went to his office and spoke to the Regional Leader's deputy, Wagner. Wagner sent me to Assault Unit Leader Krause at the Gestapo in Königsberg. This institution was located in the town hall of Königsberg. Krause got on my nerves. He told me that I now reported to him and not to Hoppe. So I shouldn't call the latter. Krause told me that he would telegraph Hoppe about it. At the end he told me that I should be at his disposal on standby. I then wondered how Krause had obtained information about my telephone conversation with Stutthof. I concluded that the line must have been tapped. Shortly afterwards I received a telephone call from Hoppe, who told me that in future I must follow the instructions of the SS and police leadership in Königsberg. That was the last time I spoke to Hoppe from Königsberg.

It must have been somewhere around 18, 19 or 20 January 1945, early in the morning at 6:00 I heard a noise and ruckus at my window. When I came out, I asked the sentry what was going on. The sentry told me that two SD (Security Service of the Reich leader) leaders had arrived and had raised the alarm in the camp. It was still dark outside. I went to one of these leaders and demanded an account of what was happening, telling him that he had no right to give orders in the camp, which was under my command. I remember the names of both leaders. These both gave me their surnames. But there was so much going on outside that I did not pay attention to their surnames. The leader to whom I turned said to me: "You will now go with your men along Ausfallstrasse Schichau in the direction of the bridge over the Pregel, along Hufen in the direction of the police-presidium, Ausfallstr. Devau. There you will receive from Head Storm Leader Sonnenschein a more precise indication of the route." After this short conversation the two leaders went to the women's camp and raised the alarm. I heard gunshots, I don't know whether they were shooting at people or only to drive the Jewish women out into the street. Both leaders were shooting in my camp too. But only in the air to get my Jews up.

Then I went with my subordinate Jewish workers along the route indicated. Near the Devau aerodrome, at one of the crossroads to the north, Sonnenschein was waiting. It was

the first time I saw Sonnenschein. At that moment I was leading only my Jewish workers. They marched, according to my instructions, in a column of four people, and they had to hold hands. I turned to Sonnenschein. He ordered me to march with my column of Jews in the direction of Palmnicken. Gave me a map of the general staff on which the path was marked. Sonnenschein told me that in Palmnicken I should go to the director of the amber combine there. He gave me a name. I have the name Kaufmann in my memory now. Sonnenschein told me that this Kaufmann would then tell me what to do. I expressed my doubts and told Sonnenschein that I could not take orders from a civilian. Sonnenschein said that everything was fine and that Kaufmann was working undercover. Then, as Sonnenschein had ordered me, I turned north from this main road with my Jewish employees. By that time, the other Jews I shall now tell you about were not to be seen at all. I thought at the time that perhaps the Jewish women who were being led by the OT guard would also come up. At the road junction I left one of my guards with a bicycle. He was to show the senior OT guard the way. Sonnenschein himself had already left. He had an open-top Volkswagen 82. Its driver was unknown to me. Sonnenschein was there with the driver only.

When I spoke to Sonnenschein, my column of Jews had already turned onto the road in a northerly direction. Because as soon as Sonnenschein told me that I had to go to Palmnicken, I told my men: "You go now, I will catch up with you. After I finished talking to Sonnenschein, I followed my column of Jews, and after 500 or 600 metres I caught up with it. The column was about 200 metres long. I have already told you that the Jews had to walk in rows of 4 people. The number of Jews I was leading was exactly 400.

I made my first rest stop after 11 o'clock. We left the camp in the morning at 7:00. I took 1 hour to rest. My Jews positioned themselves at the barn. I had only 7 men of the guard. When we took a rest by the barn, I had only 5 guards. I left one at the crossroads. Corpsman Knott and another guard (food dispenser) caught up with us on a sledge.

In addition to the 5 guards stationed by the shed, I still had two capos<sup>1</sup>. There, near the barn, I stood and waited for the Jewish women, who were being led by the OT guard. Then they appeared. Suddenly I noticed that the number of Jewish women had increased considerably. I had counted only on the Jews led by the OT guard. There were only two or three hundred of them. But the count of those Jews who were coming up now was already in the thousands. I can't tell you the exact number. This long column of Jewish women now also stopped for a rest. At this rest I met again with an OT senior who was leading a party of several hundred Jewish women. Most of the Jewish women were led by Head Squad Leader Kaufeldt. This Kaufeldt was from the Ravensbrück concentration camp. He had Cossacks as guards.

At this rest stop I had a short conversation with Kaufeldt and the OT convoy. I told both of them that we had to go to Palmnicken and that there I would receive further instructions from the director of the amber combine. Then I added: "Keep your crowds tight, and see that everyone goes together. Whoever can't, let them stay lying down."

Our march continued. I myself marched with my Jewish workers at the head of the column. The Jewish women followed us.

Kaufeldt and the OT convoy man lagged behind at first because many of the Jewish women were so exhausted that they could not go any further. The Jewish women who could walk were then following my Jewish workers. When we had walked for about 2 hours, an open Volkswagen pulled up behind us. I looked at my watch some more. It was somewhere around 2 or half past three. In the car sat a Head Squad Leader, an Senior Squad Leader, a Squad Leader and the driver. All of them were SD. They had SD runes on their sleeves. I remember exactly that one had a metal plaque (field gendarmerie) on it. The Head Squad Leader said to me: "You are the commando leader here, what is going on? Those in the back, are they

not coming, let's take care of it". I told the Head Squad Leader that I was only supposed to lead the Jewish men, and what was going on in the back was none of my business. The Head Squad Leader replied that he had instructions to supervise the column; he had to make sure that the column did not get onto the main road. Then the car with the SD men drove back. I cannot say what the name of the Head Squad Leader was. The names of the other SD men who were in the car are also unknown to me. I then moved on. At about 6:00 in the evening we made a second rest stop. In the meantime, the column was stretching out. It was at least 2 kilometres long. There were gaps between people everywhere. So I had to stop everyone so that these gaps could be closed again. Here the sentries started to rage, saying that they wanted to take a break to eat. In fact, I wanted to take a rest only at 8:00 in the evening. Naturally, the column was again in full formation, that is, both Kaufeldt and the senior OT officer were in it again. Here this OT rank, I think, had something to do with the Reich Labour Service or something like that. He had a gold party badge. The rest lasted 1 hour again.

On the second rest a Volkswagen drove up to us again. However, now the Head Squad Leader was not talking to me. This Head squad leader was talking to Kaufeldt and an OT convoyer. And then the SD officers left again by car in the direction of Königsberg. Where they went, I don't know. I only saw the car with the Head Squad Leader again in Palmnicken. After the second rest we again went in the direction of Palmnicken. At about 1:00 o'clock at night we reached the amber combine. When I placed all the Jews in the locksmith's room and distributed the sentries, it was half past one, I remember exactly. I looked at my watch to write down the time for my report.

From Königsberg to Palmnicken we walked more than 80 kilometres. I measured the distance with a "wheel" and it came out to be 85 km. It should be remembered that we were not on the main road, but on a roundabout.

I am asked whether the column was accompanied on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken by female SS guards. I can't say, that's not a question for me to answer. After all, I was not at the very end of the column. In Palmnicken itself I did not see a single female SS guard. On the march, I was dressed in a grey field overcoat, belted over the overcoat, with a pistol on my left. The gun was my own. It was a Belgian semi-automatic pistol that my father had brought home from World War I. On the right front I had a field bag attached to my belt. Still on my belt was a hiking flask and bread pouch, and on my head was a grey cap (ski cap). Boots with short shanks served as footwear.

Kaufeldt was wearing a quilted cotton jacket (camouflage jacket), he also had a cap (ski cap) on his head. Kaufeldt had an automatic rifle. The senior OT who led the party of Jewish women also had an automatic rifle, which he handed to his subordinate to carry. If only I could remember today what this man's name was. Back then I absolutely knew his name. He was older. He was tall and stately. From the 2nd stop onwards until I arrived at the Palmnicken Amber Combine, there were constant gunshots behind me. It was clear to me that these shots were aimed at Jewish women. I did not see the Jewish women who were hit by the shots settling on the ground. After the 2nd stop, somewhere around 10:00 in the evening, I waited for Kaufeldt and an OT convoyman to come up. Told them it was pointless to shoot. But the escort guard replied to me that this is, after all, war.

And he also said: "If only you knew what the Russians are doing in our province, how rampant they are there, and you still want to defend Jewish women here. I think you're a real defeatist." By that time the three men I had sent ahead to Palmnicken had not yet returned. They were the three OTs their senior had assigned to me. He told me that he now wanted to go forward to Palmnicken himself to see what the situation was. And then he actually



went with 10 of his escorts on the road. I never saw the senior OT in Palmnicken again. The other convoys told me later in Palmnicken that their senior officer had gotten away like that.

I am asked how many Jews, according to my estimate, were shot on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken before arriving at the amber combine. I cannot say, I cannot determine an exact figure. In Palmnicken I heard that about 1,000 Jewish women were killed on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken before arriving at the amber combine in Palmnicken. Whether they were all shot, I don't know.

Today's interrogation began at 13:45, and was completed at 16:55.

Note: The interrogation was continued at 9:20 12.11.65. The accused explains:

I have already told you yesterday that we entered Palmnicken very late at night. It was about half past one.

I am asked who was in my convoy of 400 Jewish men when we entered Palmnicken. I can explain here that by that time all my men, including orderly Knott, with the exception of the food dispenser, were together under my command. So I had 7 men for the column on the march. Also 20 convoy men from the OT were at my disposal when darkness fell. I want to add here that Knott caught up with us when it started to get dark, I think it was before the second rest stop. Knott was always trotting along the column because it was his job as a doctor to keep an eye on the prisoners, especially the women. For this reason I then assigned him the task of being somewhere at the end of the column near the women, especially as I learnt from him that unimaginable things were happening there. I mean the shooting, the fact that the women would not go any further and the drunken state of the escorts guarding them. I am asked once again to try to give the names of the members of my convoy. It is clear that these people were very important to me, as they can at least confirm my testimony. Even if I wanted to, I cannot name any of the convoy members of my team. As I have already said, they were elderly retired Defence Force soldiers who, for health reasons, could only serve as guards. I certainly knew the names of some. However, as time passed and I was held captive by the Americans, their names slipped from my memory. I can, however, refer to the orderly Knott, who can at least describe the general course of events and especially dwell on the excesses. Knott was the first to inform me of these things on the march. After that I had a conversation with Kaufeldt and the senior OT.

I am now asked who the convoy teams led by Head Squad Leader Kaufeldt and the senior from the OT consisted of and how many there were. In my opinion, the columns of Kaufeldt and the senior OT were separated, even if the entire crowd was formed into a long marching column. In my opinion, Kaufeldt had 60-80 Russian armed militia, referring obviously to Cossacks. The guards in this convoy were dressed in a variety of uniforms. They wore mostly OT uniforms and fur hats. They were armed mostly with carbines, some with automatic rifles. I cannot say whether Kaufeldt also had other SS Germans. I remember now that I asked Kaufeldt about that. And he denied it.

As far as I know, the senior OT man in the convoy had a column of foreign OT members. They also wore OT uniforms and were predominantly made up of Walloons, Flemish and Belgians. I might also add that there were Germans from the OT. These were men who had been given to me by a senior OT officer to guard my column. During the march and later I learnt that these OT Germans had been in Russia before and had also been at the Leader's headquarters "Wolfschanze"<sup>2</sup>.

I am asked whether SS female guards or other female escort personnel took part in the march. Although it is suggested that with the large number of women prisoners female escorts should have been used, I did not notice this. I am now asked if I remember the names of the German OT guards. No. I don't.

When we came to the amber combine in Palmnicken, the head of the OT, as I have already explained, was not in our convoy. And I can no longer remember his surname. Now I only remember Kaufeldt and Knott. Kaufeldt was a Head Squad Leader.

Knott was a Section Leader or Junior Squad Leader. Kaufeldt was born approximately in 1910. He told me that he was in the cadre of Ravensbrück. And from him I learnt that he was an active member of the Waffen-SS. I mean that he served either in the Task Forces (Einsatzgruppen) or in the Death's Head Division.

I don't know Kaufeldt's name. I used to communicate with Kaufeldt in the past. He was with the Jewish women in the construction of the defences. Kaufeldt told me that the location of his unit was in Metgethen. Where he worked with Jewish women there, I don't know. Kaufeldt was about my height, but slimmer. I am now shown about 20 photographs (Nos. 151 to 170). I am asked if I recognise any of the faces in the photographs. No, I do not recognise any of the faces in the photographs.

Note: The photographs offered to the accused Weber are taken from the appendix "Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp".

I have been informed that photographs 165, 166 and 167 show a Kaufeldt. I looked at these photographs again. But I can't remember. I also want to say in addition that Kaufeldt had a very dry face of yellow colour. He complained of a gallbladder. I cannot say where Kaufeldt came from.

I have now been presented with a plan of the city of Königsberg. And I have now established that we were not travelling in the direction of Dewau. From the Schichau shipyard we walked along Kontiner Veg, Hafenstrasse, across the railway bridge, Deutschordenring to the North Station. At the police-presidium Sonnenschein was waiting for me. At least it was next to the police-presidium, I can't say for sure now. Sonnenschein stood at the fork of the road, one of the ways of which we took. Now on the basis of the plan I cannot find this fork again. We turned off after it, at least. It was a country road that led to Samland. I can no longer remember the settlements we passed through on the way to Palmnicken, meaning I don't know what they were called.

I am asked to report more about our stay in Palmnicken. I would like to remind you again that at that moment the senior OT with some of his men, the so-called quartermasters, came forward in advance to announce our arrival. I cannot describe the exact route we took with the column at Palmnicken. I remember that we immediately found the amber combine there, and the column entered the gates of the combine, at which various employees were stationed. As our arrival had already been announced. In the courtyard I ran directly into the director, whom I knew at that moment as Kaufmann. He was a man with dark hair of about 35 to 40 years of age. I later learned that this man had married early and had two children. I am told that this director of the amber combine was called Landmann. That could also be true. Because there was something in the surname with ...mann. I introduced myself to him and reminded him that he must have been informed from Königsberg about the arrival of the column and what to do about it. Once again in this connection I would like to point out that when I received the column, I received orders from Sonnenschein to take it to Palmnicken to the amber combine there. The director of the amber combine, Landmann, who, according to Sonnenschein, was an undercover Gestapo agent, according to his own words, was aware of what to do with the Jews. There, he said, another SS team was supposed to be waiting for me that would take on the Jews. That is to say, I was to go only to Landmann. I am asked what exactly Landmann said when I approached him. Landmann was obviously horrified by the arrival of these masses of people in his combine. He stated to me that he had not been informed of this action at all, and he did not know how to proceed now. As we both did not know what was going to happen, I insisted that first of all we should put the tired and hungry

people somewhere. Landmann willingly provided a large factory hall for this purpose, where all the Jews were first accommodated. Then care was taken to get straw. Landmann had a factory employee with him, to whom he gave the task of getting the straw.

Immediately after they were housed, Landmann also ordered some horses to be slaughtered. A kitchen was set up in the laundry, and I provided two prisoners who were butchers and other prisoners as kitchen helpers. Kaufeldt also provided appropriate men. In this way it was possible during the night for all Jews to get at least a bowl of soup. Kaufeldt was directly in charge of organising the food and guarding the Jews. He was already skilled in this and was accordingly involved. I kept in touch with Landmann and was mainly concerned with the accommodation and feeding of the convoys.

Practically nothing happened for the next 24 hours. We were tired to the bone, and at first we got a good night's sleep. I made myself comfortable in the administration building. Enough straw had already been piled up there. It is said that there were supposed to be refugees in this room. I mean, it was the accounting room. It was a big room. I was there together with Kaufeldt, Knott and my other 7 escort guards.

As far as I remember, the Russian escorts were placed in the labour barracks. The rest of the guards were also in the administration building. I can't remember exactly where they were put.

When I had slept, I found Landmann in his bureau. He was there alone and gave me the impression of an anxious man. To be precise, Landmann was depressed. He told me that he had had a conversation with the Königsberg Gestapo, during which he had been informed that the Jews were to be exterminated in one of the tunnels of the amber combine. The plan was to take the Jews into the adit and fill the entrance to the adit with an explosion. Landmann didn't tell me who he talked to in the Königsberg Gestapo. I assumed it was Sonnenschein. Because I mentioned the surname Sonnenschein during my first conversation with Landmann in the courtyard upon our arrival. Landmann told me that Palmnicken's water supply would be disrupted if the plan was executed. Then Landmann said something to me along these lines, "If there is anything you can do, it is to talk now again with the Königsberg Gestapo."

Here I must correct myself. Landmann told me that during a conversation with the Gestapo in Königsberg he learnt that the Gestapo in Fischhausen was responsible for everything further with regard to the Jews. Landmann thought it would make sense if I now contacted the Fischhausen Gestapo by telephone. Landmann told me that he now wanted to organise a telephone connection for me.

At the end of the conversation, a uniformed People's Storm Major walked into Landmann's bureau. I greeted him. Landmann said to me: "I will switch the connection to the accounting office". Leaving Landmann's bureau, I went to the accounting office where I was stationed. There I waited for the conversation. It was the first time I met this People's Storm major.

After a while the telephone rang. I picked up the receiver. The Gestapo telephonist in Fischhausen answered. I demanded to speak to the leader. Then I was put through to him. I cannot remember the name of the head of the Gestapo department in Fischhausen. I identified myself and asked the supervisor if he was aware of the arrival of the convoy of Jews in Palmnicken. I also explained that I, with 400 Jewish men, Kaufeldt with many Jewish women and the senior of the OT also with Jewish women had marched from Königsberg to Palmnicken. In this connection I also said that the senior OT man was no longer there. The head of the Gestapo said that he had been informed of the case, the senior from the OT was with him. I also told the leader that because of him I was in an impossible situation, the team that was supposed to wait for me in the amber combine had not arrived. I added that I

had been informed about what was going to happen; he knew too; it was a crazy idea. If this plan is carried out, the water supply to Palmnicken and the neighbourhood will be disrupted. I also made it clear to the head of the Gestapo department that I would not carry out this idea under any circumstances. After that he spoke to me in an elevated tone of voice. He told me that as an SS man I had to follow the orders given to me. I told him that I was not an SS man. I remember exactly what I said: "I'm a soldier, not a prisoner."

The Gestapo chief then interrupted the conversation on his own initiative.

After the conversation I went down the corridor, I wanted to see Landmann. A People's Storm major was coming towards me in the corridor; he must have been coming from Landmann's room. However, I didn't see him come out of Landmann's room. But from the arrangement of the rooms he must have just left Landmann's bureau when I met him in the corridor. This People's Storm major immediately jumped on me. He said he had learnt about the piggery that was going on here. I replied something like: "Sir Major, you should not have known anything about it. I ask you not to talk about it while I am here, this plan will not be carried out. I have already promised it to Landmann." In fact, at that moment I had not promised Landmann that I - as long as I had the right to give orders - would not execute the plan. It was precisely my intention to go to Landmann to make such a promise to him on this occasion. The People's Storm Major asked me in the corridor: "You were a soldier, you served." I replied, "Yes, of course," and added that I came from East Prussia. The People's Storm major then stretched out his hand to me and said that he was very sorry. He also told me that now, unfortunately, he had to leave Palmnicken with the People's Storm. I also remember that he gave me some details about the situation at the front which required the People's Storm to intervene. In conclusion, this People's Storm major said to me roughly the following: "So I can rely on you?" I answered in the affirmative. The People's Storm Major then left.

I was given the record of my interrogation to read. I read it carefully. It corresponds to my testimony. Everything is written down as I said.

(Signed Fritz Weber)

Note: The interview took place from 9:00 to 12:00. It is interrupted for lunch and will continue at 13:30.

The interrogation continued at 15:30. The accused states:

I am asked if I knew the SS warden Erna Neumann. To this question I must answer in the negative. It is true that I know that SS guards worked in the Stutthof concentration camp. I was once again asked to think about this. No, I do not know of any SS warden Neumann. I am asked again if I had seen any SS guards on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken. No, I did not see any SS warders on the march.

Question:

Mr Weber, the investigators have a statement by a certain Pola Zwardon. This witness survived the death march in Palmnicken. She was among the Jewish prisoners. Witness Zwardon was questioned on 8 November 1964 in Israel by a local police officer. A witness Zwardon was asked whether she knew a German named Weber and what she knew about his activities during the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken. According to the translation now made, the witness Zwardon said: "Well, I know Weber's surname, his name was Fritz. I know that his name was Fritz Weber from the aforementioned SS supervisor Erna Neumann, who called out to him and ordered him during this death march." Would you care to comment on this matter.

Answer:

No, this is not true.



Question: The witness Zwardon also said: "The aforementioned Weber joined our column in Königsberg and marched until the very end, that is, to the sea, where several thousand prisoners were shot".

Answer: First of all, I want to mention that a column of Jewish women joined our column.

Although it is true that I was later on the seashore of Palmnicken. But by that time I had no right to command. And I also did not participate in the killing of Jews.

Question: Mr Weber, the witness Zwardon gave a description of your identity. Her description says: somewhere slightly above average height, medium build, dark blond hair, maybe a brunette, about 40 years old at the time." However, this testimony goes on to say that you were in civilian clothes.

Answer: During the whole march I was wearing a field headdress and a winter woollen helmet, I had a long grey army overcoat. The witness, I think, could not see the colour of my hair at all.

Question: The witness Zwardon could have learned about the colour of your hair during your stay in Palmnicken.

Answer: Yes, then I would like to know. In Palmnicken I did not go to the locksmith's shop where the Jews were accommodated. I had many things to do, and I could not take care of internal affairs at all.

Question: The witness Zwardon also explained that during the march to Palmnicken you were armed with a pistol.

Answer: Yes, that is true.

Question: The witness Zwardon stated: "During the whole march he had a pistol in his hands, with which he killed many prisoners. It is simply impossible to give the number of persons he killed. He fired continuously."

Answer: During the whole march from Königsberg to Palmnicken I never even once took a pistol in my hands.

Question: I must inform you that the witness Zwardon recognised you in the photograph.

Answer: That's impossible.

Question: Do the names Hans Glük or Hans Glükmann, Stock or Rosenstock or something like that and Schäfer tell you anything? These are the SS men who supposedly participated in the march to Palmnicken.

Answer: I do not know such SS men.

Note: The interrogation is continued so far alone by Mr Brunow, a criminal investigation officer.

(signatures Fritz Weber, Falke as recorder).

The accused further explains: I will now give a further description of what happened from the moment when I first met the People's Storm Major. Sheet 17 of my interrogation was read to me again. After the People's Storm Major had left, I went to Landmann's room and told him the results of the telephone conversation. I also told him that in view of the position I had taken during the telephone conversation I had to reckon with the fact that I would be displaced one way or another. At the same time, I made it clear to Mr Landmann that as long as I had the authority to give orders, nothing would happen to the Jews. Of course, I could not tell Mr Landmann how the situation would develop, for I did not know it myself. In no way did I intend to lead the Jews into the tunnel or to destroy them in any other way. I noticed that Landmann was glad that the matter was dragging on a little longer. I went back to my men in the accounting office and we then tried to get straw and food. About 1.5 days after this conversation with Landmann and Feyerabend, at lunchtime my men informed me that I had to go to Landmann's room. I went to his room and found there, besides Landmann, also an SS Head Squad Leader whom I had already met on the

march in the car. This was the same Head Squad Leader who, as I said at the interrogation, had a field gendarmerie badge. This Head Squad Leader, whose surname I do not know, immediately began to reproach me for not having driven and destroyed the Jews in the adit as had been stipulated. He spoke of refusing to carry out orders and reminded me that I must unconditionally carry out this order. He himself, he said, was authorised by the Gestapo department in Fischhausen and must once again bring this order to me in a concrete manner. I asked him whether he had this order in writing. He replied in the negative. I told this Head Squad Leader unequivocally that technically the extermination of Jews in this way could not be carried out at all, because all drinking water would be contaminated. Secondly, I absolutely refuse to carry out such an order. I was determined not to exterminate the Jews.

I further stated to the Head Squad Leader that I would rather let the Jews go. It was a severe clash between us. Landmann also took part in this discussion. In this connection I recall that he ordered that the explosive technician of the combine be called in. He was to explain whether the mine entrance could be blown up at all. The explosive technician came and said that he did not have the appropriate explosives. Besides, he would refuse to do anything like that. Landmann managed to calm us down to some extent and we wanted to try to find together a way to evacuate the Jews from Palmnicken, besides I once again suggested that we take the convoy along the sea coast to Pillau. Landmann was interested in getting rid of the Jews in Palmnicken as soon as possible, as the settlement was overcrowded with refugees and the Defence Force. I had the unconditional impression that Landmann was completely on my side. He, although he was most interested in seeing the Jews disappear from Palmnicken, was not in favour of their extermination. After the Head Squad Leader and we had calmed down a little, the Head Squad Leader asked who was in charge in Palmnicken.

He meant the head of the district party cell or grassroots. He asked for a sledge, as he wanted to find him. At that moment Head Squad Leader Kaufeldt entered the room uninvited and asked what was going on. I briefly enlightened Kaufeldt and initiated him into what was going on, that this foreign Head Squad Leader insisted that we destroy the Jews. I had the impression that both of them, Kaufeldt and the foreign Head Squad Leader, knew each other somehow. I do not know what reasons moved Kaufeldt when he too expressed the opinion that the extermination of the Jews in Palmnicken was out of the question. I can only convey by meaning what was discussed. Anyway, Kaufeldt told the Head Squad Leader of Fischhausen that the extermination of the Jews in the form envisaged could not be carried out. In general, after the appearance of Head Squad Leader Kaufeldt, that stranger Head Squad Leader held conversations only with him. The reason for this could be that he was only a Senior Squad Leader.

Landmann provided us with a sledge, which we used to drive to the private flat of the head of the local party cell in Palmnicken. The trip was accompanied by the Head Squad Leader from Fischhausen, Kaufeldt and me. I remember that the head of the party cell lived somewhere near the sea. On the way, the Head Squad Leader from Fischhausen ordered us to stop, he went to the shore and its edge and examined the area. To our questions as to what this meant, he stated that he wanted to see if the Jews could be led to Pillau along the coast. I had thoughts about this, and I knew that the Jews were to be exterminated. And Kaufeldt was quite clear about that. However, we didn't say anything because we didn't want to get into an argument with him again. So we arrived at the head of the local party cell. Our appearance was quite unexpected for the head of the local party cell. Also present was a man in uniform. It was a party uniform. I have the impression that it was the deputy head of the party cell. Also present was the wife of the head of the party cell. The negotiations with the party cell leader were conducted by a foreign Head Squad Leader. He asked him if he could make available at least 10 boats. These boats must have crews. The party cell

leader asked what these boats were for, to which the Head Squad Leader said in passing that he had to carry out transports. At that moment it was not a question of the Jews stationed in Palmnicken. The head of the party cell said that he could not give the boats, as they were all busy transporting refugees. Since it was impossible to get any boats, we left with nothing. The sledges took us to the amber combine, and the Head Squad Leader drove back to Fischhausen. He told us, that is, Kaufeldt and me, that he would make a report in Fischhausen and that we would then be informed. On this occasion I told him once again that if the situation could not be contained due to the approach of the Russians, I would let my 400 Jewish men go. The Head Squad Leader threatened me once more and said something like this: "Think carefully again, we will contact you". In the following days nothing happened. The Jews were housed in the workshop of the combine and there they received sustenance as far as it was possible. I had by then contacted the Defence Force commandant in Palmnicken to find out how things were with the Russians. I also wanted to try to find a place for me and my men to camp in order to release the Jews in case the Russians approached. The local commandant was also very concerned that so many Jews were in his area of responsibility and pressured me to try to get the Jews out of Palmnicken somehow. On the other hand, he agreed that he would take me and my men to him, because any reinforcements would be very useful to him. I told this officer, I think it was a major, about the difficulties with the SS men in Fischhausen. But I did not tell him what was going to happen to the Jews. I had to be careful in this respect. I remember exactly that on 30 January 1945 we were with the Jews in Palmnicken. Because on that day I listened to that infamous Goebbels speech. There was a radio receiver in our location in the administration building. I would also like to add that Landmann had not received any orders from Königsberg or Fischhausen by that time either. I noticed that Landmann's family also began to prepare to flee. That's when I found out that Mrs Landmann was pregnant and he was very worried about it.

On 31.01.1945, I think I can remember exactly that it was then, at about 14:00 Kaufeldt came to see me. He stated to me that he had only spoken to an SS Junior Storm Leader, namely the commander of an SS patrol unit. I had not seen this SS leader; that is, I had not seen him at that moment. He gave Kaufeldt the order to prepare all the Jews for the march.

We were told to be ready to start marching at nightfall. In addition, as far as possible, we were to get sledges to take with us Jews who were sick and unable to walk. The order went on to say that the column was now to be taken to Pillau. While Kaufeldt was now organising the column for the march, I went to Landmann's bureau and informed him of everything. At the same time I asked him to place the required sledges at our disposal. Landmann provided us with about 20 sledges with horses. However, he could not give us a coachman. The sick were loaded onto the sledges, and at dusk, with all the Jews, we stood ready to march, waiting for the signal. I should also mention that I had put orderly Knott in charge of the column of sledges with the sick. The sledges were driven by prisoners. It should also be mentioned that food was given to the Jews. This food was still from the supplies that Landmann had given us at the amber combine.

Note: The recording of all testimonies was completed at 15:45. Next, the content was discussed orally with the defendant Weber on the merits. Prosecutor Kleiner was present during this oral discussion. Completed at 16:30.

13.01.1965

The interrogation continues. The accused explains:

I said that in the evening hours of 31.01.1945 in accordance with the order we were ready to march. At about 18:00 on the same day the order to march was given. I am no longer able to give the details of who gave the order. I believe it was Kaufeldt, who informed me

that we had to leave. But I can't say for sure. At that moment I went quickly to Landmann and said goodbye. By that time I had not seen any other SS leaders or their subordinates in the Amber Combine. I definitely believe that Kaufeldt received a direct order from some authority. I am asked who was responsible for the entire transport, which consisted of 3 marching columns. On this point I can only say that I felt responsible only for my 400 Jewish men. In addition, I singled out Knott as the leader of the sledge column. He was, after all, an orderly, and the sledges carried the sick. Kaufeldt again commanded his Jewish women. When I think of this, I must admit that there has never been such a hard march as on the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken. The female and male Jews were, of course, formed into one marching column, with the male Jews mostly at the end of the column. At least that's how I remember it. You have to remember that it was quite cold and dark. A snowstorm was raging and we had only one goal, at least to march in some order. I am again asked who was in charge of the whole column by the time the march started. On this point I must add that by the time the column left, there was no leader as such. Kaufeldt was a Head Squad Leader and thus the senior officer. I, as a Senior Squad Leader, was not subordinate to him in service, I want to say that in fact there was no such subordinate position. We complemented each other in all matters that had to be dealt with on the spot.

I am asked to testify about the actions of the convoys on the march. My former German escorts from Königsberg were placed at the head of the column. Other OT guards and foreign convoys were spread throughout the column, with the Cossacks kept mostly at the end. After Kaufeldt gave the order to start marching, the column moved towards the sea coast. That, at least, is how it remains in my memory. I remember quite distinctly that Knott and his sledge formed the head of the column. We travelled a little way along the Palmnicken and then, in a sort of S-curve, came straight out on to the shore. I stayed at the end of the column, that is, at the end of the sledge column and thus at the head of the marching column. When at the head of the column of Jews at this curve I came ashore, I noticed that a car was standing there. In it was the same SS Head Squad Leader who had been with me and Kaufeldt earlier at the head of the local party cell. Also in the car was a Junior Storm Leader unknown to me, as well as the driver and another escort. I must add here that the sea shore is precipitous in that place. The convoy of sledges went along the upper edge of the coast. The Head Squad Leader from the car stopped me with the Jews and pointed out the path that led directly to the water. I also showed him that the sledges were travelling along the top and that we should follow them. The Head Squad Leader only said to me: "Don't worry about it. They will come to Pillau. You will march along the coast." The whole column was thus on the coast. If I am asked whether there were any shots or murders on the way from the Amber Combine to the coast, I can say that this is not true, by which I mean that I did not hear any shots. I cannot vouch for the fact that nothing happened, because I was at the head of the Jews and could only see a small part of the column in the darkness.

I am asked how long the column on the shore was. I could not, of course, see the whole column. It was dark and snowing heavily. But I must say that the length of the column was at least 1500 metres. Sometimes I stopped and let part of the column pass, and I noticed that it was very difficult to walk and the column was stretched out quite a bit. In addition, the shore was very narrow in many places, so this made the column even more stretched. The women therefore marched in front, as they had a shallower stride than the men and had to determine the speed of the march. Kaufeldt kept at the tail of the column. In this way we marched about 10 kilometres, I can't say exactly, along the coast. I may be wrong about this distance, because it was very difficult to walk along the shore in this weather.

After those 10 kilometres, we walked for about 2 hours, I was stopped at the head of the column on the shore by a certain face. In him I recognised the already mentioned



Head Squad Leader from the car. There was another SS man unknown to me. The column marched past us until we ran into Kaufeldt at the end of the column. Kaufeldt also joined us. The column stopped, that is to say, they shouted "Stop!" forward. The Head Squad Leader took us a little away from the column. In the meantime, the very same Junior Storm Leader also approached. It was the SS man I had previously seen in the car up on the bank at Palmnicken. Now there was to be a discussion. The Junior Storm Leader, the unknown Head Squad Leader, another unknown SS man, Kaufeldt and myself were present. The Junior Storm Leader introduced himself by his surname, but I have forgotten it. In the meantime it had become clear to me, and I already had the feeling, when, unlike the column of sledges we were to go ashore, that we were now on the threshold of the extermination of the Jews. That's why I was already in such a mood. The SS Junior Storm Leader announced that he himself was from the task force and said clearly that now on the march along the coast the Jews were to be destroyed one by one. Then he gave details of the technical execution of this extermination measure.

According to him, this was supposed to be an action of retaliation for the sinking of ships with refugees in the Baltic Sea. The Junior Storm Leader explained his plan to us. The last 50-100 people in the column were to be gradually stopped and then, when the column had travelled some distance, shot. Thus in the course of time the whole column on the march was to be shot. Now the Section Leaders from the convoys, who were to be the leaders of the firing squads, were called in. These Section Leaders had to first identify volunteer shooters from their own ranks. Volunteers were in abundance. I want to emphasise quite clearly that the majority of the volunteer riflemen were Cossacks in fur hats. There were also Ukrainians and Walloons. I remember that those people who did not volunteer had to give their ammunition to the riflemen. This is how the distribution was done while the column was standing. We stood apart from the column so that none of the Jews could notice this event.

Kaufeldt and I were not involved in this distribution. We were given the task of seeing to it that the column went forward during the action, so that in no case there would be a commotion. We had to reckon with the fact that the Jews on the move would hear their fellow Jews being killed and there would be a mass escape. It should be added that in the event of an attempted escape one was to shoot immediately.

When the distribution was completed and the column went forward, that is, the extermination was about to begin, I was so agitated and confused that I said to the face of this Junior Storm Leader (roughly meaning): "It's all unfeasible and impossible, after all. I'm washing my hands of it. I'm just not going to take part in it." After that, the foreign Head Squad Leader whispered something to his Junior Storm Leader, after which he said to me, "Ah, there you are, well then go to the head of the column and make sure that the Jews are constantly on the move." I can't reproduce what he said word for word. He was so agitated and sent me away, so to speak.

By the time I had raised my objection to the Junior Storm Leader, Kaufeldt, some distance away, was busy distributing teams of riflemen and distributing ammunition. I walked about 200 metres towards the head of the column now. Almost the whole column had moved away from the end, except for a group of 50-100 Jews. Suddenly I heard very frequent gunfire. It happened relatively quickly. I could not see anything, but it was clear to me that the action had now begun. I had the idea to run away, because I did not want anything to do with such things. I did not want to be involved in any way in the killing of unarmed people. On the other hand, I had to bear in mind that I would be caught. In that case I should certainly have expected the death penalty. Moreover, at that time there was the so-called judicial liability of all family members. So I had to reckon with the fact that my family, my wife and three

children would be killed. I ran to the head of the column and made sure that the column stayed on the move. At first, the head of the column did not notice the action being taken. I should mention that at that time there was a big storm. We were right on the shore and the waves were very high. There was a real roar. I, and I was aware of the action, didn't even hear any gunshots. Besides, a frontal cannonade could be heard off to the side of us. We walked all night. When morning came and it began to get grey, the Jews, with the exception of one group, were exterminated. There were 100-200 women left alive, who walked at the head of the column. They were to be shot in one group. My men from the former camp in Königsberg and other guards, who were not assigned to the firing squad, left the column, and the gunmen surrounded the Jewish women. The Jews were pushed back to the water. At this point I saw Kaufeldt with a group of gunmen standing a little aside. Apparently he was with these men as a sort of reserve. In front of the row of riflemen there was also a foreign Head Squad Leader.

When the Jews noticed what was coming their way, they came together in an ever tighter circle and threw themselves to the ground. It looked like a clenched bunch. Some of the Jews scattered and tried to break through to the slope. A terrible shooting started. It was just horrible, the way people were shot there. I couldn't look at it and turned away. And the convoys who had not been assigned to the riflemen were walking away. I followed them. The whole action did not last long. The shouting and shooting soon stopped, and I can't say whether the survivors were killed. I don't think they were.

I was so exhausted by then that I couldn't grasp any clear thoughts. Added to that was the fatigue of the transition. I went to a nearby hay barn, where I found some of my old escorts. Gradually others came up. The Cossacks also passed this barn in the direction of Fischhausen. It must have been near an estate, not far from Fischhausen, because we heard sounds of fighting near the town. A foreign Head Squad Leader also went into this shed. By that time I had lost sight of Kaufeldt. The Head Squad Leader came to me and said that everyone should gather at the crossroads near Fischhausen. I was given the task of leading the men from the barn to this place. So I did. At this place, which we had agreed upon, I met only this Head Squad Leader. The other convoys, among them Kaufeldt, entered Pillau by the main road. We were no longer able to do so, because the Russians had broken through. The Head Squad Leader led us to Neuhäuser, near Pillau. His bureau was in Neuhäuser. I had already noticed that the Head Squad Leader wanted to hold me responsible for my behaviour in Palmnicken and during the action on the coast. I believe he had the task of turning me over to his office.

In Neuhäuser, the Head Squad Leader went to a car parked near the swimming pool. There he reported to the SS leadership. This SS leader was unknown to me. I believe he was an Assault Unit Leader, he was wearing a leather coat. What they both discussed, I don't know. The Head Squad Leader came back to us. We were to follow him to Pillau. On the way we met a column of convoys with Kaufeldt in it. The two groups merged and we were on our way to Pillau. When we arrived in Pillau, the Head Squad Leader took us to the location of the former SS and police leadership of Königsberg. This is Senior Leader Böhme we are talking about. Kaufeldt and I were to enter the building together on the instructions of our Head Squad Leader. Kaufeldt and I were to wait downstairs. Now the Head Squad Leader has disappeared.

Note: The written record of the interrogation was interrupted at 11:30. The discussion of the circumstances of the case was at first continued orally. Completed at 12:00.

Note: The interrogation was continued on 14.01.1965 at 09:40 by prosecutor Kleiner. The defendant Weber stated:

Kaufeldt and I waited in a kind of chancellery which was set up on the ground floor. There was also some Junior Storm Leader there. I thought it was the head of the bureau. I did not recognise his surname. The building we were in was a confiscated villa. It had only two floors. There were two flats at the bottom and two at the top. I never saw the Head Squad Leader who led us to the building again. After Kaufeldt and I had been waiting there in the chancellery for some time, we were called to go up to the first floor. I no longer remember who told us that. We went up the stairs to the top. On the landing in front of the stairs on the first floor an adjutant was already waiting for us. It was an SS man whose name I don't know. He was, as far as I can remember now, a Senior Storm Leader, maybe even a Head Storm Leader. I also remember exactly that he wore a distinguishing badge for good shooting. This adjutant immediately said: "Ah, there you are. At the same moment the door opened behind him. Standing in the doorway was Senior leader Böhme. Behind him stood some other men. Kaufeldt reported to Senior leader Böhme about the execution. What Kaufeldt said exactly, I cannot explain now. Then I reported. I only had time to say: "SS Senior Squad Leader Weber...". At that moment Böhme interrupted me. He said to the adjutant: "Take his weapon away from him and give orders for further action." The adjutant began to try to take my weapon away from me. I still wanted to say something. I just started: "Senior leader ...". Then the adjutant shouted sharply: "You didn't understand the order." Looked at Kaufeldt, Kaufeldt looked at me, he was as frightened as I was. Then I took off my belt and handed it to the adjutant. On the belt hung a pistol holster, a field flask, a bread pouch and a field bag. Then the adjutant went with me to the ground floor to the chancellery. I never saw Kaufeldt again from that moment. In the chancellery the adjutant turned to the Junior Storm Leader. Then one of the sentries must have put on my belt. This man, I suppose an SS Squad Leader, took me to the head of the bureau with whom I had spoken by telephone from Palmnicken. I was led to a building which was located in a copse of woods. The distance between the building to which I was now led and the location of Senior leader Böhme must have been 500-600 metres. It was already dark and a snow blizzard was raging. We went up the stairs. It was something like a high ground floor. Then a long corridor. To the right and left doors. The Squad Leader who was guarding me opened the door and reported. The bureau chief ordered the Squad Leader to stay in the corridor. I was to go into the room. The bureau chief was sitting at a desk. There was no electric light. On the desk was a candlestick with several candles. There was enough light to see everything. I reported according to the regulations. The head of the bureau glanced at me and ordered me to take a chair in front of the desk. Then he was writing something down.

I have been asked to describe this SS leader. I can explain the following on this occasion: It was a Head Storm Leader whom I saw for the first time. I had only telephoned him from Palmnicken. At that time his office was located in Fischhausen. I only saw this Head Storm Leader, whose surname I do not know, sitting at his desk. He was then in his 30s, with a vigorous face, a sharply defined nose and a military hairstyle with a parting. He wore the parting on the right side. This Head Storm Leader had dark hair. There were small bald spots on the sides. I believe this Head Storm Leader was about 1.80 metres tall. His dialect gave away a native of the neighbourhood of Frankfurt. I saw this Head Storm Leader only once, during this conversation.

I know for a fact that he was in SD. Because he had the SD runes. I also also know for sure that the Squad Leader who brought me to this Head Storm Leader said at his report in front of the door, "Bureau Chief, I ...". At this report of the Squad leader it became immediately clear to me that now before me was the bureau chief from Fischhausen.

When the Head Storm Leader had finished writing, he looked up. And after that he dealt with me at once. The Head Storm Leader was aware of everything. He knew about

my conversation with the senior OT who was with me on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken. He also knew about my further behaviour. I can only recall excerpts of this conversation. The Head Storm Leader reproached me with the fact that my behaviour during the action had caused difficulties and delayed it. I tried to justify myself, but did not have time to say a word. Finally the Head Storm Leader said to me: "I have an assignment from the Senior leader to conduct a disciplinary investigation against you. I am temporarily detaining you." Towards the end he called out to someone in the corridor. A uniformed SS man came into the room. To him he said something in the sense of, "Lock this man in a cell and inform the prison to take him away."

Note: At 10:30, Criminal Investigation Officer Brunow appeared. Prosecutor Kleiner withdrew. The interrogation was further conducted by criminal investigation officer Brunow:

The defendant further explained:

In this cell I slept for about four hours. Then I was taken to Pillau, this time to an ordinary prison. I was accompanied by two SD men, whose rank I do not know because they were dressed in camouflage suits. They were armed with automatic rifles. In front of the prison there was a large red building. It looked like a castle and it was close to the harbour. I also remember that a certain Head Squad Leader was a supervisor in the prison. He was very surprised that they wanted to lock me up, even though I was in the SS. My escort explained that I should be put in solitary confinement.

But they put me in a cell where there were already other German prisoners, about 7-8 people. They were SS members, Party members and others. They were accused of desertion or other acts. Everyone did not trust each other, and they thought that I had been put in the cell as a spy. For this reason they spoke little and did not talk at all about who was accused of what. Gradually the prisoners were taken away from our cell one by one, and in the end I was the only one left. It was about 6-8 days later. After about 8 days I was taken for interrogation for the first time. I was taken about 80 metres across the street to another building to an SS Junior Storm Leader whom I had not seen before. He told me that he would be in charge of my case. He asked me to begin by calmly explaining how everything had happened, how it had happened that I had refused and, in general, what my position was. I described to him the whole story as I had told it at my interrogation today. Of course, I tried to express my agitation even more, so that I would not be sentenced so harshly. During this conversation, that is, interrogation, I was asked for restraint, because I was again worried, while emphasising once again that I felt innocent of these incidents. I said that I was a soldier and that I was now asking to be sent to the front. I made it explicitly clear that I in no way wanted to deal with such things. My statement was written down and I had to sign after the interrogation. The Junior Storm Leader told me afterwards that he would call me in later and took me back to the old cell. During this interrogation I protested against my detention as an SS officer. I pointed out to the Junior Storm Leader that after the assignment in Palmnicken I was again under the authority of my superior. And this was the commander of the Stutthof concentration camp, Assault Unit Leader Hoppe. I want to add here that I was personally subordinate to Hoppe in a broad sense. My immediate superior had hitherto been Company Commander Hauschild of the Death's Head Battalion of the Stutthof concentration camp. Now I spent eight days alone in my cell again. Pillau in the meantime had come under fire. The situation was constantly deteriorating. I appealed to the prison authorities to finish my case. After that I was taken for questioning again to the same place where I had been 8 days before. There another Junior Storm Leader wanted to hear all the circumstances of the case from me again. Everything down to the smallest detail. The reason for this was unknown to me. And during this interrogation I did not know how the case would end for me. I was back in my old cell. After 5-6 days, the cell was opened in the evening and I had to pack up.



Since they didn't tell me anything else, I thought that now I would be shot. I was taken to the prison yard, where an SS Junior Storm Leader, unknown to me, was standing. This SS officer was dressed in a field uniform. He had camping equipment, camouflage clothes. He had come from Königsberg. He apparently expected me to be dressed ready for a march and was surprised that I appeared in an overcoat without a waist belt and without a weapon. This Junior Storm Leader was obviously a front-line soldier. He explained to me that he was flying with me to Königsberg, and I must now drive with him to the aerodrome. That's how we got to the airfield Neutif near Pillau. There were only three U-52s flying (there and back) at the aerodrome. We waited there for a while until we were loaded into one of the planes. The SS men who had been gathered together and were to be reintroduced to the battle in Königsberg flew with us. The flight lasted 20 minutes. We landed at an aerodrome in Königsberg. I think it was the Devau aerodrome, which was already under enemy fire. At first the Junior Storm Leader took me to a dormitory for female teachers next to the police presidium in Königsberg. The Junior Storm Leader was probably a courier who was already expected there. I was locked in the dormitory in a room where a teacher had probably lived before, because I found women's underwear there.

From my window I could see the rear facade of the police presidium. I was kept there for about 3 days, after which I was taken to an SS Assault Unit Leader whose name I did not get to know. He apparently had some documents on my case and questioned me again about it. The interrogation was not recorded in writing. The Assault Unit Leader obviously had a shallow understanding of the case. I was ordered to report in the same building to the Head squad leader, who took care of my uniform and armament. Inside this building, which was used as a kind of barracks, I was assigned to a local SS unit. It was a so-called "hodgepodge": an assemblage of SS, police, SD, customs and others. Now I could move around freely. The Assault Unit Leader only told me that since I had asked to go to the front, I would soon be thrown into battle. He obviously had a different opinion about such things, and I had the impression that he seemed to understand me.

During the time that followed I was thrown into battle with this SS unit at various places within the fortress of Königsberg to the rescue. This is how I ended up near Rothenstein, where we replaced members of the Hermann Göring Division. I also recall that one day we were thrown to a place near Berlinerstrasse. The Russians entered the urban area of Ponarth at that time.

Question: Are you able to give the names of former comrades who can testify to the participation you described in the battles in Königsberg?

Answer: I cannot say anything about the names of former comrades. Nor can I tell you the exact name of the unit at that time. It was a hastily assembled group. In general we were called Police Task Force.

Question: What was the name of your former superior during your stay in Königsberg?

Answer: I can only name the company commander with the rank of major, his name was Hahn. By his civilian profession this man was a customs officer. He was a company commander, although he was of the rank of major.

I cannot now state exactly how long we actually stayed in Königsberg. I believe it was about three weeks. The ring around Königsberg was broken by formations that came from Fischhausen. The breakthrough from the inside was made by soldiers of the Hermann Göring Division. These attacks succeeded and the road towards Fischhausen was free again. We were already standing ready in our position. Suddenly came the order to withdraw. We were sent to the railway and taken with refugees and others to Pillau. They brought us to the port. There I approached an SS Assault Unit Leader who was the leader of our unit at that time. His name is unknown to me. I believe his name was Reimann or Riemann.

I explained to him that I was, in fact, a member of the Stutthof Death's Head Battalion and asked him to give me an order to be reunited with my former unit. The Assault Unit Leader, who had settled there in the port, gave me this order: I must introduce myself to the commander of the Stutthof concentration camp, and take care of getting there myself. I thought of going on foot or stopping a lorry. That's how I got to the port, where I met some infantrymen at the ferry boat. I learnt that this boat was to take the wounded to Danzig. I of course took the opportunity and first went to see my wife who lived in Danzig. I also visited my parents. One night I spent at my relatives' house. Then I went on the main road to Stutthof, where I met a lorry from the camp. That one took me with them. In Stutthof I reported to Commander Hoppe. Hoppe was aware of my case, because Kaufeldt had also arrived in Stutthof in the meantime and reported everything to him. Hoppe said to me something like this: "That's just wicked, couldn't you let them go?" He evidently meant that he, too, had released the prisoners. Then I, doing nothing, spent some time in Stutthof. I was in a barracks outside the camp. We did a little training and built positions in case of defence. There were no prisoners except a few headmen. During the day the camp was constantly under fire from storm troopers. After a while Hoppe formed a fighting group, which was made up of members of the convoy teams and the camp staff. On 16 April we left for Nickelswalde. We were taken by ship to Hel near Gotenhafen. There we were subordinated to a Defence Force commander. This commander had the task, all those who could still carry arms, to be taken by ships to Mecklenburg, where a defensive position and a fighting formation was to be formed. Our crowd got to the whaling station of the "Unitas." This vessel was so damaged by a torpedo that it was dragged by the tug "Eisvogel". I can't tell if Hoppe was on that ship as well. The ship took us to Rostock. I must correct myself, first we were taken by this ship to the distribution centre on the island of Rügen in Sassnitz.

Note: The interrogation was interrupted at 11:55 for lunch.

Note: The interrogation is now continued at 14:45.

The accused explains:

After arriving at Sassnitz on Rügen, my comrades and I were first thrown into building artillery nests and such things, because Rügen was being equipped for defence. This lasted about 1 week. I can tell you approximately when we were on Rügen. It was from 20 to 28 April 1945. Our unit was then taken in groups to Ludwigslust in Mecklenburg. There we were gradually assembled again, supposedly to be in a kind of readiness. Other units were there as well.

Note: At 14:50 the prosecutor Kleiner appeared. The defendant Weber further explains:

We were in position in the forest. In this place we learned of the surrender on 8 May 1945. I remember that our unit was called at that time "Army Group Schaack". At the surrender we were allowed to decide where we wanted to go. But we were not advised to go east. I was at that moment with some Hamburgers and Germans from the north and wanted to try to make my way to Bremen at first. South of Lüneburg, however, I was captured by the Americans. Eventually ended up in a prisoner of war camp in von Stockhausen's group, and in August 1945 was conditionally released through Oitin and Seegeberg. We were released only on the condition that we would participate together as a group in the rebuilding and clearing of Kiel. That's how I ended up in Kiel first.

I did not see my family again until 1949. It had been interned until then in Denmark. During this period one of my children died there.

I am asked what happened to my Palmnicken comrades Kaufeldt and Knott. As I said before, I never saw Kaufeldt again. After my arrival, I learnt from Hoppe that after Palmnicken, Kaufeldt had returned to the Stutthof concentration camp and had let us hear from him. Hoppe had received information from Kaufeldt about the events at Palmnicken. I later learnt that Kaufeldt was also involved in the evacuation of the Stutthof camp towards the west.

Question: Mr Weber, why did Kaufeldt reappear at Hoppe's?

Answer: Hoppe was responsible for all members of the SS, as well as for all Wehrmacht officers who fled across the spit. The Stutthof concentration camp was the gathering place for these men.

Question:

After the action in Palmnicken did you have any contact with Knott?

Answer: No, I did not. I only heard about his brother Willy, that he had been taken prisoner by the Russians. I also have no correspondence with Knott, who was an orderly in my team. Note: The transcript of testimony was completed at 15:10. The transcript from page 21 was then submitted for review and certification. The accused Weber at 16:30 read the transcript.

He stated: The transcript conveys exactly my testimony. Therefore, I hereby attest to it with my signature.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Case 10. Microfiche 4.*



*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 11. Microfiche 1.*

*Photograph from the investigation file. Provided by the Ministry of Culture of Schleswig-Holstein.*

<sup>1</sup> “Capo” (etymology unknown, presumably from French Caporal, “corporal” or from German Kazetpolizei – a member of the auxiliary police of the camp) – a privileged stratum of prisoners, from which the lower administrative apparatus of the camps was formed, as well as the representatives of this apparatus themselves.

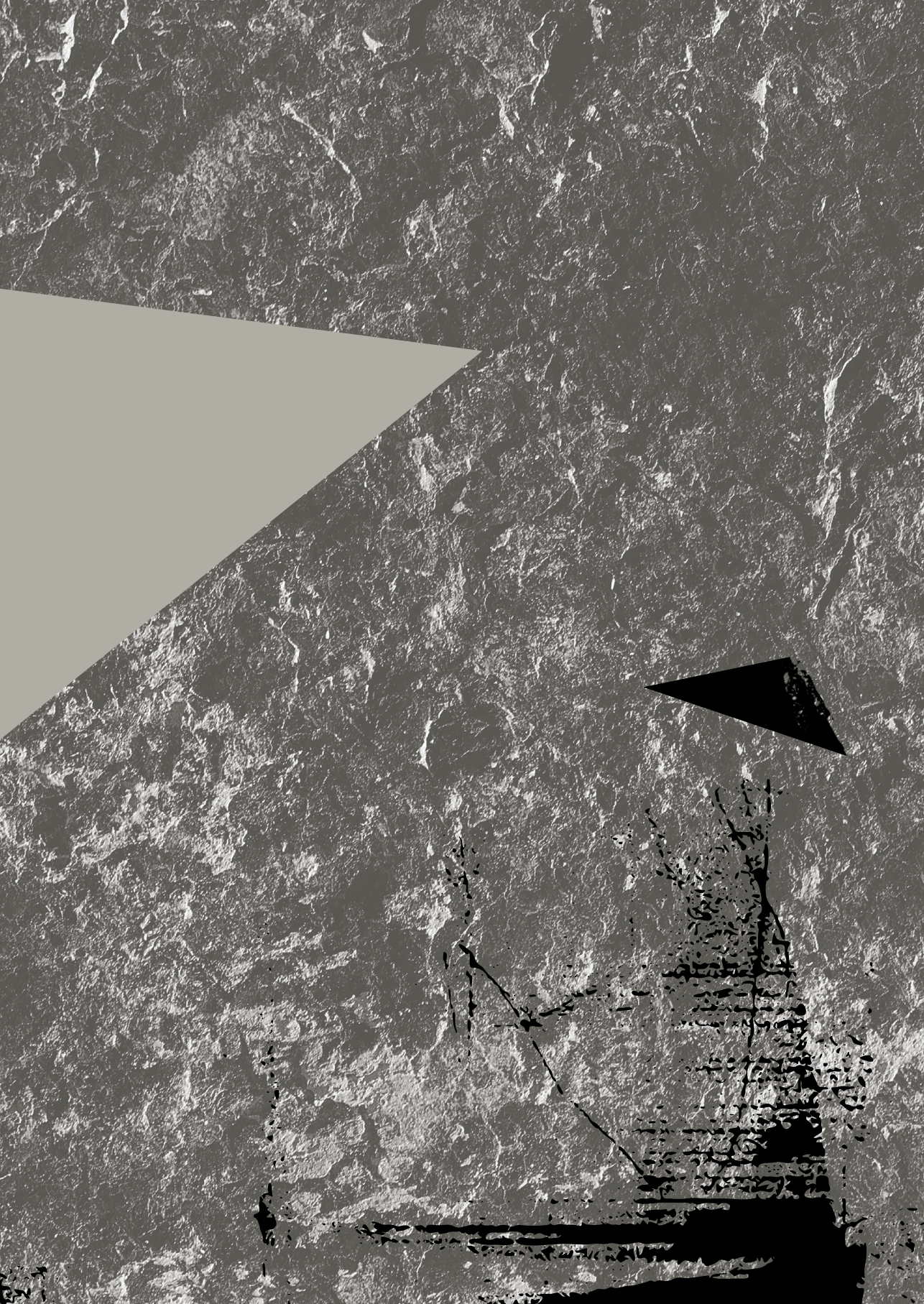
<sup>2</sup> “Wolfsschanze” (German: Wolfsschanze – Wolf’s Lair) – the main headquarters of A. Hitler and the command complex of the Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces in the Görlitz forest near Rastenburg (East Prussia) (now Kętrzyn, Poland).



# SECTION 4

CRIMES WITHOUT  
A STATUTE  
OF LIMITATIONS:  
THE NAZIS  
AND THEIR  
COLLABORATORS







137. Report to the commander of the 2nd Belorussian Front, Marshal of the Soviet Union K.K. Rokossovsky, about the arrest of employees of the German Stutthof concentration camp

18 March 1945

Top secret  
Shall be returned

TO THE TROOPS COMMANDER OF THE 2ND BELORUSSIAN FRONT  
MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrade R O K O S S O V S K Y

About the arrest of employees  
of the German STUTTHOF concentration camp.

On 16 March 1945, the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 18th Artillery Division, of the 3rd Breakthrough Artillery Corps of the Reserve of the Supreme High Command (RGK), in the process of filtering persons living in the territory liberated from the enemy, workers of the German STUTTHOF concentration camp were detained and exposed as active German collaborators:

NIKOLAEVSKY Stefan, born in 1922, a native of Bydgoszcz / Poland/, Pole, worker, secondary education. From February 1942 to January 1945, he worked as a hospital orderly in the STUTTHOF concentration camp.

MIKLASH Izidor, born in 1919, a native of Bokuny village, Sokul district, Bialystok Voivodeship, Pole, worker, former soldier of the Polish army.

He was in the STUTTHOF concentration camp from January 1940, initially as a prisoner, and from 1944 as a ward leader in the camp hospital.

At the same time, on 16 March 1945, the SMERSH counterintelligence department of the 5th Guards Tank Army detained a person who served in the STUTTHOF concentration camp as a controller and overseer of prisoners working in the camp workshops –

STENZEL Bronislaw, born in 1900, a native of Tuchlin village, Kartuzy district, Pomeranian Voivodeship, Pole, former landowner.

According to the testimony of the detainees NIKOLAEVSKY, MIKLASH and STENZEL, it was established that in 1939 in the area of Stutthof / 35 km east of Danzig, near the Baltic Sea coast / the Germans established a concentration camp, which was under the SS control.

Initially, the camp was designed for several tens of thousands of people, but in 1941, construction of a new concentration camp for 400 thousand prisoners began in the Stutthof area, which was largely completed in January 1945. On average, the STUTTHOF concentration camp held up to 100 thousand prisoners; by the time the camp was evacuated in January of this year, there were about 40 thousand people there.

Civilians from all European countries were imprisoned in the STUTTHOF camp - Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Russians, French, Dutch, English, Norwegians and others, including women and children. In 1943 and 1944, a significant number of Russian prisoners of war from other camps also arrived at STUTTHOF.

In the STUTTHOF concentration camp, the Germans carried out mass extermination of prisoners on a large scale. According to the testimony of detainees NIKOLAEVSKY and MIKLASH, from 1942 to 1945, more than 60 thousand prisoners, mainly Jews, Russians, and Ukrainians, were exterminated in STUTTHOF. In September 1944 alone, 10 thousand Jews were massacred there, the vast majority of whom were women and children. During 1944, a large number of Red Army prisoners of war, including women, were exterminated in the camp.

In order to kill prisoners, mainly those who were sick and weak from backbreaking work and the inhumane camp regime, the Germans used various brutal methods, in particular:

1. Injection of 5-10 gram doses of a poisonous liquid - phenol - into the heart area, resulting in death occurring within a few minutes.

The killing of prisoners by injecting phenol took place under the leadership of the camp hospital head - SS Senior Squad Leader HAUPT and surgeon JASINSKI. The injection was carried out by ten German orderlies who arrived in Stutthof in the spring of 1942 from the Dachau concentration camp, where they trained at the SS school for training in methods of killing people.

2. Suffocation in a special gas chamber built on the territory of the camp. 40-50 people were placed in the chamber at a time, who were then killed with hydrocyanic acid. The killing in the gas chamber was supervised by SS Junior Squad Leader - KLOTT\*. In recent times, in addition to the gas chamber, the Germans had also arranged a special hermetically sealed wagon into which prisoners were loaded, ostensibly to be sent out of the camp, and then gassed to death.

3. Deprivation of food to prisoners for long periods of time, brutal beatings and abuse.

The Germans also practiced mass shootings and the hanging of prisoners. The corpses of all those tortured in the Stutthof camp were burned in a special crematorium built on the territory of the camp by prisoners. The crematorium had 3 ovens with a total capacity of 350-450 people per day. It should be noted that there have been repeated cases of burning of half-dead people in the crematorium.

The mass extermination of prisoners in the Stutthof concentration camp was carried out according to instructions from Berlin, the leaders and direct perpetrators of these atrocities were the SS camp employees: the commandant of the camp in Stutthof - SS Assault Unit Leader HOPPE, the security officer - SS Head Storm Leader MEYER, the permanent camp duty officer - KAMNITZ and others.

During further investigation, detainees NIKOLAEVSKY and MIKLASH admitted that they took part in systematic abuse and brutal beatings of prisoners who turned to them for medical help.

The testimony of former prisoners of the Stutthof camp also establishes the personal participation of NIKOLAEVSKY in the killing of patients by injection of phenol.

The detained STENZEL was convicted of the treacherous activities he carried out during his work in the concentration camp - he reported to the camp administration about those persons who, due to their exhaustion, illness or other reasons, were subject to destruction. In total, according to denunciations of STENZEL, about 450 people were killed.

We arrested NIKOLAEVSKY, MIKLASH and STENZEL. The investigation is underway.

Measures have been taken to search for the administration and other employees of the concentration camp, who, as those arrested showed, splitting into separate groups along with the prisoners, on 25 January of this year, due to the approach of the Red Army, evacuated from Stutthof in a western direction.

[...]\*\*

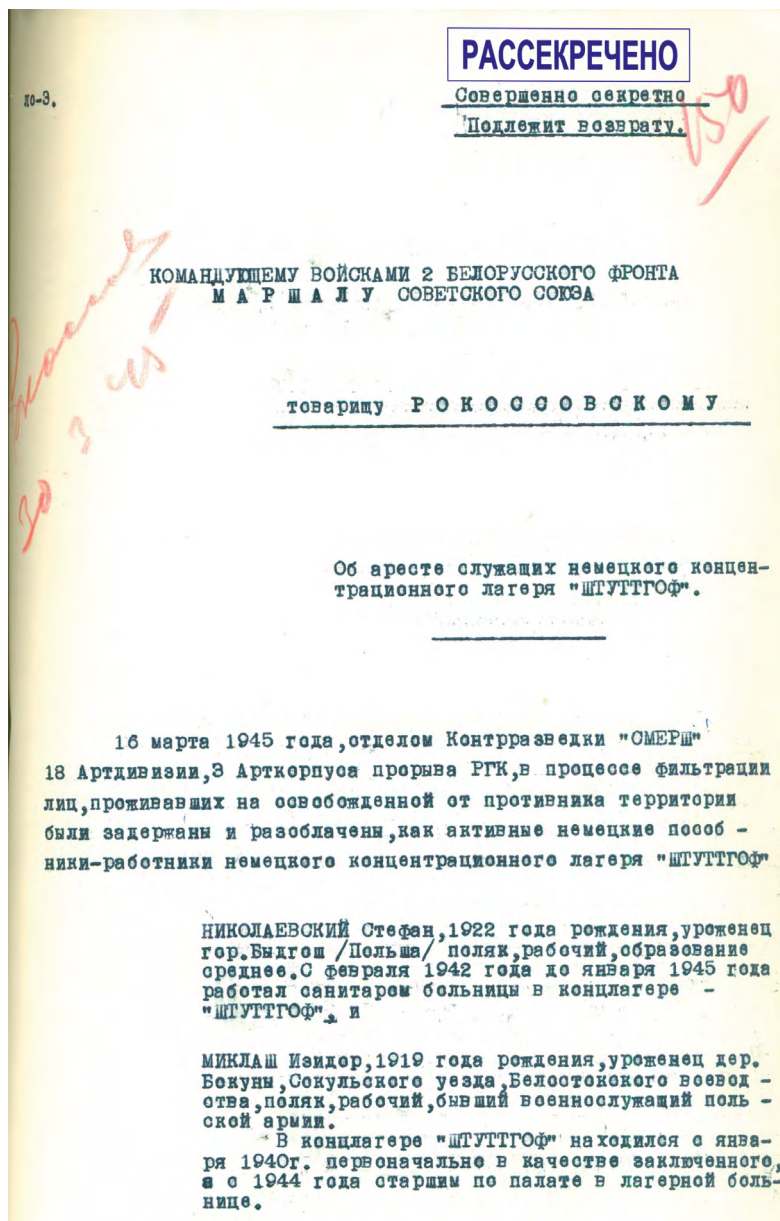
18 March 1945



The note on the first page of the document in the upper left corner: "[...]\* 30.3.[19]45."

Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund. 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 10–13. Original. Typescript.

- \* Probably Otto Knott.
- \*\* The name and signature are painted over.
- \* Illegible. № 2/3/8511.



138. **Sturmbannführer (Major) Paul Werner Hoppe, a commandant of the Stutthof concentration camp**

1939–1944



*Photocopy from the Stutthof Concentration Camp Museum (Sztutowo, Elbląg Voivodeship, Poland).*

139. **Arno Chemnitz, an SS member and the Stutthof concentration camp officer**



*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 17. Microfiche. 1.*

140. Special report to the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Directorate of the 3rd Belorussian Front on arresting felons committing atrocities against prisoners of the Stutthof concentration camp

4 June 1945\*

TO THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE  
OF THE 3RD BELORUSSIAN FRONT, LIEUTENANT GENERAL  
comrade \*\*

SPECIAL REPORT

On arresting felons committing atrocities against  
prisoners held in a German concentration camp in  
Stutthof, West Prussia

In May 1945, with the liquidation of the encircled German troops on the Frische Nehrung spit, 1.5 km east of Stutthof settlement (West Prussia) and 3 km south of the Baltic Sea coast, troops of the 48th Army discovered a German concentration camp, an extermination camp (also called a death camp) where political prisoners of the USSR and other states were kept and massacred.

The investigation established that the mentioned camp was built by the Germans in 1939, shortly after Nazi Germany captured the free region of Danzig. Every year, from 1941 to 1945, over 100 thousand political prisoners were held here, mostly Jews, Russians, Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians and French.

Pursuing a fascist policy of extermination of the Slavic peoples, German monsters in June 1944 built a special gas chamber in the Stutthof concentration camp, in which until April 1945 they massacred prisoners with one of the hydrocyanic acid preparations (Cyclone (*German*: Zyklon). At the same time, they condemned prisoners to starvation, deliberately infected them with typhus, injected gasoline and an increased dose of morphine into the blood vessels of prisoners under the guise of treatment, which caused mass mortality.

In addition, the main organisers of the atrocities committed in the camp - a camp commandant Sturmbannführer (Major) HOPPE, his deputy Hauptsturmführer (Lieutenant) MEYER, Hauptsturmführer's commandant's assistants CANEY and FOTT and their collaborators carried out mass shooting and hangings of prisoners, subjecting them to brutal beatings and other abuses for the slightest violation of camp "Rules".

As the murderers had a goal to conceal the mass extermination of the Slavic peoples from justice, the fascist murderers burned the corpses in the ovens of a crematorium specially built at the camp, and the ashes were used to fertilise the fields.

Over the past two years, the German heavyweights and their collaborators in the Stutthof concentration camp exterminated about 100 thousand prisoners, mainly citizens of the Soviet Union.

As a result of the operational activities, the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 48th Army, in May 1945, detained and subsequently arrested the following participants in the mass extermination of prisoners in the Stutthof concentration camp and those who committed various abuses against them, namely:

1. STUMMER Lorenz, born in 1920, a native and resident of Grossberg village, Arad district (Romania), German, Romania subject, single, 8th grade education; from

- July 1943 to May 1945 was a Storm Trooper of the SS Death's Head battalion of the concentration camp of Stutthof small town.
2. JACKOWSKA Kazimira, born in 1900, a native of Thorn city, from a working class, a clerk, ethnic Pole, Poland subject, 7th grade education; from September 1943 to May 1945 in the Stutthof concentration camp she was a forewoman of the women's camp.
  3. SKSHIPKOWSKA Elena, born in 1915, a native and resident of Rembowo village, Kartuzy district, Pomeranian Voivodeship (Poland), from a working class, ethnic Pole, 7th grade education. In May 1942 she became a German citizen. From August 1944 to December of the same year, she was a commandant of Jewish camp No. 1, and then until May 1945 she worked in the kitchen of the SS battalion of the concentration camp in Stutthof small town.
  4. PETSikhNA Aleksandra Stanislavovna, born in 1920, a native and resident of Tsyulkowo village, Pultu district, Warsaw Voivodeship, ethnic Pole, Poland subject, 7th grade education; from April 1944 to August of the same year, she acted as a room leader, and then, until February 1945, as a commandant of the Jewish women's camp in Stutthof small town.
  5. KUSSAUER Paul, born in 1906, a native of Letzkau village of Danzig region, ethnic German, 8th grade education. He did not serve in the German army. In the Stutthof concentration camp he was a Jewish camp commandant.
  6. TOICHKINA Anna Nikolaevna, born in 1922, a native of Krasnodar city, from a working class, a worker, Russian, non-party, 8th grade education, unmarried, gives verbal assurances of no previous convictions, a citizen of the USSR, a commandant of the Jewish camp block No. 1.
  7. KUCHAR Erwin, born in 1921, a native and resident of Elbing city, from a working class, ethnic German, 8th grade education, non-party, single, a Jewish camp block commandant, a camp policeman.
  8. BONDARENKO Valentina Grigorievna, born in 1922, a native of Kharkov city, from a working class, Russian, non-party, a citizen of the USSR, gives verbal assurances of no previous convictions, a Jewish camp block commandant.
  9. EISLER Irina Aleksandrovna, born in 1922, a native and resident of Rosvigovo city - a suburb of Mukachevo city (Czechoslovakia), comes from a family of merchants, ethnic Jew, Czechoslovakia subject, graduated from the Russian teachers' seminary, a Jewish camp block commandant.
  10. GUMILEVSKAYA Galina Nikolaevna, born in 1923, a native of Kharkov city, one of the employees, a student, Russian, non-party, had a secondary education, gives verbal assurances of no previous convictions, unmarried, a citizen of the USSR, a Jewish camp block commandant.
  11. GERSHKOVICH Olga Germanovna, born in 1922, a native of Mukachevo city (Czechoslovakia), comes from a merchant's family, ethnic Jew, non-party, unmarried, graduated from gymnasium, Czechoslovakia subject, a Jewish camp block commandant.
  12. MOSKE Alfons, born in 1910, a native and resident of Neumark village, Stum district (East Prussia), ethnic German, a German citizen, 3rd grade education, a block commandant.
  13. FREIWALD Willi, born in 1909, a native of Lendringsen village, Iserun district, province of Arksberg (West Germany), ethnic German, non-party, 8th grade education, married, a Jewish camp block commandant.



14. OPEKUNSKI Bernard, born in 1913, a native and resident of Bydgoszcz city (Poland), ethnic Pole, from a working class, a worker, 7th grade education, Poland subject, a block commandant, worked with crematorium ovens.
15. PAWLACHIK Marian Martynovich, born in 1922, a native of Mierzyn village, Miedzychod County, Poznań Voivodeship, ethnic Pole, Poland subject, 9th grade education, single. A camp policeman.
16. BENDZINSKI Jan, born in 1921, a native of Tambov city, a resident of Gdynia city, from a working class, ethnic Pole, Poland subject, 7th grade education, a camp policeman.
17. GUTZMER Paul, born in 1908, a native of Danzig city, ethnic German, German subject, from a working class, 8th grade education, a deputy block commandant.
18. BOYNENKOVA Elena Mikhailovna, born in 1906, a native of Saratov city, from a working class, an employee, 7th grade education, non-party, Russian, a citizen of the USSR, a commandant of the Jewish camp block No. 1.
19. KRAWCZYK Sbigniew, born in 1922, a native of Lodz city, a resident of Czersk small town, Chojnice County, Pomeranian Voivodeship (Poland), ethnic Pole, comes from a family of policemen, 6th grade education, Poland subject. A crematorium worker at the Stutthof camp.
20. KOLLER Alons, born in 1911, a native of Akfolder Gard village, Cesky Krumlov region (Czechoslovakia), from a working class, ethnic Czech, 7th grade education, non-party, single, Czechoslovakia subject, a cook of the camp kitchen for prisoners.
21. KAUTZ Sigmund, born in 1924, a native and resident of Lodz city (Poland), from a working class, a worker, ethnic Pole, Poland subject, 7th grade education, a cook of the camp kitchen for prisoners.
22. ALBRECHT Heinrich, born in 1899, a native of Bismarck village, Heidekrug district of the Memel region, Germany, ethnic German, German subject, 8th grade education, a senior worker of prisoners commando of the concentration camp in Stutthof small town.

The preliminary investigation in this case established: <sup>3\*</sup>

STUMMER, while serving as Storm Trooper of the SS Death's Head battalion of the concentration camp in Stutthof small town, in the period from July 1943 to May 1945, took an active part in the extermination of prisoners held in the said camp. He repeatedly personally escorted prisoners to a gas chamber specially created by the Nazis and violently placed them in it, where prisoners were subsequently gassed in large numbers. He forced and guarded prisoners who, under the power of his weapons, burned on fires the corpses of people who had been killed the day before in the concentration camp of Stutthof small town. In addition, he systematically personally beat prisoners with a stick and guarded the camp, supporting the regime established by the fascists there.

SKSHIPKOWSKA, JANCKOWSKA, PETSikhNA, KUSSAUER, TOICHKINA, KUCHAR, BONDARENKO, EISLER, GUMILEVSKAYA, GERSHKOVICH, MOSKE, FREIWALD, BOYNENKOVA, GUTZMER AND OPEKUNSKI, being prisoners themselves, were held in the Stutthof concentration camp, and at various times in the period from 1943 to 1945 were appointed commandants of camps and blocks by German camp leaders. They held these positions for a long time.

As commandants of the camps and blocks of the Stutthof concentration camp, the listed persons, in order to please the Germans, took all measures to conscientiously fulfil the duties assigned to them, that is, they actively supported the fascist regime in the camp. Prisoners were systematically and brutally beaten at their own discretion.<sup>4\*</sup> As part of the

punishment, prisoners were forced to kneel for a long time, doused with cold water in winter, and at the same time windows and doors were opened, preventing prisoners from protecting themselves from the cold. They deprived prisoners of food, cut women's hair, and drilled them for hours in the cold and rain. Prisoners who evaded punishment were beaten with rubber hoses, sticks and fists, and then, in an unconscious state, they were thrown into the block room without giving them food.

As a result of the above-mentioned abuses, prisoners in the Stutthof concentration camp fell ill in large numbers and died of starvation, and their corpses were burned in the crematorium ovens and on fires.

SKSHIPKOWSKA, JANCKOWSKA<sup>5\*</sup>, PETSikhNA<sup>6\*</sup>, KUSSAUER, TOICHKINA, KUCCHAR, [...]

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 57–61. Original. Typescript.*

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- \* The date on the document is written by hand.
  - \*\* The name is painted over.
  - 3\* Crossed out in the document.
  - 4\* This sentence is crossed out to the end of the paragraph in the document.
  - 5\* Crossed out in the document.
  - 6\* Crossed out in the document.

#### **141. Special report to the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Directorate of the 3rd Belorussian Front on the detention of one of the participants in the mass extermination of prisoners in the Stutthof concentration camp**

3 June 1945

TOP SECRET

TO THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE  
OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF DEFENCE OF THE 3RD BELORUSSIAN  
FRONT – LIEUTENANT GENERAL\*

##### **SPECIAL REPORT**

On the detention of one of the participants in the mass extermination of prisoners of the Stutthof extermination camp.

In the process of intelligence and operational service to foreign commandant's offices<sup>1</sup>, from among the French repatriates, a person posing as a Frenchman was identified and detained - FISCHER Isidor Matveevich, born in 1907, a native of Shargorod city in the former Podolsk region /Ukraine/, Jew, comes from a family of large property owners, higher education, doctor of medicine, married, wife and two children are in France, has no citizenship.

The investigation established that FISCHER is the son of a large owner. With his father and other family members in 1920, not wanting to put up with Soviet power, they violated the state border and illegally crossed the Dniester River into the territory of Romania in the area of Ataki city.

In 1927, FISCHER graduated from a gymnasium in Romania and then, thanks to the financial assistance of his father, who rented a number of large enterprises in Romania, graduated from the university in Lyon city /France/ in 1933 and received a Doctor of Medicine degree.

In 1934, as a Romanian subject, FISCHER served in the Romanian army with the rank of reserve lieutenant and then in May 1934 he moved to France, where he bought an apartment in Lyon city and started a private medical practice, which generated large incomes.

During the Franco-German War, FISCHER allegedly served in the French army with the rank of lieutenant, from where he was demobilised after the surrender of France.

In June 1944, FISCHER was detained by the German authorities and appointed as a doctor on the train transporting Jews from France to the concentration camp in Auschwitz / Krakow region /. Upon arrival at Auschwitz, most of the Jews were exterminated.

From the Auschwitz camp in January 1945, FISCHER was transferred to the Stutthof concentration camp /40 km from Danzig/, called Vernichtungslager, that is, translated as Extermination Camp, where from 9 February he was appointed chief physician of the Burggraben camp, one of the branches of the Stutthof camp system.

The extermination camp in Stutthof had its branches in Burggraben /10 km from Danzig/, in Troyl, in Königsberg and Pillau. The number of prisoners in Stutthof and its branches reached 60,000 people.

The Stutthof extermination camp aimed to exterminate people of different nationalities who were forcibly taken by the Germans from different European countries, for which purpose there were stationary and mobile gas chambers and crematoria for burning corpses on the territory of the Stutthof camp and its branches.

In addition to the extermination of prisoners in gas chambers and systematic executions, infectious diseases were spread among prisoners by distributing sick people among healthy ones.

In February 1945, in connection with the development of offensive operations of the Red Army units, the administration of the Stutthof camps undertook the evacuation of prisoners further into Germany, and the camp in Burggraben was turned into a collection point for sick prisoners, most of whom died upon arrival at the camp.

At the preliminary investigation, FISCHER testified that during his work as a chief doctor of the camp from 9 February to 9 March 1945, the camp held over 1,000 prisoners, most of whom died during this time.

The witness LORBACH Otto, interrogated in the FISCHER's case, testified that the average death rate in the camp until the last day was approximately 100-120 people per day.

On 9 March 1945, FISCHER was transferred to another camp of the Stutthof extermination camp system - to Troyl /near Danzig/, and from 1 April of this year to 9 May of this year he was a doctor at the main camp in Stutthof, where gas chambers and crematoria operated until the last days.

When the German units retreated, FISCHER and other employees of the camp administration were supposed to be evacuated to Sweden, but due to the rapid advance of the Red Army, he was captured and sent as a Frenchman to the French commandant's office.

FISCHER claims that most of the SS men including the leadership of the Stutthof camp system, as well as other criminals responsible for the mass extermination of prisoners in these camps, were not evacuated, but, having been captured by units of the Red Army, they are kept on the territory of East Prussia in prisoner of war camps, assembly and transit points and foreign commandant's offices.

Considering that the Stutthof extermination camp fully justified its name, and in its branches mass extermination of prisoners was carried out by passing through stationary

and mobile gas chambers, executions, introducing infection into healthy organisms, with the subsequent burning of corpses in crematoria and stacks of fires, which was carried out by the SS men and persons involved by them in this work, with whom FISCHER systematically communicated and most of them know by sight, I request for your permission to use FISCHER in the search for the criminals of the Stutthof camp.

[...] \*\*

3 June 1945.

No. 00145

Gumbinnen.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 35–39. Original. Typescript.*

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\* The name is painted over.

\*\* Painted over.

## **142. From the record of interrogation of I. M. Fischer, a former doctor at the Stutthof concentration camp**

1 June 1945

The town of Gumbinnen

### The record of interrogation

[...] QUESTION: - Name the people from the administration of the extermination camps in Auschwitz, its branches and Stutthof, carrying out the orders of the Hitler government for the mass extermination of people.

ANSWER: - As far as I know, all the extermination camps, the Auschwitz camp, its branches, the Stutthof camp, were subordinate to the Gestapo and SS troops, therefore, subordinate to the chief of the police and SS troops of Germany, Heinrich HIMMLER.

As I heard from prisoners, the camp at Auschwitz was under the personal control of either HIMMLER or his son.

The SS men in Auschwitz and especially in Stutthof belonged to the SS Death's Head unit.

#### a/ the camp in Auschwitz

A head of the camp, a commandant, and, as the Germans called him "Lagerführer", is SS Senior Storm Leader from the Death's Head formation. I don't know his surname.

FEATURES: 40 years old, average height, heavy build, reddish blond, no special features.

An exceptionally cruel man, he personally beat prisoners. It was 26 October 1944 when I saw him for the last time, when our party was transferred to Stutthof. I don't know where he is currently.

An assistant camp commandant has a rank of SS Storm Leader, I don't know his surname.

FEATURES: About 50 years old, tall, stocky, stooped, greyish, wears glasses.

I don't know where he is right now.

A head of the combat unit of the camp is Report Leader<sup>2</sup>, the surname seems to be KADEK – SS Senior Squad Leader.



FEATURES: 30–35 years old, tall, slender, dark-haired, long-faced.

In the “hospital” he carried out the selection of patients for the gas chambers. The most brutal of the entire camp. I don’t know where he is now.

I know the name of only one of SS doctors - WEISS - Storm Leader, carried out experiments on the so-called “female pigs”.

FEATURES: 35 years old, average height, slender, dark-haired, no special features.

In October 1944 he remained in Auschwitz, his whereabouts are right now unknown.

In Auschwitz there were 28 barracks and, accordingly, 28 barrack commanders or blockführers. All of them were SS men and had ranks of Storm Leader, Junior Squad Leader, Section Leader<sup>2</sup>. I don’t know their surnames.

In addition, Crematorium Leader, the SS man in charge of the gas chambers and the crematorium.

I don’t know his surname, his rank is Senior Squad Leader. I have never seen him, I don’t know his features.

The commandant of the Auschwitz camp was also the head of all branches - Birkenau and others. I don’t know anyone from the branch administration.

#### b/ the camp in Stutthof

MEYER – a camp commandant, had the rank of SS Head Storm Leader, Death’s Head division\* / the entire administrative personnel in the Stutthof camp was from the Death’s Head division/.

FEATURES: 40 years old, is below average height, heavy build, brunette.

He was distinguished by extreme cruelty.

In early April 1945, together with a group of SS men and the camp foreman ZELONKE, disappeared in an unknown direction.

ELE – a deputy commandant, had the rank of SS Head Storm Leader.

FEATURES: About 40 years old, tall, slim, red hair. Originally from Danzig.

He pretended to be a humane tyrant. At the beginning of May 1945 he left in the direction of Nickelswalde. I don’t know where he is currently.

KUKLAU – a combat unit head, SS Senior Squad Leader.

FEATURES: 40 years old, tall, heavyset, brown-haired, has greyish hair.

Special features: asymmetrical face, the right side of the face is slightly smaller than the left one, the right eye sits deeper than the left one, surrounded by dark pigmentation.

At the beginning of May 1945 he left with ELE in the direction of Nickelswalde, where he is currently located, I don’t know.

SCHMIDT – a medical unit head, SS Senior Squad Leader, belonged to the S.D.G. - Security Service - Sanitary department.

FEATURES: about 30 years old, tall, thin, face with sunken cheeks, dark-haired, wears glasses.

He was a specialist in injecting gasoline into patients.

At the beginning of May 1945, he left with ELE, KUKLAU and others in the direction of Nickelswalde small town, where he is currently located I don’t know.

The head of the crematorium: I don’t know his surname; his rank is SS Squad Leader.

FEATURES: about 30 years old, short, fat.

Disappeared at the end of April 1945 in an unknown direction.

I know from other camps:

MEISSEL – the commandant of the Troyl camp in Danzig, rank – SS Head Storm Leader.

FEATURES: About 30 years old, tall, medium build, brown-haired.

I saw him for the last time on 25 March 1945 in Danzig, where he is now I don't know. Previously served in the Kaiserwalde camp /Riga/. He injected prisoners with gasoline.

WAGNER – a commandant of the Burggraben camp, had the rank of SS Senior Squad Leader.

FEATURES: 45 years old, tall, stocky, brown-haired.

The last time I saw him was on 28 March 1945, on the road between Bohnsack and Shivenoret.

I was riding a bicycle. I don't know where he is currently.

HEIDRITZ – a medical unit head in Burggraben, had the rank of SS Senior Squad Leader, belonged to the security service, the medical department.

FEATURES: 45–50 years old, average height, thick build, brown haired, strong grey hair, thin face, large aquiline nose.

The last time I saw him was on 11 March 1945 in the camp in Troyl. He looked very confused, fled from units of the Red Army, and lost his wife along the way.

Among the prisoners in Burggraben, the following doctors were under my command:

LEVI - a Jew from Germany, formerly a doctor in Berlin, who came to Burggraben from Riga.

FEATURES: 45 years old, average height, thin, has greyish hair, long-faced.

On 9 March 1945, he remained ill in Burggraben. I don't know where he is now.

VERMES - a Jew from Subotica /Hungary or Yugoslavia/\*\*, arrived in the camp in 1944.

FEATURES: about 45 years old, average height, heavy build, round face, brown-haired, wears glasses.

On 9 March 1945, he remained in Burggraben, suffering from typhus. I don't know where he is now.

YABROV - a Jew, from Vilna, he has been in the camps for a long time, in the Stutthof camp since last year.

FEATURES: about 60 years old, average height, thin, grey-haired, wears glasses, looks like a monkey.

The last time I saw him was on 9 March 1945. Stayed in Burggraben. [...]

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 44–48. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Correct: battalion.

\*\* Yugoslavia.

### **143. The record of interrogation of Otto Lorbach, a former prisoner of the Stutthof concentration camp**

*2 June 1945*

I, the officer of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the Foreign Commandant's Office of the Department for Repatriation Affairs of the 3rd Belorussian Front, Lieutenant\* interrogated –

LORBACH Otto, born in 1894, a native of Cologne city /on the Rhine/, German, German subject, from a working class, higher education, mechanical engineer, married, has 4 children, a member of the Communist Party of Germany since 1919.

QUESTION: - As a member of the German Communist Party, were you subjected to repression by the Hitler government?

ANSWER: Yes, as a communist I was subjected to repression by the Hitler government. In 1941, I was arrested and sent to the Majdanek concentration camp /near Lublin/, where I was kept from April 1944, and in April I was transferred to the concentration camp in Stutthof, where I remained until 9 May 1945, when, together with others, I was liberated by units of the Red Army.

QUESTION: - What can you tell us about the concentration camp in Stutthof?

ANSWER: - The concentration camp in Stutthof was called the Extermination Camp because its sole purpose was the extermination of prisoners. During my stay in the camp - as far as I know - over 50,000 people were killed.

QUESTION: - What extermination methods were used in the Stutthof concentration camp?

ANSWER: - They used a variety of methods to exterminate people - from the simplest - shooting, hanging, beating to death, and ending with a gas chamber, where people were suffocated with gases. However, the main method used in the camp was the spread of infectious diseases: the mortality rate in the camp was terrifying - until the last day it was 120-200 people per day (in one barrack).

The spread of diseases was achieved by doctors distributing those suffering from typhus and other contagious diseases among healthy people and thus creating epidemics among prisoners. The majority of people died from the disease.

QUESTION: Which doctors can you name who most actively contributed to the extermination of people in the Stutthof camp?

ANSWER: I remember the last doctor who worked from the end of March 1945 until the liberation in Stutthof. His surname is FISCHER; as he told about himself, he came from France, where he had a private medical practice in Lyon and was arrested by the Gestapo for helping sick workers.

In the camp, FISCHER lived with me in the same barrack. I was the camp leader at that time. I can say that FISCHER was in very good relations with the German command and was very helpful and efficient with them.

As a doctor, he didn't help the sick a lot; it may be said that in this regard he did everything to ensure that there were as many sick people as possible. A hospital nurse named Lena, who worked with Dr. FISCHER, told me that she did not trust him at all because he did not feel any responsibility for the patients and did not take any measures to stop epidemiological diseases.

Only after the camp command fled from the Red Army units, Dr. FISCHER began to worry about the sick remaining in the camp.

The record of interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words and read to me in understandable German. /signature/.

INTERROGATED BY: THE OFFICER OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE FOREIGN COMMANDANT'S OFFICE OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR REPATRIATION AFFAIRS OF THE 3RD BELORUSSIAN FRONT

LIEUTENANT\*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 49-50. Original. Typescript.*

\* The name is painted over.

\*\* Signature and name are painted over.

#### 144. About Bernard Opekunski, a cremator of the Stutthof concentration camp

*No earlier than May - no later than 31 December 1945\**

OPEKUNSKI was engaged in general labour until February 1944, and then, at his personal request, he entered the crematorium camp, where he burned the corpses of prisoners. There were cases when living prisoners were brought to the crematorium, whom OPEKUNSKI killed and then burned.

From the testimony of those arrested, it was established that in the Stutthof camp, up to 1,000 Soviet citizens and citizens of other states were exterminated daily through the use of gas chambers, inoculation of typhus and other infectious diseases, as well as from starvation.

In the last 6 weeks, 16,000 prisoners have died from typhus alone.

In the period from February to April of this year, due to the offensive of the Red Army, the Stutthof concentration camp was evacuated further into Germany.

During the evacuation of the camp, the Gestapo authorities created and left in the camp a group of prisoners from among the camp administration in the number of 129 people, who were given the task to destroy all traces of the atrocities committed by the Germans in the camp, and when the latter was occupied by the Red Army, to conduct propaganda about supposedly good living conditions [...]\*\* in the camp.

The persons we arrested were part of the specified group.

The group blew up the crematorium, burned 10 barracks in which Jews were kept, and carried out a complete clean-up of the camp area, which was then inhabited by the evacuated civilian population.

The investigation is underway.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 97–98. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Dated according to the contents of the document.

\*\* Illegible.



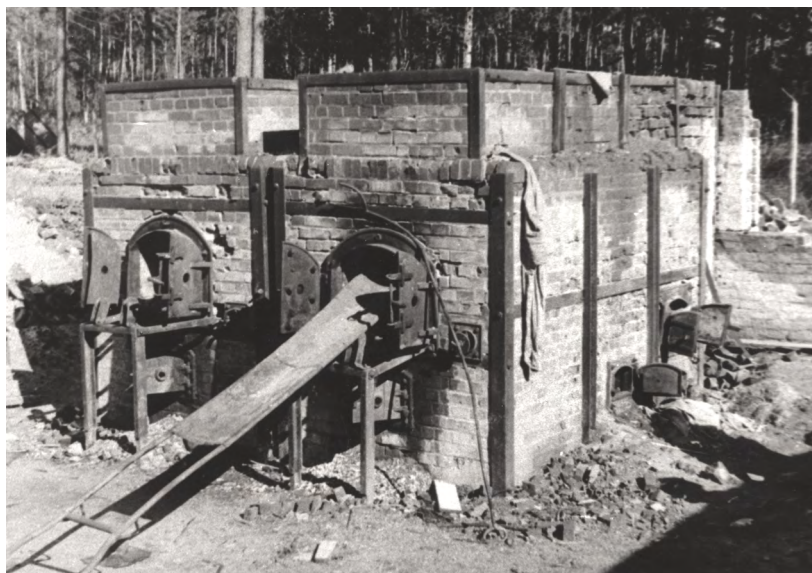
145. The Soviet commission is examining the principle of functioning of crematoria, the Stutthof concentration camp

*May 1945*



146. Crematorium, the Stutthof concentration camp

*May 1945*



*128–129. Photocopies from the Stutthof Concentration Camp Museum (Sztutowo village, Elbląg Voivodeship, Poland).*

**147. From the record of interrogation of Otto Knott, a former disinfecter and orderly at the Stutthof concentration camp**

*9 December 1961*

Berlin, 09.12.1961

The record of interrogation

Otto Knott [...]

appeared at the police presidium premises when summoned

During 1940, I was assigned to the staff of the forced labour camp, later the Danzig-Stutthof concentration camp, where I initially had to perform guard duty, and later worked as a disinfecter and orderly.

As part of this activity, I had to take part in the gassing of prisoners (Jews). For this reason, the Bochum Regional Court sentenced me to 3 years and 3 months in prison. Among the accused was a former camp commander, SS Senior Assault-unit Leader Paul Werner Hoppe, who was sentenced to 9 years in prison.

I remained in the Danzig-Stutthof until December 1944. At the end of the year I was given a Christmas leave, and in mid-January 1945 I had to begin service in another labour camp in Königsberg. When I arrived there (in mid-January 1945), the camp was in the process of being liquidated. The prisoners housed there have already been taken away. They were allegedly transferred to Stutthof. These were Jews. Whether they were women or men, I don't know. They point out to me that in the Bochum court I testified that there were Jewish women in the camp. This is quite possible, but I don't know for sure anymore, since I myself have no longer seen the prisoners of the camp and have heard about it only through conversations.

As far as I know, the prisoners were housed on the territory of the factory, where I also arrived. But there I found only the watchman, from whom I learned that the camp had been dissolved. I never met the camp staff or its commandant again. I can no longer name the watchman's surname. After that, I wanted to return to the camp in Stutthof again, but on the way to Pillau I was detained by the police and assigned to the Schlegel police battalion. It was a gathering of different people, which consisted of police officers, SS men and Wehrmacht soldiers. We were involved in digging positions and performing guard duty. In this unit I waited for the end of the war. During the defence of Königsberg on 9 April 1945, I was captured by Russians.

When they ask me what I can say about the last commandant of Königsberg, I remember a certain former the SS or police leader named Böhme. This name was often heard back then. Böhme must have held a leadership position in Königsberg, if not to say that he himself was generally the commandant of the fortress. The surname Gornig is unknown to me.

On 17 April 1950, I was released from Russian captivity. Since then I have lived in West Berlin. I am now a mechanical engineer by profession; I work at a machine factory.

I know nothing about the fact that at the end of January 1945, a column of prisoners was driven on foot from Königsberg to Palmnicken. I also cannot say in which Königsberg camp these prisoners were housed.

Those prisoners who were brought to Palmnicken could hardly have been from the camp, which upon my arrival in Königsberg had already been dissolved. As I said earlier, this camp upon my arrival in mid-January 1945 was already free of prisoners. I, however, cannot say with great certainty the exact date of my arrival in Königsberg, but I think it was approximately on 15 January 1945. Just at that time, Russian troops quickly advanced and cut the railway connection between Elbing and Königsberg. I also can't say anything about

the escort personnel of the prisoners' column in Palmnicken. The names of SS Head Storm Leader Weber, SS Senior Storm Leader Schäfer and SS Leader Rosenstock or Rosenbaum are unknown to me. I myself have never been to Palmnicken. I am now hearing for the first time that prisoners were driven into the Baltic Sea and shot on the shore.

Although at the beginning of the interrogation I said that from 1940 to 1944 I worked as a disinfectant and orderly in the Danzig-Stutthof concentration camp, but this is not entirely complete testimony. From approximately August-September 1942 until April 1943, I was in the Waffen-SS medical unit in Lublin. Around Christmas 1942 I fell ill with typhus and was unable to serve. During my secondment to Lublin, I was an orderly in a women's camp. I know that gas exterminations were also carried out in Lublin, but nothing in this regard happened during my stay there. I assure you that in Lublin I did not take part in such events.

In response to the question, I inform you that I have never been on service in Estonia. The Kuremäe camp is completely unknown to me. It is not clear to me how a certain orderly named Knott or Knoth could serve in this camp. And my brother Willi Knott, who now lives in Leverkusen, Bismarckstrasse, cannot be suspected of this, since at that time he was constantly in Stutthof. I know for sure that my brother was not sent to the Eastern Front from Stutthof, even for a short period of time.

I can't add more on this issue. I don't know anything about the Death March of Jews in Palmnicken, and I heard about it today for the first time. I fully understood the meaning of the interrogation. My testimony was dictated loud and formulated correctly in my presence.

After reading, I confirm the correctness of my testimony with my signature.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 6. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

## 148. Prisoners of the Stutthof concentration camp

1939–1944



*Photocopies from the Stutthof Concentration Camp Museum (Sztutowo village, Elbląg Voivodeship, Poland).*



149. The list of official employees of the Stalag IA camp, compiled according to the testimony of the former interpreter-translator Michel Berger

22 February 1945

TOP SECRET

L I S T

of official employees of Stalag - Ia, according to the testimony of the former interpreter-translator of Stalag - Ia -

MICHEL Berger (French)

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1. A camp commandant, Colonel of the German army, von PARSCH, approximately 60 years old, grey-haired, average height, strict; has a good command of French.

2. A chief of the camp, Senior Sergeant, FISCHER, 30–34 years old, tall, slender, blond, blue eyes, a fascist party member. He brutally beat Russian prisoners of war.

3. A senior officer of one of the camp's departments, junior officer HERMAN [...] 44 years old, tall, a native of Tilsit town.

4. A military doctor of the camp, BOMTE, pseudonym "TOTO", ethnic Austrian, approximately 30 years old, tall, medium build, brunette, a fascist party member. He systematically beat wounded and sick prisoners of war.

5. A commandant of one of the camp's departments, GROSS, approximately 47 years old, has no left leg, has a good command of French.

6. A CHIEF of the French department, General DIDIS, a native of Paris, approximately [...] \*\* years old, medium build, blond, a former French military attaché in Germany, a supporter of the fascist regime in France, one of close associates of Pétain<sup>3</sup>. He propagated Hitler's policies among prisoners of war and slandered the Soviet Union. He treated the prisoners of war poorly.

7. A commandant of the French department in the camp - MAJOR GODARD, approximately 30-35 years old, tall, fat, voluntarily surrendered to the Germans, treated the prisoners strictly, praised Hitler.

8. Colonel LARE, approximately 45 years old, worked as a camp propagandist, recruiting French soldiers and officers into the German army.

9. Non-commissioned officer BRUNS - delegate from French prisoners of war. An ardent fascist, before the war he was a representative in Czechoslovakia at one of the large military-industrial factories from France. Medium height, blond, blue eyes.

10. Counterintelligence Officer RENER, German, 35 years old, average height, blond, blue eyes, has a good command of French, a fascist party member. He was recalled from the camp to one of the active units of the army and held the position of financial officer<sup>3\*</sup>.

THE HEAD OF THE 4TH DEPARTMENT OF THE SMERSH  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE 28TH ARMY - [...] <sup>4\*</sup>

22 February 1945 [...] <sup>5\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheet 195. Original. Typescript.*

- \* Illegible, "KALVOIST" or "KALVOYST".
- \*\* Illegible, but probably "45".
- 3\* Points 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 are marked by hand with vertical lines on the left.
- 4\* Painted over.
- 5\* Painted over.

## **150. Information on the investigative case of I.V. Trusov, a former medical assistant of the Stalag IA camp**

*Not earlier than 22 March 1945\**

THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 28TH ARMY

TOP SECRET

Appendix to the investigative report  
for March 1945.

### I N F O R M A T I O N

on the investigative case charging TRUSOV Ivan  
Vasilievich with a crime under Article 58-1 "b"  
of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR<sup>4</sup>.

As a result of the filtering of former military personnel held in Stablack town (East Prussia) in the Stablack\*\* IA camp, on 22 March 1945, the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 28th Army arrested an active collaborator of the German occupiers –

TRUSOV Ivan Vasilievich, born in 1894, Russian, a citizen of the USSR, a native of Pristan village of Oredezhsy district of Leningrad region; he comes from middle peasants by social origin, an official, secondary education, non-party, married, previously unconvicted, a former senior military veterinary assistant of the 30th artillery regiment of the 10th rifle division.

During the investigation, it was established that TRUSOV, while on military service in the Red Army, at the end of June 1941 was captured by the enemy was imprisoned in a POW camp, where on the third day he expressed his voluntary consent and entered service as a medical assistant at a prisoner of war camp.

He worked in this position since July 1941 in camps in the cities of Perhu[...] <sup>3\*</sup>, Hauptaprug<sup>4\*</sup>, Königsberg and Stablack IA. He was in the last camp until 10 February 1945, that is, before the Red Army units entered Stablack town.

Currying favor with the German authorities, TRUSOV mocked prisoners of war - former soldiers of the Red Army, subjecting them to severe beatings with a special whip, which was confirmed by the testimony of witnesses CHERENKOV, IVANOV and MURAVYEV.

TRUSOV testified about his criminal activities:

“...When I served as a medical assistant, I really mocked prisoners of war - former soldiers of the Red Army. Upon my arrival at the camp in the city of Königsberg (late 1941), I took the six-pointed belt whip that the Germans had in order to beat Russian prisoners of war for the slightest disobedience.

There were cases when the beatings I inflicted with a whip caused the skin to burst and bloody scars to form.

Rarely a day passed without me hitting someone with a whip, slapping my palm on the cheeks, or cursing someone with obscene language...”

In addition, during the arrest of TRUSOV, 2 notes entitled “agents” were confiscated from him, about which he (TRUSOV) testified that he included Gestapo agents in them, which were infiltrating among the prisoners of war.

When clarifying the circumstances of this case, it turned out that TRUSOV knew about the introduction of agents and the tasks that the Gestapo gave to them.

Based on these data, there is reason to believe that TRUSOV was personally involved in the work of German counterintelligence and may even have been a resident.

Further investigation into the case of TRUSOV is being conducted in the area of his exposure as a German agent and, in particular, his involvement in military intelligence agencies.

THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE 28 ARMY [...] <sup>5\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 249–250. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Dated according to the contents of the document.

\*\* This refers to “Stalag IA”.

3\* Illegible.

4\* It is so in the document.

5\* The name and signature are painted over.

151. **Information on the investigative case of J.A. Rybka, a former Gestapo employee**

*5 March 1945*

THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 28TH ARMY

TOP SECRET

Appendix to the investigation report  
for February 1945.

I N F O R M A T I O N

on the investigative case against a Gestapo officer J.A. RYBKA.

The SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 3rd Guards Rifle Corps on 11 February 1945 detained and arrested –

RYBKA Joseph Antonovich, born in 1895, a native of Lvov city, resident of Kherson city, by origin from the working class, an employee, non-party, lived from August 1941 to December 1943 in occupied territory, Pole, a citizen of the USSR.

In the process of filtering people detained in the area of Preussisch-Eylau town, a citizen of the USSR, REZNIKOV Konstantin Mitrofanovich, who was among them, said during interrogation that among the detainees was RYBKA Joseph Antonovich, who, with the arrival of German troops in the Nikolaev region, worked as a policeman in Kherson city, and then as a commandant of a prisoner of war camp, the so-called Stablag\*. RYBKA worked as a commandant from December 1943 to May 1944.

In May 1944, RYBKA was transferred to the Gestapo of Preussisch-Eylau town as an interpreter-translator and worked in this position until February 1945.

In his further testimony, REZNIKOV said that RYBKA, being a commandant of the Stablag camp, systematically beat prisoners of war, and also carried out anti-Soviet agitation among prisoners of war, praised the German state, and slandered the Soviet regime.

Based on the testimony of REZNIKOV on 11.II-[19]45, J. A. RYBKA was arrested by us and, being interrogated, confirmed the information we had about his treacherous activities.

RYBKA admitted that he actually served as a policeman in Kherson city, was a commandant of the Stablag camp, and then from May 1944 to February 1945 worked as a German interpreter-translator in the Gestapo in Preussisch-Eylau town.

In addition, RYBKA said that, as a commandant of a prisoner of war camp, he repeatedly took part in the interrogations of arrested prisoners of war together with Gestapo officers.

The arrested RYBKA, along with materials on 11.II-[19]45, was sent to the operations group of the NKVD of the USSR under the 28th Army.

THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE 28 ARMY [...]\*\*



5 March 1945

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 207–208. Original. Typescript.*

\* This probably means “Stalag IA”.

\*\* The name and signature are painted over.

**152. Information on the investigative case of V.D. Eremenko, a former commandant of the prisoner of war camp in Königsberg**

*Not earlier than 20 March 1945\**

THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 28TH ARMY

TOP SECRET

Appendix to the investigation report  
for March 1945.

I N F O R M A T I O N

on the traitor to the Motherland  
EREMENKO Vladimir Dmitrievich.

On 20 March 1945, during the fighting of units of the 50th Guards Rifle Division, among other Soviet citizens who found themselves on the territory of East Prussia, the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 50th Guards Rifle Division detained, and then arrested—

EREMENKO Vladimir Dmitrievich, born in 1917, a native of Marinsk city\*\*, Novosibirsk region, Russian, a citizen of the USSR, former member of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, secondary education, single, gives verbal assurances of no previous convictions.

The investigation materials established that, while serving in active units of the Red Army in the 533rd Rifle Regiment, 128th Rifle Division, EREMENKO voluntarily surrendered to German troops in August 1941 in the area of Lida city.

While in German captivity, EREMENKO voluntarily entered the service of the Germans in October as a commandant of the Königsberg prisoner of war camp, called Stützpunkt.

EREMENKO worked in this position from October 1941 to March 25, 1943.

Throughout his service with the Germans as a commandant of a prisoner of war camp, EREMENKO proved himself to be an active collaborator of German authorities. He inflicted all sorts of abuses on Russian prisoners of war, created a cruel regime, deprived prisoners of war of food rations, and beat them for the slightest offence or disobedience.

In addition, as a commandant of a prisoner of war camp, EREMENKO was engaged in treacherous activities, as a result of which 100 prisoners of war were sent to death camps and about 40 people were sent to hard work.

We continue the investigation into the case of EREMENKO in the direction of revealing all his treacherous activities and possible involvement in the enemy's intelligence and counterintelligence agencies. —

THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE 28 ARMY — [...] <sup>3\*</sup>  
[...] <sup>4\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 251–252. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Dated according to the contents of the document.

\*\* It is so in the document, probably Mariinsk.

<sup>3\*</sup> The name and signature are painted over.

<sup>4\*</sup> Painted over.

### 153. From the record of interrogation of a former SS Junior Squad Leader, Otto Knott, in the case of the mass execution of civilians in Palmnicken in January 1945

19 January 1965

Case sheet 1957  
Prosecutor's Office Kiel

Berlin, 19.01.1965

According to the summons, Otto Knott appeared [...]

The accused explains:

At the beginning of today's interrogation, they announced to me that I would be interrogated on charges of murdering Jews in Palmnicken. I was already interrogated once about this case. At the same time, I gave partially incorrect testimony. I want to be left alone at last. I also decided for myself that today I will not say anything about this. However, I have given this a great deal of thought. But please take into account that I had to go through a lot. And my memory is not what it used to be. The officials who are interrogating me have told me that I should only say here what I know for sure.

At the end of 1944, I was appointed as an orderly and disinfectant at the Stutthof concentration camp. At Christmas 1944 I had a holiday. At the end of it, I received orders to arrive in Königsberg to the local labour camp. I was supposed to serve as an orderly. At that moment I held the rank of Junior Squad Leader (German: Unterscharführer). I arrived in Königsberg approximately on 20.01.1945. I can't give the exact date now. My wedding day is 18 January. I remember with complete certainty that I spent this day in 1945 at home in Danzig. In Königsberg I reported my arrival to the then Senior Squad Leader Fritz Weber.

He was a leader of the labour detachment organised there. When I tracked him down, he immediately explained during our meeting that the camp would soon be disbanded and that for this reason I should not have come at all. I remember that the labour detachment, led by Fritz Weber, consisted mainly of Jewish men. There were about 10 people to guard them. These were no longer active SS men. I know that they had some kind of special insignia on their uniform. Even if I wanted to, I cannot tell you the names of these guards. And I almost didn't talk to them. But I knew Fritz Weber from Stutthof.

The male Jewish workers were housed in a separate camp. There was a larger factory building nearby. When I arrived in Königsberg, there were already Jewish women in this building. Then new ones were constantly arriving one after another. This is how I remember it now. I also remember that transports with Jews were expected. The officials who interrogated me asked where these Jewish women had come from. I can only partially answer this question. In Königsberg I met again with Senior Squad Leader Johann Meyer. Meyer was born around 1915 and was native of Bavaria. I knew him from the main Stutthof camp. If I don't confuse anything, this Senior Squad Leader Johann Meyer was in Heiligenbeil with a certain labour detachment [...]. He was at the headquarters of the Stutthof commandant's office. I have a feeling that Meyer had previously served in the Dachau concentration camp. As far as I know, Meyer, who was a leader of the external detachment in Heiligenbeil, did not have any more SS men under his leadership, but only people from the OT. This leader disappeared at the very beginning of the march to Palmnicken. He escaped on a sledge loaded with provisions. This OT leader therefore did not participate in the march to Palmnicken. I want to say that this OT leader, whose last name I don't know, was part of Meyer's squad.

The officials who interrogate me ask if I met female wardens from the SS in Königsberg. It seems to me that I saw one or two female wardens. But now I can't say for sure. In this regard, the officials who interrogate me give me the name Erna Neumann. I think I heard this name somewhere. They also gave me the names of Stock, Hans Glük or Glükmann and Schäfer. The officials who interrogated me explained that these individuals were members of the SS who were among the organisers of the forced labour of Jewish women in the area of Königsberg. These names mean nothing to me. Then the name of Kaufeldt was announced to me. As I was told, this is an SS Junior Squad Leader who was supposedly on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken. This surname doesn't ring a bell.

I was in Königsberg for a maximum of 2-3 days. Then we hit the road. Fritz Weber told me briefly immediately upon arrival that the Jews were to be sent on three or four barges to Stutthof. But then these plans were upset. Then Fritz Weber announced that the entire camp with Jews should be disbanded and that all Jews should be brought to Palmnicken. I think that Weber told me all this before leaving, in the camp. He received orders for such actions from the Gestapo. He told me this himself. I just can't remember who gave the orders for the dissolution of the camp and the march to Palmnicken - the Königsberg Gestapo or the Pillau Gestapo. I remember that Weber often spoke on the phone about this issue. People from the Gestapo also came to the camp. I don't know their surnames. They were in uniform. Now I can't say for sure whether they were non-commissioned officers or officers.

Now I am asked to describe the route from Königsberg [...]. It was a giant column. In my opinion, Weber was its leader. I remember how, on the march to Palmnicken, Weber sometimes stopped to allow part of the column to pass by him. He did this to keep order. And for the most part he stayed at the head of the column.

And Meyer also stopped sometimes to let part of the column pass by him, to see if anything had happened. Already on the march through Königsberg there were the first casualties. If one of the Jews fell and could not go further, he was immediately shot. Among

escort guards, in addition to the 10 SS men from Königsberg, there were many people from the OT. Among them were Germans. But mainly foreigners. I know for sure that among them there were many Walloons and Flemings. I have no memories of Ukrainians. At this point I want to emphasise once again that the head of the OT disappeared before the column began moving. He stayed in Königsberg and said that he would catch up with us. He had a sledge with provisions, and he knew that we had to go to Palmnicken. However, he did not actually catch up with us. I can't say exactly how many people were in the convoy. I know that the guards were mostly armed with carbines.

I am asked whether there was any conversation between Weber and a Gestapo officer in Königsberg. I can't say anything on this issue. Maybe there was. I didn't notice anything like that. I was always riding my sledge at the end of the column.

On the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken we stopped to rest a couple of times. I am asked whether I noticed other SS men on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken. No, I didn't notice. I was told that during the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken, a car allegedly drove up with several SS men. I don't know anything about this.

Also, on the way to Palmnicken, Jews who could not go further were continuously shot. I was constantly driving past those corpses on my sledge. I cannot say how many Jews were shot on the way to Palmnicken. There was a blizzard. And it got dark quickly. We arrived in Palmnicken at night. And for these reasons I cannot estimate the number of casualties on the march to Palmnicken. When the officials who interrogated me asked me about their number, I at first thought that perhaps 20–30 people were shot on the way to Palmnicken. But then they explained to me that, according to the state of the investigation as of this date, this number is much higher. After that I began to have doubts. I can't even name it approximately. I can only say that on the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken there was shooting almost every second. I was asked whether there were Jewish men among the victims on the march to Palmnicken. Yes, I can confirm that. On the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken I saw the corpses of men. I was misunderstood here. Of course, I also saw men among the marching Jews, namely those from the camp in Königsberg. I did not see the corpses of men on the march. I only saw the corpses of women.

In response to additional questioning:

I did not see whether Fritz Weber and Johann Meyer were shot on the way to Palmnicken. Here I want to emphasise once again that I was at the end of the column with my sledge. During the march, I remained with my sledge constantly at the rear of the column.

I was asked if there was a special firing squad operating at the tail of the column. No, this is not true. At the tail of the column, that is, in front of my sledge, there were one or two guards. But they were not some special firing squad.

I was asked if I went to Fritz Weber during the march and told him about the shootings. First I must state the following:

Fritz Weber could not have been unaware of these executions. At least he definitely heard the sounds of gunfire. Therefore, I did not need to inform him about the shootings. However, I remember talking to Weber about it. We met with Weber during stops along the way. At the same time, I told him that a lot of people were shot. Weber took this to note. In a conversation with me, he expressed his meaning as follows: "What should I do with this crowd?"

I had the impression that the shootings bothered him.

Question:

Did Weber, on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken, ever give the order to stop the execution of Jews?

Answer:



I don't know anything about this.

Question:

Were there any skirmishes between Weber and any other SS men over these shootings on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken?

Answer:

Even when we were moving through Königsberg and had already started shooting prisoners, Weber scolded one of the shooters. I did not hear the conversation itself, but only saw the gestures that came from Weber. As I said, this was at that moment in time when we were still walking through Königsberg. I still clearly remember that the residents of Königsberg spoke unflatteringly about these executions.

In response to an additional question:

I believe that on the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken we stopped to rest 3 or 4 times. But I can't say for sure about this. It was night when we finally reached Palmnicken.

Note:

The interrogation began at 9:00 in the morning. It lasted at first until 12:15. There was a pause from 10:00 to 10:15.

The interrogation now continues at 14:00:

The accused explains:

I arrived at the factory in Palmnicken as the last one, because I was riding on a sledge behind the column. I don't know who took care of the placement at the amber factory and what they discussed about it. As I remember, we were in Palmnicken for 3 or 4 days. I was placed in some office along with other Germans. Whether Weber and Meyer were in the same office, I cannot say for sure. In Palmnicken, Weber told me that the Jews were to be exterminated in the amber factory's adit. According to him, they wanted to bring Jews into this adit and then blow it up.

But the plan, however, could not be carried out because the entrance to the adit was filled up.

Question:

Did Weber inform you that the Jews were to be shot on the shore?

Answer:

I learned about it. In my opinion, from Weber.

Question:

Please tell us more about this.

Answer:

I can only tell you that I saw the guards receive machine guns, assault rifles and hand grenades. I did not see these weapons being distributed. I just discovered that the convoy was armed with these weapons.

Question:

Where did these weapons come from?

Answer:

It had to come from the Gestapo.

Question:

What gives you the basis for such an assumption?

Answer:

Because Weber was constantly in touch with the Gestapo.

Question:

What do you know about the connection between Weber and the Gestapo during his stay in Palmnicken?

Answer:

During our stay in Palmnicken, I did not see Weber talking to people from the Gestapo. I also cannot say that Weber was on the phone with the Gestapo at that time. But Weber himself told me that he often discussed the extermination of Jews in the Gestapo.

One day I saw one or two Gestapo men on the territory of the factory. What they wanted there, I don't know. However, I assumed that they were there to talk to Weber.

Question:

When did it become clear to you that the Jews should be shot?

Answer:

After the convoy team was armed with machine guns, assault rifles and hand grenades. I have already explained that I think Weber said that the Jews should be shot on the coast.

Question:

Did Weber also have a machine gun after that?

Answer:

No. As far as I can remember, he only had a pistol.

Question:

Did Meyer begin to carry a machine gun at that moment?

Answer:

No, he didn't.

In response to an additional question:

I know that Weber was once looking for the burgomaster of Palmnicken. I believe he was looking for him for provisions. But I definitely can't say that.

Question:

Who was in charge of the Jews in Palmnicken?

Answer:

I think Weber.

One evening we set out on a march from the amber factory. The long column formed again. The Jewish women walked ahead. Then the Jewish men walked. At the end of the column there were 3–4 sledges. I don't remember so well how we prepared to set off. I had to take care of the sledges. There were sick Jews on the sledges. These were mostly women. There were approximately 7–8 Jews on each sledge. There were no guards on these sledges at all. I drove one of the sledges. The other sledges were also driven by SS men. We walked along the shore as a whole column. I remember well that there was a fairly steep descent down there. When we got on the sledge down to the shore, the column had already gone quite far ahead. It was dark. When we were down on the shore, I could no longer see the end of the column, but the voices could still be heard. Then we rode part of the way along the shore on sledges. But it was very difficult to move forward there. The horses simply could not pull the sledge. Then one of the sledge drivers suggested turning back and going out onto the road to Pillau. I agreed to this. Then we turned around and drove along the shore back to the place where we had descended earlier. There we drove up the hill again and then set off in the direction of Pillau. It was, of course, clear to me that because of this the Jews who were sitting on the sledges would not be shot on the coast, as had been planned. I had the intention of bringing sick Jews through Pillau to Stutthof. In Pillau the Gestapo patrol stopped us and asked where we were going. I explained that we wanted to take the Jews to Stutthof. The response was that this was not even discussed. We had to go to the Gestapo office. There were many chief officers there. We were scolded. And it all ended with the Jews who were on our sledge being taken to the local Gestapo prison. At first we stayed in this Gestapo institution. Then we were sent to some kind of barracks. From there we were assigned to the Schlegel police battalion. Then I took part in battles with this police battalion.

Question:

And what happened to the Jews who walked further along the coast in the direction of Pillau?

Answer:

As far as I know, these Jews were shot. Others told me that the Russians fired artillery on this convoy. Well, they also said that the Defence Force (German: Wehrmacht) took the Jews under its own responsibility.

Question:

In Pillau or somewhere else later, did you meet again with Weber, Meyer or other escort guards of this column?

Answer:

I met Meyer again in Pillau. I am one hundred percent sure of this. I heard from Meyer in Pillau that Weber was seconded to Stutthof, just him.

Question:

Mister Knott, accused Weber explained that he was sent to prison in Pillau. Do you know anything about this?

Answer:

I remember that in Pillau someone was sent to prison. But whether it was Weber, I don't know. And I don't know why the arrest happened.

I've now thought about it all again. Either Meyer or Weber was arrested. I cannot say exactly.

Question:

Mister Knott, we are back again to talking about preparations for sending people on their way to Palmnicken. In this regard, when preparing to leave, did you see strangers from the Gestapo at the factory?

Answer:

Maybe I saw it, or maybe not, I just don't remember now.

Question:

Who told you that you should ride a sledge?

Answer:

I don't remember if I even had such an assignment. Even without it I had to take care of the sick.

Question:

What happened to the Jews who were taken to the Gestapo prison in Pillau?

Answer:

I heard from Gestapo people that these sick Jews were shot. I don't know who shot them.

Question:

Mister Knott, I return once again to the beginning of the march of the Jews from Königsberg. Was food distributed to the Jews before the march, of which you knew that its destination was Palmnicken,?

Answer:

I cannot say exactly. I think there was only bread. No provisions were distributed along the way. I believe that water was delivered during one of the stops.

Note:

The interrogation ended at 16:00. It is scheduled to continue tomorrow at 13:00.

Berlin, 20.01.1965.

The interrogation from the previous day continues (13:00).

The accused Knott explains:

I am again asked about preparations for leaving Palmnicken. I was asked whether and what instructions were given by Weber regarding the shooting of Jews on the shore. I can say the following about this:

Weber gave orders that the men should follow the women, since the men were to be shot first. I was persistently asked again if it really was as I was saying. Yes, that's how it was. Of course, I don't know whether he received orders and from where to shoot Jews on the shore. But I want to repeat once again that Weber, before we set off, gave orders that the men should follow the women. At the same time, he added that this should be so, because the men must be shot first. Weber instructed me to take care of sick people. They had to be transported on sledges. I loaded 3 or 4, maybe even 5 sledges with sick Jews. Weber told me that I should ride the sledge behind the men. Therefore, it was completely clear to me that during the execution that now lay ahead, the turn of the sick Jews riding on the sledge would come quite soon. Weber gave these instructions during a discussion before leaving Palmnicken. Johann Meyer and also other SS men and people from the OT were present. However, now I can't say where this conversation took place, on the street or indoors.

As Weber ordered, so we went on our way [...]

Question:

Did a member of the convoy team, namely one of German SS men, try to separate from the detachment in Palmnicken?

Answer:

One of the young SS men did not arrive in Pillau. I don't know where he stayed. I can't say anything specific about this now.

Question:

Mister Knott, in Königsberg, Weber had a predecessor in his labour detachment. Do you know him?

Answer:

No.

The interrogated is shown the following testimony:

We are talking about SS Senior Squad Leader Böhme. Well, do you remember now?

Answer:

I know one SS Senior Squad Leader Böhme from Stutthof. Whether this Böhme was Weber's predecessor in his labour detachment in Königsberg, I don't know.

Question:

Who was your predecessor as an orderly at the Königsberg labour camp?

Answer:

I don't know. When I arrived in Königsberg, there was no orderly there.

I am once again asked about Senior Squad Leader Johann Meyer. This Senior Squad Leader was born around 1915. He was originally from Bavaria and spoke a distinctive Bavarian dialect. Johann Meyer was at the commandant's headquarters at the Stutthof concentration camp. In the camp he also served as Block Leader. Johann Meyer spoke about being in Dachau. But now I can't remember whether he meant the Dachau concentration camp or the Death's Head formation in Dachau. Johann Meyer led a detachment working outside the camp. With Jewish women from this detachment, he then arrived in Königsberg. I think they were talking about the Heiligenbeil external camp. But I can't say for sure. It is quite possible that he had a detachment that was located in another place.

I am asked to describe this Senior Squad Leader Johann Meyer. Meyer was about 1.80 m tall, had dark hair, a thin face, a healthy complexion, a slender and imposing soldier's appearance. I believe Meyer was single.



Question:

Do you know a certain SS Junior Squad Leader Erich Meissel or Erich Meissler?

Answer:

It seems to me that I've heard this name somewhere.

Question:

Mister Knott, this SS Junior Leader Erich Meissel or Meissler must have been the leader of the Schippenbeil camp. Can you say anything about this?

Answer:

No I cannot.

Question:

Do you know Head Storm Leader Sonnenschein and Assault Unit Leader Krause?

Answer:

Both of them are unknown to me.

Question:

During your stay in Palmnicken at the amber factory, did you meet the People's Storm Major?

Answer:

No.

Question:

This People's Storm Major was the director of the Feyerabend estates. Do you remember anything?

Answer:

No.

Question:

Mister Knott, we have reason to believe that Weber was looking for a suitable place for execution in Palmnicken or in the vicinity of Palmnicken. What do you know about this?

Answer:

I don't know anything about this.

Question:

During your stay in Palmnicken, did you hear Goebbels' speech on 30.01.1945?

Answer:

No.

Question:

Mister Knott, now we will talk again about leaving Königsberg. On this occasion, you testified that people from the Gestapo appeared and fired machine guns into the basement of the factory building in which the Jewish women were housed. Who were these Gestapo men? Were they senior or junior officers? Do you know their names? Can you describe these Gestapo men? How did Weber behave during this? Was he present at this? Were any Jewish women killed in this machine gun fire?

Answer:

There were 2 people from the Gestapo. I think that there was one officer and one an SS junior officer, whose names I do not know. I can't describe them and I couldn't identify them in a photograph either. The Jewish women had to line up before setting off. We also checked whether everyone really came out. I saw with my own eyes that in this basement, into which both men from the Gestapo shot, there were 7-10 dead Jewish women. The corpses remained lying there. Weber was furious at what these Gestapo men had done. That's what he told me about it. He said the following: "This is disgusting, they treated Jewish women in an absolutely brutal way. Where should we put the corpses now?"

In response to the question:

Of course, before leaving the city we checked to see if there were any other Jews or Jewish women hiding somewhere. It's an obvious point. But I, however, no longer remember whether Weber gave any separate order on this matter.

Question:

Were Jews who could not walk shot before leaving Königsberg?

Answer:

I don't know anything about this.

Question:

Mister Knott, you have already testified that prisoners were shot on the way through Königsberg. Were they men or women?

Answer:

Women.

Question:

How many women could have been shot along the way through Königsberg?

Answer:

Maybe two or three women. No more. I have already explained that Weber scolded one of the shooters. And today I also testified that the residents of Königsberg disapproved of these executions.

I am once again persistently asked whether the murdered prisoners in Königsberg were really female. Yes, that's how I remember [...]

Question:

Mister Knott, you testified that one leader of the OT remained in Königsberg. Is that right?

Answer:

Yes it's true. I know for sure that this OT leader did not follow us. In the end, he would definitely drive past me.

Question:

Can you describe the OT leader?

Answer:

At the time, the OT leader was about 45–50 years old, a rather stocky man, about 1.75 m tall and blond. Otherwise, nothing special about his appearance caught my eye. The interrogating officials told me that this OT leader was supposed to wear a gold party insignia. I do not remember this. [...]

Question:

Did Weber himself shoot Jews on the march from Königsberg to Palmnicken?

Answer:

I personally didn't see anything. I can't say whether he shot himself or not. I was always behind at the end of the column.

Question:

Was there anything special in the behavior of the guards that caught your eye?

Answer:

They were in a hurry and rushed the prisoners. I had the impression that they were afraid of the Russians. I think they wanted to leave quickly [...]

Note:

The recording of the interrogation was completed at 15:35.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 5. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

**154. The testimony of Pnina (Pola) Kronisch in the case of the mass execution of civilians in Palmnicken in January 1945**

*4 October 1961*

[...]

Herzliya. 11:00. 04.10.1961

The witness Kronisch Pnina stated her willingness to testify in Russian; her command of Polish and German is poor [...]

The Jews were collected from many camps in the city of Königsberg, they were kept there in some kind of basement for about a week and then taken to Palmnicken. This group included Jews from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and France. In Königsberg, Jews were heavily guarded by the SS troops, which included Germans, Belorussians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians. At night, I don't remember the exact date, the Germans issued an order for all the Jews to stand in a column of five people in a row and within a short time everyone was driven out of the city of Königsberg. As far as I remember, we were on the way for about a week; as far as I remember, the distance from Königsberg to Palmnicken, where we were driven, was more than 50 km. I can confirm that the entire road from Königsberg to Palmnicken was strewn with the corpses of those executed. Several thousand Jews died along the way. In Palmnicken town, the entire group of Jews was led straight to the sea; the guards rode on sledges that carried weapons, while other guards armed with rifles walked next to the column. The rear of the column of Jews was brought to the sea at night and then the execution of the Jews began. The tail of the column, that is, the end of the column, was constantly getting smaller, because the guards were selecting Jews from the end of the column, they were brought to the seashore, laid out in groups on the shore, and the shore was steep, about ½ metre above sea level, the heads of the Jews designated for execution were already behind a steep hill, that is, hanging above the sea. In this position, the Germans and other members of the guard shot the Jews, then kicked the dead Jews into the sea. Since the seashore was covered with ice, the killers used rifle butts to push the victims into the icy water, where they drowned. Since my sister Sarah and I were at the head of the column, we were the last to be shot. Together with my sister, they also laid me down on the seashore, however, The shot that aimed at me didn't kill me but wounded my left leg, and my face was covered in blood from the dead Jews lying next to me. During this time my sister Sarah was killed. I, without waiting for the Germans to push me into the sea, rushed myself and remained lying on the edge of the ice floe, which was already covered in water and was being washed by the waves of the sea. The Germans thought that I was dead, and since, fortunately for me, I was one of the last in line to be killed, the Germans got into the sledge and left. Before the morning, I crawled out of the sea and hid in the coal warehouse of a German peasant who lived not far from the scene of the incident. A day later, I was liberated by the Soviet Army, which occupied the area of Palmnicken, and I was sent to a hospital for treatment, however, 2 days later the Germans reoccupied the area and fighting took place there for approximately 3 months.

I currently cannot remember any of German SS officers, who supervised the sending of Jews from Königsberg to Palmnicken and the shooting and drowning of Jews in the sea, with the exception of one SS officer named Hans, who was one of the leaders of the guard of the Jewish column during the march and an active participant in the execution of Jews near the sea. Personal description of Hans: approximately 30 years old at the time, tall, blond, thin, well-built body, handsome face, wearing a green SS military uniform. He was with one SS

woman who also wore a green SS military uniform, and she, like the aforementioned Hans, participated in the execution of Jews. I don't remember the surname of this SS woman, however, at that time she was over 30 years old, tall, blonde, of average build, her lower lip was drooping. This SS woman, together with the aforementioned Hans, was still in the Heiligenbeil camp, and they killed Jews in this camp [...].

*State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 3. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*

**155. Report of the Special Commission on the interrogation of Kurt Friedrichs, a former burgomaster of Palmnicken, in the case of the mass execution of civilians in January 1945**

17 October 1960

Special commission Z  
Hanover, 17.10.1960  
Report  
Former burgomaster of Palmnicken (East Prussia),  
Kurt Friedrichs,  
  
78 years old  
lives in Winsen (Lue), Bahnhofstrasse 16

was interrogated in the case of the shooting of Jewish prisoners. He knows that a large convoy of prisoners has arrived from Königsberg to Palmnicken. In his opinion, this was at the end of January 1945. Friedrichs states that he had no dealings with the camp. He does not know either the camp's leadership or the security personnel. He recalls that the leadership of the camp was subordinate to a government adviser from Königsberg, who, however, took charge of the camp only shortly before the arrival of the Russians. This government adviser fled Königsberg as the Russians approached the city. Whether he was the director of the prison in Königsberg, Friedrichs does not know. Now he can't remember any names. According to rumours, he learned that a government adviser shot his wife, child, and shot himself when the Russians entered Palmnicken.

Friedrichs says that he knows that many Jews died in the convoy on the way from Königsberg to Palmnicken, but he cannot say with certainty whether they were killed by the convoys on the way or died due to weather conditions (lots of snow, frost). In his opinion, many of the dead could not endure the harsh weather conditions and the rigors of the trip due to poor nutrition and poor clothing.

The surnames Janz, Funk and Stock mean nothing to him in connection with the camp or the camp leadership.

Although Friedrichs remained in Palmnicken until 15.04.1945, he does not want to provide any information about the camp, especially about the executions.

*Translation of the document: State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region. Fund H-55. Inventory 4. Case 1. Microfiche 1. Typescript.*



156. The record of interrogation of Horst Hardel, a Palmnicken resident and a member of the Jungvolk Nazi youth organisation

3 June 1945

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

On 3 June 1945, I\* interrogated –

HARDEL Horot\*\*, born in 1930, a native and resident of Palmnicken town of Samland district of Königsberg region, from the working class, German, German subject, 8th grade education, previously unconvicted. Lives in Palmnicken, Lindenstrasse no. 51.

The interrogation was carried out with the help of an interpreter-translator from the military commandant's office of Palmnicken small town, ZAKHARENKO Paraskovya Kondratyevna, who was warned of liability for incorrect translation of testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

QUESTION: Where were you when mass executions of imprisoned Soviet citizens were carried out in Palmnicken?

ANSWER: During the executions of prisoners carried out in Palmnicken, I worked as an apprentice clerk at the local government. I don't know how these executions were carried out. I know about this only from the stories of residents of the small town.

QUESTION: Were there any survivors from the execution?

ANSWER: Yes, there were.

QUESTION: Was a search carried out for those who escaped from execution?

ANSWER: A search was carried out for such persons.

QUESTION: Who carried out the search for those who escaped from execution?

ANSWER: The search for those who escaped from execution was carried out by the local government and was led by the burgomaster FRIEDRICHS Kurt<sup>3\*</sup>. During the search for people who escaped from execution, the local government had at its disposal an armed group of members of the local Hitler Youth organisation (*German*: Hitlerjugend), which carried out raids and combed the forest where people who escaped from execution were hiding. The Hitler Youth organisation members took all detainees to the local government, from where they were then taken outside the small town to the an anti-tank ditch and shot there. In addition to the Hitler Youth members, it also included several members of the Hitlerjugendvolk (*German*: Jungvolk in der Hitlerjugend). I myself am the Hitlerjugendvolk member and, together with other young men, took part in the detention of persons who escaped from execution.

QUESTION: Name all the people who participated in the search for those who escaped from execution.

ANSWER: I know the following people from the Hitler Youth and the Hitlerjugendvolk organisations, who were involved in the search and detention of persons who escaped from executions.

1. BOLLGÖNN Hans, a native and resident of Palmnicken small town, volunteered for the German army in March 1945.

FEATURES: 17-18 years old, tall, plump, black-haired, long-faced.

2. GUDAU Heinz, a resident of Palmnicken small town; I don't know where he is currently.

FEATURES: 17 years old, short, plump, has dark blond hair, a round face.

3. SCHRADER Bruno, a resident of Palmnicken small town. Before the arrival of the Soviet troops, he volunteered for the German army.

FEATURES: 17–18 years old, short, thin, has dark brown hair, a long face.

4. GAIL Eksgard, a resident of Palmnicken small town; I don't know where he is currently. FEATURES: 17 years old, tall, thin, black-haired, long-faced.

5. FISCHER Herbert, a resident of Palmnicken small town. Recently he served in the German army, I don't know where he is currently. 17–18 years old, average height, thin, black-haired, long-faced.

6. LILIENTHAL Georg, a resident of Palmnicken small town. Currently lives at home, here in the small town. About 17 years old, medium height, plump, has dark brown hair, a long face.

7. WESSEL Helmut, a resident of Palmnicken small town. I don't know where he is currently. 17–18 years old, short, thin, has dark brown hair, a long face.

8. WESSEL Gerhard, a resident of Palmnicken small town. He recently served in the German army, I don't know where he is currently. 17–18 years old, short, thin, has dark brown hair, a round face.

9. SCHWARZKOPF Kurt, a resident of Palmnicken small town. Before the arrival of the Soviet troops, he served in the German army, I don't know where he is currently. 17–18 years old, tall, plump, black-haired, round-faced.

10. SCHWARZKOPF Alfred, a resident of Palmnicken small town, was recently in the German army. 17–18 years old, average height, thin, has dark brown hair, a round face.

11. WENDLER Iwald, a resident of Sorgenau village of Samland district. Recently he was in the German army. I don't know where he is currently. 17–18 years old, tall, plump, has light brown hair, a round face.

QUESTION: Tell us about your participation in the search and arrest of persons who escaped from execution.

ANSWER: Two days after the mass execution of prisoners by the SS, I, together with the Hitler Youth organisation member BOLLGÖNN Hans, while searching for escaped prisoners, in the forest on the seashore outside the small town, detained two Jewish women, whom we brought and handed over to the burgomaster, and who were subsequently shot.

On the same day, just after lunch, I and BOLLGÖNN Hans detained two more men, also Jews, who were also handed over to the local government.

A day after this, on the orders of the burgomaster FRIEDRICHS Kurt, I brought to the local government 3 Jewish women who were also among those who had escaped from being shot and were hiding in the school building. All these three women were wounded and took refuge in the school, but someone saw them there and reported this to the burgomaster. These women in the local government were put in the basement and, I believe, were subsequently also shot.

QUESTION: Do you know AUKSHEN<sup>4\*</sup> Anton?

ANSWER: I know AUKSHEN Anton, he is a resident of our small town, before the arrival of Soviet troops he worked at an amber factory as a blacksmith, and during the days of mass executions of prisoners he also served as an assistant policeman.

QUESTION: What do you know about AUKSHEN Anton?

ANSWER: AUKSHEN Anton, being an assistant policeman, like me, was also personally involved in the search and detention of persons who fled from execution.

Once I myself saw how AUKSHEN Anton brought two Jewish women to the local government, who were also put in the basement and subsequently shot. When AUKSHEN Anton brought the indicated detainees to the local government, I was right there at the government office.

AUKSHEN Anton is one of the active participants in the search and arrest of Jewish prisoners hiding in the forests after escaping from execution. In some cases, he himself personally shot such persons directly at the place of detention.

I witnessed one conversation between Burgomaster FRIEDRICHS Kurt and some SS officer on the Jewish question. During this conversation, Kurt FRIEDRICHS told an officer that AUKSHEN Anton was especially good at detaining persons who had fled into the forests during execution, and he himself shot these persons at the place of detention.

QUESTION: Who led the executions of the detainees?

ANSWER: After the mass executions of prisoners and the departure of an SS team that carried out these executions, one SS man, Senior Section Leader, a certain Wilhelm, stayed in Palmnicken for two weeks. This Wilhelm was left to conduct a search for all persons who fled during the execution of prisoners. The same Wilhelm also supervised the executions of detainees. Among Hitler Youth organisation members, SCHWARZKOPF Alfred and SCHWARZKOPF Kurt assisted Wilhelm in the execution of the detainees. I know this from the words of these individuals themselves.

I don't know about any other Hitler Youth members participating in the executions of those detained.

QUESTION: How many of the prisoners who escaped execution were discovered, detained and taken to the local government by everyone involved in the search for them?

ANSWER: As I personally saw how the detainees were delivered to the burgomaster, in total at least 50 such persons were discovered and delivered to the local government.

QUESTION: Were they all shot?

ANSWER: Everyone was shot.

The record of interrogation was translated into German for me, and it was drawn up correctly from my words:

Interpreter-translator<sup>5\*</sup>

Interrogated by: <sup>6\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 90–93. Original. Typescript.*

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\* The name and position are painted over.

\*\* It is so in the document, but it means: Harder Horst.

3\* It is so in the document, but it means: Kurt Friedrichs.

4\* It is so in the document, but it means: Anton Aukschun.

5\* The name is painted over.

6\* Names, positions and signatures are painted over.

157. The record of interrogation of Gerhard Wessel, a resident of Palmnicken and a member of the Hitler Youth Nazi organisation

4 June 1945

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

4 June 1945

I\* Guards Captain\*\* – Guards Lieutenant<sup>3\*</sup> interrogated the following person in German:

WESSEL Gerhard, born in 1929, a native of Sorgenau village of Samland district of Königsberg region, from a working-class family, German, German subject, a Hitler Youth organisation member since 1942, 6th grade education, lives in Palmnicken small town.

QUESTION: Where were you when the mass executions of prisoners were carried out in Palmnicken?

ANSWER: During the execution of prisoners in Palmnicken, I lived here in Palmnicken and worked as an apprentice to the blacksmith Grünert Ernst.

QUESTION: Were there any survivors of these executions?

ANSWER: There were those who escaped the execution. The executions were carried out at night and some of the prisoners fled into the forests. I know this due to the fact that, as the Hitler Youth member, on the order of the burgomaster, I was engaged in the search and detention of such people.

QUESTION: When and who did you detain?

ANSWER: At the beginning of February 1945, in the forest outside Palmnicken small town in the southern part, I detained an unknown woman in civilian clothes, whom I brought to the town and handed over to the local government, where all prisoners who escaped from execution were brought together.

In addition to detaining prisoners who escaped from execution, I was also involved in guarding them when they were in the basement of the local government and once participated in the execution of detainees, on the northern outskirts of Palmnicken. During my participation, about 20 detainees were shot. I then escorted the prisoners to the execution site and forced them to lie face down on the ground near the pit, and one SS man, a certain Wilhelm Jan, and Bollgönn Hans shot them in the back of the head with pistols.

The search for the prisoners who escaped from execution lasted about a week and during this time up to 70–90 people were caught, who at different times during the same period were all shot on the northern outskirts of Palmnicken.

I personally caught three prisoners in total and brought them to the local government. In addition to the above-mentioned woman, I once, together with my nephew Wessel Helmut, brought to the government two women whom we found in the forest on the seashore, where mass executions of prisoners were carried out.

QUESTION: Where is Wessel Helmut currently located?

ANSWER: Wessel Helmut voluntarily entered the German army in March 1945, but I don't know where he is now.

The record of interrogation was translated into German for me, and it was drawn up correctly from my words.

INTERROGATED BY:<sup>4\*</sup>

Guards Captain<sup>5\*</sup>



Guards Lieutenant<sup>6\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 87–88. Copy. Typescript.*

- 
- \* The name is painted over.
  - \*\* Painted over.
  - 3\* Painted over.
  - 4\* The name is painted over.
  - 5\* The name and signature are painted over.
  - 6\* The name and signature are painted over.

100 м. 3.

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ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПРОСА  
=====

4 июня 1945 г.

Я [REDACTED] гвардии капитан  
[REDACTED] - гвардии лейтенант [REDACTED] допроси-  
ли на немецком языке:

ВЕССЕЛЬ Герхарда, 1929 г. рождения, урож. дер. Зоргенау, Земландского р-на, Кенигсбергского округа, из семьи рабочего, немец, подданный Германии, член Гитлеровской молодежной организации "Гитлер Югенд" с 1942 г., образованен 3 классов, проживает в мест. Пальмникене.

ВОПРОС: Где Вы находились, когда в Пальмникене проводились массовые расстрелы заключенных?

ОТВЕТ: Во время проводившихся в Пальмникене расстрелов заключенных я проживал здесь в Пальмникене, работал учеником кузнеца Грюнерт Эрнста.

ВОПРОС: Были ли спасшиеся от указанных расстрелов?

ОТВЕТ: Спасшиеся от расстрела были. Расстрелы проводились в ночное время и часть заключенных разбежалась по лесам. Это я знаю в связи с тем, что как гитлерюгенд по заданию бургомистра занимался розыском и задержанием таких людей.

ВОПРОС: Когда и кого Вы задержали?

ОТВЕТ: В начале февраля 1945 г. в лесу за местечком Пальмникен в южной стороне я задержал неизвестную женщину в гражданской одежде, которую привел в местечко и сдал в местную управу, куда сводились все заключенные, бежавшие из-под расстрела.

Кроме задержаний бежавших из-под расстрела заключенных, я занимался еще охраной их, когда они находились в подвале местной управы и один раз участвовал в расстреле задержанных, на северной окраине Пальмникена. Во время моего участия, было расстреляно около 20 человек задержанных. Я тогда конвоировал заключенных к месту расстрела и заставлял их ложиться вниз лицом на землю около ямы, а один эсэсовец некто Вильгельм Ян и Больген Ганц из пистолетов расстреливали их в затылок.

Розыск бежавших из-под расстрела заключенных длился около недели и за это время было поймано до 70-80 чел., которые разновременно за это же время все были расстреляны на северной окраине Пальмникена.

Лично сам я всего поймал и доставил в местную управу заключенных три человека. Кроме указанной выше женщины я один раз вместе со своим племянником Вессель Гельмут доставил в управу двух женщин, которых мы нашли в лесу на берегу моря, где проводились массовые расстрелы заключенных.

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2.-

ВОПРОС: Где находится в настоящее время Вессель Гельмут ?

ОТВЕТ: Вессель Гельмут в марте 1945 г. поступил добровольно в германскую армию, где находится в настоящее время не знаю.

Протокол допроса мне переведен на немецком языке с моих слов записано верно.

ДОПРОСИЛ :

[REDACTED]  
Гвардии капитан

[REDACTED]  
Гвардии лейтенант

тб-3

**158. The record of interrogation of Hermann Frischkiesel, a former gendarme in Palmnicken**

*1 June 1945*

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

*1 June 1945*

*Palmnicken small town*

Palmnicken small town: –

FRISCHKIESEL Herman, born in 1893, a native of Fischhausen town, a resident of Ilniken village, Fischhausen district, Königsberg district, German, with a 7th grade education of a city school, non-party, married.

The interrogation was carried out through a German translator/interpreter at the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department – DITKOVSKY Arkady Grigorievich, who was warned of the liability for false translation under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

QUESTION: Where did you live and what did you do before the arrival of Red Army units?

ANSWER: Before the arrival of Red Army units, I was in Gross Kuhren, Fischhausen district, and worked there in the gendarmerie as a gendarme.

QUESTION: Since when have you served in the gendarmerie?

ANSWER: I served in the gendarmerie from 1 August 1944 until the arrival of the Red Army units.

QUESTION: What did you do before serving in the gendarmerie, and under what circumstances did you join the gendarmerie?

ANSWER: Before serving in the gendarmerie, I lived in Ilniken village, where I had 15 morgens of land, my own grocery store and maintained my own hotel for twenty people. For this I had three people – one German and two Poles.

On 29 July 1944, I received a summons from the regional military commandant's office in Königsberg to appear on 1 August 1944 in the city of Königsberg to join the gendarmerie team.

When I arrived in the city of Königsberg, I was sent to a medical commission at the gendarmerie. After this medical commission, a captain of the gendarmerie talked to me, I don't remember his surname, he talked about serving in the gendarmerie and what the rules should be.

I stayed in the city of Königsberg for two days, there we were fit out with a gendarmerie uniform and four of us were sent as gendarmes in Peyse small town of Fischhausen district. And so I joined the gendarmerie.

I stayed in Peyse small town for four months until 1 December 1944, and then was transferred to Ilniken, where I was a gendarme until 1 January 1945.

From 1 January 1945 to 15 February of this year, I was in service in Palmnicken small town.

On 15 February of this year, when units of the Red Army approached Germau, the entire gendarmerie, including me, was evacuated to Fischhausen town, where it remained until 25 February 1945, and then, when Red Army units retreated from Germau, me and seven other people were sent to Gross Kuhren small town and there I stayed until Red Army units arrived.

QUESTION: What uniform did you wear and what weapons did you have with you?

ANSWER: I wore a green gendarme uniform, and we were given two suits, one for everyday wear, and the second was clean. I had weapons – a carbine and a pistol.

QUESTION: Where do you put your uniform and weapons?

ANSWER: Before Red Army units arrived in Gross Kuhren small town, I changed into civilian uniform, and the German refugees buried my military clothes and weapons.



QUESTION: What are the names of gendarmerie officers of Palmnicken and Gross Kuhren small towns?

ANSWER: In the gendarmerie in Palmnicken small town there were:

1. FRAENHOGEN\*\*, 55 years old, the chief of the gendarmerie.
2. WINSKOWSKY Ewald, 52 years old, a gendarme.
3. And I – FRISCHKIESEL Herman – a gendarme.

In the gendarmerie in Gross Kuhren small town there were:

1. KUTSIK, 58 years old, the chief of the gendarmerie.
2. GEREKBI, 58 years old, a gendarme.

I don't remember the rest of the names.

QUESTION: Where are the people you named currently located?

ANSWER: Everyone was evacuated to Pillau town.

QUESTION: Where was the gendarmerie located in Palmnicken small town?

ANSWER: The chief of the gendarmerie – gendarme-master FROENHAGEN was in a house under the forest at the exit from Palmnicken town to Sorgenau town. The rest of the gendarmerie was located at the Mottern Hotel.

The gendarmerie carried out all its work in the building of the chief of the gendarmerie, FROENHOGEN.

QUESTION: Who headed the gendarmerie in Palmnicken small town?

ANSWER: In Palmnicken small town, while I was serving, the gendarmerie was headed by gendarme-master FRAENHOGEN, who was subordinate to Senior Lieutenant DORSCH, who was in Fischhausen, and he, in turn, was subordinate to captain BLYAK, who was in the city of Königsberg.

QUESTION: Which other gendarmerie leaders were in Palmnicken small town?

ANSWER: On 25 February 1945, Senior Lieutenant KOCH arrived in Palmnicken small town from Fischhausen, who headed the leadership of the gendarmerie of Palmnicken and Gross Kurhen small towns. KOCH was subordinate to Captain BLYAK, and he was subordinate to Colonel PRIDUV.

QUESTION: Who is Colonel PRIDUV and where was he located?

ANSWER: Colonel PRIDUV was the chief of the gendarmerie of Königsberg region and was located in the city of Königsberg.

QUESTION: What work did the gendarmerie do?

ANSWER: The gendarmerie was entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring the security of the populated area, housing those evacuated from occupied areas of the Red Army, the seizure of all prisoners of war Poles, French, Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and so on, as well as the seizure of all suspicious persons appearing in populated areas.

QUESTION: What kind of participation did you personally take in this work?

ANSWER: I personally, together with Sergeant Major of the gendarmerie GERGITKI, starting from 25 February 1945 and until April of this year, that is, before the arrival of Red Army units, were engaged in the seizure of all foreigners who were in villages in the area of Gross Kuhren – Heiligenkreuz, Weidenen – Schreiberberg, who were brought to Gross Hubnicken and Gross Dirschkeim towns, and there they were imprisoned in concentration camps; men, women, old people and children were taken away.

In this area, we seized and imprisoned 35 people in a concentration camp.

While at the gendarmerie in Palmnicken small town, I took one arrested Pole to the city of Königsberg with his hands tied and there he was handed over to the Rokhvalin prison, in addition, I took part in the interrogations of the arrested together with the head of the gendarmerie FRAENHOGEN.

QUESTION: What do you know about the execution of Soviet citizens by German authorities in Palmnicken small town?

ANSWER: On 27 January 1945, a column of people of Russian and other nationalities, numbering about five thousand people, was brought from the city of Königsberg to Palmnicken small town; this column was accompanied by SS troops and the Shot organisation<sup>3\*</sup>.

On the road from Sorgenau to Palmnicken, that is, over only one kilometre, two hundred and forty people were shot from this column; I don't know how many people were shot along the rest of the road from Königsberg, but people were shot there along the way too. The executions were carried out by German SS troops accompanying the column.

In addition, on 2 February of this year, people from this column were taken out to sea onto the ice near Palmnicken small town and were shot there; I don't know who shot on the ice and the number of those shot.

QUESTION: What part did you take in this?

ANSWER: On 28 January 1945, on the orders of the chief of the gendarmerie – gendarme-master FRAENHOGEN, I took two full carts with two coachmen at the Bernscheiberg factory and set off along the road towards Sorgenau and there, along the way, I collected 240 corpses of Soviet citizens shot by German SS troops, which were transported to the eastern outskirts of Palmnicken small town.

During the collection of corpses, I detained four women of Jewish nationality who had escaped from execution, whom I delivered to the burgomaster of Palmnicken small town and, by the order of the latter, imprisoned them in a cell.

QUESTION: Who took part in the execution of Soviet citizens from representatives of the German authorities from Palmnicken small town?

ANSWER: I don't know that.

QUESTION: Which SS men do you know who carried out the mass extermination of Soviet citizens?

ANSWER: I don't know anyone from the SS personally.

QUESTION: Did you report to the chief of the gendarmerie, FRAENHOGEN, about the fulfillment of his orders to collect the executed Soviet citizens?

ANSWER: Yes, after I had collected two hundred and forty corpses of executed Soviet citizens and detained four Jewish women who had escaped from execution, I came to FRAENHOGEN and reported to him about the work I had done.

QUESTION: What did FRAENHOGEN tell you after your report to him?

ANSWER: "It's good that you did this job, you can go and rest," that's what the chief of the gendarmerie FRAENHOGEN told me.

The interrogation was interrupted.

The record of interrogation was read to me in a language I understood, all the testimony was drawn up correctly from my words, in witness whereof I set my hand upon this.

Signature of the interpreter-translator

Interrogated by:<sup>4\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 94–97. Original. Typescript.*

\* The name and position are painted over.

\*\* That's what it says in the document. Same as Fraenhogen. This means: Freyenhagen.

<sup>3\*</sup> Probably „Todt“.

<sup>4\*</sup> Names, positions and signatures are painted over.

159. The record of interrogation of Karla Zimler, a Palmnicken resident and a member of the League of German Girls<sup>5</sup> of the Nazi youth organisation

2 June 1945

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

2 June 1945.

Palmnicken

I\* interrogated as a witness a resident of Palmnicken town, –

ZIMLER Karla, born in 1925, a native of Palmnicken, Samland district, Königsberg region, from a working class, German, German subject, a member of the Hitler Youth organisation\*\*, 8 years of education<sup>3\*</sup>, works in Palmnicken town at an amber factory as a clerk.

I was warned about liability for giving false testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR: Karla Zimler.

The interpreter-translator is warned about liability for the translation correctness under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Gurkov

QUESTION: Which SS men do you know who took part in the execution of Soviet citizens in Palmnicken town at the end of January 1945?

ANSWER: In the last days of January of this year, about three thousand Jews<sup>4\*</sup> evacuated from Königsberg were settled in the forge and metalworking workshop of the amber factory, where I worked in the office. In the factory office there was a group of SS soldiers who were escorting Soviet citizens. While working in the office, I met Section Leader WILLY Jan, who took me home after work at night. Five days later, WILLY Jan, along with others, left to accompany Soviet Jewish citizens, and the next day he returned back and spent 3–5 days in Palmnicken.

At first, Jan WILLY lived in an apartment unknown to me, and then moved into an apartment with me and my mother. Here WILLY Jan told me that he was in Palmnicken to capture the escaped Jews and shoot them. At this time I learned that Jan WILLY, 23 years old, a resident of Essen-Ruhr city, Dinnendalstrasse [...], where his mother and father live (I don't know their names), his father is a merchant, I do not know about his membership in the Nazi party. I also don't know about other facts. WILLY is of average height, blond, thin, has a thin face, wide nose, light eyes, wears his hair parted to the right, has fast, slender gait and thick lips. WILLY, while in the town through the Hitler Youth organisation, worked for the burgomaster to identify hiding Jews, but did not tell me anything about it.

Besides Jan WILLY, I also know Frölich, I don't know his name, and I don't remember his features as well, since I saw him only once. I do not know the name of the unit in which Jan WILLY and FRÖLICH served, and I also know nothing more about their activities in participating in the executions of Soviet citizens.

QUESTION: Which civilians took part in the ongoing executions of Soviet citizens?

ANSWER: Among the residents, according to a citizen Frida Kronzenstein, my apartment neighbor, an alleged resident of Palmnicken small town, Anton AUKSCHUN<sup>5\*</sup>, took part in the executions of Jews, I know nothing about him.

When Jan Willy was in the town, I often saw together with him, in search of Jews who had fled from execution, the Hitler Youth organisation members, the resident of Palmnicken – LUTHER KEKACH, WENDELER<sup>6\*</sup> /I don't know his name/from SORGENAU,

GÜNTER BOLLGEN<sup>7\*</sup> (Palmnicken) and Heinz GUDAR<sup>8\*</sup> (Palmnicken). I can't say anything else about them.

QUESTION: What else can you tell us about the participants in the executions of Soviet citizens?

ANSWER: I know nothing more about the participants in the executions of Soviet citizens.

The record of interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words, and was read to me by the interpreter-translator in German.

INTERPRETER-TRANSLATOR: Red Army Guards – GURNOV Sergey Mikhailovich  
INTERROGATED BY<sup>9\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 98–99. Original. Typescript.*

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- \* The name and position are painted over.
  - \*\* This refers to the League of German Girls.
  - 3\* This refers to “8th grade education.”
  - 4\* Underlined by hand.
  - 5\* It is so in the document, meaning: Anton Aukschun.
  - 6\* It is so in the document, but probably: Wendler Ewald (see doc. 156).
  - 7\* It is so in the document, but probably: Bolgen (see doc. 156).
  - 8\* It is so in the document, but probably: Gudau Heinz (see doc. 156).
  - 9\* Names, positions and signatures are painted over.



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ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПРОСА

2 июня 1945 года.

г. Пальмникен

Я. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] спросил в качестве свидетеля житель-  
ницу гор. Пальмникен, -

ЦИМЛЕР Карлу 1925 года рождения, урож. г. Пальмникен, район Землантский, округ Кенигсбергский, из рабочих, немка, пограничная Германия, член организации "гитлеровская молодежь", образование 8 лет, работает в гор. Пальмникен на янтарном заводе в качестве контористки.

Об ответственности за дачу ложных показаний предупреждена по ст. 95 УК РСФСР: подпись /Карла Цимлер/

Об ответственности за правильность перевода переводчик предупрежден по статье 95 УК РСФСР. подпись /Гурасв/

ВОПРОС: Кого Вы знаете из эсэсовцев, принимавших участие в расстрелах советских граждан в г. Пальмникен в конце января 1945г. ?

ОТВЕТ: В последних числах января м-ца с.г. в кузницу и слесарную мастерскую янтарного завода, где я работала в конторе, поселили около трех тысяч евреев, эвакуированных из Кенигсберга. В конторе завода помещалась группа солдат "СС", которые конвоировали советских граждан. Во время работы в конторе я познакомилась с ротенфюрером ВИЛЛИ Яном, который после работы ночью провожал меня до дому. Дней через пять ВИЛЛИ Ян вместе с другими ушли сопровождать советских граждан евреев, а на другой день вернулся обратно и в течение 3-5 дней находился в Пальмникене.

Вначале Ян ВИЛЛИ жил на неизвестной мне квартире, а затем переселился на квартиру ко мне и моей матери. Здесь ВИЛЛИ Ян рассказывал мне что он находится в Пальмникене для поимки бежавших евреев и расстрела их. В это время я узнала, что Ян ВИЛЛИ, 23-х лет, житель г. Эссен-Рур, Линчентальтрассе дом 100, где проживают его мать и отец /имени не знаю/, отец торговец, о принадлежности к нацистской партии мне неизвестно. Других фактов мне также не известно. ВИЛЛИ среднего роста, блондин, худощавый, лицо худощавое, нос широкий, глаза светлые, волосы носит с расчесом на право, походка быстрая, стройная, губы толстые. ВИЛЛИ во время нахождения в гороте через молодежь "гитлерюнга, выявляя скрывающихся евреев, работал у бюромиистра, но ничего мне не рассказывал об этом.

Кроме Ян ВИЛЛИ еще мне известен ФРЕЛИХ, имя неизвестно, примет также не помню т.к. видел его всего один раз. Именами чаще в которой служил Ян ВИЛЛИ и ФРЕЛИХ мне неизвестно, также больше ничего не известно о их деятельности при участии в расстрелах советских граждан.

ВОПРОС: Кто из гражданских лиц принимал участие в проводимых расстрелах советских граждан?

ОТВЕТ: Из жителей, сосланных гражданки Кроненштейн Фрида, моей соседки по квартире в расстрелах евреев принимал участие якобы житель г. Пальмикен Антон АУКШУНЬ, о котором мне ничего не известно.

Во время пребывания в городе Яна ВИЛЛИ я часто видела с ним в поисках евреев бежавших от расстрела членов организации "гитлеровская молодежь" жителей гор. Пальмикен - ЛЮДЕР КЕКАЧ, ВЕНДЛЕР / имя не знаю / ЗОРТЕНАУ, ХЕНТЕР БОЛДЫЕН Пальмикен и Гайнц ГУДАР - Пальмикен. Еще что либо о них рассказать не могу.

ВОПРОС: Что еще можете рассказать об участниках расстрелов советских граждан.

ОТВЕТ: Об участниках расстрелов советских граждан мне больше ничего не известно.

Протокол с моих слов записан верно, мне прочитан переводчиком на немецком языке.

ПЕРЕВОДЧИК: гв. красносармеец - ГУРНОВ Сергей Михайлович

ДОПРОСИЛ: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



**160. The record of interrogation of Georg Lilienthal, a Palmnicken resident and a member of the Hitler Youth Nazi organisation**

*3 June 1945*

3 June 1945

Palmnicken small town

of Samland Peninsula,  
East Prussia

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

I\* on this date interrogated a witness:

Georg LILIENTHAL, born in 1929, a native and resident of Palmnicken small town, working class origin, ethnic German, having a 10th grade education, the Hitler Youth organisation member since 1939, previously unconvicted, single, student.

He was warned of liability for giving false Georg LILIENTHAL, born in 1929, a native and resident of Palmnicken small town, working class origin, ethnic German, having a 10th grade education, the Hitler Youth organisation member since 1939, previously unconvicted, single, student. testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. The interpreter- translator – Red Army soldier of the 82nd Guards of the Sevastopol Rifle Regiment\*\* - GURKOV Sergey Mikhailovich is warned about liability for incorrect translation under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

QUESTION: Tell me what you know about the mass extermination of Soviet citizens in the area of Palmnicken small town.

ANSWER: It was at the end of the month<sup>3\*</sup> of 1945 at night, a large number of Soviet people were driven through Palmnicken to the North, mainly civilians – men and women. I don't know how many of them there were. All these people were accompanied by a reinforced convoy of SS and SD troops, who shot the above-mentioned people north of Palmnicken small town, 1–1.5 km from it, on the seashore near the quarry.

The shooting and killing of Soviet citizens was carried out mainly at night. Despite the strengthened guard of Soviet people doomed to death, some of them fled from being shot and took refuge with local residents, but Burgomaster FRIEDRICHS KURT issued an order for local residents not to accept Soviet citizens, but to hand over to the local government and military authorities all suspicious persons who have escaped from execution. In addition, he made it the responsibility of the members of People's Storm to catch any suspicious people, and attracted the Hitler Youth organisation of Palmnicken small town for this purpose.

QUESTION: Tell us, who do you know among the civilians who participated in the capture of Soviet people?

ANSWER: A German AUKSCHUN Anton<sup>4\*</sup> – the Hitlerite, a German 16-year-old WESSEL Gerhard and others, who are not in Palmnicken small town, took an active part in catching Soviet citizens.

QUESTION: Tell us, how do you know the Germans AUKSCHUN A. and WESSEL G., and what kind of relationship did you have with them?

ANSWER: I have known Aukschun A. and Wessel G. since 1935 as residents of Palmnicken town. I have never had any business or disputes with the latter.

QUESTION: Tell us in detail what the treacherous punitive actions of Germans AUKSCHUN A. and WESSEL G. were expressed in?

ANSWER: I don't fully know what Anton AUKSCHUN was doing at the time of the execution of Soviet people, but I know that AUKSCHUN took an active part in catching Soviet people who fled from execution, rode everywhere on a bicycle with a pistol, and was always fierce not only towards the Russians, but also towards the Germans.

The Hitlerite Wessel Gerhard, like other Hitler Youth organisation members, took an active part in catching Soviet citizens. So, on one day in January, after the execution of a group of people /Soviet/, Burgomaster FRIEDRICHS<sup>5\*</sup> sent me, WESSEL, and others to pick up 4 people who had escaped from the execution of Soviet citizens. I, other Hitlerite BOLLGÖNN Hans, FISCHER Herbert, Gail Eckhart<sup>6\*</sup>, came to one house No. 100 and took 2 Russians, a Jew from the kitchen and brought them to the burgomaster and put them in a prison cell, then I and BOLGEN brought 2 more Jewish women and handed them over to the burgomaster.

When the pre-trial detention cell was completely filled, one SS man with WESSEL Gerhard, SCHWARZKOPF Alfred, SCHWARZKOPF Gerhard, GITKE Dietrich, WESSEL Helmut and WENDLER Isalt<sup>7\*</sup>, BOLGEN Günter, BOLLGÖNN Hans took all the caught and detained Soviet people to be shot, north of Palmnicken small town, and returned from there without these people. At that time I was on duty at the telephone in the burgomaster's office.

The record of interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words, translated into German for me, in witness whereof I set my hand upon this.

INTERROGATED BY<sup>8\*</sup>

The record of interrogation was translated  
by the interpreter-translator Guards Private GURKOV  
[...]<sup>9\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 70. Sheets 102–103. Original. Typescript.*

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\* The name and position are painted over.

\*\* 82nd Sevastopol Rifle Regiment.

3\* The month is not specified.

4\* It is so in the document, meaning: Anton Aukschun.

5\* It is so in the document, meaning: Friedrichs Kurt.

6\* It is so in the document, but probably: GAIL Eksgard (see doc. 156).

7\* It is so in the document, but probably: Wendler Ewald (see doc. 156).

8\* The name, position and signature are painted over.

9\* The information is painted over.



3 июня 1945 г.

м. Пальмникен, Земландского п-ва  
Восточная Пруссия.

## ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПРОСА

Я [REDACTED]  
сего числа допросил свидетеля Л

ЛИЕНТАЛЬ Георга, 1929 г. рождения, урож. и жителя м. Пальмникен, по происхождению из рабочих, по национальности немца, имеющего образование 10 классов, состоявшего в организации "Гитлер Jugend" с 1939 г., не судимого, холостого, учащегося.

Об ответственности за дачу ложных показаний по ст. 95 УК РСФСР предупреждается. Переводчик - красноармеец 82 Гв. ССР - ГВРКОВ Сергей Михайлович об ответственности за неправильность перевода по ст. 95 УК РСФСР предупреждается.

ВОПРОС: Скажите что Вам известно о массовом истреблении Советских граждан в районе м. Пальмникен.

ОТВЕТ: Это было в конце января м-ца 1945 г. в ночное время через местечко Пальмникен в северной направлении гнали большое количество Советских людей, преимущественно гражданское население - мужчины и женщины. Какое количество их было - не знаю. Всех этих людей сопровождали усиленным конвоем войска "СС" и "СД", которые и расстреливали вышеупомянутых людей севернее м. Пальмникен в 1-1,5 км. от него, на берегу моря у карьера.

Расстрел и умерщвление Советских граждан производилось преимущественно ночью. Несмотря на усиленную охрану Советских людей, обреченных на смерть.

Некоторые из них бежали из-под расстрела и укрывались у местных жителей, но бургомистр ФРИДРИХ КУРТ издал приказ для местных жителей - не принимать Советских граждан, а выдавать местной управе и военным властям всех подозрительных и бежавших из-под расстрела лиц. Кроме того, кроме того вносил в обязанности членам фольксштурма излавливать всяких подозрительных людей и привлекал для этой цели гитлеровскую молодежь местечка Пальмникен.

ВОПРОС: Скажите кого Вы знаете из гражданских лиц, участвовавших в вылавливании Советских людей?

ОТВЕТ: Активное участие в вылавливании Советских граждан принимал немец АУКИМНЬ Антон - гитлеровец, немец 13-ти летний ВЕССЕЛЬ Герхард и другие, которых в м. Пальмникен нет.

ВОПРОС: Скажите откуда Вы знаете немцев АУКИМНЬ А. и ВЕССЕЛЬ Г. и какие у Вас с ними были взаимоотношения?

ОТВЕТ: Как АУКИМНЬ А., также ВЕССЕЛЬ Г. знаю с 1935 г., как жителей мес. Пальмникен. Личных счетов и споров у меня с последними нет и не было.

ВОПРОС: Расскажите подробно в чем выражались предательские карательные действия немцев АУКИМНЬ А. и ВЕССЕЛЬ Г.?



2.-304

ОТВЕТ: Что делал ~~Федерик~~ АУКИМНЬ Антон в момент расстрела Советских людей, полностью не знаю, но знаю что АУКИМНЬ принимал активное участие в вылавливании Советских людей, бежавших из-под расстрела, ездил везде и всюду на велосипеде с пистолетом, был всегда свиреп не только к русским, но и к немцам.

Гитлеровец ВЕССЕЛЬ Герхард, как и другие "Гитлер Ювенцы" принимал активное участие в вылавливании Советских граждан, так в один из дней января м-ца, после расстрела группы людей /Советских/ меня, ВЕССЕЛЬ и других бургомистр ФРИДРИХС забрать 4-х человек, бежавших из-под расстрела Советских граждан Я, еще гитлеровцы БОЛЬГЕН Гац, ГИШЕР Гербер Гаиль Окгерт, пришли в один дом № 100 и взяли на кухне 2-х русских, еврея и привели к бургомистру и посадили в камеру, заключенных, затем я и БОЛЬГЕН привели еще 2-х женщин евреек и сдали бургомистру.

Когда наполнялась камера предварительного заключения полностью, то один эсэсовец с ВЕССЕЛЕМ Герхардом, ШВАРЦ-КОНФ Альфредом, ШВАРЦКОНФ Герхардом, ГИТКЕ Дитрихом, ВЕССЕЛЕМ Гельмутом и ВЕНДЛЕРОМ Изальт, БОЛЬГЕН Гюнтером, БОЛЬГЕН Гансом водили всех пойманных и задержанных Советских людей на расстрел, севернее м.Пальмникен, а оттуда возвращались без этих людей Я в это время дежурил у телефона в помещении бургомистра.

Протокол с моих слов записан правильно, мне переведен на немецкой языке, в чем и расписываюсь

ДОПРОСИЛ:

Протокол допроса перевел  
переводчик-гв.рядовой

/ТУРКОВ/

тб-3

**161. The record of interrogation of Max Heumann, a former co-owner of the Königsberg Carriage Works**

*The 13-14th of May, 1947*

The record of interrogation  
The 13th of May, 1947, the city of Kaliningrad.

The investigator of the Investigation Department of the Office of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR in the Kaliningrad Region, Senior Lieutenant\*, with the participation of the interpreter Leytsin, interrogated the defendant: Heumann Max.

Interrogation started at 24:00.  
Interrogation ended at 2:00 on 14.05.47.

Interpreter Leytsin has been warned on the responsibility for giving a false translation under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Leytsin.

Question: You have been charged with the crime you committed under Article 58-4 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, do you understand the essence of the charge against you?

Answer: Yes, the essence of the charge against me is clear.

Question: Do you plead guilty to the charge brought against you?

Answer: I plead guilty in part to the charge against me.

Question: What exactly are you pleading guilty to?

Answer: I plead guilty to the fact that since 1934 I have been a co-owner of the Carriage Works in Königsberg, in which during the war 1941-1945 about 300 foreign workers were engaged, of whom about one hundred were Russian prisoners of war. I cannot completely deny that inhuman conditions were imposed on Russian prisoners of war in the Carriage Works. I cannot accept full responsibility for the inhuman conditions created for Russian prisoners of war in the Carriage Works, although I do not deny that they were in worse conditions than the German workers who were also working in the Carriage Works. I wholeheartedly deny that I beat Russian prisoners of war or other foreign workers. I didn't do it and I'm not going to plead guilty to it.

Question: Your Carriage Works was one of the German military enterprises.

Answer: Yes, our Carriage Works is one of the German military enterprises.

Question: Why did you use prisoners of war in military industry, in violation of international law?

Answer: We did not do it on our own initiative, but on the orders of the German Ministry of Armaments.

Question: What else would you like to add to your statement?

Answer: I have nothing more to add.

The record of interrogation was read to me and was drawn up correctly from my words; it was translated to me into German.

[...]\*\*

Interrogated by the investigator of the Investigation Department of the Office of the Ministry of State Security in the Kaliningrad Region, Senior Lieutenant<sup>3\*</sup>.

Deputy Prosecutor for Special Affairs [...] <sup>4\*</sup>

Interpreter *Leytsin*

\* The surname is illegible.

\*\* Illegible.

3\* The surname is illegible.

4\* Illegible.

**162. Special report from the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army to the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front on the arrest of the NSDAP member Emil Kuster**

*The 21st of June, 1945*

Top Secret

To the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front -[...]\*

comrade\*\*

S p e c i a l r e p o r t

On the arrest of an active member of the National Socialist Party and a punisher –  
K U S T E R Emil.

On the 8th of June 1945, in Germau small town, Samland district, East Prussia, the SMERSH Counter-Intelligence Department of the 32nd Guards Taman Rifle Division, Red Banner of the Suvorov Order<sup>3\*</sup>, identified and arrested an active member of the National Socialist Party among the local German population, –

KUSTER Emil, born in 1894, a native and resident of Germau small town, Samland district, Königsberg region, of German nationality, German subject, recieved 9-year school education, married, member of the National Socialist Party since 1938, a butcher by profession, according to his own statements he was neither under investigation nor on trial.

The investigation established that KUSTER had been SA Storm Troopers organisation member since 1933 and a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party since October 1938.

As an active member of the Nazi Party, KUSTER served as a private in the Security Police in Germau town from autumn 1933 to 1945. At the same time, from spring 1943 until the Soviet troops taking control of Germau area in April 1945, KUSTER was a member of the Landwacht Gendarmerie Assistance Group, where he took an active part in tracking down and apprehending Russian prisoners of war and Poles who had escaped from German concentration camps and their exploiters, the Prussian landlords.



He personally participated in the arrest of 15 Russian prisoners of war who had escaped from German concentration camps. These prisoners of war were sent at different times through the gendarmerie to the prison of Königsberg and Pillau.

As can be seen from the testimony of KUSTER and the witness MILLER, the detained Poles and Russian prisoner of war were beaten until they lost consciousness by KUSTER himself and other members of the Protection Police (German: Schutzpolizei) and also by members of the gendarmerie assistance group /Landwacht/.

KUSTER Emil was arrested by us as an active member of the Nazi Party who served in the Protection Police (Schutzpolizei) and the Gendarmerie Assistance Group.

Copies of the testimony of the latter and witness MILLER are attached.<sup>4\*</sup>

ATTACHMENT: for the text.

THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT of the 2nd Guards Army [...] <sup>5</sup> \*

The 21st of June 1945

Nº 4785 / 4

[...] <sup>6</sup> \*

Notes for the first page of the document: Incoming No. 23756/22.6.

Comrade [...] <sup>7\*</sup> II [...] <sup>8\*</sup> 22.6. [19]45

Comrade [...] <sup>9\*</sup> [...] <sup>10\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 296–297. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Painted over.

\*\* The name is painted over.

3\* Rifle Division of the Taman Red Banner. Full title: The 32nd Guards Rifle Division of the Taman Red Banner of the Suvorov Order.

4\* The records of Kuster's and Miller's interrogations are published under Nos. 163, 164.

5\* Painted over.

6\* Painted over.

7\* Painted over.

8\* Painted over.

9\* Painted over.

10\* Unintelligible, probably, "25/VI [19]45".

**163. Records of interrogations of Emil Kuster, an arrested NSDAP member**

*The 9th of June, 1945*

*The 18th of June, 1945*

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

The 9th of June, 1945

Palmnicken small town.

[...]\* on that day, was interrogated a detainee\*\*

KUSTER Emil, born in 1894, a native and resident of Germau small town, Samland district, Königsberg region, German, completed 9 school classes, married.

The interrogation was conducted through a German interpreter at the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department, comrade Arkady Grigoryevich DITKOVSKY, who was warned of liability for a false translation under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

QUESTION: Where did you live and what did you do before the Red Army came?

ANSWER: Before Red Army units arrived, I lived in Germau small town and worked as a butcher.

QUESTION: Were you a member of any party organisation?

ANSWER: Yes, I was a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party since 1938, which was called the NSDAP<sup>3\*</sup> for short.

QUESTION: What were the functions of the NSDAP?

ANSWER: The National Socialist German Workers' Party, of which I was a member, had the task of educating the people in the spirit of Hitler's power, of fighting against all other parties that opposed Nazi Germany, and providing every possible assistance to German troops in the war against the Soviet Union, England, and the United States of America in every way possible, that is, they called on the entire German people to fight against the Soviet Union and its allies England and the United States of America.

QUESTION: What other fascist organisations have you participated in?

ANSWER: I was not in any other organisation except the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

QUESTION: You are not telling the truth. I demand a truthful testimony from you.

ANSWER: Besides the National Socialist German Workers' Party, I was also a member of the SA (Storm Troopers, German: Sturmabteilung).

QUESTION: When did you become a member of the SA and what did you do there?

ANSWER: I was a member of the SA from 1933 until the arrival of the Red Army. In the SA I was a Senior Storm Trooper. In the SA we held classes, i.e. we were trained in sports and military affairs.

QUESTION: Were you in the service of the Protection Police (Schutzpolizei)?

ANSWER: Yes, I was.

QUESTION: How long were you in the service of the Protection Police (Schutzpolizei), and what kind of work did you do there?

ANSWER: I was in the service of the Protection Police (Schutzpolizei) from 1933 until the arrival of the Red Army, and I was also a Senior Storm Trooper of the Protection Police.

The Protection Police (Schutzpolizei) was responsible for:

a/ Protecting the population and military facilities from fire;

b/ Assisting the Gestapo in carrying out combing operations, arrests and searches for prisoners of war, escaped prisoners from German concentration camps and other people.

QUESTION: What kind of assistance did you personally provide to the Gestapo?

ANSWER: As a Senior Storm Trooper of the Protection Police (Schutzpolizei), I carried out arrests and raids together with the Gestapo.

In 1944–45, together with the Gestapo, I participated in arrests approximately fifteen times and, together with the Gestapo, I arrested four people, as well as two people in Trulik village and one person in Dorbninen village. All those arrested were Polish prisoners of war who escaped from German concentration camps. I don't remember the names of those arrested now.

The arrests took place at night and during the day.

QUESTION: What other work did you do for the German authorities?

ANSWER: I was also a Squad Leader in the Gendarmerie's Landwacht and in the People's Storm (German: Volkssturm).

QUESTION: How long have you been in the Landwacht, and what kind of work have you done there?

ANSWER: I was in the Landwacht from 1943 until the arrival of the Red Army as a Squad Leader.

While I was in the Landwacht, I participated with the gendarmerie in guarding and searching for prisoners of war who had escaped from German concentration camps. We arrested about fifteen people and all of them were sent to prison. Most of them were sent to the prison in Fischhausen small town, and also to the Königsberg and Pillau prisons.

In August 1944 a Polish prisoner of war escaped from the German concentration camp of Palmnicken small town. We surrounded Germau and made a search to catch this Pole, where we finally caught him. The chief of the Gendarmerie in Palmnicken small town FRAENHOGEN<sup>4\*</sup> took this Pole with him and shot him in Sorgenau...

QUESTION: How did you treat the prisoners?

ANSWER: The prisoners were beaten.

QUESTION: Did you take part in this?

ANSWER: Yes, I did. In Bezniken settlement<sup>5\*</sup> I also beat a Pole with a stick and I also beat a Pole together with TOMS PAUL in Germau.

QUESTION: What did you beat them for?

ANSWER: For walking down the street at an unspecified time.

QUESTION: What orders did the Party and the Gestapo give you in the event of the arrival of Red Army units?

ANSWER: I didn't receive any orders..

QUESTION: What active members of the NSDAP and the Gestapo do you know?

ANSWER: Of the active members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) now living in Germau, I know TOMS Paul, 60 years old, he was a Cell Leader<sup>6</sup> or a Block Warden<sup>7</sup> i.e. in the leadership of the National Socialist German Workers' Party in Germau and was a chief of the Landwacht and took part in the arrests held<sup>6\*</sup> by the Gestapo and the Gendarmerie.

QUESTION: Who do you know of the persons left by the Germans for sabotage purposes?

ANSWER: I do not know any.

QUESTION: Do you know of any caches<sup>7\*</sup> with weapons, ammunition and means of communication? Who left them there?

ANSWER: No, I do not know of any caches.

THE INTERROGATION WAS INTERRUPTED.

The record of interrogation was read to me in a clear German language, all the testimonies were drawn up correctly from my words, and in witness whereof I set my hand upon this.

Interpreter's signature<sup>8\*</sup>

INTERROGATED BY: SENIOR INVESTIGATION OFFICER<sup>9\*</sup>

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Correct: Investigation Officer

The SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army<sup>10\*</sup>

19/VI [19]45 г. [...] <sup>11\*</sup>

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION  
of an arrested KUSTER Emil

dated the 18th of J u n e, 1945.

QUESTION: How long have you been a member of the National Socialist Party<sup>12\*</sup>?

ANSWER: I have been a member of the National Socialist Party since October 1938.

QUESTION: As a member of the Nazi Party, what party assignment did you have?

ANSWER: I have no special party assignments. I did not hold leadership positions in party or government bodies.

QUESTION: In which fascist organisations affiliated with the National Socialist Party did you belong and what role did you play in them?

ANSWER: Since September 1933 I have been a member of the Storm Troopers organisation – "AS"<sup>13\*</sup>, and had the rank of a Squad Leader (German: Scharführer) /non-commissioned officer/ since 1942. I did not hold a leading position in the SA organisation.

QUESTION: From when on and in what capacity did you serve in the Protection Police /Schutzpolizei/?

ANSWER: I worked in the Protection Police from 1933. The Protection Police / Schutzpolizei/ in Germau small town consisted of 5 people. It was led by a certain TOMS PAUL. We were never paid for our service. The Security Police was a volunteer organisation for the Police and the Gendarmerie. In Germau small town, the gendarme was GERHOLDZ Fritz, to whom we, as the Security Police Officers<sup>14\*</sup>, were subordinate.

QUESTION: What did you do with the Gendarmerie?

ANSWER: I never served in the Gendarmerie. I was a member of the Protection Police in Germau since 1933, I assisted the Gendarmerie on a voluntary basis. During the war, from the spring of 1943, the LANDWACHT that is Local Guard was formed in Germau, which consisted of about 25–30 people. As members of the country constabulary, they patrolled at night and participated in the search for Polish and Russian prisoners of war who had escaped from their masters. The above mentioned PAUL TOMS was also in charge of the country constabulary in Germau small town.

QUESTION: What kind of weapon system did you have when you were in the Security Police and the Landwacht?

ANSWER: I had a German rifle from 1933.

QUESTION: How many Polish and Russian prisoners of war who escaped from German camps and their masters did you help to arrest?

ANSWER: While serving in the Landwacht I personally participated in the arrest of about 15 Polish and Russian prisoners of war who had escaped from their masters.

QUESTION: Did you participate in the beating of the prisoners?



ANSWER: The prisoners arrested during raids and searches in the area of settlements of Germau, Kirpehnen and Wilkau were almost always beaten by the searchers. I personally took part in the beating of the prisoners. In December 1944 I beat two Poles who had been arrested in Berezniken<sup>15\*</sup> /near Germau small town/ because they wanted to escape again.

QUESTION: Were you ever summoned by the Gestapo?

ANSWER: No, I was never summoned by the Gestapo.

QUESTION: Name any residents of Germau you know who secretly collaborated with the Gestapo?

ANSWER: I don't know anyone who secretly collaborated with the Gestapo.

The record of interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words and read to me in German.

INTERROGATED: in German language.

INVESTIGATION OFFICER OF THE 4TH DIVISION OF THE SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army<sup>16\*</sup>

*[...]<sup>17\*</sup> Correct: Investigation officer  
of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army<sup>18\*</sup>*

*[...]<sup>19\*</sup>  
18/VI 45*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 289-302. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Painted over.

\*\* The paragraph at left is marked in pencil.

3\* National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP- German).

4\* It is so in the document, referring to Freyenhagen.

5\* It is so in the document, probably, Bersnicken.

6\* Handwritten over the crossed-out words.

7\* It is so in the document.

8\* There is no signature in the document.

9\* The name and signature are painted over.

10\* The Seal of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army.

11\* Painted over.

12\* Written by hand.

13\* It is so in the document.

14\* It is so in the document.

15\* It is so in the document, probably, Bersnicken.

16\* The name and signature are painted over.

17\* Painted over.

18\* The Seal of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army.

19\* Painted over.

164. The record of interrogation of Heinrich Miller in the case of Emil Kuster, an arrested member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party

The 9th of June 1945

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

The 9th of June 1945

Palmnicken small town.

[...]\*, on this day interrogated as a witness

MILLER Heinrich, born in 1892, from Dorbnicken village, a resident of Germau, Samland district, Königsberg region, German, recieved 8-year school education, non-party, married, was engaged in farming, was a member of the People's Storm.

He was warned of the responsibility for giving a false testimony under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

The interrogation was carried out through the interpreter of the German language at the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department, comrade DITKOVSKY Arkady Grigorievich, who was warned of responsibility for a false translation under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

QUESTION: Do you know KUSTER Emil, how do you know him and what is your relationship with him?

*Answer: Yes, I knew Kuster Emil since 1917. My relationship with him was normal.\*\**

*Question:*<sup>3\*</sup> What do you know about him?

*Answer:*<sup>4\*</sup> As a resident of Germau, what I know well about KUSTER Emil is that he is an old member of the National Socialist Party<sup>5\*</sup> of the German Workers' Party and since 1933 he was a member of the SA / the Storm Troopers (*German: Sturmabteilung*) /and since that year he was in the Security Police as a Senior Storm Trooper and at the same time in the Landwacht /State Guard/.

In the SA, Emil KUSTER was also a Senior Storm Trooper and participated in the arrests and detentions of suspicious persons and those opposed to Hitler's rule.

In addition, KUSTER Emil actively participated in the detention of prisoners of war who had escaped from German concentration camps. In particular, in the autumn of 1944, five Polish prisoners of war escaped from a penal camp of Palmnicken small town. The search for these Poles was led by KUSTER Emil and TOMS Paul, as far as I know they found two Poles, arrested them and sent them to prison.

Under the leadership of KUSTER Emil and TOMS Paul more than fifteen Russian prisoners of war and Poles were captured during the war and sent to prison.

Perhaps they arrested more people, but I don't know, because the arrests were mostly carried out at night.

The prisoners were treated very badly by KUSTER and TOMS, many of them were beaten. I personally had to see when KUSTER and TOMS in GERMAU beat one *Polish prisoner of war*; then<sup>6\*</sup> he was sent to Fischhausen prison.

QUESTION: Who is TOMS Paul?

ANSWER: TOMS Paul, 57 years old, a resident of GERMAU small town, an old member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party /NSDAP/ and was head of the Landwacht – the State Guard in Germau small town.

In the fascist party, TOMS Paul was a propagandist and the first deputy of WELK Gustaf the leader of the fascist party in Germau.

When one of the top leaders of the fascist party came to Germau, TOMS Paul would take the fascist banner [...],<sup>7\*</sup> and with the banner he would meet these representatives.

At the meetings, TOMS always spoke for and propagandized Hitler's power and slandered the Soviet power. In addition, as I already said, TOMS Paul was the head of the Landwacht in Germau small town and was responsible for the search and arrest of prisoners of war who had escaped from German concentration camps, and he personally took an active part in the arrest of Russian and Polish prisoners of war and cruelly tortured them.

QUESTION: Where is TOMS Paul now?

ANSWER: TOMS Paul now lives in Germau small town.

QUESTION: Who is WELK Gustaf and where is he now?

ANSWER: WELK Gustaf, 50 years old, a resident of Germau small town and there he was burgomaster and leader of the fascist party, [...]<sup>8\*</sup> of February this year he was evacuated to Pillau small town, where he is now I don't have a clue.

QUESTION: What uniform did KUSTER Emil and THOMS Paul wear and what weapons did they have?

ANSWER: KUSTER Emil wore the uniform of the SA or the Protection Police and had a rifle when he carried out his duties. TOMS Paul was the head of the Protection Police in Germau small town and always wore the uniform of the Protection Police and carried a pistol and a Finnish knife /dagger/. He carried the pistol on his right side and the dagger on the left side.

QUESTION: What else can you add to your testimony concerning KUSTER and TOMS?

ANSWER: I can add to my testimony that in the People's Storm organisation both KUSTER and TOMS immediately joined the People's Storm. KUSTER was a Squad Leader and TOMS was deputy chief of the People's Storm armoury.

The record of interrogation was read to me in a clear language, all the testimonies were drawn up correctly from my words, and in witness whereof I set my hand upon this.

INTERPRETER'S SIGNATURE:

INTERROGATED BY: SENIOR INVESTIGATION OFFICER

[...]<sup>9\*</sup>

T6-2<sup>10\*</sup>

*Correct: Investigation officer of the SMERSH*

*Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army<sup>11\*</sup> [...]<sup>12\*</sup>*  
*19/VI.[19]45*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 303–304. Original. Typescript.*

\* Painted over.

\*\* Written by hand.

3\* Written by hand.

4\* Written by hand.

5\* It is so in the document.

6\* Written by hand.

7\* Painted over.

8\* Illegible, probably, "2".

9\* The name and signature are painted over.

10\* It is so in the document.

11\* The Seal of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army.

12\* The name and signature are painted over.

165. The record of interrogation of Hedwig Wulf in the case of Max Heumann, a former co-owner of the Königsberg Carriage Works

The 31st of March 1947

THE RECORD OF INTERROGATION

On 31 March 1947, I, Captain Odintsov, an Investigation Officer of the 3rd department, of the 2nd division of the Directorate of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR in Kaliningrad region, interrogated as a witness

Hedwig (Jadwiga) Wulf, born in 1913, from the city of Königsberg, a worker by social origin, of German nationality, non-party, with an eighth-grade education of folk school, living in the city of Kaliningrad, 33 Juditter Kirchenstrasse, unemployed, housewife.

I was warned of the responsibility of giving false testimony.

*Hedwig Wulf\**

Junior Lieutenant Redrukhina, an interpreter, was warned of responsibility for the translation correctness from German into Russian under Article 95 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

*Redrukhina*

Question: Do you know any of the major owners of factories and other enterprises that were [...] in the city of Königsberg under the Hitler's rule and where they are located today?

*Hedwig Wulf*

Answer: Before the Soviet Army came to Königsberg I worked at the Königsberg Carriage Works as a payroll clerk. The owners of this factory were Heumann Max<sup>3\*</sup>, about 38-40 years old, his brother Heumann, I don't know the name, about two years older than Max and Pilikan, name is also unknown to me, about 52 years old.

Heumann Max currently lives and works at the central hospital in Kaliningrad as an orderly. His brother Heumann shot himself in April 1945 during the arrival of the Soviet Army to the city of Königsberg. Pelikan<sup>4\*</sup> disappeared somewhere during the same period and I have not seen him since. I do not know of any other major owners who would be in Kaliningrad at the present time.

Question: Tell me more about what you know about Heumann Max?

Answer: During the war years 1941-1945 many prisoners of war of Russian, Polish, French and other nationalities and about fifty Jews worked in the Carriage Works. By the nature of my work, I was often in contact with the above-mentioned foreign workers (prisoners of war), from whom I heard many complaints that Heumann Max manhandled the foreign workers and beat them, allegedly because they did not work well. The food for these prison workers was very poor; liquid soup without bread; bread, as a rule, was given very rarely and sparingly. There was a room in the Carriage Works where there was an active member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party named Neuschulz, his first name is unknown to me, about 34-35 years old, where he is now, I don't know, as a responsible party worker, he was entrusted with the vocational training of young workers. And into this room, on the orders of Heumann, were brought foreign workers, Russians, Jews and others, who were personally tortured by Neuschulz and Heumann. All these tortures were concealed from the other workers, so that I personally had no opportunity to see how they were carried out, but once when I was going around the workshops, that is, the shops, handing out pay slips and I saw Heumann Max in the Carriage Works yard beating a Jew with a whip, I don't know his surname.



I told Heumann at the time that I had not expected you (Heumann) to be able to fight like that. To this Heumann replied:

- I can't take them under my protection.

That's all I know about Heumann Max. I also know that Heumann Max was an active member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Question: Who can corroborate your testimony about Max Heumann?

Answer: My testimony regarding Max Heumann can be corroborated by: dentist Ulkan Gary, about 33 years old, currently lives in the 1st District near the regional hospital, I don't know the exact address, as well as his place of work. Another woman, I don't remember her surname, who worked with me at the Carriage Works, now she resides at 9 or 10 Hanschemstrasse<sup>5\*</sup>, near the market.

Another woman, Zam Marie, about 33 years old, lives in the 7th District of Kaliningrad city, I do not know the exact address. Another woman Esh used to work as a cleaner in the Carriage Works, whose name seems to be Anna, about 50 years old, resides at Brünneckallee, I don't know the house number, in front of the Russian store (in the 8th District), works as a housekeeper for a Russian officer. She worked as a cleaning staff in the Carriage Works. And also my testimony can be confirmed by many former workers of the Carriage Works, but I do not know their names or where they are currently located. Depner, I don't know his name, about 48 years old, is currently working at Carriage Works as a foreman in the foundry.

But I believe that Depner will not corroborate my testimony because he himself was an active Nazi at the Carriage Works under Hitler's rule, was in charge of the prisoner of war camps, and also manhandled prisoners of war, sometimes beating them.

Therefore, I do not hope that he can corroborate my testimony. Depner resides near the Carriage Works on Gerlachstrasse, I do not know the house number.

Question: Which active Nazis do you know, besides those you named?

Answer: There is a worker named Feit, his name is unknown to me, about 50 years old, who was a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party and worked as an inspector at the Carriage Works under Hitler's rule.

I personally don't know anything about his behavior, but I heard from other workers that Feit treated foreign workers just as badly. Wegner, her name is unknown to me, who resides at 17 Waldstrasse (the 8th District) and works as a cleaning staff in the Tea Room of the Pulp and Paper Mill, may be able to testify against Feit. I do not remember any other active Nazis.

All the testimonies were drawn up correctly from my words and read to me in a clear German language, in witness whereof I set my hand upon this.

The record of the interrogation was correctly translated from Russian into German by the interpreter

*Redrukhina*

Captain Odintsov, an Investigation Officer of the 3rd department of the 2nd division of the Directorate of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR in Kaliningrad region, interrogated a witness. /Odintsov/

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 60-67. The original. Manuscript.*

\* Hereinafter, each page is authenticated by signature Hedwig Wulf.

\*\* The word is illegible.

3\* Hereinafter in the document it is underlined with a pencil.

4\* It is so in the document.

5\* It is so in the document, probably: Hans-Schemm-Strasse.

**166. Sentence of the Judicial Board for Criminal Cases of the Kaliningrad Regional Court to Max Heumann, a former co-owner of the Königsberg Carriage Works, on charges of exploiting foreign workers and prisoners of war**

*The 26th of June 1947*

Case No 1-194\_\_\_\_\_1947

**THE SENTENCE**

In the name of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

the Judicial Board for Criminal Cases of the Kaliningrad Regional Court, consisting of:

Presiding Officer	Skobelev
People's assessors	Nezhelsky and Starovoitova
In the presence of the secretary	Vitsenovskaya
With the participation of prosecutor	Dotsenko
Lawyer	Dracheva

considered at a closed court session in the city of Kaliningrad on 26 June 1947 the case on the charge of Heumann Max, born in 1903, a native of the city of Königsberg, by social origin from the family of a large factory worker, by nationality German, German citizen, married, non-party, having secondary education - in the crime stipulated by Article 58-4 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Having considered the materials of the preliminary and judicial investigation, having heard the opinion of the parties, the Judicial Board has found:

Heumann Max, as a co-owner of the Königsberg Carriage Works, which was of military importance, and at the same time working as the head of the transportation department of the Carriage Works, during the war years 1941-1945, together with other shareholders of the Carriage Works, exploited up to 700 foreign workers, including more than 300 Russian citizens and prisoners of war, who were kept in harsh conditions, subjected to various methods of physical violence, as a result of which there was a high mortality rate in the camps of Russian prisoners of war working in this Carriage Works. The criminal acts of the defendant Heumann are proven by the materials of the case and the testimony of the witnesses Hedwig Wulf and Seger Friedrich. By his actions, Heumann committed the crime provided for in Article 58-4 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

Taking into account the gravity of the crime committed and the personality of the accused Heumann, the Judicial Board, guided by Articles 319-321 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the RSFSR

**SENTENCED:**

Heumann Max, on the basis of Article 58-4 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, to be deprived of liberty, with serving in forced labour camps for a term of (8) eight years, without confiscation of property due to the lack of such property from the convicted person.

To calculate the term of serving the sentence by counting the time of preliminary detention of Heumann from 23 April 1947.

The measure of restraint - detention in the internal prison of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR, until the sentence enters into legal force - shall remain unchanged.

The sentence may be appealed in cassation to the Supreme Court of the RSFSR through the Kaliningrad Regional Court within 72 hours of the convicted person having received a copy of the judgment.

Chairman Skobelev

Members: Nezhelsky, Starovoitova

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 74-76. Original. Printed letterhead, manuscript.*

Судебная Коллегия по уголовным делам Калининградского Областного суда, в составе:  
исполняющего *Серебрякова*

и секретаре Зиценовский

участием прокурора Давыдов

Дроздов

исмотрела в открытом судебном заседании в городе Калининграде 26 июня 1947 г.

по до обвинение: Поимена Мореа, 1903 года рождения, уроженца гор. Ренно-Сберга, по социальности проходившего из семьи крупного фабри-Канта, по специальности инженер-механика, звание Героя-пертийного и многого орденского-среднее-в предвзвешении предвзвешенном ст. 58-4 ч. 2 ст. 1060 ст. 90.

Распознав материальное предвзвешенного и сурового следствия, выслушав объяснение подурядного и записав мнение створен, сурового Валлегия - уетановленна:

Коймай Маре, будучи совладельцем  
Кенигсбургского Вассисефрантского завода,  
имевшего военное значение, и одновременно  
работая на главном управлении транспортного отдела



завода, в период войны 1941-1945 гг. вынес  
е другие свидетели завода 712 человек  
до 700 человек иностранных рабочих, в том чис  
ле свыше 300 человек русских граждан и  
военнопленных, которые содержались в  
тяжелых условиях, подвергавшихся раз  
ным методам физических насилия  
в результате чего в лагерях русских воен  
нопленных, работавших на этом заводе, была  
большая смертность. Криминальное дея  
ние подсудимого Раймон даважно  
мотивировано тем и показанным  
свидетелем Вурер Теодор и Зигер Фридрих  
своими действиями Раймон совер  
шил преступление предусмотренное  
ст. 58-4 ч. 2 реф. р.

Видебаз Гвнсея ездного предст  
ления и широкое подсудимого Раймон  
судебное коллегия руководствуясь ст. ст. 314-300  
ч. 2 реф. р. Криговорил:

Раймон Москва на основании ст  
58-4 ч. 2 реф. р. лишить свободы, с от  
быванием в исправительно-трудовых лагерь  
сроком на (8) восемь лет, без права  
ранее милосердия за содеянное  
преступление у подсудимого.



68

Срок отбывания наказания, о котором  
время превращения в законное,  
наименование с 23-го апреля  
1947 года.

Меру пресечения - содержание под  
охраной, во внутренней тюрьме МЗБ,  
до вступления приговора в законную  
силу исполнять без изменений.

Приговор может быть обжалован  
в кассационном порядке в Верхов-  
ный суд РСФСР, через Калининград-  
ский областной суд, в течение 12-  
ти месяцев с момента вступления  
приговора в законную силу.

Курсоводствующий Судья  
Генерал [Подпись]

**167. On the arrest of employees of the DAF camp\* Wilham Dick and Stefan Pyurkowski by the task force of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department**

1945\*\*

The operations group of the Smersh Counterintelligence Department of the 11th Guards Army on 16.IV. arrested:

DICK Wilham, born in 1899, a native of Konchitsy village of Kotovitsky district (Poland), ethnic Pole, 8th grade education.

Until 1939 he was a policeman in the Polish police.

PYURKOWSKI Stefan, born in 1922, a native of Slejnova-Shlyahecka village of Plock district of Warsaw Voivodeship, ethnic Pole, 2nd grade education, single.

In 1941, DICK and PYURKOWSKI, by voluntarily agreement, went to the city of Königsberg, where after some time they got a job in the DAF camp. Dick Wilham as an interpreter, and PYURKOWSKI as a camp commandant's orderly.

The DAF camp held 60 thousand civilians who were forcibly removed from France, Poland, Russia and other countries.

While serving in the DAF camp, PYURKOWSKI and DICK Have proven to be as active punishers, brutally treating people, beating them for being late and not showing up for work.

DICK and PYURKOWSKI were armed with pistols and had rubber truncheons, with which they carried out mass beatings of the camp inmates; these facts were confirmed by the testimony of two witnesses, in addition to the personal testimony of the accused.

The investigation is being conducted works towards of exposing them as Gestapo agents.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 112–113. Original. Typescript.*

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\* DAF is a labour camp for foreign workers of the German Labour Front (DAF) in Königsberg.

\*\* Dated from related case documents.

**168. Special report from the head of NKVD Operations Group of the USSR, Major General I. V. Shishlin, to the Commissioner of the NKVD of the USSR for the 3rd Belorussian Front, Lieutenant General P. V. Zelenin, on the detained M. P. Rassadina**

27 April 1945

TOP SECRET

TO THE COMMISSIONER OF THE NKVD OF THE USSR FOR  
THE 3RD BELORUSSIAN FRONT – LIEUTENANT GENERAL

COMRADE ZELENIN

SPECIAL REPORT

On 25 April 1945, the Operations Group exposed and arrested as a traitor to the Motherland and the Gestapo agent previously detained –

RASSADINA Maria Pavlovna, born in 1924, a native of the in Leningrad region, Pskov district, Gloty village, from the working class, non-party, 7th grade education, Russian, a citizen of the USSR.

The investigation established that RASSADINA, living in Gloty village, was taken by the Gestapo on 28 February 1944 and imprisoned in a camp together with other persons from this village. A few days later she escaped from the camp, but on the same day she was caught by a Gestapo officer and sent to Latvia.

In Riga city, RASSADINA was summoned to the Gestapo, where, after interrogation, she was offered to cooperate with the Gestapo as a secret agent to identify persons hostile to the fascist regime.

RASSADINA agreed and a few days later she was transferred from the city of Riga to the city of Königsberg, where she was also twice called to the Gestapo for instructions and assignments.

During interrogation, RASSADINA testified that in the city of Königsberg in early September 1944, she gave a second she signed up for a second time to cooperate with the Gestapo, received the pseudonym "Link", but allegedly did not sign the subscription.\*

About her practical activities, RASSADINA testified that in early October 1944 she received an assignment from the Gestapo which she carried out to set the barracks in the camp on fire in which there were 2,000 citizens forcibly deported to Germany from the Soviet Union.

This camp was located on Kranzerallee in the city of Königsberg and was surrounded by a high barbed wire fence. During the arson, all the doors of the barrack were locked, and the windows were boarded up.

RASSADINA doused the barrack in several places with kerosene at night and set it on fire. As a result of the fire, most of the people in the barrack died.

The investigation into the case is underway.

HEAD OF THE NKVD OPERATIONS GROUP OF THE USSR

MAJOR GENERAL SHISHLIN I. V.

No. 2076

27 April 1945

*A note on the first page of the document in the upper left corner: "t. [...]\*\* 2/5".*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 114–115. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Hand-written underlining and question mark in pencil.

\*\* The surname is illegible.



ВУ

131.17473

215

90

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО

УПОМОЩЕННОМУ НКВД СССР по 3-му БЕЛОРУССКОМУ  
ФРОНТУ - ГЕНЕРАЛ-ЛЕЙТЕНАНТУ

О ТОВАРИЩУ ЗЕЛЕНИНУ

СПЕЦСООБЩЕНИЕ

25 апреля 1945 года Оперативной группой разобла-  
чена и арестована, как изменник Родины и агент Гестапо,  
ранее задержанная -

РАССАДИНА Мария Павловна, 1924  
года рождения, уроженка Ленинградской  
области, Псковского района, деревня  
Глоты, из рабочих, беспартийная, образо-  
вание 7 классов, русская, гражданка  
СССР.

Следствием установлено, что РАССАДИНА прожи-  
вая в деревне Глоты, 28 февраля 1944 года была взята Гестапо  
и заключена в лагерь совместно с другими лицами этой деревни.  
Спустя несколько дней она из лагеря бежала, но в тот же день  
была поймана сотрудником Гестапо и отправлена в Латвию.

В городе Риге, РАССАДИНА была вызвана в  
Гестапо, где после допроса ей предложили сотрудничать с  
Гестапо в качестве секретного агента по выявлению лиц, враждебно  
относящихся к фашистскому строю.



2.-

РАССАДИНА согласилась и через несколько дней из города Рига была переведена в город Кенигсберг, где также дважды вызывалась в Гестапо для инструктажа и получения задания.

На допросе РАССАДИНА показала, что в городе Кенигсберг в начале сентября 1944 года она вторично дала подписку на сотрудничество с Гестапо, получила псевдоним "Линк", но подписки якобы не давала.

О своей практической деятельности РАССАДИНА показала, что в начале октября 1944 года, она от Гестапо получила задание - поджечь в лагере барак, в котором находилось 2000 граждан, насильно угнанных в Германию из Советского Союза, что и было ею выполнено.

Этот лагерь размещался по улице Гранц-Аллея в гор. Кенигсберге и был обнесен высоким забором из колючей проволоки. При поджоге все двери барака были замкнуты на замок, окна забиты досками.

РАССАДИНА ночью облила барак в нескольких местах керосином и подожгла. В результате пожара большинство людей, находившихся в бараке погибло.

Следствие по делу продолжается.

НАЧАЛЬНИК ОПЕРАТИВНОЙ ГРУППЫ НКВД СССР  
ГЕНЕРАЛ - МАЙОР *В. И. Ш. Л. И. Н.*

№ 0046

7 апреля 1945 года.

169. Special report from the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front to the head of the SMERSH Main Counterintelligence Directorate of the People's Commissariat of Defence on the investigation into the case of A. I. Gukasyants

26 April 1945

TOP SECRET

TO THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH MAIN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE  
OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF DEFENCE – [...]\*

to comrades\*\*

*Vasilevsky A. M.*

*Makarov V. E.*

*Kazbintsev S. B<sup>3\*</sup>*

SPECIAL REPORT

In April 1945, the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 11th Guards Army arrested GUKASYANTS Aleksandra Ivanova, born in 1902, a native of Rostov city, Russian, non-party woman, has secondary medical education, from 1942 to April 1944<sup>4\*</sup> lived in Germany in the city of Königsberg.

It was established that in 1942 she voluntarily left for Germany, entered the service of the German authorities as a nursery chief, where the children of Russian and Polish population driven away by the Germans to Germany were kept. While in this position before the capture of Königsberg by the Red Army, GUKASYANTS carried out anti-Soviet activities and was connected with German counterintelligence agencies.

The witness TRUKHACHEVA, interrogated in the case, stated the following about her connections with the Gestapo:

“GUKASYANTS maintained contact with the Gestapo, where she went regularly every evening. Two of the girls who worked in the nurseries, - Klava and Galina, who had opposed the German occupiers - were arrested by the Gestapo. GUKASYANTS also had contacts with the German commandant and the committee of Ukrainian and Kazakh volunteers.”

During interrogation, GUKASYANTS admitted her connection with German counterintelligence agencies and gave the following testimony:

“I received an assignment from the Gestapo to identify among Russian citizens persons who opposed Germany, to monitor who visits Russian girls, who works poorly and expresses dissatisfaction with life in Germany. I was obliged to report all this to a Lieutenant from the Gestapo or the policeman KOTLYAROV Leonid.”

Through the interrogation of witnesses TRUKHACHEVA and VOLKOVA, it was established that GUKASYANTS carried out extensive counter-revolutionary agitation among Soviet citizens who were in the city of Königsberg, slandered the Soviet government and its leadership and petitioned German authorities to accept German citizenship from Volksdeutsche. Explaining her intention to accept German citizenship, GUKASYANTS stated:

"I didn't want to return to Russia because the fascist system in Germany seemed better to me than the system in the Soviet country. I scolded the Soviet regime and hated it."

From the investigation materials it is clear that GUKASYANTS was engaged in the systematic killing of infants in the nursery by excessively feeding them mondamine (a mixture of starch and sugar).

The witness VOLKOVA Maria Grigorievna testified on this issue:

"GUKASYANTS killed Russian children, but she did it secretly, giving newborn children an increased dose of mondamine. The child developed diarrhea and vomiting and died after 3-4 days. There was a massive killing of children."

The testimony of the witness VOLKOVA was confirmed by TRUKHACHEVA, interrogated in the case, who stated:

"I also know that GUKASYANTS deliberately killed Russian children by giving them an increased amount of mondamine. The children died in pain."

Pleading guilty to the murder of Russian children, the arrested GUKASYANTS testified:

"Children's mortality was indeed massive; ten children died a day. This happened because we fed them mondamine, and after that many children could not survive. I knew that an excessive dose of mondamine leads to a painful death for a child, but I didn't tell anyone about it."

The investigation into the case continues.

HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
OF THE 3 BELORUSSIAN FRONT – [...] <sup>5\*</sup>

[...] <sup>6\*</sup>

26 April 1945

No. 3/ 12468

[...] <sup>7\*</sup>

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 280–283. Original. Typescript.*

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\* Painted over.

\*\* The name is painted over.

3\* Surnames are written in by hand.

4\* It is so in the document. From the content it follows that A. I. Gukasyants lived in Königsberg until April 1945.

4\* Painted over.

5\* Painted over.

6\* Painted over.



170. On the identification and arrest of Friedrich Otheisdorf, an employee of the Gestapo prison in the city of Königsberg

1945

[...] 5. On 10 May 1945, among the detainees, a senior warden of the Gestapo prison in the city of Königsberg was identified and arrested –

OTHEISDORF Friedrich, born in 1880,  
a native of Pillau town /East Prussia/,  
a resident of the city of Königsberg, 7th grade education,  
a member of the National Socialist Party since 1933.

The preliminary investigation established that OTHEISDORF, having worked since 1921 as a warden at the Königsberg prison, in 1933, as a member of the National Socialist Party, was transferred to a Gestapo prison, where he worked until recently as a senior warden, holding the rank of Staff Sergeant.

About his practical activities and the Gestapo regime existing in the prison, OTHEISDORF testified during interrogation that on average, the Königsberg Gestapo prison held up to 700 people arrested for political crimes, coming mainly from the German-occupied regions of the Soviet Union and other European countries. For refusal to testify, as well as for the slightest violation of the prison regime, those arrested in the prison were beaten half to death with rubber truncheons, which each prison employee had.

Every day up to 20 arrested people arrived at the prison; approximately the same number of arrested people were subjected to physical destruction by the verdict of Gestapo senior officials.

Death sentences in prison over civilians were carried out decapitating with a device specially designed for this purpose, consisting of two posts up to 2 metres high, between which there was a metal knife weighing 60 kg, which, when dropped, cut off the head of the convict. The corpses were cremated.

According to the testimony of OTHEISDORF, for the time of his working in prison, he personally carried out up to 3,000 death sentences in this manner on persons of non-German nationality.

In addition, he also killed about 20 arrested people trying to escape from custody.

OTHEISDORF also testified that during the evacuation of Gestapo employees from the city of Königsberg, prison workers at the edge of a grove 6 km west of the city of Königsberg shot 200 arrested\* of different nationalities taken from the Soviet Union. OTHEISDORF personally killed 40 people who were arrested.

Working in a Gestapo prison, OTHEISDORF since 1933 was a Leader / Block Warden/ of the local organisation of the National Socialist Party, which had 60 members.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 116–118. Original. Typescript.*

\* Underlined in the document.

171. From a special report from the authorised officer of the NKVD of the USSR for the 39th Army to the authorised officer of the NKVD of the USSR for the Samland Group of Forces

7 March 1945

TOP SECRET

TO THE AUTHORISED OFFICER OF THE NKVD OF THE USSR  
FOR THE SAMLAND GROUP OF FORCES<sup>8</sup> – [...]\*

comrade\*\*

SPECIAL REPORT

On 27 February 1945, the Smersh Counterintelligence Department of the 231st reserve rifle regiment detained in the liberated territory –

SCHULTZ Elesch, born in 1921, a native of Povetelen village, Eylau district, East Prussia, 8th grade education, ethnic German, comes from peasants, a cook by profession, recently lived in the city of Königsberg,

during the interrogation, she testified: [...] [at the end of 1943] she moved to live in the city of Königsberg, where, through existing acquaintances from the Arbeitsamt<sup>9</sup> office, she began working as a cook in the city department of the SS<sup>3\*</sup>. At the SS city department, SCHULTZ underwent the appropriate registration and received an oral warning about non-disclosure of her place of work. While doing her job, she served about 50 officers.

SCHULTZ reported the following about the work of the SS city department:

SS officers were interrogating citizens - French, Belgians, Russians and others, who were brought from the camps and, after interrogation, taken back somewhere. From the stories of the employees of the SS department, she knows that the employees took part in the escort of citizens from occupied countries to Germany and that the interrogated citizens were beaten.

In addition, SCHULTZ named well-known official employees of the city department of the SS and police:

1. Head of the SS department – KÜNZ, Senior Assault-unit Leader, about 40 years old, tall, thin, blond.
2. Chief of the police department - KUBATS, Captain, about 38 years old, average height, thin blond.
3. Head of the SS personnel department – NEIT, Head Storm Leader, about 45 years old, of average height, thin, blond.
4. GROSSMAN, Assault Unit Leader, about 47 years old, medium height, heavy build, brown hair.
5. SCHINDELMAISER, Squad Leader, about 40 years old, tall, thick built, wears glasses<sup>5\*</sup> [...]

AUTHORISED OFFICER OF THE NKVD OF THE USSR FOR THE 39TH ARMY –

[...]6\*

7 March 1945

Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 209–210. Original. Typescript.

- \* Painted over.
- \*\* The name is painted over.
- 3\* A unit of the paramilitary organisation of the National Socialist German Workers' Party in the city of Königsberg.
- 4\* Illegible, but probably "KÜNZEL".
- 5\* Points 1,2,3,4,5 are marked by hand with vertical lines on the left.
- 6\* Painted over.
- 7\* Painted over.

**172. Special report from the head of the Königsberg operational sector, Major General I. V. Shishlin, to the Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Colonel General A. N. Apollonov on the arrested workers of the NSDAP party organisations Otto Mashon, Paul Nett and Arthur Jortzig**

21 May 1945

TOP SECRET

TO THE DEPUTY PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE USSR  
COLONEL GENERAL

COMRADE APOLLONOV\*

SPECIAL REPORT

On 15 May 1945, the Königsberg Operational Sector, from among those previously detained for filtering, through intelligence and investigative means, identified and arrested the following leading officials of grassroots party organisations of the National Socialist Party of Germany:

1. MASHON Otto, born in 1883, a native of Wehlau town, German, 8th grade education, Cell Leader of the OTTO REINTKE Local Group<sup>10</sup>, before the arrival of Soviet troops in the city of Königsberg, he worked as a decorator in the Schauspielhaus theater.

2. NETT Paul, born in 1890, a native of the city of Königsberg, German, 8th grade education, Block Warden of the OTTO REINTKE Local Group, before the arrival of Soviet troops in the city of Königsberg, he worked in his workshop as a tailor.

3. IORTZIG Arthur, born in 1884, a native of the city of Königsberg, German, secondary education, an ordinary member of the party of the OTTO REINTKE Local Group, before the arrival

of Soviet troops in the city of Königsberg, he worked in his own saddlery workshop.

The arrested MASHON Otto and NETT Paul testified during interrogation that before the arrival of Soviet troops in the city of Königsberg, they, together with RUDAT August, Local Group Leader<sup>11</sup> /wanted/, on behalf of WAGNER Ernest, led the mass executions of Soviet and Italian prisoners of war and civilians forcibly removed from the occupied regions of the Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of these individuals and their direct participation, about 1,700 people were shot in 19 camps in the city of Königsberg.

During the investigation, it was also established that MASHON Otto, NETT Paul and JORZIG Arthur were the leaders of battle groups that were part of an underground organisation created by Ernest WAGNER to carry out sabotage and terrorist activities in the rear of Soviet troops. Those arrested testified that in those days when the fall of the city of Königsberg became obvious, on the direct orders of Hitler, the deputy party leader of East Prussia - Ernest WAGNER - transferred all party organisations of the city to an illegal position and created underground sabotage and terrorist organisations in each Local Group. All local grassroots party organisations were divided into armed detachments, and the latter, in turn, into special groups of 8-10 people.

From the testimony of those arrested, it is clear that in March and April of this year, meetings of the activists were held in all primary party organisations, at which organisational principles for building underground groups were resolved, methods and forms of the upcoming struggle were developed, and certain areas of the city were allocated to each underground organisation for subversive activities.

The tasks of the underground organisations included: damaging railway lines, blowing up bridges, destroying communications, and it was also recommended to throw grenades at offices of city administrations, as well as the city commandant's office and other buildings where military authorities were located. In addition, attacking individual soldiers and commanders of the Red Army, small groups of soldiers and physically destroying them.

To provide organisations with means to fight, as can be seen from the testimony of those arrested, the leadership of the underground centre created special secret warehouses with weapons and ammunition, the location of which is unknown to those arrested.

In the OTTO REINTKE primary party organisation, whose members included MASHON Otto, NETT Paul and JORZIG Arthur, in preparation for the underground resistance, four meetings of party activists were held, at which RUDAT August, Local Group Leader, familiarised those present with the directive of the party centre on the underground struggle. According to the decisions of these meetings, MASHON Otto created three underground groups consisting of 21 people in his CELE\*\* party organisation. MASHON entrusted the leadership of one of these underground groups to NETT Paul, Block Warden, together with whom he subsequently mobilised party forces for the upcoming struggle.

MASHON Otto testified that the leadership centre of their underground organisation with the arrival of Soviet troops should have been located in the basements of the destroyed KDF<sup>12</sup> house on Franzgirze Square<sup>3\*</sup>. When inspecting these basements, we found one room equipped for housing, where we found 5 rifles and cartridges for them.

The investigation into the case of MASHON Otto, NETT Paul, JORZIG Arthur continues. Measures have been taken to search for persons identified by the arrested persons.

ATTACHMENT:Records of interrogation of MASHON O.<sup>4\*</sup> and NETT P. on 10 sheets.



THE HEAD OF THE KÖNIGSBERG OPERATIONAL SECTOR  
MAJOR GENERAL SHISHLIN

21 May 1945

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 121–124. Original. Typescript.*

- \* In the document it is written as “Apolonov”.
- \*\* That is, in a party cell.
- 3\* It is so in the document. This means: Fritz Tschierse-Platz.
- 4\* The record of interrogation of O. Mashon was partially published under No. 173.

**173. From the record of interrogation of Otto Mashon, an arrested NSDAP member, about the mass executions of Soviet citizens in the city of Königsberg\***

14 May 1945

Copy  
of the RECORD OF INTERROGATION

The 14th day of May 1945.

Active Army

[...] QUESTION – Did you take part in the executions of Soviet prisoners of war?

ANSWER – In order to answer this question more fully, I would like to dwell somewhat on the events that preceded this. As the Red Army approached Königsberg, masses of Soviet prisoners of war and civilians were herded into the city. The living conditions of these people were unbearable: they were mostly in an open air, their food was getting worse every day, and in recent days they had received no food at all. The approach of the front, hunger, and the death of Soviet people in captivity threatened every day with an internal explosion in our rear. In the first days of February of this year, RUDAT August, a head of the local party organisation summoned me and Block Warden NETT Paul, REHBERG Erich and BAZNER Franz, where, having described the situation in Königsberg, he explained to us that due to the frequent bombing of the city, numerous warehouses with weapons exploded, due to which perfectly serviceable weapons could fall into the hands of Soviet and Italian prisoners of war and be used against us. In addition, most of them, being at the disposal of the Red Army, can tell the Soviet command a lot about our activities, as well as join its ranks and fight against us. Therefore, the party orders to shoot the prisoners of war remaining in the city and the civilian population taken from the occupied regions of the Soviet Union.

For this purpose, special detachments have been created among the members of the People's Storm (German: Volkssturm). One of these detachments of 10 people, under the command of Group Leader CHARRIER, was sent to us, which, together with us, will have to carry out these operations. Following the orders of the party, we were shot in the camps:

1. Hauptbahnhof\*\* – 40 Soviet prisoners of war were shot.
2. Miteltragheim / Eckewallstrasse / – 150 Soviet prisoners of war and women with children.
3. Steindammerwall – 120 Russian prisoners of war were shot.

4. Potengife – over 50 Russian and Ukrainian civilians were shot.
5. Oberteich – we shot over 60 civilian men and women.
6. Nordbahnhof – 30 prisoners of war were shot.
7. Bahnhofswallstrasse – 80 Russian and Italian prisoners of war were shot.
8. Tiergarten – 80 Russian prisoners of war were shot.
9. Hintertragheim – 140 Soviet prisoners of war and civilians were shot.
10. Messegelände – we shot 120 prisoners of war.
11. Daimlerwerke – over 30 Russians and prisoners of war were shot.
12. General-Litzmann-Strasse /from two camps/ we shot 100 prisoners of war.
13. Stadtshof – over 60 Italian prisoners of war were shot.
14. Feilchenberg – over 60 Ukrainians – men, women and children – were shot.
15. JUDITTEN – 80 prisoners of war and civilians, Russians and Ukrainians, were shot.
16. Altenbahnhof /Klapperwiese/ we shot over 60 Ukrainians and Italians.
17. Neue Bleiche – 30 Soviet prisoners of war were shot.
18. Gross Raum – 30 Soviet prisoners of war were shot.
19. Hintertragheim – for the second time we shot 35 Soviet prisoners of war.

QUESTION – How long did it take you to execute the indicated persons?

ANSWER: We carried out executions methodically from the beginning of February of this year to 5 April.

QUESTION – Where were the people you shot buried?

ANSWER – After the execution, we, members of the party, usually went home, and the members of the People's Storm buried the corpses. Therefore, I cannot indicate the exact burial place of those executed.

QUESTION – What did you do on the issue of the underground struggle during your stay in the rear of the Soviet troops?

ANSWER – On the first day of the arrival of Soviet troops, I was detained, so I did not have the opportunity to carry out the party's decisions on the underground struggle.

The record of interrogation was drawn up correctly from my words; it was read to me in German, in witness whereof I set my hand upon this.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 125–135. Copy. Typescript.*

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\* Attachment to the document No. 172.

\*\* Here and further in the document, the spelling of geographical names has been corrected.

174. Special report from the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 2nd Guards Army to the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 3rd Belorussian Front on the arrest of Waldemar Siemer, a German landowner and a member of the NSDAP

21 April 1945

Top secret

TO THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
of the 3rd Belorussian Front

– [...]\*

Comrade [...]\*\*

SPECIAL REPORT

on the arrest of the landowner-exploiter SIEMER Waldemar  
and the confiscation of his valuables

The SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 30th Engineer Brigade, on 18 April of this year, arrested a large landowner-exploiter

SIEMER Waldemar, born in 1877, a native of Saarbrücken city, a resident of Karmitten small town in the Königsberg district of East Prussia, ethnic German, has a higher education, a member of the National Socialist Party of Germany.

The investigation into the case established that SIEMER, living under the Hitler regime in East Prussia, in 1935 became a member of the National Socialist Party of Germany, in which he was a member until the day the Samland Peninsula was occupied by the Red Army.

Having a landowner's farm consisting of 3,200 mor[...]<sup>3\*</sup> of land, 500 cows, 120 horses, a creamery, and a large number of small livestock, SIEMER exploited the labour of 80 workers, of which 20 were former Red Army soldiers who were captured at the same time by Germans.

From 1904 to 1945 he was burgomaster of Karmitten small town.

In 1937, under the authority of Hitler, he was appointed as Rural Leader (German: Bauernführer) of the Povundensky district, which he was until the day the Germans retreated from this area.

According to the testimony of SIEMER, a commission consisting of the head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Department of the 30th Engineer Brigade, Guards Major Comrade VASILIEV, the SMERSH intelligence officer GUBANOV and the Red Army soldier of the 30th Engineer Brigade V.I. VOROBIEV in Karmitten small town uncovered a pit where a box with valuables belonging to the arrested SIEMER was discovered.

Among the seized valuables were 15 items made of gold /watches, brooches, pins, coins and others/, up to 2 centners of silver tableware / knives, forks, spoons, candlesticks, coffee pots, and so on/.

The arrested SIEMER, along with the investigation materials, was sent to the task force of the NKVD of the USSR.

THE HEAD OF THE SMERSH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT  
of the 2nd Guards Army [...] <sup>5\*</sup>  
21 April 1945  
No. 3107 /3  
[...] <sup>6\*</sup>

*Notes on the first sheet of the document: “com. [...] <sup>7\*</sup> 25.4. [19]45 com. [...] <sup>8\*</sup> 25/IV [19]45 [...] <sup>9\*</sup> No. 2041 dated [...] <sup>10\*</sup> No. 2134 dated 5/V [19]45 [...] <sup>11\*</sup>”*

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region. Fund 78. Inventory 1. Case 106. Sheets 278–279. Original. Typescript.*

- 
- \* Painted over.
  - \*\* The name is painted over.
  - 3\* Illegible, but probably “morgens”.
  - 4\* The number of sheets in the document is not indicated.
  - 5\* The name and signature are painted over.
  - 6\* Painted over.
  - 7\* Painted over.
  - 8\* Painted over.
  - 9\* Painted over.
  - 10\* Painted over.
  - 11\* Painted over.

**175. On the German landowners Ella Paschier, Schnack, Daniel Nauyuk, Gagasee, Stobbi, Otto Ziehroll, Pentschilla, Franz Triebel, Kammer, Heinrich Platz, Count Eulenburg, who exploited foreign workers and prisoners of war on their farms\***

1945\*\*

1. On 27 January of this year, in Neuenden village, Kransesch-Nilderung parish (East Prussia), a member of the Hitler Youth of Germany, the fascist youth organisation, a German woman PASCHIER Ella, born in 1911, a German subject, was arrested.

PASCHIER beat and abused the workers who worked on the farm of her father, a member of the National Socialist Party<sup>3\*</sup>, who were forcibly deported by the Germans to Germany from the countries they had previously occupied. She was hostile to the Soviet Union and the Red Army and spread slanderous fabrications about the USSR and the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) among the population.

2. An owner of a printing house in Labiau town, an active member of the National Socialist Party, a German SCHNACK. On his estate, he used up to 50 foreign workers abducted by the Germans from the countries they occupied, supervised the evacuation of the civilian population from Labiau town, and drove to Germany, along with the retreating German troops, more than 200 Soviet citizens who were trying to remain in Labiau town by the time the Red Army arrived.



3. A resident of the German gendarmerie in Gerdauen town, a member of the National Socialist Party, a German NAUYUK Daniel, a large landowner, kept Soviet prisoners of war at his place of work, identified and handed over to the German gendarmerie 5 Soviet paratroopers and 7 Soviet citizens, who were shot by the gendarmerie.

4. A chief of police in the city of Keukirchgeis, a German GAGASEE, an active member of the National Socialist Party, a large landowner who exploited Soviet and French prisoners of war on his farm.

In 1942–1944, GAGASEE took part in the executions of USSR citizens driven away to East Prussia, who carried out anti-fascist work there.

5. A large landowner, a German woman, STOBBI, a member of a fascist organisation. Stobbi had more than 500 hectares of land and exploited over 130 Soviet citizens taken by the Germans from the regions of the USSR they had occupied at one time.

6. A large landowner, a German ZIEHROLL Otto, an active member of the National Socialist Party. He exploited over 30 Soviet prisoners of war on his farm.

7. A German intelligence resident - PENTSCHILLA, a Lithuanian, a large landowner, in his household exploited foreign citizens and citizens of the USSR, driven away by the Germans from the Soviet territory they had previously occupied.

Before the expulsion of the Germans from Lithuania, PENTSCHILLA, on instructions from the Gestapo, identified communists, partisans and anti-fascist individuals in the Marijampole county of the Lithuanian SSR.

During the withdrawal of German troops from Heilsberg town, PENTSCHILLA was left by the Germans in the town for spy work.

8. An assistant chief of the Insterburg district police, a German TRIEBEL Franz, a large landowner, exploited Soviet prisoners of war on his farm.

When the Germans retreated from Insterburg town, TRIBEL was left in the town to organise subversive work in the rear of Red Army units.

9. A large landowner – a German KAMMER, retired Senior Lieutenant of the German army.

In his farm, KAMMER had about 500 hectares of land and exploited more than 40 citizens of the USSR and foreigners abducted by the Germans from the countries they had occupied at one time.

10. An active member of the National Socialist Party, a Gestapo agent, a German PLATZ Heinrich, an owner of a large carpentry workshop.

PLATZ exploited 70 workers from among the citizens of the USSR and foreigners abducted by the Germans from countries they had previously occupied.

On instructions from the Gestapo, PLATZ prepared workshop workers to join the People's Storm units to fight the Red Army.

11. The Count EULENBURG, a former member of the Reichstag, a retired Colonel of the German army, a large landowner, had over 1000 hectares of land and exploited more than 100 Soviet and French prisoners of war.

According to our materials, it is known that the Count EULENBURG maintained contact with the Chief of the German General Staff, Guderian, and that at the end of last year, before the offensive of the Red Army, Guderian came to EULENBURG's estate.

Before the offensive of units of the 3rd Belorussian Front, EULENBURG led the evacuation of the population from Bartenstein, Rastenburg and other areas into the depths of Germany.

During his arrest, EULENBURG tried to commit suicide. The latter is being interrogated by us.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheets 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 90, 91, 94, 96. Original. Typescript.*

- 
- \* A selection of fragments from various documents.
  - \*\* Dated according to the contents of the documents and related documents.
  - \* Crossed out in pencil.

## **176. On Rudolf Jobeth, a participant in the mass executions of Soviet citizens**

1945\*

A Member of the National Socialist Party - JOBETH Rudolf, born in 1886, German, secondary education.

The investigation into the case established that in January of this year, together with a Gestapo employee, JOBETH took part in two mass executions of imprisoned Soviet citizens. In total, over 500 people were shot.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheet 102. Original. Typescript.*

- 
- \* Dated according to related case documents.

## **177. On Hildigard Schuineich, a commander of the women's camp in the city of Königsberg**

1945\*

A commander of the women's camp of the city of Königsberg, a German woman SCHUINEICH Hildigard, a member of the National Socialist Party. She worked as a commander of a camp for foreign workers taken from German-occupied European countries until the city of Königsberg was captured by the Red Army. As a camp commander, SCHUINEICH introduced a harsh regime for female workers, as a result of which there was a high mortality rate in the camp.

*Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region. Collection No. 10/307. Sheet 103. Original. Typescript.*

- 
- \* Dated according to related case documents.

<sup>1</sup> Foreign commandant's offices are commandant's offices under the Soviet military repatriation authorities. They dealt with the issues of returning to their homeland citizens of foreign countries who ended up outside their country as a result of hostilities.

<sup>2</sup> Report Leader (*German: Rapportführer*) is a paramilitary rank of the SS. In a concentration camp, the main duty of a Report Leader is to conduct daily roll calls.

<sup>3</sup> Pétain, Philippe – Marshal of France, a head of the collaborationist government created in the south of France after its defeat at the beginning of World War II.

<sup>4</sup> Article 58–1 “b” of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR – treason to the Motherland committed by a military serviceman.

<sup>5</sup> The League of German Girls (*German: Bund Deutscher Mädel*) was a women's youth organisation in Nazi Germany, which included girls from 14 to 18 years old. Girls aged from 10 to 14 years old were united by the Young Girls' League (*German: Jungmädelbund*).

<sup>6</sup> Cell Leader (*German: Zellenleiter*) was a low-level party organiser of the NSDAP, who headed the party cell of several residential areas (from 4 to 6 blocks).

<sup>7</sup> Block Warden (*German: Blockleiter*) is a lower-level party functionary of the NSDAP in a residential area (from 40 to 60 households, 160–240 people).

<sup>8</sup> The Samland Operations Group of Forces was created on 24.02.1945 by renaming the 1st Baltic Front with its simultaneous inclusion in the 3rd Belorussian Front. Abolished in April 1945.

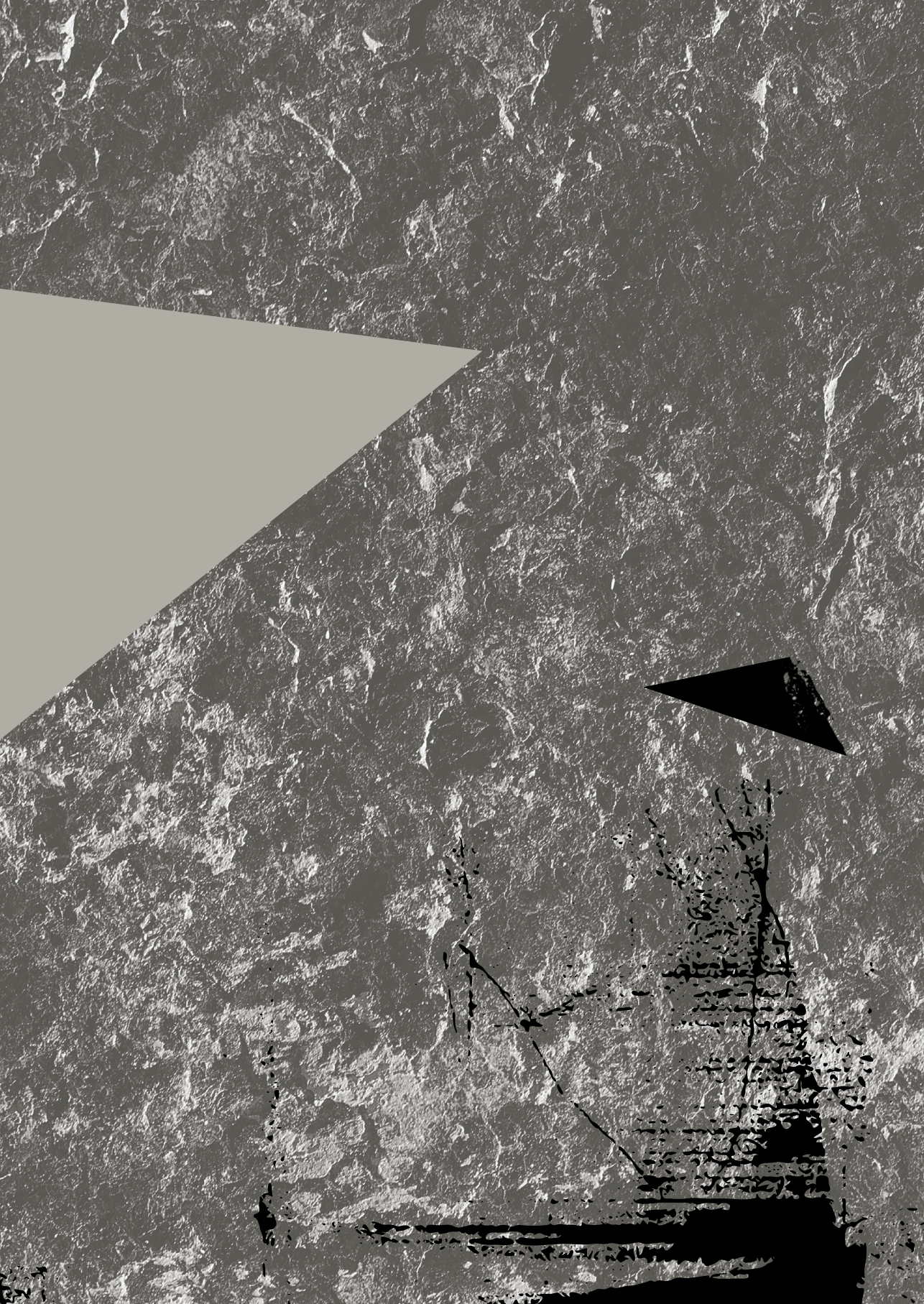
<sup>9</sup> Arbeitsamt (*German: Arbeitsamt*) was an administrative body in Nazi Germany for monitoring employment and promoting employment, subordinate to the corresponding department of a Regional Leader (*German: Gauleiter*); During the Second World War, he was also part of the structure of the General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment.

<sup>10</sup> Local Group (*German: Ortsgruppe*) is a quarter or district organisation of the NSDAP, numbering up to 1,500 households.

<sup>11</sup> Local Group Leader (*German: Ortsgruppenleiter*) – a leader of the Local Group (*German: Ortsgruppe*).

<sup>12</sup> KDF (*German: Kraft durch Freude*, abbr. KDF) – “Strength through Joy”, National Socialist Organisation. It dealt with issues of leisure for the population of the Reich. It was part of the German Labour Front.







# FINAL APPENDIX

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKOIHM	- Archive of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art
AUFSBKO	- Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Kaliningrad Region
AUFSBOO	- Archive of the Directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation for the Omsk Region
(n/p)	- non-party
IKBFU	- Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University
VAD	- Military Auto Highway
VKP(b)	- All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)
VLO GAPO	- Velikoluksky branch of the State Archives of the Pskov Region
y.	- year, years
c., cit.	- city
GAKK	- State Archive of the Krasnodar Territory (Krai)
GAKO	- State Archives of the Kaliningrad Region
GKO	- State Defence Committee
Gestapo	- ( <i>German</i> Gestapo, Geheime Staatspolizei) Secret State Police in Nazi Germany
v., vil.	- village
C.	- case
DAF	- ( <i>German</i> Deutsche Arbeitsfront, abbr. DAF) German Labour Front
dep.	- deputy
km	- kilometre
KGOM1	- main fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art
KGOM2	- auxiliary fund of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art
KOIHM	- Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art
CPG	- ( <i>German</i> Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands. abbr. KPD) Communist Party of Germany
KTi (KTIRPiH)	- Kaliningrad Technical Institute of Fishery Industry and Economy
Sh.	- sheet
loc.	- locality
s.t.	- small town
MG	- ( <i>German</i> MG, abbr. from Maschinengewehr) machine gun, was in service with the Wehrmacht during the Second World War
m/s	- Medical Service
MGB	- Ministry of State Security of the USSR
NKVD	- People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR
NKO	- People's Commissariat of Defence of the USSR
NSDAP	- ( <i>German</i> NSDAP, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, NSDAP)

National Socialist German Workers' Party	
SMERSH Count. Dep.	- SMERSH Counterintelligence Department
Inv.	- inventory
S.s.	- seal and signature
u.t.s.	- urban-type settlement
s., setl.	- settlement
RGVA	- Russian State Military Archive
RGK	- High Command Reserve
RKP(b)	- Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)
ROA	- Russian Liberation Army
SD	- ( <i>German</i> SD, <i>abbr.</i> from German Der Sicherheitsdienst des SS-Reichsführers) Security Service of the SS Reich Leader
SMERSH	- "SMERt Shpionam" ( <i>literally</i> – Death to Spies) is the name of a number of counterintelligence organizations independent from each other in the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War
SPP	- collection point
SS	- ( <i>German</i> SS, <i>abbr.</i> from German Schutzstaffeln, "Protection Squadron") paramilitary forces of the National Socialist German Workers' Party
v/c	- village council
Art.	- article
com.	- comrade
CID	- counterintelligence directorate
CC of RSFSR	- Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
st.	- street
UMGB	- Directorate of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR
F.	- fund
FKOIHM	- funds of the Kaliningrad Regional Museum of History and Art
TsAMO RF	- Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation
PPM	- Pulp and Paper Mill

## PLACES IN THE KALININGRAD REGION RELATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS OF THE NAZI REGIME

1. Beach at the foot of the Anna mine, the place where prisoners were executed on the night of 26-27 January 1945, Yantarny urban-type settlement.
2. Death March monument. Sculptors Frank Meisler, Arie Ovadia, Yantarny urban-type settlement.
3. Memorial at the site of the international cemetery of prisoners of war of the Stalag IA Stablack camp. In the area of the village of Nagornoye of Bagrationovsky municipal district.
4. Foundations of buildings where the labor of working teams of the Stalag IA Stablack camp was used, the village of Strelnya of Bagrationovsky municipal district.
5. Memorial sign to the victims of the Stalag IA Stablack camp. Inscription: "In memory of those killed in the Stalag IA camp on the territory of the Fort Stiehle, 1941–1945," Baltiysk, southwest of Fort Stiehle.
6. Memorial at the site of the Hohenbruch camp. In the area of the village of Gromovo, Slavsky urban district.
7. Memorial cross to Soviet prisoners of war who died during the Great Patriotic War, the city of Sovetsk, the territory of the Forest Cemetery.
8. A memorial sign to prisoners of the Oflag-52 camp, the village of Prigorodnoye of Nesterovsky municipal district.
9. Memorial sign on the site of the outer camp of the Stutthof concentration camp. In the area of the village of Vavilovo of Mamonovsky urban district.
10. Memorial plaque to Holocaust victims on the southern wall of the former Jewish orphanage building, the city of Kaliningrad, Oktyabrskaya st., 3.
11. Memorial plaque to victims of the Holocaust. Inscription: "In memory of 465 residents of Königsberg and East Prussia, who on 24 June 1942 were forcibly taken by the SS troops from the freight station of Königsberg North Station to the Maly Trostenets extermination camp near Minsk. This was the first deportation of Jews from Königsberg as part of the Nazi mass extermination of the Jews of Europe. Residents of Kaliningrad and Königsberg. 24 June 2011", the city of Kaliningrad, North railway station (Severny Vokzal).





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AND THEIR COLLABORATORS  
AGAINST SOVIET CITIZENS  
ON THE TERRITORY OF EAST PRUSSIA  
(THE PRESENT-DAY KALININGRAD REGION)  
DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR**

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