Amazingly, little scientific investigation has been directed toward the concentration camp Lublin-Majdanek in eastern Poland, even though orthodox Holocaust sources claim that between fifty thousand and over a million Jews were murdered there. The only information available from public libraries was thoroughly discredited propaganda written mostly by Polish Communists.

This glaring research gap has finally been filled. After exhaustive research of primary sources and a thorough exploration of the physical remainders of the former concentration camp, Mattogno and Graf created a monumental study, which expertly dissects and repudiates the myth of homicidal gas chambers at Majdanek. They also investigated the legendary mass executions of Jews in tank trenches ("Operation Harvest Festival") critically and proved them groundless. Finally, by relying on primary documentation, they managed to determine quite accurately the real death toll of this camp.

The authors' investigations lead to unambiguous conclusions about the camp which are radically different from the official theses: Majdanek was not an 'extermination camp', but a labor camp, and the vast majority of inmates who died during their incarceration succumbed to diseases rather than wanton killings.

Again they have produced a standard and methodical investigative work which authentic historiography can not ignore.

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Concentration Cam

Jürgen Graf Carlo Mattogno Jürgen Graf, Carlo Mattogno

# Concentration Camp Majdanek

A Historical and Technical Study









## CONCENTRATION CAMP MAJDANEK A Historical and Technical Study

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### Jürgen Graf and Carlo Mattogno



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### Introduction

### 1. Concentration Camp Lublin-Majdanek

In July 1941 the National-Socialist occupation forces decided to set up a large concentration camp near the city of Lublin. As of October of that year the camp developed in the southeastern outskirts of the city. The Poles called it "*Majdanek*" from the start; the name can be traced back to the city district Majdan Tatarski. Eventually it came to be generally used, and it is also the name of choice today in academic historiography.

In time, Majdanek became by far the largest concentration camp on the territory of the General Government.<sup>1</sup> Non-Jewish and Jewish Polish citizens made up the bulk of the inmates, but prisoners from many other nations were also detained there, as well as a number of Soviet prisoners of war.

On July 23, 1944, Majdanek was liberated by the Red Army, which, however, discovered only some 1,500 inmates there;<sup>2</sup> the others had been evacuated to the West in the preceding months.

It was not long after the liberation of the camp that the Soviets and their Polish allies began reporting about horrific mass murders which Germans had allegedly committed there. In a Lublin Special Court's indictment of six guards who had failed to flee in time, it was said that 1.7 million people had been murdered in Majdanek.<sup>3</sup> At the Nuremberg Trial in early 1946 there was talk of 1.5 million victims.<sup>4</sup>

No one really believes in these figures anymore; today they are considered unanimously to be fantastic exaggerations. But official historiography continues to hold that aside from those inmates who died of 'natural' causes and those who were individually tried, convicted, and then executed by shooting or hanging, there were very great numbers of (mostly Jewish) people who were murdered in Majdanek by gassing, or by execution without having been tried or convicted.

Auschwitz, in Upper Silesia, was not located in the General Government, but in the area that was annexed to the German Reich after Poland's defeat in 1939.

9

This is the figure given in the Polish subject literature (for ex., see Anna Wiśniewska and Czesław Rajca, Majdanek. Lubelski obóz koncentracyjny, Panstwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, Lublin 1996, p. 32). Gerald Reitlinger cites a higher figure, namely 6,000 (Die Endlösung. Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas 1939-1945, Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1983, p. 512).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sentencja wyroku. Specjalny Sad Karny w Lublinie, December 2, 1944 (Reasons for Sentence in the Trial of Hermann Vogel et al.), Archiwum Panstwowego Muzeum na Majdanku (Archive of the State Museum in Majdanek, henceforth abbreviated as APMM), sygn. XX-1, p. 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *IMT*, vol. VII, p. 590.

Let us first examine how Majdanek is represented in official western historiography, in Polish historiography, and in Revisionist historiography.

### 2. Majdanek in Official Western Historiography

According to official western historiography, Majdanek served jointly as labor and extermination camp.<sup>5</sup> The inmates there, it is claimed, were processed by selection; those who were judged fit to work were put to forced labor, those who were unfit to work were liquidated. As of early fall 1942, Jews were allegedly murdered *en masse* in gas chambers, partly with Zyklon B and partly with carbon monoxide. Further, some 18,000 Jews were allegedly shot in Majdanek on November 3, 1943.

The well-known anthology *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, edited by E. Kogon, H. Langbein, and A. Rückerl, states:<sup>6</sup>

"Much like in Auschwitz—if not for quite as long and to as shockingly great an extent as there—the administration of the concentration camp Majdanek near Lublin made use of gas chambers to murder great numbers of people. As soon as these chambers had been installed, the Jews were subjected to selection upon arrival: those who appeared unfit to work were escorted off to be gassed."

Somewhat more cautiously, but along the same lines, the *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust* states:<sup>7</sup>

"Some prisoners were taken to the gas chambers immediately upon arrival: in this respect Majdanek was an extermination camp."

Since 1945 tens of thousands of books have been published about the 'Holocaust'. The focal point of the 'Holocaust', it is claimed, were six so-called 'extermination camps' in Poland. One would therefore expect to find veritable mountains of literature about all these 'extermination camps' and consequently also about Majdanek, but far from it: western historiography has completely neglected the Lublin camp. Since 1945 not one West European or American historian has deemed it necessary to author a work about Majdanek which even remotely approximated to scientific and academic requirements!

Aside from the memoirs of former inmates, which are necessarily subjective and can never take the place of historical research striving for objectivity, Heiner Lichtenstein's work *Majdanek. Reportage eines Prozesses*<sup>8</sup> is the only

The German term for this—"Vernichtungslager"—does not appear in so much as one German war-time document. It arose from Allied terminology and is a direct translation of "extermination camp".

E. Kogon, H. Langbein and A. Rückerl (eds.), Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas, Frankfurt/M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 1983, p. 241.

Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich and Julius H. Schoeps (eds.), Enzyklopädie des Holocaust, Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1993, p. 918.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Heiner Lichtenstein, *Majdanek. Reportage eines Prozesses*, Frankfurt/M: Europäische Ver-

German-language book about this camp which has achieved notable circulation. Admittedly the book is in no way a scientific analysis. Lichtenstein accepts the mass extermination of human beings in Majdanek as an axiom and takes the Düsseldorf trial of former members of the camp staff (1975-1981) as an opportunity to rail in journalistic style against the National Socialist system, the accused, their defense counsels, and the Federal German justice system which he feels was too lax in prosecuting National Socialist offenders. Emotional outrage takes the place of sober historical inquiry in this work.

There are perhaps two main reasons for the total neglect Majdanek has experienced in western historiography:

- The almost complete monopolization of the 'Holocaust' debate by the Auschwitz camp;
- The reluctance of historians to learn the Polish language, without which serious work in this field is impossible.

### 3. Majdanek in Polish Historiography

Since the Majdanek camp was located in Poland, it is only logical that numerous books and studies on this topic were published there. Some of the literature in question is of excellent academic quality—except on two decisive and closely related issues, namely the number of victims of the camp and the matter of the mass extermination of inmates by gassing or shooting. As we shall see in the following, the evidence presented for these issues does not stand up to critical examination.

Aside from a few titles which have been translated into western languages, this literature is unknown outside of Poland. We shall refer to it frequently in the following.

The Polish researchers, just like the western ones, portray Majdanek as a combination of labor and extermination camp. The fact that under Communist rule historiography had to adhere to political guidelines and handicaps is freely admitted in Poland today; for example, Czesław Rajca of the Majdanek Museum conceded in a 1992 publication about the number of victims of the Lublin camp that these numbers had been inflated, not only by the Soviets but also by Zdzisław Łukaszkiewicz, the author of the first historical study of Majdanek.

The figure of one and a half million or even more victims of Majdanek was so unbelievable that it already fell into disuse soon after the war. In 1948 Z.

lagsanstalt, 1979.

Ozesław Rajca, "Problem liczby ofiar w obozie na Majdanku", in: Zeszyty Majdanka (Majdanek Periodical; henceforth abbreviated as ZM) XIV, 1992, p. 127-132.

Łukaszkiewicz spoke of 360,000 dead. Of those, some 60% "succumbed to camp death", a euphemism for death due to epidemics, debilitation, malnutrition etc.; 25% were said to have been murdered in the gas chambers, and the remaining 15% were killed by other means (shooting, hanging, lethal injection, etc.). <sup>10</sup>

For decades, Z. Łukaszkiewicz's figure was considered final, but for some years now historians no longer hold to it. In his aforementioned article, Rajca suggests that approximately 235,000 people actually died in Majdanek. This figure has also been adopted by the authorities of the Majdanek Memorial.

We shall show later how the Polish historians arrived at their statistics, and we shall compare these completely untenable figures with that which we ourselves have calculated on the basis of the relevant documents.

Neglecting Majdanek is not something of which one can accuse the Polish contemporary historians—quite unlike their western colleagues. Their basic weakness is that they have not been able to shake off the fetters of doctrinal Stalinist historiography, which has created a propagandistically distorted picture of the camp from the start. The Polish reductions in the victim count, first in 1948 and then again in the early 1990s, are nothing more than reluctant and utterly inadequate steps towards overcoming a historiography tied to the apron strings of politics.

### 4. Majdanek in Revisionist Literature

Just like the orthodox western historians, the Revisionists have completely neglected Majdanek. To date this side has produced only one single book devoted exclusively to this camp. Its title is *Majdanek in alle Ewigkeit?*, and it was written by Josef Gideon Burg, an anti-Zionist Jew. This work was published in 1979 against the background of the Majdanek Trial taking place at that time in Düsseldorf, and made no claims to academic status; Burg relied primarily on eyewitness accounts and newspaper articles. He accused the Zionists of misusing the tragic events in Majdanek for purposes of moral and financial blackmail of the German people, and insisted that there had been no gas chambers in that camp. Writing rebelliously in German—his mother tongue was Yiddish—he stated:<sup>11</sup>

"During my stay at the Breslau training school for propagandists, where we were shown soap made from Jews and were taught the gas chamber and extermi-

Josef Gideon Burg, *Majdanek in alle Ewigkeit?*, Munich: Ederer Verlag, 1979, p. 96.

-

Zdzisław Łukaszkiewicz, "Obóz koncentracyjni i zaglady Majdanek" (The Concentration and Extermination Camp Majdanek), in: Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Nimieckich w Polsce (Bulletin of the Commission to Investigate the German Crimes in Poland), v. 4 (1948), pp. 63-105.

nation theories, a young man there drew my attention by his courageous honesty. I later met him again during a commemorative campaign in Hildesheim. He complained that his completed form had already been returned to him twice and that he had been threatened that he would be prevented from emigrating to the United States unless he reported 'in detail' about his work in the gas chambers. R.W., now 30 years of age, told me in tears that he could not lie, not even to the detriment of goyim. He, being an orthodox believer, was forbidden to do that by the commandment of Exodus 20:16, which states: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.' He told me that he had been in charge of a delousing chamber in Majdanek and later in Birkenau. Even at that time he already had trouble with his Jewish supervisors because he had refused to participate in stealing items delivered for delousing. R.W. complained that in the questionnaires he was supposed to turn lice into people and the misappropriated bundles of clothing into witnesses to the extermination."

In the structure of its argument and in its highly emotional and polemic tone, J.G. Burg's book is the Revisionist counterpart, so to speak, of Heiner Lichtenstein. Burg also dealt partly with Majdanek in another book which he titled *Zionazi Zensur in der BRD*.<sup>12</sup>

The Revisionist side has published two studies of the alleged execution gas chambers of Majdanek. In his famous expert report of 1988, the American Fred Leuchter focused primarily on those facilities in Auschwitz I and Birkenau which the standard literature calls "gas chambers," but the last section of his report also dealt with the gas chambers of Majdanek. Leuchter concluded that for reasons of construction engineering the rooms in question could not have been used to gas human beings.<sup>13</sup>

Whereas Leuchter's conclusions with regard to Auschwitz prompted several replies, only one author—the Frenchman Jean-Claude Pressac—responded to the section of the *Leuchter Report* devoted to Majdanek.<sup>14</sup>

In the context of the discussion of the alleged 'gas chambers,' we shall refer to the portion of the *Leuchter Report* relevant to this topic, as well as to Pressac's critique of the same.

And finally, Germar Rudolf, a German, has dedicated four pages in an article about homicidal gas chambers to those allegedly operated in Majdanek.<sup>15</sup> In his view, toxicological, chemical, and construction engineering factors as well as the contradictory nature of the eyewitness testimony speak against the factuality of the alleged execution gassings in these facilities. We shall come back to this study later as well.

Fred A. Leuchter, An Engineering Report on the Alleged Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland, Toronto: Samisdat Publishers Ltd., 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Josef Gideon Burg, Zionazi Zensur in der BRD, Munich: Ederer Verlag, 1980.

Jean-Claude Pressac, "Les carences et incohérences du rapport Leuchter", in: Journal J, December 1988.

Germar Rudolf and Ernst Gauss, "Die 'Gaskammern' von Auschwitz und Majdanek", in: Ernst Gauss (ed.), Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte, Grabert, Tübingen 1994, pp. 276-279.

### 5. The Purpose of the Present Study

As we have shown, 52 years after the war's end there still exists not one comprehensive study of the Majdanek camp—neither by the orthodox nor by the Revisionist side—that measures up to scientific and academic requirements. We intend the present volume to fill this appreciable gap. In doing so we shall draw on the findings of the voluminous Polish literature on this subject, but we shall also deal critically with the weaknesses inherent in this literature.

The starting point for this study was a visit to Lublin in June 1997. Naturally, the state of evidence for the alleged mass extermination of human beings and the related question of the number of Majdanek victims are the main emphasis of our work.

The fact that we have chosen the sober title *Concentration Camp Majdanek: a Historical and Technical Study* for this work indicates that we do not in any way claim this to be a history of the entire Majdanek camp. That, incidentally, would be quite a difficult task, since unfortunately the events in the camp are poorly documented; many documents were destroyed prior to the camp's dissolution or have disappeared since. For this reason many important aspects of the history of Majdanek will remain forever unclear, unless documents which have been lost or, for whatever reason, been kept hidden, will one day turn up. For example, the fundamental question of how many inmates were sent to the camp during its entire existence cannot be answered precisely under the conditions at hand, so that estimates must suffice for the time being.

Our book cannot reveal 'the truth about Majdanek', but it shall help us to come a good step closer to that truth. That many a cherished idea will fall by the wayside in the process can hardly be avoided.

Carlo Mattogno assumes responsibility for chapters IV, V, VI, VIII and IX of our book. Jürgen Graf is responsible for chapters I, II, III, X, the Introduction and the Conclusion. Chapter VII was written by both authors jointly.

January 7, 1998 Carlo Mattogno Jürgen Graf

### Chapter I:

## A Brief Overview of the History of the Majdanek Camp in Historical Context

# 1. The Function of the Concentration Camps in the Third Reich

During the six years of peace that the Third Reich was granted, the concentration camps had no economic significance. Their purpose was to isolate habitual criminals, as well as opponents of the regime who were considered incorrigible, from the general population, and to reform those regarded as reeducatable to become good citizens in the spirit of National Socialist ideology. In pre-war times the number of concentration camp inmates was relatively small; in the summer of 1937, for example, the population of all concentration camps, including the criminals and the "anti-socials" (vagrants, beggars etc.), totaled 7.500.<sup>16</sup>

After the war broke out, more and more concentration camps were set up and the number of inmates skyrocketed. The war brought an internationalization of the camps; aside from resistance fighters from the nations under German occupation, ever-increasing numbers of prisoners-of-war were also committed, and as of 1941 numerous Jews also joined the inmate population.

Constantly more Germans were called to fight at the front as the war dragged on. Manpower shortages became a problem of paramount importance for the economy of the Third Reich. This resulted in a change of the concentration camps' function. The re-education principle was pushed into the background, and the economic aspect grew in importance.

On April 30, 1942, SS-*Obergruppenführer* Oswald Pohl, Chief of the WVHA (*Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt*, the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office), wrote to the *Reichsführer*-SS Heinrich Himmler:<sup>17</sup>

"The war has brought a visible change in the structure of the concentration camps and has fundamentally altered their responsibilities with regard to the use to which the inmates may be put. The detention of inmates solely for security, educational or preventive reasons is no longer in the fore. Emphasis has shifted to economic concerns. Mobilizing all inmate labor, first of all for war-related tasks (increased armaments production) and later on for tasks of peacetime, is becoming more and more important.

<sup>17</sup> R-129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Arno Mayer, *Der Krieg als Kreuzzug,* Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1986, p. 245.

This realization results in certain necessary measures requiring a gradual restructuring of the concentration camps from their former, one-sidedly political form into an organization appropriate to the economic tasks."

Jews in particular were detailed to work in the camps. In a letter to SS-Gruppenführer Richard Glücks, the inspector of the concentration camps, Himmler stated in late January 1942:<sup>18</sup>

"Be prepared to admit 100,000 male Jews and up to 50,000 Jewesses into the concentration camps in the next four weeks. Great economic orders and tasks will be put to the concentration camps in the next weeks."

A wealth of documents demonstrates the role of the Jews in the National Socialist war economy. <sup>19</sup> On May 11, 1944, for example, Adolf Hitler personally ordered 200,000 Jews employed within the framework of the Fighter Plane Construction Program. <sup>20</sup> Of course the extremely high death rates in the camps, resulting primarily from diseases but also from inadequate rations and clothing as well as from overwork, detracted severely from the economic efficiency of the camps. For this reason, Richard Glücks sent a circular to all concentration camp commandants on December 28, 1942, making them personally responsible for maintaining the inmates in a work-fit condition. Glücks wrote:<sup>21</sup>

"The First Camp Physicians are to use all means at their disposal to effect a considerable decrease in the mortality figures in the individual camps [...]. The camp physicians are to pay greater attention to the inmates' rations than heretofore, and shall submit proposals for improvements to the camp commandant, in agreement with the administration. These improvements must not remain on paper only, but must be regularly verified by the camp physicians. Further, the camp physicians shall see to it that working conditions at the various work sites are improved as much as possible [...]. The Reichsführer-SS has ordered that mortality absolutely must decrease."

In fact, this order did result in a very considerable improvement in the conditions in most camps, and mortality decreased by almost 80% within eight months.<sup>22</sup>

Aside from the economic significance of inmate labor to the Third Reich, security considerations were the second most important reason for the expansion and consolidation of the concentration camp system. In many occupied nations the Germans found themselves faced with growing and increasingly active resistance movements. To whose activities they responded to protect their troops and facilities just like every occupation power has responded be-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> NO-500.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Carlo Mattogno mentions numerous relevant documents in *Il mito dello sterminio ebraico*, Monfalcone: Sentinella d'Italia, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> NO-5689.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> NO-1523.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> PS-1469.

fore and since, namely with increasing repression. One main instrument of repression was the camp.

Armed resistance was particularly powerful in Poland, and most especially in the vicinity of the city Lublin. A Polish source comments:<sup>23</sup>

"As of early 1942 a partisan movement also began, within the framework of which some 20,000 armed soldiers from various underground organizations fought in 1944 in several dozen partisan units: AK [Armija Krajowa, Home Army], [...] AL [Armija Ludowa, People's Army]. Among them there were also Soviet partisan units who came, invasion-style, from beyond the Bug River or who consisted of prisoners-of-war who had escaped from Hitler-camps [...]. Together with aerial units (they operated in treeless regions) as well as garrisons, they tied up extensive enemy resources and inflicted heavy damage. This forced the occupiers to employ especially numerous police and army units in the Wojwoden area [county]. Even though the occupiers combated the resistance movement with the most drastic of measures (pacification, burning of villages, executions, deportations etc.), they failed to bring the situation under control. We shall only point out that, according to German sources, no fewer than 27,250 'attacks' of various kinds were committed in the territory of the [Lublin] District from July 1942 to December 1943, that several great partisan battles were fought there [...], that 254 trains were derailed or blasted, 116 train stations and rail facilities were attacked, and 19 transports were stopped or shelled, in the first months of 1944 alone."

For the time from January 1, 1941, and June 30, 1944, the American historian Richard C. Lucas details the damage inflicted on the Germans by the Polish resistance as follows:<sup>24</sup>

| Locomotives damaged                     | 6,930  |
|---|--------|
| Locomotives delayed in overhaul         | 803    |
| Trains derailed                         | 732    |
| Railroad cars destroyed                 | 979    |
| Railroad cars damaged                   | 19,058 |
| Railroad cars set on fire               | 443    |
| Disruptions of electric power in Warsaw | 638    |
| Military vehicles damaged or destroyed  | 4,326  |
| Railroad bridges blown up               | 38     |
| Aircraft damaged                        | 28     |
| Aircraft destroyed                      | 68     |
| Tons of gasoline destroyed              | 4,674  |
| Oil refineries incapacitated            | 3      |
| Carloads of wood burned                 | 150    |
| Military warehouses burned              | 122    |
|   |        |

Zygmunt Mankowski, "Obozy hitlerowskie—Majdanek—Lubelszczyna. Ruch oporu" (Hitler camps—Majdanek—Lublin area. The Resistance Movement), in: Tadeusz Mencel (ed.), Majdanek 1941-1944, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1991, p. 35.

Richard C. Lukas, The forgotten holocaust. The Poles under German occupation, Lexington, Kentucky/USA: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986, pp. 67ff.

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| Military food storage houses burned                | 8       |
|--|---------|
| Production in factories brought to halt            | 7       |
| Factories burned                                   | 15      |
| Defective parts for aircraft engines produced      | 4,710   |
| Defective cannon barrels produced                  | 203     |
| Defective artillery shells produced                | 92,000  |
| Defective aircraft produced                        | 107     |
| Defective parts produced for electrical appliances | 570,000 |
| Important plant machinery damaged                  | 2,872   |
| Various acts of sabotage                           | 25,145  |
| Attacks on Germans                                 | 5,733   |

General Eduard Bor-Komorowski, the leader of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising (who, after being taken prisoner, was well treated on the personal order of Adolf Hitler, and survived the war), commented on this listing as follows:<sup>25</sup>

"This summary gives only the more characteristic acts of sabotage and is only half the picture of the scope of our activities."

Faithful to the old-established pattern of terror and counter-terror, these activities of the armed resistance resulted in ever-harsher and more extensive reprisals against the civilian population: not only people suspected of co-operating with the partisans, but hostages as well, were arrested en masse and sent to the concentration camps.

### 2. The Lublin Region in National Socialist Polish Policy

This is the backdrop against which the origin and history of the Majdanek camp near Lublin must be seen. But first, a few words about National Socialist Polish policy for the region in which the city of Lublin is located.

In 1939 Lublin had come into German hands after Poland's military collapse and partition. Where the Lublin region was concerned, National Socialist Polish policy alternated between two diametrically opposed goals, neither of which succeeded beyond the initial stage.

On the one hand, this region was supposed to become a German settlement area. The National Socialists planned a step-by-step Germanization of the region, basing this on the city of Lublin's original, pronouncedly German character. In 1942 Ernst Zörner, Governor of Lublin District, wrote in his preface to a book about the city Lublin:<sup>26</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Fritz Schöller, Max-Otto Vandrey, *Führer durch die Stadt Lublin*, Cracow, 1942, p. 5. Quoted as per J. Marszałek, "Geneza i początki budowy obozu koncentracyjnego na Majdanku" (Genesis and Beginnings of the Construction of the Concentration Camp Majdanek), in: ZM, I, 1965, p. 22.

"Fully six centuries ago German artisans and merchants began developing this area. As late as the mid-15th century, old Lublin still had a mostly German majority, a German city council, and it lived in accordance with German law."

As initial step and focal point of the Lublin region's Germanization, large SS settlements were to be established there, intended not only for the SS members themselves but for their families as well. Further, ethnic Germans from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania were to be settled there.<sup>27</sup> And finally, Poles of German extraction were to be identified and incorporated into the German ethnic whole. In a July 21, 1942, letter which we shall quote in the following, Himmler described this as "a search for German blood".

On the other hand, the Lublin region was also supposed to become a catch basin for Jews. In July 1942 Himmler ordered an acceleration of the resettlement (already in progress at the time) of the General Government's Jewish population into a few collection zones:<sup>28</sup>

"Lublin, July 19, 1942

To the Higher SS and Police Chief East SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger Cracow.

I hereby order that the resettlement of the General Government's entire Jewish population is to be completed by December 31, 1942.

As of December 31 no persons of Jewish extraction may remain in the General Government, unless they are in the collection camps of Warsaw, Cracow, Czenstochowa, Radom and Lublin. All other work projects employing Jewish labor forces are to be completed by that time, or, if completion is not possible, are to be transferred into one of the collection camps.

These measures are necessary towards the ethnic separation of races and peoples in the interests of the new European order, as well as towards the security of the German Reich and its spheres of interest. Every violation of this regulation represents a danger to law and order in the entire German sphere of interest, a starting point for resistance movements, and a moral and physical center of disease.

For all these reasons a complete resolution is necessary and thus to be implemented. Any cases where the deadline is expected not to be met must be reported to me so that I may remedy the matter on time. All applications from other offices, requesting exclusions or exemptions, are to be submitted to me personally.

Heil Hitler! [sgd.] H. Himmler"

Originally the Lublin District was to take in not only Polish Jews but also Jews from all of Europe. This plan had been drawn up as early as 1939. With

<sup>28</sup> NO-5574.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The decision to bring in ethnic Germans from these countries was made in mid-July 1941 at an NSDAP conference in Zamość (*Krakauer Zeitung* of July 17, 1941, quoted as per Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 25).

reference to Adolf Hitler, Reinhard Heydrich, the Chief of the RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, the Reich Security Main Office), announced on September 21, 1939, that the part of Galicia located east of Cracow and north of the Slovakian border was to become "a Jewish state under German administration".

In October of the same year, the chief of the Gestapo's resettlement department, Adolf Eichmann, who had set up an office in Prague for the emigration of the Jews from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, organized the first small-scale deportations of Jews from the Protectorate to Nisko, a town in the Lublin District. Nisko was to serve as transit camp for the distribution of the arriving Jews. The deportations were halted on the order of Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Higher SS and Police Chief of the General Government, and in April 1940 Nisko was closed.

In an April 1940 meeting with Hans Frank, Hermann Göring and Arthur Greiser, the Reich Governor of the Warthegau, Himmler again brought up the plans for a Jewish reservation in Lublin, and deportations were scheduled for August of that year. After Hitler expressed doubts about the suitability of this project, it was dropped and more distant areas were considered for taking in the Jewish masses to be banished from Western and Central Europe.<sup>29</sup> Indeed it was difficult to see how one and the same region should have been Germanized and transformed into a reservation for the European Jews, both at the same time!

### 3. Establishment of the Majdanek Camp

The chaos of National Socialist Lublin policy is one of many examples that show how little the cliché of the Third Reich as a perfectly organized state construct under a tight, centralized leadership actually reflects reality. The history of the camp which is the subject of our study was no less chaotic than the National Socialist policy for the Lublin region. There was no sense of clear and consistent planning: rivalries between various institutions as well as the ever-changing wartime situation resulted in the concentration camp Majdanek never being assigned a clear-cut purpose. It remained a stop-gap measure until the end.

In our discussion of the origins of the Lublin camp we refer first of all to German war-time documents which have been discovered in the Majdanek Museum and in the Lublin City Archive, and then, to an even greater extent, to an important article which Józef Marszałek, for many years the Head of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Regarding the Lublin Plan, cf. *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 1011-1013.

Majdanek Memorial, has written on this topic.<sup>30</sup> However, we shall disregard Marszałek's obtrusive comments about Majdanek's role as 'extermination camp'; the reason why we simply ignore these outright will become perfectly apparent later on.

As far as one can tell based on the incomplete documentation available, the starting point for the genesis of the Lublin camp seems to have been Heinrich Himmler's visit to Lublin in July 1941. A memo dated the 21st of that month notes the following instructions by Himmler:<sup>31</sup>

"On the occasion of his inspection of Lublin and Zamość on July 20, 1941, the Reichsführer-SS has ordered the following:

- 1. The representative of the RFSS sets up a concentration camp for 25,000 to 50,000 inmates as labor force for workshops and buildings of the SS and Police. The concentration camps are converted to secondary camps, depending on location. Is the concentration camp to be set up by the Camp Inspector?
- 2. German equipment manufacturing plants.

  The camp as it has existed to date is to be converted to serve exclusively as automobile repair and carpentry shops.

  A new labor camp with the required shops for clothing, metalworking, tannery, cobblers, cartwright's workshop (sled manufacture) is to be set up east of Lub-
- lin.
  3. The uniform store of the Waffen-SS shall fill its requirements from the Lublin workshops for electring of all hinds. The uniform store at Paylin shall set up a
- workshops for clothing of all kinds. The uniform store at Berlin shall set up a branch office in Lublin which will see to all supply matters.
- 4. In accordance with the suggested plan, the new buildings of the SS and Police Quarter will be erected on the grounds of the former Lublin airfield. The old German city is to be incorporated into the overall construction plan for the SS and Police Quarter. Within the framework of the general construction plan, work is to begin at once on the renovation of the old buildings, as far as technically and economically feasible, as well as on construction for the new Quarter. Amt III will provide the necessary technical manpower with police reservists. The SS houses are to be included. [...]
- 8. The equipment manufacturing plants are responsible for training bricklayers, carpenters etc. (construction workers) for employment in the East. Further, large tailors' workshops are to be set up, and staffed with Jewesses. [...]
- 11. The operation 'Search for German Blood' will be expanded to include the entire General Government, and a large settlement area shall be established in the German colonies near Zamość. [...]
- 13. Until fall of this year, the Reichsführer's representative shall implement primarily command measures with regard to the establishment of the SS and Police bases in the new Eastern territory. Especial consideration is to be given to the creation of the necessary accommodations for the family members of the SS and Police. [...]"

<sup>31</sup> NO-3031.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> J. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 15-59.

The "representative of the RFSS" was SS-Brigadeführer Odilo Globocnik, a close acquaintance of Himmler's, whom the latter had appointed on July 17, 1941, as his authorized representative in matters relating to the establishment of the SS and Police bases in the "new Eastern territory". In spring of 1941 Globocnik had established an SS Special Unit in Lublin, consisting of young architects, demographers etc.; these were to redesign the city and its environs.<sup>32</sup>

The "camp as it has existed to date" referred to the so-called 'Jewish camp', which was located on Lipowa Street in the city of Lublin and which was probably a sort of prison with adjoining workshops. Jewish soldiers from the Polish army who had fallen into captivity worked there in plants of the German equipment manufacturer DAW.—The grounds of the former airfield mentioned by Himmler, where new buildings for the SS and Police Quarter were to be erected "in accordance with the suggested plan" (i.e., probably a project designed by Globocnik's team), eventually became the site of the so-called 'airfield camp', a branch of Majdanek.

Amt III (Construction), responsible for the construction of the new buildings on the grounds of the old airfield, was part of the SS Main Office for Budget and Construction. Its Chief was SS-Oberführer engineer Hans Kammler. The local Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police of Lublin was subordinate to this Amt II.

The question raised by Himmler—"Is the concentration camp to be set up by the Camp Inspector?"—is significant. This would have been the normal procedure. Evidently Himmler was considering putting his personal friend and representative Globocnik in charge of establishing the camp. This inevitably brought him into conflict with Hans Frank as well as with the civilian administration of the city Lublin, neither of whom could have wished to see Himmler and his man Globocnik manage things whichever way they saw fit.

Lublin's Governor Zörner expressed displeasure at Globocnik's excessive authority. In an August 30, 1941, letter to Globocnik he protested against the fact that the 'Jewish camp', located in the city Lublin, was evidently to be replaced by a concentration camp, and without his permission.<sup>33</sup>

The camp whose construction was begun in early October 1941 was initially called "Prisoner-of-war camp of the Waffen-SS Lublin" (Kriegsgefangenenlager der Waffen-SS Lublin, abbreviated as KGL); this name appears for the first time in a document dated October 7, 1941.<sup>34</sup> The term concentration camp (Konzentrationslager, abbreviated as KL) was avoided. J. Marszałek hypothesizes that Globocnik hoped to appease Zörner with this alternate

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<sup>32</sup> Marszałek, op. cit. (note 26), p. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin, henceforth referred to as Central Construction Office, sygn. 58.

name, since the construction of a prisoner-of-war camp was nothing unusual, given the great numbers of Soviet soldiers who had fallen into German captivity; at that time as well, several POW camps had already sprung up in the Lublin district.<sup>35</sup>

Since the captured Red Army soldiers could not be put to work in the POW camps—or could be used as labor force only to a very limited degree—it was a logical measure to send some of them to help set up the Lublin camp and to put them to work there later in the planned industries as part of the war effort. And indeed, Soviet POWs who were brought in from the local POW camps were among the first inmates of Majdanek. Z. Łukaszkiewicz gives their number as approximately 5,000,<sup>36</sup> which is probably too high. Aside from the Red Army soldiers, Jewish prisoners from the camp on Lipowa Street had to help in constructing the camp.

Himmler belatedly confirmed the camp's dual function in an April 14, 1942, letter to the Reich Ministry of Transport, stating that the POW camp served also as a concentration camp.<sup>37</sup>

It was not until April 1943, when the prisoners of war had long been a minority among the inmates, that the camp was officially renamed "concentration camp Lublin".

We recall that Himmler had originally announced that the camp should be able to accommodate 25,000 to 50,000 inmates. However, when the construction of the "prisoner of war camp" was formally ordered, there was already talk of 125,000 inmates. On November 1, 1941, in other words after the first prisoners had already arrived at the camp-to-be, SS-*Oberführer* Hans Kammler, Chief of *Amt II* (construction) of the WVHA's Main Office for Budget and Construction, wrote to the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin:<sup>38</sup>

"The order is hereby given to set up a prisoner-of-war camp in Lublin to house 125,000 POWs. An initial funding instalment of RM 5,000,000. is being provided by Chap. 21/7. Application for the total amount required is to be submitted without delay to Amt II, together with the relevant documentation."

Five weeks later, in a December 8, 1941, addendum to this letter, Kammler spoke of "150,000 POWs" and ordered the provision of supply, economic and production facilities required for the camp, for example "high-capacity laundry, delousing facilities, incineration plant, large workshops, etc.". 38

In his note of July 21, 1941, Himmler did not commit himself to the precise location of the camp to be set up. It was established south-east of Lublin, some 5 km from the city center on level ground sloping slightly south and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 28f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Z. Łukaszkiewicz, op. cit. (note 10), p. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> APMM, Central Construction Office, sygn. 120.

west, and was bordered in the south by the villages Abramowic and Dziesiata.<sup>39</sup>

The choice of this location was probably motivated by practical considerations. The camp's proximity to the Lublin train station meant that inmate transports could be marched in, obviating the need to construct a rail line to the camp. Further, the grounds of the former airfield, where a large SS settlement as well as DAW production plants were to be built, were only a few hundred meters from the camp boundary. In other words, very close to the quarters of those inmates who were to build these structures.

Of course the existence of this camp could not have remained hidden from even the most superficial observer. Accordingly, J. Marszałek states clearly:<sup>40</sup>

"The entire region is completely open. There are no natural obstacles in the form of larger rivers or forested areas. By the nature of its location, the camp could be seen into from almost every direction. Its northern boundary lay along the heavily travelled road Lublin-Chelm-Zamość-Lvóv; the southern one ran along the northern outskirts of the settlements Dziesiata and Abramowic; the western edge almost abutted the first buildings of the suburb Kosminek; only the eastern side crossed the fields of the village Kalinowka. The reasons for the decision to locate the camp here, of all places, have not been clearly established, but an intent to hide it from the eyes of the public certainly did not play a part in this decision."

The first surviving plan of Majdanek dates from October 7, 1941,<sup>41</sup> and shows the camp as "prisoner-of-war camp".<sup>42</sup> It provided for the construction of ten compounds of inmate barracks covering a total of 62.9 hectares (155.4 acres); the five western compounds are rectangular, the five eastern ones irregularly trapezoidal. A double barbed-wire barrier as well as 25 guard towers 110 to 140 meters apart were to prevent breakouts.

The plan provided for a total of 236 barracks, including 207 residential barracks. <sup>43</sup> If one assumes a population of 250 inmates per barrack, this would indicate a total camp population of just over 50,000 inmates, which agrees with Himmler's note of July 21, but not with Kammler's order of November 1, 1941, which mentioned 125,000 prisoners. Nonetheless the plan of October 7, 1941, was in force at least until March 1942. This conclusion follows from the fact that the projects from February and March 1942 to connect the camp to the city's sewer system are based on precisely this first plan. <sup>44</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> See Document 1 and Photographs I, II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 32.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> See Document 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> There were three kinds of barracks: the "Schneider Barracks" which measured 30 × 10 × 2.60 m, the "Schönbrunn Barracks" 32.50 × 12.50 × 2.70 m in size, and the "Werner Barracks" which measured 32.05 × 12.50 × 2.60 m. The reason for this was the lack of prefabricated parts for a consistent barrack style; construction had to be done with the materials at hand. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 37f.

<sup>44</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 35.

Meanwhile, construction of the first camp was in full swing. The first inmate transports, consisting of Soviet as well as Polish-Jewish prisoners of war, as mentioned before, were assigned the task of leveling the terrain and erecting the barracks on the first compound. In late November, when the first Polish functionary inmates<sup>45</sup> arrived from camps located in the Reich, such as Dachau, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, and Gusen (a satellite camp of Mauthausen), the southern row of barracks as well as some of the barracks in the northern row on Compound I were already set up.<sup>46</sup> For the prisoners assigned to this work, the working conditions were very harsh and inhumane, since they had to sleep under the open sky until the first barracks were completed, and were thus exposed to the autumn cold as well as to the rain.

The Central Construction Office normally commissioned private firms with the work to be performed. Generally the commissions were given to whichever firms tendered the best cost estimate. The private firms usually provided only the skilled labor; simple manual labor requiring no special training was often performed by inmates. The Central Construction Office was responsible for providing the private firms with construction materials.

A summary drawn up by the Central Construction Office in September 1941 about the construction bills of that month lists no fewer than 22 such private firms, the majority of them Polish ones.<sub>47</sub> One permanent employment relationship which the Central Construction Office entered into was with the Polish carpenter and building contractor Michał Ochnik. Ochnik, a member of the United Guilds of Construction Workers in Lublin, applied for commissions on October 13, 1941:<sup>48</sup>

"I hereby offer you my services for construction work and would cordially ask you to consider my firm when giving out these commissions. I have performed numerous jobs for the local authorities to date: in the past year I was commissioned with various tasks for the SS and Police Chief, Major General of the Police, Globocnik [...] I employ a work force of 20 and can assure you that any work you may give us will be done well, promptly, and in accordance with your deadlines."

Evidently a large part of the Polish civilian population had come to terms with the occupation forces.

Several Polish firms were commissioned with construction tasks inside the Majdanek camp. Michał Ochnik's firm was one of them; as we shall see later, this firm contributed to the construction of the delousing chambers which, ac-

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Functionary inmates were inmates who served as liaison between their fellow prisoners and the camp administration—for example, interpreters. That Polish prisoners from camps located farther west were sent to Majdanek in late 1941 was no doubt due primarily to the fact that they were needed as interpreters. Also, there were many doctors among them (cf. Chapter III).

<sup>46</sup> Marszałek, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 36f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 30, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, p. 27.

cording to the official account of Majdanek, also served to mass-murder human beings.49

The firms in question had to sign a promise of secrecy reading as follows:<sup>50</sup>

"The firm agrees that any news, even if minor, which it may learn and which may harm or hinder completion of the secret construction contracts assigned to it, will be immediately reported by the firm to the military authority issuing these secret construction contracts."

In light of the circumstances—a state of war, as well as resistance activity—this sort of stipulation was not out of the ordinary and in no way indicates that Majdanek had any function as extermination center. Even more so than the camp's proximity to the city of Lublin, the constant presence of Polish civilians on the camp grounds categorically ruled out any clandestine mass murders.

Important clues as to Majdanek's real functions may be found in a letter which deputy Reich Minister of Transportation Kleinmann wrote to Himmler on March 7, 1942. This letter was prompted by practical difficulties resulting from the strain of excessive demand on the Eastern Railroad and the Lublin train station

Kleinmann's letter indicated that a camp for 150,000 inmates was being built in Lublin. For the moment it was still a POW camp, but was to be reconfigured into a concentration camp in the future. The inmates were to be employed in the manufacture of clothing, shoes etc. intended for the SS in the Eastern territories.

According to Kleinmann, the SS group in Lublin needed so much construction material that jams and congestion had occurred ever since late November 1941 in unloading the wagons. Discussions with representatives of the SS had indicated such extensive construction plans of the SS for Lublin that at present neither the capacity of the Eastern Railroad nor that of the Lublin train station sufficed to bring in all the needed materials. Therefore, Himmler wanted to hold off on these construction projects.

According to the information available to him, Kleinmann said, Lublin was to become a junction in a network of SS bases in the East. Plans called for a veritable city with barracks for three regiments of the Waffen-SS as well as accommodations for their families. o This SS city was to have its own sewer system and electrical net and would have numerous large arms magazines.

On April 14, Himmler responded to this letter. He wrote that as a consequence of the shortage of raw materials and the transportation difficulties, the capacity of the camp would be reduced. He also mentioned that the planned bases of the Waffen-SS, as well as of the Police in Lublin, were intended for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> See Chapter VI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 14, p. 266.

after the war. For this reason, he wrote, he had halted the preparations for their construction and ordered their postponement.<sup>51</sup>

We do not know when Himmler issued this order to stop preparations for the construction of the SS city. In any case, this project was the subject for discussion as late as January 1942, at a conference in Berlin attended by representatives of the WVHA as well as of the Lublin City Council and the Lublin Central Construction Office. On that occasion the Chief of the latter organization, Naumann, announced that the future SS city would have a population of 60,000. <sup>52</sup>

While this SS city remained a castle in the air, the construction of a supply camp in Lublin for the region of Russia-South was purposefully hurried along. On April 24, 1942, the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police issued a report to the Higher SS and Police Chief for Russia-South in Lublin, stating:<sup>53</sup>

"According to the construction order of November 26, 1941, the representative for the construction of the SS and Police bases in the new Eastern territory, SS-Brigadeführer Globocnik, commissioned the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin with the construction of a transit supply camp for the Higher SS and Police Chief for Russia-South in Lublin. This camp includes a total of 11 camp barracks and one administrative and housing barrack. [...] Except for the water supply and drainage system, the supply camp is 75% complete, and the remaining work will be finished in approximately six weeks, since most of the materials required have already been delivered."

To summarize: the German documents which have survived (and which are consistently reproduced correctly in the official Polish literature) verify without the slightest doubt that the Lublin camp was intended to meet economic needs, especially such as related to the war economy. It was intended on the one hand to supply the SS units stationed and fighting in the East, specifically in southern Russia, with a constant supply of clothing, shoes, materiel of war, etc., and on the other hand, to contribute to the construction of the planned SS city near Lublin.

Not so much as one single document gives even the slightest indication that Majdanek was to function as an 'extermination camp'. And it was profoundly unsuitable as such anyhow, since its close proximity to the city of Lublin as well as the constant presence of Polish civilian workers on the camp grounds would have made it utterly impossible to keep any extermination efforts secret.

<sup>51</sup> The correspondence between Kleinmann and Himmler is quoted as per Marszałek, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 39ff.; pp. 50f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 168, p. 10.

### 4. The Structure of the Lublin Camp

In September 1941, SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Hermann Heinrich Hackmann and two other SS officers were transferred from Buchenwald to Lublin to take over the organization of the camp being built there. SS men from other concentration camps followed; they were to make up the garrison of Majdanek. This was structured in accordance with the guidelines set up by the Concentration Camp Inspectorate. The organization consisted of six divisions and several auxiliary divisions.<sup>54</sup>

### Division I: Command Headquarters

Management of the concentration camp was the responsibility of the camp Commandant, who was appointed by the Chief of the Concentration Camp Inspectorate. He was in charge of staffing the administrative positions within the camp as well as of the inmates' work details.

In the course of its scant three years' history, Majdanek had no fewer than five commandants. 55 The first was SS-Standartenführer Karl Otto Koch, who had served in Esterwegen during the first years of National Socialist rule and in Buchenwald from 1937 to 1940. In August 1942 he was arrested by the SS for crimes committed in Buchenwald (corruption and murder), and replaced as Commandant of Majdanek by SS-Obersturmbannführer Max August Koegel, who had previously been posted to Ravensbrück in October 1942 after a brief intermezzo in the Lublin camp. His successor in Majdanek was SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Florstedt, who had been brought in from Sachsenhausen. This arrangement lasted until September 1943, when Florstedt was arrested by the SS for embezzlement. He was temporarily replaced by SS-Hauptsturmführer Markus Melzer who, however, never officially bore the title of camp Commandant. 56 In November 1943 the fourth camp Commandant took up the post: SS-Obersturmbannführer Martin Weiss, who had formerly been Commandant of Neuengamme and Dachau. He was recalled in April 1944 and replaced by SS-Obersturmbannführer Liebehenschel, who had previously been the Head of the Auschwitz camp, where he had succeeded Rudolf Höß. Liebehenschel had command of Majdanek until the end, in July 1944.

None of the five successive commandants of Majdanek was granted a happy end. Karl Otto Koch was sentenced to death by an SS court in 1945 for

<sup>56</sup> J. Kasperek, *op. cit.* (note 55), p. 62.

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Józef Kasperek, "Organizajca. Komendatura" (Command), in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 59f.

pp. 59f.
 Regarding the various Commandants of Majdanek and their fate, see Józef Kasperek, "Oddział I—Komendatura (Komandatur). Komendant obozu" (Camp Commandant), in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 60ff., as well as: District Court Düsseldorf, Urteil Hackmann u.a., XVII 1/75, v. I, pp. 65f.

his misdeeds in Buchenwald, and executed. Max August Koegel was sentenced to death by a British military court in the course of the Ravensbrück Trial. The verdict of the Düsseldorf court in the Majdanek Trial states that Koegel committed suicide in June 1946;<sup>57</sup> according to the Polish historian Czesław Pilichowski, however, that was the month in which his death sentence was carried out.<sup>58</sup> Regarding the fate of the third commandant, Hermann Florstedt, we found three different accounts. The Düsseldorf court states that he was executed by the SS shortly before the end of the war.<sup>59</sup> J.G. Burg reports that Florstedt was hanged in Majdanek before the assembled inmates.<sup>60</sup> If this version is correct, then the execution must have taken place considerably earlier than "shortly before the end of the war". And finally, Pilichowski claims that Florstedt survived the war and lived in the Federal Republic of Germany, where the public prosecutor's office of Cologne investigated him, without a case ever coming to trial.<sup>61</sup> This version seems to us to be the most unlikely.

Martin Weiss was sentenced to death by the Americans in Dachau, and was executed in May 1946. And Arthur Liebehenschel was taken to court in Cracow in 1946 for his activities in Auschwitz, and was executed by hanging in January 1947

### Division II: Political Section

This division included the Security Police and incorporated functionaries from the Gestapo and the criminal police. It punished crimes committed by the inmates<sup>62</sup> as well as by the camp guards and was authorized to hand down death sentences. Political prisoners were interrogated by the Gestapo functionaries. Division II also maintained the inmate card file where the inmates' personal data was recorded.<sup>63</sup>

### Division III: Protective Detention Camp

The third division was responsible for housing, clothing and rations for the inmates. Together with the camp physician, it decided on the inmates' fitness for manual labor, and supervised the work. It also supervised civilians employed in the camp. Hierarchical levels of offices (camp office, compound of-

<sup>57</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. I, p. 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Czesław Pilichowski, "*Zbrodniarze z Majdanka przed sądem*" (The Majdanek Criminal in Court), in: T. Mencel, *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 428.

District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. I, p. 65.

<sup>60</sup> J. G. Burg, op. cit. (note 11), p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> C. Pilichowski, "Zbrodniarze z Majdanka przed sądem", in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), p. 428.

<sup>62</sup> *I.e.* actions considered crimes by the SS.

Regarding Division II, see Zofia Leszczyńska, "Oddział II—Polityczny", in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 64-66.

fice, block office) kept track of the numbers of inmates. The records keeper in charge of the camp office had to give daily reports on changes in the inmate population.

In Majdanek every compound had a "camp elder", appointed by the camp Commandant. Initially these camp elders were mostly German inmates who were deemed trustworthy, and their task was to maintain discipline among their fellow inmates in their respective compounds. The "block elders", who had to ensure order in their respective blocks, were one level down from the camp elders. Every work detail was under the charge of a so-called "Kapo". At first the Kapos were predominantly German criminal inmates, but Slovakian Jews were also put in these positions later; they were assisted by foremen.<sup>64</sup>

### Division IV: Administration

This division saw to the camp's supply of food, clothing and heating materials. It was in charge of the munitions caches and saw to the safekeeping of the cash and valuables confiscated from the inmates. Placing orders for the insecticide Zyklon B was also one of its responsibilities. And finally, this division had to ensure the maintenance of the technical equipment in the camp.<sup>65</sup>

### Division V: Camp Physician

The SS garrison physician was the highest medical authority, to whom the troop physician, the camp physician, the dentist and the camp pharmacist were subordinate. He was responsible for conditions of hygiene and sanitation in the camp, and had to be present at executions as well as when corporal punishment was administered.<sup>66</sup>

### Division VI: Ideological Studies

The sixth and last division organized world-view training courses, social events, artistic exhibitions, as well as the camp personnel's attendance of movie and theatre events; it also maintained the camp library, which was also accessible only to the camp staff.<sup>67</sup>

### **Auxiliary Divisions**

These included the postal service, court, transportation (i.e., the pool of motor vehicles), as well as the SS-*Totenkopf-Sturmbann*. The latter saw to the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Regarding Division III, see Zofia Leszczyńska, "Oddział III—Obóz więźniarski", ibid., pp. 66-70.

<sup>65</sup> Regarding Division IV, see Józef Kasperek, "Oddział IV—Administracja", ibid., pp. 70-72.

Regarding Division V, see Zofia Leszczyńska, "Oddział V—Lekarz obozowy", ibid., pp. 72-74.

Regarding Division VI, see Józef Kasperek, "Oddział VI—Propaganda", ibid., p. 74f.

organization of the camp guards, which were 130 in number in mid-1943 and 240 in fall of the same year and also included non-Germans (Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Rumanians). A total of 1,160 guards, both male and female, did duty in Majdanek in the scant three years of its existence.<sup>68</sup>

### Central Contruction Administration

The "Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin" deserves special mention. On August 9, 1941, it already had 22 members. <sup>69</sup> In February 1942 it was subdivided as follows:

Division I: General

Division II: General building matters
Division III: Building administration
Division IV: Structural engineering
Division V: Civil engineering

Division VI: Machinery

Division VII: Higher offices, correspondence Division VIII: SS Building Administrations Division IX: SS-V Building Administrations Division X: Police Building Administrations.<sup>70</sup>

The Building Administration's main task was the construction and development of the concentration camp Lublin, but its authority extended into four other areas as well:

- 1. Work for SS and Police on the SS properties in the Zamość and Lublin districts;
- 2. Work for the SS research center for Eastern housing in the southern zones of the Lublin region;
- 3. Construction tasks for the supply camp of the Higher SS and Police Chief Russia-South and Caucasia;
- 4. Construction of labor camps in the Lublin district as well as of SS-led factories, including fur and clothing industries in the city of Lublin.

From October 1941 to September 1943 the Central Construction Office employed a daily average of 5,000 inmates in construction projects; as of October 1943 this number decreased to 1,000. Further, the Central Construction Office depended on at least 35 civilian companies with some 1,000 employees, and maintained supply relationships with at least 78 civilian suppliers.<sup>71</sup>

70 Ibid., 6, p. 1-5. Plan of the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin, of Feb. 12, 1942.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Regarding the auxiliary divisions, see the chapters by Józef Kasperek, Zofia Murawska, Henryka Telesz, ibid., pp. 75-83, 91.

<sup>69</sup> *WAPL*, Central Construction Office, 4, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> cf. the two detailed studies by J. Marszałek, "Centralny Zarząd Budowalny SS i Policji w Lublinie", in: ZM, VI, 1972, pp. 5-41, and "Rola Centralnego Zarządu Budowalnego SS i Policji w Lublinie w budowanie obozu na Majdanku", in: ZM, VII, 1973, pp. 51-89.

### 5. Development of Majdanek in 1942-1944

When Karl Otto Koch assumed his post as the first Commandant of the Lublin camp in fall 1941, he found himself faced with other tasks besides the camp's construction. He had to expand the clothing manufacturing plants of the Waffen-SS Lublin branch, to organize the supply camp Russia-South, and to assume control of the so-called 'V-camp' on the grounds of the former airfield 500 m northwest of the camp. In the absence of any documents on the subject, we do not know what this V-camp was all about. While the V-camp and supply camp were incorporated into the concentration camp Majdanek, the clothing manufacturing plants continued on their own for the time being. In February 1942, transports of Polish Jewesses arrived there who were put to work in the production of the clothing.

For the civilian city administration of Lublin, the development of such a large camp was a thorn in their side. On January 16, 1942, at a discussion in which both the representative of the Central Construction Office and the deputy Mayor of Lublin, Dr. Steinbach, participated, it was decided that during the first stage of the construction projects the city would have to provide 1,500 m³ water for tcamp; the Central Construction Office would see to laying the water pipes. At first, Steinbach approved the connection of the camp to the municipal sewer system. At a follow-up conference on February 12, however, he announced that the city administration would make its agreement to this project dependent on its approval by the Governor-General.<sup>73</sup>

It seems that this condition was related to a dispute between Globocnik and the Governor of Lublin. Testifying as witness at the Nuremberg Trial in February 1946, Josef Bühler, secretary-of-state in the Administration of the General Government, stated that Zörner had opposed the establishment of a camp for 150,000 inmates because it required so much coal, electricity and gas that the supplies to the city suffered because of it. Furthermore, there was the danger of epidemics.

To what degree Bühler's testimony was accurate may remain an open question. In any case, the city administration informed the Building Administration on March 3 that as long as the plan for the camp's expansion had not been submitted to Governor Hans Frank and been approved by him, the Building Administration could not expect any support from the municipal authorities. At the same time, Steinbach forbade the Building Administration to perform any work within city limits aimed at connecting Majdanek to the municipal sewer system.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47f.

For the inmates these quarrels had dire consequences: the sanitary conditions in Majdanek defied description and resulted in an incredibly high mortality rate.<sup>75</sup>

We do not know if the plans were ever submitted for the Governor's approval.

Himmler's confidant Globocnik, with whom both Frank and Zörner were on poor terms, was recalled from his position on March 31, 1942, and assigned to the leadership of Operation Reinhard.<sup>76</sup>

Meanwhile the number of Majdanek inmates grew steadily. Aside from Polish inmates, numerous Czech and Slovak Jews arrived there as of late March.<sup>77</sup> On March 23, 1942, a new camp plan was submitted; this time it corresponded to the dimensions envisioned by Kammler on December 8 the previous year.<sup>78</sup> It provided for a subdivision of the camp into three parts:

1. The "prisoner-of-war camp". 16 rectangular compounds—14 larger, 2 smaller—were to be set up in four sections covering a total of 120 hectares (296.4 acres). Sections 1 and 4 were to include five compounds each, and Sections 2 and 3 three compounds each. 24 barracks (22 housing barracks, one kitchen and one laundry and toilet barrack) were to be set up on each of the larger compounds. 16 barracks (14 housing barracks, one kitchen and one laundry and toilet barrack) were planned for each of the two smaller compounds.

Given a population of 250 inmates for each of the 336 housing barracks, this puts the capacity of the prisoner-of-war camp at some 85,000 inmates. Large workshops, a food storage depot, a hospital, a high-capacity laundry etc. were to be built in the center of the camp.

- 2. The "POW Camp Annex". This was a building complex east of the prisoner of war camp. The "Annex" in turn was to be divided into three parts, the first and third of which included workshops and other buildings of economic relevance; the second section consisted of eight rows of 16 housing barracks each, for approximately 350 inmates per barrack, which amounted to a total capacity of about 45,000 inmates.
- 3. The clothing manufacturing plants of the Waffen-SS Dachau, Lublin branch. 102 barracks were planned here, 80 of them housing barracks for 250 prisoners each, totaling 20,000 inmates. The clothing manufacturing plants were separated from the "POW Camp Annex" by the railway line to Chełm.

In total, then, the camp could have taken in approximately 150,000 inmates, just as Kammler had envisioned on December 8, 1941. (In several

As far as the incomplete sources would indicate, "Operation Reinhard" seems to have involved the confiscation of Jewish property.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 63. See Document 3.

places Marszałek speaks of 250,000; however, this figure is not based on any documentary evidence but merely on the theoretical maximum capacity of the camp under conditions of extreme overcrowding of the barracks.) This figure was never approached even remotely, since the plan of March 23 remained on paper only. Already on May 14 it was decided that only Compounds I through VIII would be built—the first five in one construction stage and the last three in a second. 79 Aside from the shortage of raw materials and the transportation problems, the uncertain situation at the Eastern front probably also contributed to this decision.

Meanwhile, the efforts to connect the camp to the municipal Lublin sewer system were finally being pursued with vigor. On May 15, 1942, the Central Construction Office submitted an appropriate construction proposal to Building Inspection East of the Waffen-SS and Police in Cracow. The cost estimate was based on Polish prices and set at one million Reichsmark. The Central Construction Office noted:80

"If inmates and prisoners [i.e., prisoners of war] can be extensively employed in the excavation of culverts in the city streets, construction costs will be significantly reduced. The number of inmates required would be up to 500 men per day, but they could only be engaged in individual groups of 50 to 100."

The intolerable sanitary conditions in the camp had been sharply criticized by a team of experts whom the Berlin Sanitation Institute of the SS had sent to Majdanek. In a report provided to the Central Construction Office on May 29. 1942, the sanitation officers stated that the well by the Infirmary (Hospital Block) on Compound I was in a most unsuitable location since the sick people's excretions could contaminate it. The second well, located near the camp physician's quarters, must be closed immediately since it was crawling with e. coli bacteria. The camp, they said, was courting an epidemic. The only way to effectively eliminate this danger would be to connect the camp to the municipal sewer system, and this should be done with utmost urgency.<sup>81</sup>

The construction proposal, submitted on May 15, was not granted until July 27;80 those responsible took their time for another two and a half months. Regarding implementation of the project, the Central Construction Office turned to several private firms, among them the Continental Society for Trade and Industry in Cracow and the Technical Engineering Office for central heating and sanitation facilities in Warsaw. The building materials were also purchased from these firms, 82 while all construction work not requiring special

<sup>80</sup> APMM, Central Construction Office, sygn. 120.

495 tons of pipe sections, 50,000 bricks, 230 tons cement, 50m<sup>3</sup> mortar, 30 tons lime, 160m<sup>3</sup> wood and 17 tons iron and steel were needed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Marszałek, op. cit. (note 26), p. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> J. Marszałek, "Budowa obozu na Majdanku w latach 1942-1944" (Construction of the Majdanek Camp in 1942-1944), in: ZM, IV, 1969, pp. 70f.

skills was performed by inmates, whom the Central Construction Office rented out to the firms in question for 60 pfennig a day.

Due to the constant shortage of transportation, completion of the work was endlessly delayed: trucks and trains were needed for the Eastern front, and there were not enough wagons to transport the required building materials to Lublin. It took until January 1943 for the connection to the municipal sewer system to be completed, <sup>83</sup> and it was not before fall of that year that every barrack finally had running water.

Aside from the scarcity of raw materials and transportation, manpower shortages were another long-term problem for the SS, so that efforts were made towards a more judicious application of inmate labor. Himmler issued the following instructions in a May 20, 1942, circular to all Central Construction Offices and Building Inspectors of the Waffen-SS and Police:<sup>84</sup>

"As per the order of the Chief of the Main Office, effective immediately, the entire inmate population will be centrally managed. Consequently it is absolutely necessary that all offices report by May 30, 1942, how much inmate or POW labor they require for the projects under way. Manpower requirements are to be detailed by subject areas, separately for each construction project. In the own best interest of the Construction Administrations, this deadline must be met, since otherwise the required inmates may be reassigned without notice. In future, the raw materials requisition for every construction proposal is also to include the inmate manpower as per the above."

The highest authority in the allocation of concentration camp inmate laborers was *Amt DII* of the WVHA under SS-*Standartenführer* Gerhard Maurer. In this capacity, Maurer was authorized to order the transfer of inmates from one camp to another or to facilities of the civil or war industry. On March 2, 1943, for example, Maurer ordered that 2,000 Polish inmates physically fit to work were to be transferred from Majdanek to the Reich. As already mentioned, in the Lublin camp itself the allocation of inmate labor was within the province of Division III (protective detention camp). From April 1942 to April 1944 it was under the leadership of SS-*Hauptscharführer* Troll, who was succeeded by SS-*Oberscharführer* Herbert Abraham.

As in other concentration camps, the inmates who were assigned to labor projects fell into two main categories, the 'inside units' and the 'outside units'. The former had to build and expand the camp itself; they were put to work in excavation, construction and transportation. 280 buildings were built in Majdanek altogether. Other units had to see to camp maintenance (cleaning, gardening, kitchen, laundry, delousing chambers, etc.). There was even a unit

<sup>83</sup> Cf. the report of SS-Hauptsturmführer Krone, quoted in Chapter III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> *WAPL*, Central Construction Office, 54, p. 12.

Anna Wiśniewska, "*Praca więźniów*" (The Inmates' Work), in: T. Mencel, *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 81), p. 82.

assigned by SS-*Obersturmführer* Anton Thumann to the artistic beautification of the camp; this unit was under the charge of the Polish sculptor A.M. Boniecki.<sup>88</sup>

The 'outside units' worked for various firms. Sometimes these maintained workshops on the camp grounds. If the workshops were located at a greater distance from the camp, the inmates were quartered in company facilities; otherwise, they returned to the camp after work.

In the following we shall give a brief outline of the various construction stages in Majdanek, with primary reference to a 1969 article by J. Marszałek.<sup>81</sup>

The construction plan of May 14, 1942, which provided for the construction of barracks on eight compounds, was modified in July of that same year. According to the new plan (which was already the fourth!) buildings were now planned for only the first five compounds. Between Compounds IV and V, two new intermediate compounds were planned, the first of which was to become the site of the crematorium and the laundry building. The economic section was to be set up west of the inmate compounds, where barracks would be built to store the possessions confiscated from the internees; further buildings included baths, four large economic and administrative barracks, sheds for storing potatoes, a riding arena, a shooting gallery, and finally, the construction yard, a complex of several buildings to store building materials.<sup>89</sup>

A camp constructed on the basis of this plan could have held some 50,000 inmates—again, the figure Himmler had mentioned a year before. But not even this population level was ever attained: as we shall see in the next chapter, there were never more than approximately 22,500 inmates in Majdanek at any one time.

Construction on the various compounds proceeded as follows:

Work on Compound I was begun in October 1941 by the first inmate transports to arrive in Majdanek, and was completed in early 1942. It was the site of two rows of 10 barracks each. Compounds II through V had 22 barracks each. Compound II was completed by early 1942, Compounds III and IV in spring and summer respectively, and Compound V in September 1942. In total, therefore, there were 108 barracks on these compounds by the last-mentioned date. 90

On Compound VI—which had not figured on the plan of July 1942—barracks were built much later, between fall 1943 and early 1944, while the plans for Compounds VII and VIII were never implemented.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> A. Wiśniewska, *op. cit.* (note 85), p. 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 81), p. 22.

<sup>90</sup> See Document 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Regarding the genesis of the various compounds, see Marszałek, op. cit. (note 81), pp. 32ff.

Each compound was a separate administrative unit. Majdanek was the only camp structured in this way; no other National Socialist concentration camp had a comparable system of compounds. The SS officer in charge of a compound bore the title *Feldführer*, or "Compound leader"; he was responsible for maintaining order, carrying out roll calls, and managing the compound office. As already mentioned, he was assisted by a "camp elder", i.e., a trusted inmate. The next administrative level down were the "block elders", who were each responsible for one block and were in turn assisted by trusted inmates with lesser responsibilities (block leader, block secretary, Kapos). 92

A brief summary of the population of the various compounds follows.

#### Compound I

Initially, Compound I housed those Soviet POWs who, together with the Polish-Jewish POWs from the 'Jewish Camp' on Lipowa Street, carried out the first construction projects on the Lublin camp grounds. Civilian inmates were added later. As early as November 1941 an "*infirmary*" (hospital block) was set up there, which grew constantly and eventually took up all 10 barracks comprising the northern side of the Compound; the southern row continued to be inhabited by inmates fit to work. In September 1943 the infirmary was transferred to Compound V and the male prisoners who were fit to work were moved to Compounds III and IV. Compound I was now reserved for female inmates; the Women's Hospital, consisting at first of 6 and later of 11 barracks, also became established here.

At this point some remarks on the female inmates of the Lublin camp are in order. While Majdanek had originally been intended exclusively for men, the construction of a separate women's camp was proposed in July 1942. The project was approved by Glücks. On October 29, 1942, Kammler wrote to Krüger:<sup>94</sup>

"In the aforementioned letter, the Chief of Amtsgruppe D, SS-Brigadeführer and Major General of the Waffen-SS Glücks, has submitted to me the October 6, 1942, proposal of the Commandant of the Lublin POW camp to construct a new women's concentration camp on the grounds of the clothing manufacturing plant of the Waffen-SS in Lublin.

In view of the urgency of this matter, the appropriate construction office is to be instructed to work together with SS-Obersturmbannführer Koegel, Commandant of the Lublin POW camp, to draw up the required construction proposal and to submit it without delay. The camp plan submitted together with the abovementioned request is enclosed herewith."

The first female inmates had already arrived in Majdanek on October 1, in other words before the request to set up the Women's Camp had even been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 95.

formally made. At first they were housed on Compound V. As Kammler's letter to Krüger shows, Koegel envisaged the clothing manufacturing plant on the former airfield as the location for the Women's Camp. 22 barracks were to be added to the camp beside the workshops, which amounts to a capacity of approximately 5,000 inmates. In November 1942, the women who had arrived in Majdanek the previous month were transferred to the grounds of the clothing manufacturing plant. It is typical for the chaos reigning in the Lublin camp that this decision was soon reversed again, in early January 1943. As of the 8th of that month, newly arrived transports of women (initially these inmates were mostly Polish political prisoners, later also Jewesses and Soviet citizens) were once again quartered on Compound V in Majdanek, so that now there were again two Women's Camps. In September of that year, the Women's Division of Majdanek was transferred to Compound I.

The total of 25 female guards were mostly brought in from the women's concentration camp Ravensbrück. Head guard among them was Elsa Ehrlich.<sup>95</sup>

#### Compound II

Compound II was primarily populated with Jewish inmates. Later, a special "field hospital for war-disabled Soviet Russian ex-servicemen" was established there; these were Soviet soldiers who had gone over to the German side and then been crippled at the front. Himmler personally ordered the establishment of this field hospital on January 6, 1943. He decreed that the barracks were to be equipped like hospitals and only Russian doctors and orderlies should serve as care-givers. The humane treatment of the Russian wardisabled was to be highlighted appropriately in propaganda reports. <sup>96</sup>

#### Compound III

At Compound III as well, a large proportion of the inmates were Jews. In spring 1942 the first "hostages" were also brought in. (As we have seen, the activities of the armed Polish Resistance against the occupation power resulted in an internment of civilians as well, even if it could not be proven that they had assisted the resistance movement. In many cases these hostages were released again after only a short time.)

The so-called 'Decrepit Block' (*Gammelblock*) was also set up on Compound III. 'Decrepits' or 'Muslims' were terms in camp jargon for sick inmates in the last stages of emaciation, for whom there was little hope of re-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Zofia Murawska, "Obóz kobiecy" (The Women's Camp), in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 84-86.

Henryka Telesz, "Lazaret dla inwalidów—byłych jeńców radzieckich" (The field hospital for former Soviet prisoners of war), in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 88-91.

covery. And finally, some barracks on this compound were set aside from time to time for inmates suffering from typhus.

#### Compound IV

Initially, Compound IV housed political prisoners and Soviet POWs. As of fall 1942 a special section there was set up to house hostages. This section was called the "Catchment Camp". <sup>97</sup>

#### Compound V

As mentioned before, Compound V served at first to house women (and children). After these had been transferred to Compound I in September 1943, a hospital for male patients was set up on Compound V with a final total of 22 barracks, including ones for surgery, tuberculosis patients, inmates suffering from infectious tuberculosis, and convalescents.

Initially, the command headquarters were in the city of Lublin, at 12 Ogrodowa Street in a house that had previously been under Church ownership. The camp guards also lived in Lublin at first., The plan of March 1942 did not yet provide for separate accommodations for the camp administration and staff on the Majdanek camp grounds. They were not built until the second half of 1942, southeast of Compound I. A total of 12 barracks housed the camp administration, while a separate block to the west of these provided 14 barracks for the guards, three for SS officers, SS NCOs, and SS men employed in the administration; one additional barrack was provided for the female guards. 98

All these buildings were constructed by inmates. Aside from the total of 280 buildings on the camp grounds, they also set up the sewer system and built the roads inside the camp complex. The first street connected the block housing the Administration with the road from Lublin to Zamość; the second ran from this same block to the inmate compounds, and the third from the inmate compounds to the Lublin-Zamość road. All in all, 4,500 meters of roads were built.<sup>99</sup>

The Polish historian Anna Wiśniewska has examined the surviving documents to determine what percentage of the Majdanek inmates were employed in the construction and maintenance of the camp itself. In September 1942, 42% of the inmates were assigned to construction projects, while 18% served as cleaning staff, gardeners, cooks, laundry personnel etc. as part of camp maintenance. In September 1943, when new barracks were being built only on Compound VI, the proportion of inmate labor in construction had dropped to 18%, while all of 42% were now employed in maintenance work; in other

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Henryka Telesz, "*Obóz dla zakładników*" (Catchment camp of the Order Police—Security catchment camp), in: T. Mencel, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp. 91f.

<sup>98</sup> Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 81), pp. 59ff.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., pp. 79f.

words, the relationship had reversed. For March 1944, the figures were 10% and 65%(!), respectively. 40% of the inmates worked for independent firms in September 1942 and September 1943, but this figure had dropped to 25% by March 1944. Since one can assume that by far the most inmates were sent out for construction work in the beginning, these figures indicate that only about a third of all the man-hours of work performed in Majdanek were economically productive. In practice, therefore, the camp had become largely an end in and of itself. That was certainly not what Himmler had had in mind when he gave the go-ahead for the camp's construction in July 1941!

The most significant firms to profit from inmate labor were the fur and clothing manufacturers, the DAW, and the Eastern Industries, which the SS established only in March 1943. The clothing manufacturing plants produced clothing and shoes for the soldiers at the Eastern front; the DAW maintained the workshops of the Jewish Camp in Lublin, as well as facilities on the grounds of the former airfield; and the Eastern Industries owned workshops on the former airfield where weapons were repaired. Further, their plants manufactured brushes, ammunition baskets, etc. Women had to contribute to this work, as did children.

These three firms were also represented on the Majdanek camp grounds. In 1943, almost half of all the barracks on Compound IV were put to economically productive use. On Compound VI, the DAW converted several barracks into cobblers' shops where worn-out shoes, shipped in from the front, were repaired. <sup>101</sup>

During the entire existence of the camp, Jewish laborers from various countries, particularly from Poland itself, played a decidedly important role. In spring 1943 Jewish laborers were transferred, for security and strategic reasons, from Warsaw to Majdanek and its satellite camps. On March 31, 1943, a representative of the Eastern Industries wrote to Central Construction Office of Lublin: 102

"As per the order of the Reichsführer-SS, those factories essential to armaments production which are located in the Warsaw ghetto and operate with Jewish labor shall be relocated without delay, for security reasons and in the interests of an increase in the application of Jewish labor. Relocation shall be to Poniatowa, Trawniki and Lublin, into buildings already extant."

We conclude with a few words about Majdanek's satellite camps.

Reports of their number vary, since the boundaries between a satellite camp and an 'outside unit' are fluid. The Polish historian Czesław Rajca postulates a total of "13 branches" of Majdanek. 103

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> A. Wiśniewska, *op. cit.* (note 85), p. 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Marszałek, op. cit. (note 81), p. 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 268, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Czesław Rajca, "Podobozy Majdanka" (The Satellite Camps of Majdanek), in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 379-398.

In Pulawy, Radom and Blizyn the inmates worked in DAW plants. In the city of Lublin, prisoners were put to work in the local DAW branch as well as in several smaller work details. The Heinkel Works were in Budyn, where mostly Jewish inmates manufactured airplane parts. In Trawniki, which served jointly as labor camp and as training camp for SS-men, construction and excavation work needed to be done. In Piaski near Lublin, the inmates posted there worked in a sawmill. And finally, in April 1944, the concentration camp Warsaw which had been set up in May 1943 was subordinated to the Lublin camp. Primarily non-Polish prisoners were interned there, and put to work such as tearing down the ruins of houses on the territory of the destroyed Jewish ghetto and searching for reusable building materials such as bricks.

Neither the inmates in the main camp nor those in the outside units would have hurried to complete their work. When the Polish sculptor Boniecki and his team of artists were put to the task of beautifying the camp, they created, among other things, a pillar with three eagles as well as a concrete lizard and a tortoise. <sup>104</sup> The eagles symbolized the idea of freedom and the lizard that of conspiracy and going underground, while the tortoise embodied the principle of 'work slowly and poorly'. No doubt the Majdanek inmates lived up to this principle wherever they possibly could.

At the time when Warsaw was subordinated to Majdanek, the latter camp was already approaching dissolution. The Eastern front was drawing inexorably closer, and the evacuation was in full swing: one inmate transport after the other left for the west. On July 23, 1944, the march-in of the Red Army heralded the end.

The history of National Socialist policy for the Lublin region and the Majdanek camp is the story of a long sequence of ambitious projects, hardly any of which could be realized. The region surrounding Lublin was to be Germanized, an SS-city with 60,000 inhabitants was to be established; both plans remained wishful thinking. Other plans called for making this area a catch basin for European Jewry, but this concept also did not make it past the beginning stage. In Majdanek, 150,000 inmates were supposed to create a dynamic economic centre which would supply the German wartime armies (and, after their victory, the German civilian industries) with an endless flow of products, but the hoped-for number of inmates was never even remotely approximated. The greatest part of the forced laborers' efforts went towards the consolidation and maintenance of the camp itself—a camp that ultimately remained a giant complex of ruins and which cost a very great number of people their lives.

The reason for the high death toll claimed by this torso at the outskirts of Lublin was not so much brutality and sadism (though no doubt there was some of this as well among the lower-ranking SS personnel and especially the Kapos) as the lack of planning (for example, the frequent change of comman-

<sup>104</sup> Marszałek, op. cit. (note 81), p. 40.

dants, which rendered a long-term and goal-oriented leadership policy in the camp impossible)as well as rivalries among the various authorities who, for example, kept postponing the camp's badly-needed connection to the municipal sewer system. And finally, the poor living conditions and thus the high mortality rate were also exacerbated by factors which one cannot blame on the camp Administration and the Central Construction Office, such as the lack of transportation facilities resulting from the developments along the Eastern front, which caused additional delays in bringing in the materials needed for building the sewer system.

## Chapter II: Transports and Camp Population

#### 1. The Official Version of Majdanek

According to the official present-day account of events in Majdanek, a total of some 300,000 inmates were admitted to the camp, of which approximately 235,000 died, 45,000 were transferred to other camps, 20,000 were released by the Germans and 1,500 were liberated by the Red Army on July 23, 1944. <sup>105</sup>

The remarkably high figure of 20,000 released inmates is not documented anywhere in the subject literature. Since we cannot conceive of any reason why official Polish historiography could possibly wish to inflate this figure, we shall accept it as correct.

In the following we will critically examine the claims made in the Polish subject literature about the number of inmates admitted to Majdanek.

According to a 1973 study by Czesław Rajca, 106 we know the names of 47,890 inmates of Majdanek, including 7,441 women. These names, Rajca states, were gleaned from the following sources:

- Surviving documents from the camp office, as well as files kept by the gendarmerie of the Lublin District;
- documents from Polish charities as well as legal and illegal correspondence by inmates;
- materials drawn up after the war (memoirs, accounts and questionnaires of former internees).

Of the inmates known by name, Rajca states, 59.8% were Polish, 19.8% Soviet, 13.3% Czech and Slovak, and 4.0% German citizens. The remainder included another 20 different nationalities; 107 25.2% were Jews. 108 As C. Rajca himself stresses, the percentage of Jewish inmates recorded here is clearly below the actual level.

C. Rajca claims that the 47,890 names corresponded to approximately 14% of the total number of inmates admitted into the camp, whose number he gives as 340,000, stating that another 160,000 unregistered Jews who were mur-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Anna Wiśniewska, Czesław Rajca, op. cit. (note 2), p. 32.

<sup>106</sup> Czesław Rajca, "Analiza Danych Personalnych Wiezniów", in: ZM, VII, 1973, pp. 38-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

dered immediately upon arrival must be added to these 340,000 registered inmates—for a total of half a million people who had come to Majdanek. 109

If one reduces the latter figure to 300,000, in accordance with modern-day official historiography, the percentage of known names increases considerably.

We have reason to believe that the number of 300,000 inmates deported to Majdanek is still a gross exaggeration. First, however, we must show how official Polish historiography supports its figures. To do so we shall refer primarily to two accounts by Zofia Leszczyńska, the first from 1969 and the second from 1980. The first deals with the transports to Majdanek, the second with those leaving Majdanek. He first from 1969 are second with those leaving Majdanek.

In the anthology *Majdanek 1941-1944*, published in 1991, Z. Leszczyńska provides us with a synthesis of her two earlier studies and modifies her figures from those studies slightly, <sup>112</sup> but since she does not add anything new of significance, we shall dispense with a detailed discussion of her contribution to this anthology.

#### 2. The Transports to Majdanek

First, let us summarize the article from 1969 which deals with the transports to the Lublin camp. For simplicity's sake, where the figures themselves are concerned, we shall simply dispense with the frequently applied qualifiers "approximately", "estimated", etc.; as the author herself freely admits, by far the most of these figures are estimates. Zofia Leszczyńska groups her transports to Majdanek into eight distinct phases:

#### a) First Phase (October 1941 – March 1942):

In the first half-year of its existence, the camp took in 8,300 people, including 2,000 Soviet POWs who were the first to arrive in October.

As of November, smaller transports arrived at Majdanek from other camps. Among these were doctors and orderlies, as well as Polish, Czech, and German inmates who could speak German and Russian; the latter were needed as 'functionary inmates'.

<sup>110</sup> Zofia Leszczyńska, "Transporty wiezniów do obozu na Majdanku", in: ZM, IV, 1969, pp. 174-232.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Zofia Leszczyńska, "Transporty wiezniów z obozu na Majdanku", in: ZM, X, 1980, pp. 118-134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Zofia Leszczyńska, "Transporty i stany liczbowe obozu", in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 93-128.

As of December, larger transports of Polish male inmates arrived (political prisoners from Lublin Castle, as well as hostages taken in reprisal against attacks perpetrated by the Resistance movement).

Between January and March 1942, eight Jewish transports arrived at the camp; the Jews in question were mostly from the Lublin ghetto and from towns surrounding Lublin.

#### b) Second Phase (April – June 1942)

21,700 people were taken to Majdanek from April to June 1942, including 3,600 Polish political prisoners. The reason for their arrest was generally either support they had rendered to the partisans, or their failure to report partisan activity to the occupation authorities. Most of those deported to Majdanek during this time were Slovak and Czech Jews. In total, 18,100 Jews from Slovakia and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia were sent to Majdanek during these three months.

#### c) Third Phase (July – December 1942)

Majdanek absorbed 22,600 new arrivals in the second half of 1942. Of these, 7,000 were Poles, most of them farmers from the Lublin area, who had been sent to the concentration camp in reprisal for attacks and acts of sabotage by the Resistance movement. Of the remaining arrivals, by far the most—15,000—were Jews, primarily Polish. According to eyewitnesses this figure was even higher, but many Jews were allegedly murdered immediately upon their arrival, without first being registered. Particularly large transports came from Warsaw. Further, 1,700 Jewesses from Bełżec arrived in Majdanek in October. And finally, French, Belgian and Dutch Jews were also brought to Majdanek during this period.

#### d) Fourth Phase (January – April 1943)

In the first four months of 1943, 52,700 persons were deported to Majdanek; the number of Jews (5,600 inmates) was proportionately small this time. 5,000 of these Jews came from the collection camp Drancy in France. Among remaining 600 Jews there were 104 women from Grodno and Bialystok who had been sent to Majdanek via Treblinka. But the vast majority of those who were brought to Majdanek during this time were members of Slavic peoples. In January, large-scale raids had been carried out in numerous Polish cities, and for some of those arrested the destination was Majdanek. Many inmates also arrived from the east: Russians, White Russians, Ukrainians, as well as Poles from the regions east of Lublin.

#### e) Fifth Phase (May – August 1943)

Within these four months 62,300 prisoners arrived in Majdanek, among them 24,850 Jews. The latter were mostly from the Warsaw ghetto, where the SS had crushed the uprising of the Jewish resistance movement in April and May and levelled the ghetto. On May 13 the new arrivals included a convoy of 308 Jewish men who had been taken from Warsaw to Treblinka, and thence, after a selection, to Majdanek. Further, approximately 6,500 Jews from the Bialystok ghetto came to the Lublin camp.

Concurrently, Polish prisoners arrived in Majdanek almost on a daily basis. A total of 110 transports of Polish inmates have been documented for this period. In June and July the number of inmates in the camp reached its highest point. Finally, the trains from the East, crowded with White Russians, Russians and Ukrainians, also continued.

#### f) Sixth Phase (September – November 1943)

During these three months the Lublin camp took in 24,800 prisoners. This time, deportees from the East (*i.e.*, again Ukrainians, White Russians and Russians) made up the largest group, with 11,600. Also, Poles from Lublin Castle, the city of Lublin and its environs, and from other cities were also admitted. Particular mention must be made of the "death transports", which arrived during this time. Immediately upon arrival, the victims were taken to the crematorium and shot. The Jews who were brought to Majdanek on November 3 from labor camps in the Lublin region and who were killed together with the Jewish inmates must also be counted among the victims of these death transports.

#### g) Seventh Phase (December 1943 – March 1944)

The number of those deported to Majdanek during this time approximates 40,500. For security reasons the SS sent no more Polish inmates to Majdanek after December 24, 1943, except for those from towns in the vicinity of Lublin. They were some 5,600 in number. The transports from the East still continued, involving some 9,850 deportees. After almost all Jews had been killed on November 3, 1943, another 4,200 German, Polish and Hungarian Jews arrived between December 1943 and March 1944, including 200 members of the Auschwitz *Sonderkommando* who were all killed upon arrival.

The largest group of new arrivals was made up of 20,850 ill and invalid prisoners who were transferred to Majdanek from camps in the German Reich (Buchenwald, Dora-Mittelbau, Neuengamme, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Auschwitz and Flossenbürg). These also included 300 blind inmates (on a transport arriving on March 11, 1944, from Flossenbürg).

#### h) Eighth Phase (April – July 1944)

Even though the evacuation of the camp had already begun in March, another 14,800 inmates arrived between April and July: 14,200 Poles and 600 Jews. As late as July 20 and 21, in other words shortly before the Red Army arrived, 800 prisoners were taken from Lublin Castle to the camp, where they were shot.

In total, then—the author concludes—246,900 people were taken to Majdanek in 694 convoys. Of these, 99,500 were Poles from the General Government, 77,150 were Jews, 51,650 White Russians, Russians, Ukrainians and Poles from the Eastern territories; the remaining 20,600 were of various other nationalities.

However, the author adds, these statistics do not include nearly all the transports that actually arrived at the camp; many of them, she says, were not recorded, and accordingly the real number of inmates admitted to Majdanek is much greater than 246,900. 113

So much for Z. Leszczyńska's data regarding the transports to Majdanek. Let us now take a look at the sources on which this Polish historian bases her arguments. They may be grouped into four categories:

- German documents. Regrettably only very few of these exist, since most of them were destroyed or have vanished;
- Some studies published in Poland (which are not accessible to us, with one exception);
- News reports of the Polish Resistance about transports arriving in Majdanek;
- Reports from inmates, smuggled out of the camp during its existence, as well as eyewitness testimony given after the camp's liberation.

Here is one example of a solidly documented figure regarding deportees to Majdanek. In her study Z. Leszczyńska reproduces a copy of a March 24, 1942, telex no. 803 from the Inspector of the Concentration Camps in Oranienburg to the then Commandant of Majdanek, Karl Otto Koch; the telex reads:<sup>114</sup>

"Re. Jews from Slovakia

As already stated, the 10,000 (ten thousand) Jews from Slovakia destined for the camp there [Lublin] will be moved in with special trains as of March 27, 1942. Every special train carries 1,000 (one thousand) inmates. All trains will be routed via the border train station Zwardon (Upper Silesia) where they will each arrive at 6:09 a.m. and, in a two-hour break, will be channeled on to their destination by Security Police escorts and under supervision by the Katowice division of the State Police.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Zofia Leszczyńska, op. cit. (note 110), p. 211.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

The leaders of the escort units carry transport lists detailed by name. For the time being, the following schedules have been worked out with the Reichsbahn for the first 4 transports.

DA 67 on March 27, DA 69 on March 30, DA 70 on March 31, DA 72 on April 5. On these days: arrival in Zwardon at 6:09 a.m., departure from Zwardon at 8:20 a.m., arrival in Lublin at 6:30 a.m. the following day. Schedules for the other six transports are to be announced.

As already ordered via telex no. 886 of March 23, 1942, the arrival and admittance of each individual transport shall be confirmed by telex to this office, verifying numbers and the provisions brought along by the transport.

Chief, Central Office [sgd.] Liebehenschel SS-Obersturmführer."

If we also had the transport name lists mentioned in this telex, documentation would be complete.

Z. Leszczyńska now proceeds to take each and any witness statement that mentions convoys arriving in Majdanek and that makes claims as to their numerical strength, and credits these statements with equal evidential value as this document! She clearly does not weigh evidence according to its credibility. And this is the Achilles heel of her statistics which robs them of all value.

For example, the author supports her utterly unrealistic figures of Russians, White Russians and Ukrainians deported to Majdanek with reports from the Polish Resistance movements, which naturally had a vested interest in inflating the number of deportees as much as possible in order to emphasize its claims about National Socialist tyranny. Even for this reason alone, all statistics based exclusively on eyewitness testimony are suspect from the start, and have no value as evidence.

Regarding the Polish books and articles consulted by the author, one can make the fundamental assumption that the figures given therein, and quoted by her, are based on eyewitness accounts rather than on documents, for if there were any of the latter, Z. Leszczyńska would very likely have quoted them directly. The only one of these studies which we have been able to access ourselves is Tatiana Berenstein's and Adam Rutkowski's *Żydzi w obozie koncentracyjnym Majdanek* (Jews in the Concentration Camp Majdanek), published in 1966. <sup>115</sup> Z. Leszczyńska repeatedly cites this work as her source. On the basis of one example, namely the figures which Berenstein and Rutkowski give regarding the Polish Jews deported to Majdanek in 1942, we can see that these two authors rely primarily on eyewitness accounts.

In that year—so they write—36,500 Polish Jews were sent to Majdanek. Most of them were murdered immediately upon arrival without ever being

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Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, "Żydzi w obozie koncentracyjnym Majdanek (1941-1944)", in: Biuletyn żydowskiego historicznego, no. 58, Warsaw, 1966.
 Ibid., p. 14.

registered, which is why the camp documentation contains no references to them. Almost all figures given are based on witness statements: for example, the May 1942 deportation of 2,000 Jews from the towns of Belzyc, Międzyrzec and Zamość is 'documented' with the statements of one Mordechai Sztrygler and one Golda Teich; the deportation of 2,000 Jews from Piaski in September is established on the basis of statements by the selfsame Golda Teich and one Maks Auerbach; and the deportation of 3,000 Jews from the ghetto of Majdan Tatarski in November is verified on the basis of statements by one Ida Gliksztejn, one Julia Celinski, one Rywka Grynwald, and one Symcha Turteltaube. 117

Z. Leszczyńska is very well aware of the unreliable nature of this source. For example, she gives the number of Jews deported from the ghetto of Bialystok to Majdanek as 6,500<sup>118</sup> and adds a footnote pointing out that Berenstein and Rutkowski speak of 24,000 Jews deported from the Bialystok ghetto to the Lublin camp. The sources cited in this instance by Berenstein and Rutkowski are the witness statements of one Szymon Amiel and one Efraim Nachumowicz. <sup>119</sup> If Z. Leszczyńska's figure is correct, then that given by Berenstein and Rutkowski is grossly exaggerated, which also makes all their other figures suspect from the start. But as we have pointed out, this does not stop Z. Leszczyńska from quoting this source time and time again! It is safe to assume that the statistics quoted from other books and articles as well are based exclusively on eyewitness testimony.

When the eyewitnesses leave her in the lurch and fail to provide figures, the author does not hesitate to offer estimates of her own. One example: 120

"The first inmates of Jewish nationality were imprisoned in Majdanek on December 12, 1941. They had been arrested in the course of street raids in Lublin. 150 Jews fit to work were arrested, and after being deloused and issued prison clothing they were taken to Majdanek by truck that very same day. From January to March 19 [1942] another eight transports of Jews arrived at Majdanek; these Jews had been arrested in raids in the Lublin ghetto as well as in other towns in the Lublin region. The number of people on each transport cannot be precisely determined from the surviving documentation. The only thing known for certain is that the transport of January 5, 1942, included several hundred persons. The prisoners on many Jewish transports were murdered immediately upon arrival. This was the fate of the aforementioned transport of January 5, for one, as well as of another transport of February 22, 1942.

If we assume that each of these transports included at least 200 people, this means that approximately 1,800 Jews arrived in Majdanek during this time."

The figure of 150 work-fit Jews who were imprisoned on December 12, 1941, is proven by a memo issued by a German official on December 23 of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 110), p. 197.

T. Berenstein, A. Rutkowski, op. cit. (note 115), p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 110), pp. 181-183.

that year, in other words with an actual document. Regarding the transport of January 5 the author states that it is "known" to have included several hundred persons, but she neglects to tell us the source from which this is known. Her "assumption" that each of the nine transports included at least 200 people is also not documented. (After all, it goes without saying that the murder of entire transports immediately upon arrival can only be 'proven' by eyewitness testimony.)

The following concrete example clearly reveals the utterly unfounded nature of Z. Leszczyńska's postulated figures:

The author claims that between January and August 1943 the Lublin camp took in 115,000 prisoners (52,700 in the first four-month period and another 62,300 in the second). However, from the September 30, 1943, report of WVHA Chief Oswald Pohl to the *Reichsführer*-SS Heinrich Himmler, in which camp population and mortality figures in the various concentration camps are discussed, <sup>121</sup> the following becomes apparent:

- 1. In the time in question, the total number of inmates in all the concentration camps rose from 123,000 to 224,000, *i.e.*, by 101,000.
- 2. In the same time period, 62,700 inmates died in all concentration camps together.

If all those who died had been interned before January 1, 1943, it would mean that 163,700 inmates had been newly admitted to the camps in the eight month period at issue. Naturally, however, part of the deaths must have involved new arrivals, *i.e.*, inmates who had not been imprisoned prior to 1943. Thus, the total of all inmates imprisoned between January and August 1943 must have been significantly less than 163,700.

Of the new arrivals in the first eight months of 1943, no less than 97,850 were sent to Auschwitz. <sup>122</sup> Consequently, all the other camps put together took in significantly fewer than (163,700-97,850=) 65,850 deportees, and again, only a part of these can have been sent to Majdanek. Therefore, Z. Leszczyńska's statistic is exaggerated by several orders of magnitude!

The fact that the author, drawing on highly questionable sources, inflates the number of deportees so extremely is not difficult to explain in light of the political constraints within she had to work. At the time she wrote her analysis, the figure of 360,000 Majdanek victims was a dogma which it was anathema to question. Now, if 360,000 inmates died in Majdanek while 45,000 were transferred to other camps, 20,000 were released by the Germans and 1,500 were liberated by the Red Army, then simple mathematics would require that Lublin camp took in a total of 426,500 inmates. Despite her best efforts,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> PS 1469.

<sup>122</sup> Danuta Czech, Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945, Reinbek: Rowohlt 1989.

Z. Leszczyńska can only come up with 246,900, and so she conjures up the missing 179,600 by commenting that her figure is by no means complete!

In her publication on the same subject, authored 22 years later, Z. Lesz-czyńska now counts all of 827 transports (up from her previous 694) which now included "at least 275,000" people, and adds this time, as well, that the actual figure was much higher. 123

This study may be found in the voluminous anthology *Majdanek 1941-1944*, published in 1991 by T. Mencel. This book contains<sup>124</sup> an index of 816 transports to have arrived in Majdanek. Only 414 of these entries give the number of inmates on the transport at issue. If one adds the numbers given for these 414 transports, one arrives at a total of only 81,500 prisoners.

Summarizing the data given in the Polish literature on this subject (up to date to 1991) produces the following bottom line:

- 47,890 inmates of Majdanek are known by name;
- 414 transports with a total of 81,500 inmates have been established.

All other figures beyond these are undocumented and thus merely estimates.

We shall submit our own estimates of the total number of inmates imprisoned in Majdanek in Chapter IV.

#### 3. Transport from Majdanek

For her 1980 article about the inmates transferred from Majdanek to other camps, Z. Leszczyńska was able to draw much more extensively on actual documents than for her article on transports to Majdanek, since the arriving convoys were registered in the records of the receiving camp and these records have largely survived to our time. Accordingly, this article is also much more sound.

In 1943 inmates were transferred on the orders of the SS-WVHA's Group D. Initially, the camp administration of Majdanek itself selected the inmates to be transferred. Later the internees were given the chance to volunteer for transports to other camps. In general they did not like to leave, as they feared change and did not know what awaited them elsewhere. <sup>125</sup>

It is likely that most Polish prisoners did indeed regard a concentration camp in their own country as the lesser evil when compared to a camp abroad, especially since it was not very difficult for them to maintain some contact with their families and friends living in freedom.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, op. cit. (note 112), p. 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> T. Mencel, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp. 437-454.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, op. cit. (note 111), p. 120.

However, non-Polish and particularly western European inmates will probably have been only too happy to volunteer for a transfer, since there was hardly a camp anywhere where conditions were as bad as in Majdanek. Accordingly, the anthology Majdanek 1941-1944 states (translated from the German-language abstract): 126

"Compared to the camps in the Reich—for example the concentration camps Buchenwald or Sachsenhausen, where the barracks were relatively clean and living conditions for the inmates were better—the conditions and facilities in Maidanek were extremely primitive. This annoyed [sic!] prisoners brought in from other camps (Buchenwald) or pleased those inmates being transferred to another camp (Groß-Rosen, Sachsenhausen)."

As of May 1942 transports left for Auschwitz, where the inmates worked in the buna rubber plants in Monowitz. In 1943 the number of prisoners transferred to the various concentration camps in the Reich increased sharply, because there was only little industry in Lublin and the ordnance factories in the Reich depended to an increasing extent on imported manpower. Other inmates from Majdanek were sent to smaller camps in the General Government or posted to work in agricultural enterprises.

In total—according to Z. Leszczyńska—the transports leaving Majdanek included some 45,000 prisoners. 127 We see no reason to doubt this figure, especially since there is no apparent motive for deliberate exaggeration here. 128

#### 4. Camp Population

The camp population—that is, the number of inmates detained there during the various periods of Majdanek's camp history—is the subject of another study by Z. Leszczyńska, this time one dating from 1973. 129 Her conclusions are summarized in a table inserted between pages 16 and 17 of her article. 130 This table indicates that the camp population reached its high point in July 1943, with an average of 22,500 inmates.

A total of 207 document fragments survive from the camp register for 1943 and give important clues as to the level of the camp population at the times in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> T. Mencel, "Konzentrationslager Majdanek. Allgemeine Charakteristik", in: T. Mencel, op. *cit.* (note 23), p. 507.

Z. Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 111), p. 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 112), p. 93. However, p. 455 of T. Mencel's anthology includes a table of transports to leave Majdanek; this table indicates only a little over 35,000 transferred inmates. Of course this table is not necessarily complete, so that the actual figure may well have been 45,000, or even greater.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, "Stany liczbowe wiezniów obozu koncentracjynego na Majdanku", in: ZM, VII, pp. 6-25.

<sup>130</sup> See Documents 9 and 10.

question. The Polish historian comments as follows on these fragments, which form the cornerstone of her work: 131

"Of the surviving files from the camp office, noteworthy documents include some from the camp labor office which provide data regarding the total inmate population. On July 22, 1944, in the final stage of the camp's evacuation, the documents held there were carried out of the office facilities, thrown into a pit dug especially for this purpose, burned, and then covered over with a thin layer of soil. The partially charred papers remained there until the first days of May 1948 when they were accidentally discovered in the course of some excavations.

Among the fragments to survive were daily population reports for the men's camp for 1943, which were drawn up by the camp office and submitted to the labor office in single copy. These reports contained a daily overview of the numbers of concentration camp inmates and their application to various tasks.

After being recovered, these materials—partly burned, and sticking together due to four years' exposure to the damp—fell apart into a number of component parts. This was the condition in which they were secured and taken to the Museum archives. At first it seemed that it would not be possible to restore them even partially; nonetheless, painstaking efforts were begun towards this goal. After piecing together more than 2,000 charred fragments of various sizes, the reconstruction of individual daily reports was begun. The result of this meticulous poring over detail was the recovery of 207 documents."

As strange as all this may sound, there can be no doubt about the authenticity of these documents!

A camp population report included the following information, *inter alia*:

- The number of inmates at morning roll call;
- Arrivals (i.e., inmates newly arrived in the course of the day);
- Departures through transfer, discharge and death;
- Number of inmates in the evening.

The inmates were divided into Reich Germans (RD), Poles, and citizens of the Soviet Union, and for the Reich Germans the inmate category (politicals, criminals, anti-socials etc.) was also specified. Oddly, non-Jewish members of other nations were included with the Reich Germans, and for some reason the Ukrainians were listed separately as of May 1943. The Jews were a special category, but were listed separately as per their citizenship. For example, the breakdown of the Jews in the camp on July 22, 1943, was as follows: 132

| Poles:   | 3,221 | Czechs:   | 63 | Germans: | 11 |
|----------|-------|-----------|----|----------|----|
| Slovaks: | 883   | French:   | 51 | Dutch:   | 8  |
| Greeks:  | 449   | Russians: | 26 | Serbs:   | 6  |

Further data referred to the work to which the inmates were put.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6f. <sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

We shall show one of these camp population reports. 133 It is actually one of the most complete—which gives an indication of the difficulties a researcher is faced with here.

The document in question dates from December 9, 1943. According to it, there were a total of 6,847 inmates in Majdanek that evening, including 2,248 (Soviet) prisoners of war, 4,466 concentration camp inmates and 126 members of a different category (we do not know which one, since the pertinent line is only partly legible). In the (also only partly legible) left-hand column second from the top, below the 4,466 concentration camp inmates, "SU. Kr.-Gef." (Soviet POW) are mentioned; evidently these were counted separately from the remaining Russian POWs, and again we do not know what group this was.

Of the 4,466 camp inmates, 2,052 were in the protective detention camp and 824 were employed in a total of 32 work details (which probably also included the satellite camps of Majdanek). 537 were not assigned to work, and no fewer than 1.053 were in the infirmary!

Further, the fragment shows that three men—one Soviet POW and two Polish inmates in protective detention—died that day and that one Polish inmate as well as three Polish hostages were released.

Such German documents, representing meaningful evidence despite their incompleteness, are quite rare for the reasons previously mentioned, and so Z. Leszczyńska, in her article about the camp population levels, perforce refers primarily to reports issued by the Resistance movement, to messages smuggled out of the camp during the time of its existence, and to post-liberation witness statements. Where actual documents exist, a comparison with the estimates quoted shows that the latter somewhat exceed the realistic figures.

For August 1943, for example, Z. Leszczyńska speaks of an average of 11,700 male and 6,500 female inmates. According to Pohl's report to Himmler, which we have already mentioned repeatedly, the number of inmates at that time was about 11,500 men and 3,900 women. 135 So, while the estimate is extraordinarily accurate for the men, there is a considerable difference for the women.

#### 5. Numbering of Inmates

Finally, a word regarding the number of the inmates. According to Polish historiography, the numbers assigned to the registered inmates in Majdanek

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> APMM, sygn. 1 c.2, r.1.9.12.43. See Document 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 129), p. 18.

<sup>135</sup> PS 1469.

did not exceed 20,000. If an inmate died, his number was allegedly assigned to another inmate. 136

As odd as this system may sound (nothing of the sort was done in any other German concentration camp), it is nonetheless a fact that not one inmate number greater than 20,000 is recorded in the surviving documents.

However, on the basis of 1,250 names given in the various lists of inmates who died in 1942, we found only five numbers that were used twice. <sup>137</sup> One should have expected a much greater number of identifiers that were assigned twice or even more often. This is one of the most significant unsolved problems in the context of the history of Majdanek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, "Sposoby ewidencji więźniów w obozie koncentracyjnym na Majdanku", in: ZM, VIII, p. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> These numbers were: 1298, 5745, 7016, 11034, 16654.

### Chapter III: Living Conditions

### 1. The 'Temporary Nature' of the Camp and its Effects on the Inmates

As we have shown in Chapter I, the history of the concentration camp Majdanek was extraordinarily chaotic. There could be no sense of any clear and consistent development since the camp's function was continually changing. Majdanek remained a temporary measure to the end.

Alert observers had not failed to notice this. One 1943 report of the Polish Resistance movement, which we will quote later, stated that the lack of interest on the part of the German authorities showed that the situation in Majdanek was temporary. For the inmates, this circumstance had very definite consequences—some were positive, but significantly more were not.

One of the potential positive effects was that at times there was not enough work in Majdanek for all the inmates. For example, as we saw in the last chapter, on December 9, 1943, 537 of the 4,466 inmates of the "protective detention camp" were healthy but not assigned to any work.

Another advantage which the "lack of interest on the part of the German authorities", to use the Resistance movement's expression, had for the internees was the ease with which messages could be exchanged with the outside world

At least part of the time, the inmates were able to correspond with their kin legally, though of course in a form censored by the camp authorities. Aside from this, the exchange of letters and secret messages by illegal means flourished, and the camp authorities obviously made no attempts to stop it: it seems that they could not care less. Józef Marszałek comments: 139

"During the expansion of Majdanek, beginning in spring 1942, about twenty [approx. translation of the Polish "kilkanaście"] construction companies appeared on the camp's terrain, and employed civilian laborers from the city. They played such an extraordinarily important role in the everyday life of this camp as they did in no other camp except for Auschwitz. They became a secret bridge between the

Józef Marszałek, "Konspiracja w obozie", in: Tadeusz Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 346, 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Regarding the inmates' correspondence with their kin, as well as the censorship of this correspondence, see the chapter by the Norwegian Erling Bauck, "Norwegische Facharbeiter", in: Tomasz Kranz (ed.), Unser Schicksal—eine Mahnung für Euch... Berichte und Erinnerungen der Häftlinge von Majdanek. Lublin: Panstwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1994, pp. 182-184.

inmates and their families, underground organizations, fellow citizens who wanted to help, and charitable organizations. They informed the families of individual inmates that these were in fact detained in the camp, and brought the prisoners food, medicine and, most importantly, secret messages from their families. [...] The members of the Polish Red Cross arranged the exchange of information between the camp and the outside world [...] Young, unusually courageous Ludwik Jurek, who delivered the Red Cross parcels, acted as 'camp mailman'. He accepted secret messages and passed them discreetly on. Janina Suchodolska, who was in charge of soup deliveries, [...] smuggled the underground press, political news, secret messages and money into the camp. While distributing the soup as well as cleverly hidden secret material in the presence of SS-men, she also managed to ask the inmates on the various Compounds, in a whisper, what they needed most, whether she should pass a message to someone, [...] she even managed to pass on political information."

Marszałek demands a bit too much credulity from his readers: the SS were certainly not blind men in whose presence one could "distribute cleverly hidden secret materials" without their noticing. The only possible conclusion is that they did not care about the distribution of the "secret material".

But this obvious indifference of the administration to the activities in the camp had a fateful counterpart: they also behaved with indifference towards brutal excesses committed against the prisoners by the guards.

Accounts of cruel mistreatment of inmates, right up to casually committed murder, run like a red thread through the official literature on Majdanek. The basis for these accounts are statements of former camp inmates.

Now there are good reasons to assume that at least some of these accounts are greatly exaggerated. Anyone who had lived through Majdanek quite naturally felt a deep hatred of the SS who had deprived him of his freedom under the basest of circumstances, and was thus almost inevitably inclined to give the most lurid accounts of their brutality. Furthermore, the tendency to dramatize bad experiences is a general human trait.

Accordingly, the French Resistance fighter and Socialist Paul Rassinier, inmate of the Buchenwald and Dora-Mittelbau camps, titled a book about his camp experiences in which he critically examined his former fellow-prisoners' accounts, *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (The Lies of Ulysses), <sup>140</sup> referring to the self-deceiving hero Ulysses (Odysseus) who augmented a hundred torments he had really suffered with a thousand more of his own invention.

Therefore, the claims made by the eyewitnesses must be treated with some reservations. If, for example, former Majdanek inmates claim that the SS-man Arthur Gossberg had played 'William Tell' when drunk, placed apples on inmates' heads and then fired at them with his pistol, or that the SS-man Anton Thumann as well as the physician Heinrich Schmidt had fired shots through

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Le Mensonge d'Ulysse, La Librairie française, Paris 1950 (online: abbc.com/aaargh/fran/archRassi/prmu/prmu.html)

the windows into the Women's Hospital for fun,<sup>141</sup> this is no doubt pure atrocity propaganda. The legend of William Tell has also been imputed to the German Gottfried Weise, stationed in Auschwitz,<sup>142</sup> and the tale of SS-men taking shots into a hospital for fun is strikingly reminiscent of that scene in Steven Spielberg's Hollywood film *Schindler's List* where the director has Ammon Göth, the Commandant of the labor camp Płaszów, pass the time by shooting down inmates from his vantage point on the balcony of his villa. This kind of morbid fantasy has nothing to do with historiography.

In principle, the SS-men were strictly forbidden to mistreat inmates. In Auschwitz, all members of the SS had to sign an agreement that they would not harm inmates physically; severe punishment was threatened in cases of noncompliance. Even though no similar documents are known to us for Majdanek we suspect that the rules were the same there.

Often enough, however, rules are on paper only. We do not doubt that mistreatment was in fact a widespread problem in Majdanek. One of many pieces of circumstantial evidence for this is provided by the memoirs of the Norwegian Erling Bauck, whose objective and matter-of-fact tone is a welcome contrast to other, entirely unbelievable witness accounts. Bauck worked in an outside labor detail in Majdanek. When a thoroughly down-to-earth witness such as Bauck, who always expressly identifies rumors *as* rumors, writes that one records officer constantly beat the inmates with a whip, <sup>144</sup> we really see no reason to take this as a figment of an excessively creative imagination.

Therefore, there are grounds to suspect that the camp administration's indifference resulted in frequent abuse of inmates in Majdanek, but that this did not reach the degree that is alleged. Due to the lack of documents, not much more can be said on this topic.

The lack of any and all documentary source materials also limits our observations about the number of executions carried out in the Lublin camp via shooting or hanging. We can only say that no doubt the number was great, particularly since inmates who were sentenced to death for actual or alleged crimes were not the only ones to be executed there, Resistance fighters sen-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Zofia Murawska, "Warunki egzystencji wiezniów. Szykani i kary" (Conditions of the Inmates' Existence. Harassment and Punishments), in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), p. 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Claus Jordan, "Politics and the Justice System. A Case Study", in: Germar Rudolf (ed.), Dissecting the Holocaust: The Growing Critique of 'Truth" and 'Memory', 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, 2003, pp. 147-181

The agreement which the SS-men had to sign stated:

<sup>&</sup>quot;I am aware that the Führer alone can decide on the life and death of an enemy of the state. I may not physically harm or kill an enemy of the state (inmate). Every instance where a concentration camp inmate is killed requires permission from the Reichsführer-SS personally. I am aware that in the event of a violation of this agreement I will be severely called to account." GARF, 7021-107-11, Sheet 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> E. Bauck, *op. cit.* (note 138), p. 180.

tenced to death outside the camp were also sent to Majdanek (or to the nearby forest of Krepiecki) to be executed.

The decisive factor which made Majdanek the worst of all the National Socialist concentration camps, at least part of the time, was probably neither the mistreatment of inmates—the scale and scope of which cannot be determined—nor the executions, which of course also took place in other camps. Rather it was the sanitary conditions, which were dreadful until early 1943 and still very bad from that time until autumn of the same year, and which inevitably triggered epidemics and thus the incredibly high mortality rate in the Lublin camp. This too was a result of the 'temporary nature' of this camp: as we have seen, Majdanek's connection to the municipal sewer system of Lublin was greatly delayed by squabbling among various authorities, and carried out at a snail's pace even once it had finally been decided upon.

#### 2. Sanitary Conditions and Disease

Where people live closely crowded together, the danger of disease grows. Epidemics, particularly typhus transmitted by lice, were the main reason for the at times staggering mortality rate in the National Socialist concentration camps.

Admittedly, where sanitation and medical care were concerned, there were great differences between the camps. This is already shown by the mortality rates, which often differed greatly even for the same time period. Important information about these mortality rates is provided particularly by the September 30, 1943, report of SS-*Obergruppenführer* and WVHA Chief Oswald Pohl to Heinrich Himmler<sup>145</sup> which discussed the measures taken to reduce mortality rates in the concentration camps, and the results achieved by them. Pohl informed his superior that by improving sanitary conditions as well as the rations and clothing of the inmates, the mortality rate in the camps had successfully been reduced from 10%(!) in December 1942 to 2.09% in August 1943.

As Document PS-1469 shows, <sup>146</sup> not one of the 2,500 inmates in the Dutch concentration camp Hertogenbosch died in August 1943, only one out of 3,000 in the Riga camp, and 40 out of 17,500 in Dachau (which corresponds to a death rate of 0.25%). The Lublin concentration camp had the highest death rate by far: 7.67% for the men and 4.41% for the women. (For the sake of comparison: in Auschwitz, the mortality rate for the men was 3% that month, and for the women it was 3.61%.)

<sup>145</sup> PS-1469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> See Document 11.

As already pointed out, the catastrophic sanitary conditions were the main reason for the abnormally high death rates in the Lublin camp.

In the anthology Majdanek 1941-1944 Zofia Murawska devotes several pages to the sanitary conditions in the camp. 147 She sketches the following overview:

- Until spring 1942 there were no sanitary facilities and no running water in Majdanek. The first two wells on the camp grounds were not finished until May 1942.
- There were no laundry facilities until January 1943. Up to that time, the inmates had to do their laundry by hand, insofar as there was even any water available for this purpose. In the winter they obtained water by melting snow or ice.
- As of spring 1942, new arrivals were given shower baths. The camp inmates had only very irregular access to the showers. Weekly showers were not scheduled until late autumn 1943.
- Flush toilets were available only as of August 1943. Before that, the internees had to make do with primitive latrines in the form of pits with boards laid across. At night the prisoners were forbidden to leave the barracks and had to relieve themselves into boxes that were emptied in the morning.
- Due to the lack of water, soap and disinfectants, lice and other vermin were everywhere.
- In the second half of 1943 sanitary conditions improved noticeably. By autumn of that year, every barrack had faucets as well as stone wash basins.

Although these findings are based primarily on witness reports, they are probably quite realistic; they are also confirmed by German documents. We shall quote two of these documents—excerpts from one, and the other in its entirety.

On January 20, 1943, SS-Hauptsturmführer Krone traveled to Lublin on business and subsequently drew up a report in which he recorded the following:148

"1. Water supply

The connection to the Lublin municipal supply net is finished. Also, all waterconsuming facilities such as kitchen, bath, laundry and the crematorium are connected. At the moment, therefore, there are no water supply problems in the camp. Work is proceeding on the connections for the washing and toilet barracks.

The installation of washing and toilet facilities in all housing barracks, requested at the urging of the camp Commandant, for reasons of safety, is feasible. Steps have already been taken to obtain the required materials.

The connections for the quarters of the command staff and the guard battalions are also finished, and work is proceeding on the inside fixtures [...]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Zofia Murawska, "Warunki egzystencji wiezniów. Warunki sanitarne", in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 134-140. 148 *APMM*, micr. no. 816, pp. 9f.

#### 5. Sanitary facilities

The delousing, disinfection and bath facilities present at this time are adequate for the current population of 5,000 inmates, However, according to the camp Commandant, a larger population is to be expected shortly. At this time, Amt CIII has access to some steam disinfection apparatus [for disinfestation purposes] and steps have been taken towards providing three larger facilities.

Division of the delousing facility into a clean and a contaminated side has been done.

#### 6. Laundry facilities

At this time, the POW camp has only a hand-laundry facility. This must be considered inadequate for purposes of ensuring the sanitary and unexceptionable cleansing of laundry and clothing.

The commandant of the POW camp Lublin pointed this out with particular emphasis and stressed that typhus, which has been on the rise—especially recently—among members of the SS (at this time some 40 SS-men are suffering from typhus), can only be brought under control by means of an adequate and thorough cleaning of the laundry. [...]

Over the next weeks the firm Poensgen, Düsseldorf, will provide four small laundry facilities, each consisting of one machine, one centrifuge and one mangle, which had been intended for police bases in the East. These facilities shall be used to process only the laundry of the command staff and the members of the guard battalion."

Two months later, on March 20, 1943, SS-*Untersturmführer* Birkigt followed up on an inspection conducted on February 23 and 24 by drawing up a report on the sanitary conditions in Majdanek. He wrote:<sup>149</sup>

- "A) Current conditions (Population approximately 7,000 inmates.)
- 1. At present, just under 10% of the camp population is ill. For the more than 600 patients, including some 200 surgical cases (frostbite, etc.), there are 3 infirmary barracks available on Compound I. This compound is described as a model compound. The infirmary barracks are separated from the housing barracks of Compound I by no more than an ordinary barbed-wire fence. In terms of laundry, rations etc., the infirmary barracks are supplied by the facilities of Compound I, i.e., they do not have their own kitchen, laundry, disinfection facility, etc. Currently each of the infirmary barracks houses more than 200 patients. Due to the triple-decker bunks, the barracks are overcrowded and lack adequate ventilation.
- 2. To date the only toilet facilities were dry (non-flush) toilets, located in a special barrack at the east end of each Compound. The feces were carted out onto the fields located towards the west. Since autumn last year, a sluice system has been set up, which joins the municipal sewers via a 60Ør canal. This sluice system is yet missing two feeder pipes for Compound V, which could not be installed due to the onset of frost.

The Building Administration and Command arranged for the construction of latrine pits with one or two seats at various points above the sluice feeders so

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-14.

- as to be able to begin using the sluice system even prior to completion of the planned flush toilets. The final plan provides for eight fixed toilets with ring-flush system at one end of each housing barrack [illegible section follows].
- 3. To date there are no washing facilities in the barracks or washing barracks. The inmates are to wash themselves in wash bowls or buckets, using water brought in from the well. A new water pipe is in place and connected to the municipal water supply. Pressure is very low, since the municipal waterworks has a single functional pump said to manage only 8,000 cubic meters per day. A reserve pump exists, but is out of order.
  - Plans provide for washing facilities with two washing barracks (approximately 20-24 places) or with washing channels (approximately 40-50 places) at one end of each accommodation. At the moment, to provide for the interim, the toilet barrack at the eastern end of each barracks compound is equipped with a washing facility with wooden channels which, however, will probably not have a sufficient lifespan even for the interim. These temporary washing facilities have been ordered completed by March 3, 1943. However, since there appears to be a shortage of equipment and skilled labor, it seems that all the work will not be finished by the end of March.
- 4. At present the only effective body cleansing for inmates consists of bathing (showering) in combination with body disinfection via an antiseptic bath in the two disinfection barracks. Each disinfection barrack has 40 showers. According to the camp physician and the SDG [sanitation assistants] 240-520 inmates can be channeled through the disinfection facilities daily.
- B) The concentration camp is to be enlarged to hold 25,000 prisoners.
- 1. The infirmary must be made large enough and must be flexible enough for expansion in case of epidemics. It must continue to be separated from the rest of the camp by a quarantine strip and must receive its own supply facilities (kitchen, laundry, disinfection etc.).
  - Assuming a normal-case average of 3% patients, infirmary barracks must be adequate to permanently accommodate some 750 inmates. In the case of an epidemic, it must be possible to supplement this permanent infirmary with enough barracks to accommodate 10% of all inmates in infirmary or quarantine barracks—i.e., with a capacity of 2,500 inmates.
  - To allow the additional infirmary barracks to be used as regular accommodations under normal conditions, they must be set up singly or in groups of two, divided by quarantine strips, so that they may be added to the infirmary facilities if and as needed.
- 2. The washing conveniences for the inmates, as well as the toilet facilities, must be built as planned, and with all due speed.
- 3. The disinfection facility must be enlarged to reflect the future size of the camp, and must be equipped properly. It must be large enough so that
  - a) it can accommodate a larger-scale, batch-processing operation,
  - b) clean people do not come into contact with dirty laundry,
  - c) the inmates performing the disinfection cannot but undergo the cleansing process themselves.

It seems important that the infirmary should receive its own disinfection facility, and that the Crematorium is also transferred into the bounds of the camp infirmary as well.

> Birkigt SS-Untersturmführer (F)."

These two documents clearly show that sanitary conditions continued to be unacceptable even after the camp's connection to the municipal water supply was complete, but also that SS authorities in charge strove earnestly to improve the situation. No doubt this was a result of Pohl's December 1942 order to improve the living conditions of concentration camp inmates. 150

The sanitary conditions described perforce brought all sorts of diseases with them. The Polish historian Jolanta Gajowniczek wrote an article on this topic, stating: 151

- 1. The worst health problem in Majdanek was typhus. (In view of the utmost importance of this point we shall quote her subsection on typhus in Maidanek almost in its entirety, later on.)
- 2. Tuberculosis claimed a very great number of lives. In the first months of 1944, the number of cases in the camp itself was further increased by the fact that many tuberculosis patients were brought to Majdanek from the Reich.
- 3. Poor rations resulted in massive cases of dysentery.
- 4. Scabies was very widespread due to inadequate personal hygiene resulting from the lack of water.

In her discussion of the men's and women's infirmary the author gives the following account of the medical care inmates received as of late 1941:<sup>152</sup>

- On November 27, 1941, a little over one month after the arrival of the first transports of prisoners, eight inmate doctors (seven Poles and one Czech) were sent to the Lublin camp from the concentration camp Sachsenhausen. Three more doctors from Sachsenhausen followed in December 1941, as well as one each from Dachau and Buchenwald.
- For the first months these doctors could not do anything for the patients since there was no medication and no bandages.
- In early 1942, the first isolation compound for typhus victims was set up. In February of that year, one barrack (Block 1 on Compound I) was set aside to house the patients.
- Also in February 1942, more inmate doctors arrived, this time from Auschwitz. In the second quarter of the same year they were followed by Jewish doctors from Slovakia and from the Protectorate of Bohemia and

152 *Ibid.*, pp. 203ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> See Chapter I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Jolanta Gajowniczek, "Choroby i epidemie. Rewir" (Illnesses and Epidemics. The Infirmary), in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 196-225.

Moravia. These doctors brought medical instruments, medications and bandages with them.

- In March or April 1943 there were a total of 5 infirmary barracks. Barrack 1 included the guarters of the inmate doctors as well as the (German) camp physician's office, Barrack 2 contained the surgery, Barracks 3 and 4 served to accommodate bed-ridden patients, and Barrack 5 housed patients with infectious diseases. Another five barracks (numbers 6 through 10) were intended as emergency reserve, in other words probably for the case of an epidemic.
- In addition to these barracks, every compound had small "sick huts".

For October 1943 the author gives an indication of the nationalities of the doctors. At that time 120 assistants as well as the doctors did duty in the infirmary. Most of the doctors were Polish political prisoners, whereas the vast majority of the assistants were Jews.

Between December 12, 1943, and March 22, 1944, transports of sick inmates arrived in Majdanek from various camps in the Reich. J. Gajowniczek writes that there are no documents that indicate whether these sick inmates had been sent to the Lublin camp for elimination or for treatment, but she considers the former to be likely. On the other hand, she also mentions an April 13, 1944, transport of patients, doctors and assistants leaving Majdanek for Auschwitz.

When the camp was closed down on July 22, 1944, the sick inmates who were unable to travel were released and the rest were sent to Auschwitz.

In the women's division of the camp, the medical conditions seem to have been better than in the men's division; in the women's section a medical service was set up relatively promptly, and it also had some of the requisite equipment.

The compulsion to respect the orthodox image of Majdanek as "extermination camp" prompts the author to make all sorts of comments about "selections for the gas chamber" and the like. For example, she writes: 153

"The awareness of the imminent danger of being selected for gassing or of being killed by an injection of phenol resulted in most sick inmates trying to avoid hospital care. Those whose sensitivities had already been dulled, those with high fever (eg. with typhus), the excessively worn-down, and those who had made their peace with the thought of death, were the only ones to report to the infirmary. For the majority of them the infirmary became the waiting room of death. For the Hitlerian camp authorities the infirmary no doubt represented an important waystation for the selection of inmates to be sent to the gas chamber, but for many sick prisoners it meant a reprieve from death. Sick inmates were admitted to the infirmary to preserve them from selection in the barracks on the inmates' compound, and the inmate doctors did their best to protect the convalescents from selection and to send them to the 'easiest' labor unit where they could regain their strength.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

The outpatient department and the infirmary were also the only salvation for cripples, as well as for those who had various physical injuries because they had been beaten at work. In the view of former inmate Dr. Romuald Sztab, the infirmary, to the Polish doctors, was an opportunity to save people's lives. And this is exactly the role it played as far as possible, which is demonstrated by the large number of inmates who survived their bouts with typhus and recovered in the infirmary after their treatment. Thanks to the secret procurement of typhus vaccine, which they had received from the Polish underground, the Polish doctors were able to save the lives of a certain number of inmates."

All this seems like a muddle of contradictory nonsense. If the infirmary was an "important waystation for the selection of inmates to be sent to the gas chamber", then it would have been quite impossible to take refuge there from "selection in the barracks". If those inmates who were unfit to work were being culled for the gas chamber at such selections, then the "cripples", in other words those who were thoroughly unfit to work, could hardly have found a sanctuary from death in the infirmary. And patients "with high fever (eg. with typhus)" would have been the last to report to the infirmary if there had been an "imminent danger of being selected for gassing" there.

Of course the author could not fail to see the contradictory nature of her own claims. She tries to explain these inconsistencies as follows: 154

"One might get the impression that it must have been impossible to reconcile the selection of inmates, the need for as many laborers on the one hand and the desire for the most thorough solution possible to the Jewish Question (meaning the extermination of the Jews) on the other. One way out of this conflict of interests was the predominance of one of these goals. In the case of Majdanek, the desire for extermination was undoubtedly predominant from the beginning of the camp's existence until autumn 1943. It was not until late 1943 that the inmates began to be considered as manpower needed in the ordnance factories of the Reich."

J. Gajowniczek mentions the transports of sick inmates who arrived from the Reich between December 1943 and March 1944. Danuta Czech's *Kalendarium* tells us of similar transports that had already arrived earlier.

For June 3, 1943, this Kalendarium states: 155

"542 male and 302 female inmates suffering from malaria were transferred from Auschwitz to the concentration camp Lublin (Majdanek)." and on November 25, 1943: 156

"[...] the registration was ordered of those inmates suffering from malaria who were quartered in the inmates' infirmary and the recovery blocks; the malaria patients were to be transferred to the Lublin camp (Majdanek)."

On the other hand, two transports of sick inmates leaving Majdanek for Auschwitz are also recorded. According to the *Kalendarium*, 750 Jews and 750 Jewesses arrived in Auschwitz on July 8 of that year. Of these, the

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Danuta Czech, *op. cit.* (note 122), p. 511.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 663.

Auschwitz doctors admitted 49 men to the inmates' infirmary or the convalescent block for exhaustion, bacterial tissue inflammation and severe hernias, and declared 80 women unfit to work. Beyond that, it was "found that the overall condition of the transferred inmates prevents their being put to work without reservation in the concentration camp Auschwitz". And for July 11, 1943, the Kalendarium records the arrival of 763 male and 568 female prisoners from Majdanek, many of whom were ill and unable, or largely unable, to work. 157

Now, if we ignore the extermination tales, which are not supported by so much as one single document, we arrive at the following picture of the sanitary conditions in Majdanek:

The camp administration—which was no doubt chiefly to blame for the scandalous conditions—did make a number of efforts, albeit belatedly, to improve health care in the camp and thus to reduce the mortality rate. Towards this goal it brought doctors from other camps to Majdanek, set up infirmary barracks, installed disinfection facilities. For this reason as well it let charitable organizations distribute vaccine against typhus. (The claim that this vaccine had to be smuggled into the camp by the Resistance movement is another one of the author's fairy-tales which, incidentally, contradicts her earlier statements: as she herself notes only a few pages earlier, in her subsection "Typhus", this vaccine was brought into the camp perfectly legally by the Polish Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations.)

J. Gajowniczek's expositions on the typhus epidemic seem to us to be so significant that we shall include them here in only slightly abbreviated form: 158

"One of the consequences of starvation-induced illnesses was the almost total loss of the body's natural resistance, which facilitated the spread of infectious diseases. In Majdanek, as in many other camps, the most frequent epidemic wastyphus. The inmate physicians identified the first cases of this disease in Majdanek in December 1941 during an examination of the state of health of the Soviet POWs. It turned out that half of those examined were suffering from this disease, or had recovered from it and were still totally exhausted. The strenuous work to which the sick inmates were put in the inmate work units would have resulted in another increase in the number of cases of this disease. On the other hand it would also have been dangerous to leave the sick in the barracks; for this reasons, the Germans murdered those suspected of having typhus as a matter of principle. However, eradicating the typhus-transmitting lice together with those they had infested was no way to overcome the epidemic. The arrivals of new transports caused another rise in the number of cases. In June 1942 2,000 inmates already suffered from typhus. Since they had failed to get the situation under control, the camp authorities carried out a selection that claimed the lives of 200 inmates. They were led into Krepiecki Forest, and shot. In late July that year, a general se-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> J. Gajowniczek, *op. cit.* (note 151), pp. 197-200.

lection of all the inmates was ordered; as part of this process, 2,500 typhus victims were murdered in Krepiecki Forest. In a secret message smuggled out of the camp in July 1942, the inmate physician Dr. Jan Nowak wrote about this selection:

'The Infirmary Kapo (Benden) carried out a selection of typhus patients on the entire Compound I—more than 1,500 invalids were driven into Krepiecki Forest in cars and farming vehicles, and as I found out in the evening they were murdered and buried in this forest. This is how the typhus epidemic is combated in Majdanek. The epidemic has wiped out a transport of 12,000 Slovak Jews; only a few thousand of them are left. In the face of this campaign it is not permitted in our pseudo-hospital to diagnose typhus—we have to use the code word 'pneumonia'. The first to fall ill with typhus in the course of this 'epidemiological campaign' was the Infirmary Kapo; he is kept in isolation in Block I, and the entire camp hopes he will die.'

But the typhus epidemic continued to rage, not only among the inmates but also among the SS men who made up the camp guard. Disturbed by this state of affairs, the camp authorities carried out selections regularly every 14 days and obliged the block leaders to pick out the typhus patients and to transfer them to the camp infirmary, which was already organized and where selections took place even more frequently.

In autumn 1942 the authorities ordered a general disinfection of Compound I, for which all inmates were transferred to Compound II. It seems that this shift was dictated by an order from higher up (exact source not known), since a similar delousing operation in combination with the murder of the patients also took place in Auschwitz on August 28. In Auschwitz as well as in Majdanek, the transfer of people from one compound to another did not reduce the number of typhus cases. More new transports kept arriving; the sanitary conditions did not improve, and neither did the means for curing typhus. Thus the epidemic was not contained.

It is difficult even to estimate roughly how many prisoners succumbed to typhus in Majdanek in 1941 and 1942. In determining the victim count one must consider not only those who indirectly died of the disease, but also the healthy Jews who were shot during this time in Krepiecki Forest [sic!] as well as the victims murdered in the gas chamber.

In 1943 there was no change with respect to the epidemics, even if the camp authorities did now resort to isolating typhus patients to a greater extent. In February 1943, Barrack No. 8 on Compound II as well as No. 12 and, for a few days, No. 13 on Compound III, as well as Nos. 7 and 9 on Compound IV, were set aside for the sick inmates instead of two barracks on Compound I. After the bath, the inmates were given a sulphurous cream which they had to rub on themselves. After evening roll-call a search for lice was often conducted in the blocks, and anyone on whom lice were found was punished. But all these measures failed, as the living barracks, blankets and straw pallets were infested with lice, and baths were administered in such a way that they only amounted to additional harassment and resulted in many inmates falling ill. On February 3, 1943, a temporary quarantine of the camp was imposed, since the number of typhus cases had skyrocketed again.

In spring 1943 only two barracks on Compound I were set aside for the typhus patients, and as the memoirs of former inmates show, this was the reason for the murder of most of the seriously ill patients—including a considerable number of

typhus patients—in the gas chambers. Also, sick inmates from Compounds III and IV were transferred to Compound I; together with harassment, this measure resulted in many patients dying within a short time, even though the living barracks on Compound I were much cleaner than those on Compounds III and IV. The typhus epidemic also did not spare the doctors for the barracks for the epidemic victims: Józef Jakowski, Marian Jastrzebski, Edward Nowak and Johann Řiha died in 1943.

In summer and autumn 1943 the typhus epidemic continued unabated, especially on Compound III, which resulted in the disinfection of the Compound being followed up with a quarantine of the camp lasting from October 25 to November 25. At that time, Barracks 20, 21 and 22 were reserved for the patients. Polish inmates made up the medical personnel. But the 'typhus blocks' still worked. Not until December 26 were the remaining patients taken to Compound V, together with the staff. Soon afterwards, sick inmates who had been transferred to Majdanek from camps in the Reich were quartered there without prior disinfection. The infirmary barracks were given almost no medication and no fuel, and several dozen of the new arrivals died every day.

After the inmates there were evacuated in April 1944, the typhus still did not disappear. Since inmates in the commando charged with cleaning up the undisinfected barracks contracted typhus, the camp authorities saw themselves forced to set up a temporary isolation ward for the sick in Barrack 15 on Compound I. It was not possible to exterminate the lice in the camp barracks, which resulted in a continual spread of the typhus.

The typhus epidemic did not spare the women's compound either. [...] The largest number of cases among the women was recorded in spring and summer 1943, when numerous transports of Jewesses from the Warsaw ghetto as well as women evacuated from Ukrainian and White Russian territories arrived [...].

Only a radical change in the sanitary conditions as well as the strict isolation of patients and a better supply of medication to the infirmary could have brought results. Without these conditions being met, the only inmates that could survive their bouts of typhus were those that had a strong constitution or who received adequate care in the infirmary during their convalescence.

Polish inmates were better off than others, for as of October 1943, i.e., in the final stage of the camp's existence, they were cared for by charitable organizations from Lublin that supplied the infirmary with medication and medical equipment. The typhus vaccine, which was distributed to the Poles twice, was of major significance. As early as May 1943 camp had been supplied with 1,000 units of antityphus vaccine, and on October 20 that year the Polish Red Cross delivered a second batch of this vaccine. Understandably, only a small number of inmates could reap the benefits."

In the next chapter we shall come back to the evidence for the extermination of the sick inmates in Majdanek. J. Gajowniczek is not alone in alleging this extermination; it is generally claimed by orthodox historians.

For the moment we shall make only a simple, logical objection: If "the desire for extermination was undoubtedly predominant" in Majdanek at least until autumn 1943, it would have been preposterous to build a hospital. It would

have been preposterous to reassign inmate doctors from Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Dachau, and Auschwitz to Majdanek. It would have been preposterous to set up disinfection facilities and thus to protect the inmates to be exterminated from dying of typhus. It would have been preposterous to send inspectors to Majdanek and have them draw up lengthy reports about the sanitary conditions and about the measures to be taken for their improvement. Finally, it would have been preposterous to allow the Red Cross to distribute the typhus vaccine.

# Chapter IV: The Mortality Rate

#### 1. The 'Natural' Mortality Rate.

## Determining the Number of Victims on the Basis of Documentary Sources

While German documentary sources have only been preserved in fragmentary form, they nonetheless permit an approximation of the number of Majdanek inmates to die of 'natural' causes (*i.e.*, from disease, exhaustion etc.). The documents in question are:

- The "Death Book" for the months of May to September 1942;
- The "Death Report for the Personal Effects Depot" of October 20 as well as for the time from November 29 to December 5, 1942;
- The "List of the Deceased for the Majdanek Camp" from November 20th until December 1942;
- The "Camp Population Report" for several days in 1942;
- A register of the dead and of their valuables for October 1943;
- The "Death Book" for March and April 1944;
- Document NO-5194;
- Document PS-1469.

Regarding the first "Death Book"<sup>159</sup> there exists a statistical analysis drawn up by Janina Kiełboń, presently the Director of the Majdanek Memorial. We shall reproduce this analysis in the following, and supplement it with a direct examination of the document.

This document contains the names of 6,716 inmates in chronological order by death date (with a single exception). Every name is matched to a registration number. <sup>161</sup> The first number, assigned on June 8, 1942, is 328, the last, assigned on September 29 of the same year, is 7,044. Of the total 6,716 registered names, <sup>162</sup> 123 are illegible, so that Janina Kiełboń was able to statistically analyze the entries for 6,593 inmates. In the register for June, the names of 92 inmates who die between May 18 and 27 are inserted, <sup>163</sup> corresponding

160 "Księga wieznów zmarłych na Majdanku w 1942 r.", in: ZM, XV, 1993, pp. 111-115.

<sup>159</sup> APMM, sygn. I, d-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> cf. Document 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> No name is assigned to number 706, so that the sum total of registered names is (7,044-327-1=) 6,716.

<sup>163</sup> Probably an earlier register existed, and the names from that were transferred to the Death Book.

to numbers 662-754. The Polish historian's statistical analysis yielded the following data:

| MONTH | # OF DEAD | MONTH     | # OF DEAD |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| May   | 92        | August    | 1,863     |
| June  | 638       | September | 2,531     |
| July  | 1,469     |           |           |
|       |           | Total:    | 6,593     |

Of these 6,593 dead, 5,842 (=88.6%) were Jews and 136 non-Jews; the Death Book gives no clues as to the remaining 615.

Admittedly, the statistical data listed above do not correspond entirely with the document they refer to. We summarize this in the two following tables:

| THE DEAD OF THE MAJDANEK CONCENTRATION CAMP |                     |                       |  |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|--|
| FROM MAY TO SEPTEMBER 1942 <sup>160</sup>   |                     |                       |  |
| Date  | Registration Number | # of registered names |  |
| /   | 327                 | 327                   |  |
| May 8-21                                    | 328 - 661           | 334                   |  |
| May 18-27                                   | 662 - 754           | 92 <sup>163</sup>     |  |
| June 22-30                                  | 755 - 1,083         | 329                   |  |
| July 1-31                                   | 1,084 - 2,583       | 1,500                 |  |
| August 1-31                                 | 2,584 - 4,595       | 2,012                 |  |
| September 1-29 4,596 - 7,026 2,431          |                     |                       |  |
|   | Total:              | 7,025                 |  |

| FROM MAY TO SEPTEMBER 1942 <sup>159</sup> |                       |               |
|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| Date                                      | # of registered names | Daily average |
| /   | 327                   | /             |
| May 18-27                                 | 92                    | 9.2           |
| June 8-30                                 | 663                   | 28.8          |
| July 1-31                                 | 1,500                 | 48.3          |
| August 1-31                               | 2,012                 | 64.9          |
| September 1-29                            | 2,431                 | 83.8          |
| Total:                                    | 7,025                 |               |

THE DEAD OF THE MAJDANEK CONCENTRATION CAMP

The question of which period the first 327 deaths relate to remains to be answered. If one considers that the average mortality rate for the first ten days of May was 9.2 and then increased continually, it is logical to assume that it was as yet below this number in April, and that the Death Book began on April 1.

Accordingly, the initial 327 deaths correspond to the period from April 1 to May 17, placing the average daily death rate at 6.9. This fits very well with the statements of SS-*Oberscharführer* Erich Mußfeldt, the only source for the

mortality figures during the camp's initial phase, who spoke of 5 to 10 deaths per day around the end of March 1942. 164

For the last four days of May and the first seven days of June, which are not covered by the Death Book, one can postulate 300 as the approximate maximum number of deaths, based on the average daily mortality rate in June.

In the first three months of 1942, the average camp population was approximately 2,000 prisoners, so that the number of deaths for this period probably amounted to a few hundred. For 1941, the Polish sources speak of some 2,300 deaths and an average population of 3,000; so on the other hand, Mußfeldt's statements indicate that approximately 1,400 camp inmates died between mid-November and late March 1942. This figure strikes us as quite credible. Mußfeldt reports that typhus raged in the camp in November 1941 and that from 10 to 20 inmates died per day. In late December the epidemic had by no means subsided, for the administration planned "a gassing" of the camp. Thus, one can assume that perhaps half the postulated 1,400 deaths were still recorded in 1941, while the other 700 fell into the first three months of 1942; this corresponds to an average of 5 to 10 dead per day and agrees quite well with Mußfeldt's statements.

The "Death Report for the Personal Effects Depot" was a daily register of names (and inmate numbers) of departed (i.e., deceased or escaped) inmates—mostly those from the various sectors of the Majdanek camp. The following table reflects the data contained in the eight surviving lists:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Anna Zmijewska-Wiśniewska, "Zeznania szefa krematorium Ericha Muhsfeldta na temat bylego obozu koncentracyjnego w Lublinie (Majdanek)" (Statements of the Head of the Crematorium, Erich Muhsfeldt, regarding the former Concentration Camp in Lublin (Majdanek)), in: ZM, I, 1965, p. 139.

See Documents 9 and 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> T. Mencel, *op. cit.* (note 126), p. 500.

According to Erich Mußfeldt's statements, made in Polish captivity, there were 1,200 Soviet prisoners of war in the camp on November 15, 1941; according to Mußfeldt, 300 had already died. Further, 100 to 200 Jews were allegedly there at that time. At the end of March 1942 only 300 Soviet prisoners of war remained. Anna Zmijewska-Wiśniewska, op. cit. (note 164), pp. 138, 139.

<sup>168</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Assuming a daily average of 15 dead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> GARF, 7021-107-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> See Document 13.

| -       | - ,  | BER OF |      |       |         |          |
|---------|------|--------|------|-------|---------|----------|
| Date    | IN C | OMPOU  | JND# | _     |         |          |
| 1942    | I    | II     | III  | TOTAL | RELEASE | DEPARTED |
| Oct. 20 | 37   | 109    | 5    | 151   | 6       | 11       |
| Nov. 29 | 11   | 122    | -    | 133   | -       | 20       |
| Nov. 30 | 9    | 81     | 28   | 118   | 1       | -        |
| Dec. 1  | 14   | 51     | 118  | 183   | -       | -        |
| Dec. 2  | 21   | 60     | 23   | 104   | 1       | 4        |
| Dec. 3  | 15   | 67     | 32   | 114   | -       | -        |
| Dec. 4  | 25   | 63     | 63   | 151   | 2       | -        |
| Dec. 5  | 17   | 55     | -    | 72    | -       | =        |
| Total   | 149  | 608    | 269  | 1,026 | 10      | 35       |

The "List of the Deceased for the Majdanek Camp" is the transcript of an original German document (specifically, a fragment from a Death Book) which was drawn up in 1946 on the behest of the Chairman of the "District Commission for the Investigation of the German Crimes in Lublin". The document refers to the time from November 20 to December 31, 1942, and records the deaths of 6,009 inmates. The pages of this list are divided into seven columns, detailing the following data: Running number, Surname, First name, Date of birth, Type of imprisonment, Date of death, Cause of death. <sup>173</sup> The column "Type of imprisonment" notes the nationality of the deceased. The first running number is 12,005 and dates from November 20; the last is 13.740, for December 31. The following note appears at the end of November:

"Month November 1942 Deaths of Jews in the concentration camp Lublin various 2190 inmates in protective custody /-Poles, Greeks, Russian civilians 890 2999 total previous 10236 13235."

The following note appears at the end of December: 174

| "Month December 1942 | last number Nov. 1942 13235        |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
|                      | last number Dec. 1942 <u>13713</u> |
|                      |                                    |

Dead Sch. 478

Deaths of Jews in conc. camp Lublin 2505 various inmates in protective custody /-Poles, Greeks, Russian civilians etc./ 478

2983 dead in December 1942." total

74

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Archiwum Glownej Komisij Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 626 z/OL3, "Wykaz wiezniów zmarłych w obozie na Majdanku" (Index of inmates deceased in the Majdanek

<sup>173</sup> See Document 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> See Document 15.

Following this note, however, another 27 names are recorded, making the last number 13,740. Thus, the numbers recorded in this list total 1,736, corresponding to 1,735 deaths. <sup>175</sup>

Since the last number for October was 10,236 and the last for September 29 was 7,026, this means that a total of 3,210 prisoners died between September 30 and October 31, 1942.

For the last three months of 1942, therefore, the death statistics look as follows:

| MONTH                  | # DEATHS | DAILY AVERAGE |
|------------------------|----------|---------------|
| October <sup>176</sup> | 3,210    | 100           |
| November               | 2,999    | 100           |
| December               | 3,010    | 97            |

The names of the 2,505 Jews to die in December 1942 are not on this list—no doubt because they were entered into the register intended for this purpose.

Thus, we conclude that there were some 17,200 deaths in 1942, distributed chronologically as follows:

| January 1 to March 31                 | ca. 700 |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| May 18 to September 29 <sup>177</sup> | 7,025   |
| May 28 to June 7                      | ca 300  |
| September 30 to October 31            | 3,210   |
| November                              | 2,999   |
| December                              | 3,010   |
|                                       | 17,244  |

This figure agrees in its magnitude with that given by Dr. Richard Korherr, the Inspector for Statistics for the *Reichsführer*-SS, in his March 1943 report "The Final Solution of the European Jewish Question". One section of this document is titled "Jews in the Concentration Camps" and presents statistics about the Jews deported into the German concentration camps up to December 31, 1942. Regarding the Lublin camp, the following data are given: <sup>178</sup>

|                | ARRIVALS | RELEASES | <b>DEATHS</b> | POPULATION ON |
|----------------|----------|----------|---------------|---------------|
|                |          |          |               | DEC. 31, 1942 |
| Lublin / men   | 23,409   | 4,509    | 14,217        | 4,683         |
| Lublin / women | 2,849    | 59       | 131           | 2,659         |
| Total          | 26,258   | 4,568    | 14,348        | 7,342         |

With reference to these statistics, Korherr adds: 179

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> The death of one inmate—Otto Winternitz, No. 13,233—was registered twice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Including September 30.

<sup>177</sup> Not including May 28 to June 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> NO-5194, p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

"The Jews who were quartered in the concentration camps Auschwitz and Lublin in the course of the evacuation proceedings are not included."

In the case of Majdanek, however, this hardly makes a difference. The Death Book shows that the percentage of Jews among the deceased was 88.6%, and the Jewish proportion of the dead listed in the Death Report for the Personal Effects Depot was 85%. Among the deaths figuring on the list analyzed previously, the Jews make up 78% (4,695 of 6,009 deceased). One is thus justified in assuming that the percentage for the entire year was of the same order of magnitude. Indeed, the 14,348 Jews to die in Majdanek in that year, as given in the Korherr Report, correspond to the  $(14,348 \pm 17,644 \times 100 =)$  83.2% which we ourselves have calculated as being the total victim count.

For 1943, only the mortality figures for August and October are documented. The report of SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl to Heinrich Himmler, discussing the "deaths in the conc. camps", contains a "comparison of the deaths in the concentration camps from July 1942 to June 1943", noting the average population, the number of deaths, and the respective percentage of the total deaths, for all the camps. Furthermore, the report gives the number of deaths for each concentration camp for August 1943, again together with the corresponding camp population and the percentage of deaths. And finally, the percentage of deaths is also recorded for July. For Majdanek the figures are as follows: <sup>180</sup>

| MORTALITY RATES FOR CONC. CAMP MAJDANEK IN AUGUST 1943 |                    |        |      |          |
|--|--------------------|--------|------|----------|
| Conc. camp   | Average population | Deaths | %    | % (July) |
| Lublin-men   | 11,500             | 882    | 7.67 | 4.62     |
| Lublin-women   | 3,900              | 172    | 4.41 | 2.01     |
| Total  | 15,400             | 1,054  | 6.84 |          |

For July the number of victims can be calculated with a fair degree of accuracy, since the Pohl Report specifies the percentage of deaths and we also know the average concentration camp population.<sup>181</sup> We arrive at the following data:

| MORTALITY RATES FOR CONC. CAMP MAJDANEK IN JULY 1943 |                                    |      |     |
|--|------------------------------------|------|-----|
|  | Average population % deaths Deaths |      |     |
| Lublin—men   | 12,300                             | 4.62 | 568 |
| Lublin-women   | 10,000                             | 2.01 | 201 |
| Total  | 22,300                             | 3.44 | 769 |

For the first six months of 1943 the calculation of deaths in Majdanek is more complicated, but in this case as well, we arrive at a statistical magnitude

<sup>181</sup> See Chapter II.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> PS-1469, p. 4.

on the basis of confirmed figures. The Pohl Report records the deaths in all the concentration camps together, as follows:

| MONTH    | DEATHS | MONTH | DEATHS |
|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| January  | 9,839  | April | 8,358  |
| February | 11,650 | May   | 5,700  |
| March    | 12,112 | June  | 5,650  |
|          |        |       |        |

Total 53,309

The actual mortality figures for these six months are known for the following camps:

| Dachau <sup>182</sup>           | 815       |                      |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Sachsenhausen <sup>183</sup>    | 2,754     |                      |
| Mauthausen/Gusen <sup>184</sup> | 5,550     |                      |
| Auschwitz <sup>185</sup>        | ca.23,600 |                      |
| Stutthof <sup>186</sup>         | 2,376     | (until June 1, 1943) |

For Buchenwald we only know the total for the entire year; it is 3,516.<sup>187</sup> We shall assume half this figure for the first six months; approximately 1.750 deaths. Regarding Stutthof, in view of the average mortality rate there in May (15 deaths per day), a victim count of approximately 450 seems reasonable for June. Accordingly, roughly 37,300 inmates died in the above-named camps in the first half of 1943.

If one subtracts this number from the total of all deaths occurring (according to the Pohl Report) in all camps between January and late June 1943, this leaves (53,309-37,300=) approximately 16,000 deaths, of which the majority fall to Majdanek and the rest to the total of eight small camps (Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, Groß-Rosen, Natzweiler, Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück, Riga and Herzogenbosch). In August 1943, these eight concentration camps held 21.34% of the total number of inmates. They were the site of 10.44% of the total deaths recorded in the concentration camps. 188 On the basis of this data, we can estimate that up to 90% of the total deaths calculated above for the nine camps (Majdanek plus the eight smaller camps) occurred at the Lublin camp. Accordingly, some (16,000×0.9=) 14,400 internees died there in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Johann Neuhäusler, Wie war das im KZ Dachau? Dachau: Kuratorium für Sühnemal KZ Dachau, 1981, p. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> *GARF*, 7021-104-4, p. 58 (update for 1942).

<sup>184</sup> Hans Maršálek, Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation. Vienna: Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen, 1980, p. 157.

Death Books of Auschwitz. Published by the State Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Munich, New Providence, London, Paris: K. G. Saur, 1995, v. 1, pp. 236f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> PMS, sygn. Z-V-10/14 (Death Books).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Eugen Kogon, Der SS-Staat. Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager. Munich: Karl Alber, 1946, p. 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> PS-1469, p. 4.

first half of 1943; together with the victims from July and August, this totals (14,400+1,054+769=) approximately 16,200 dead.

For October 1943 there exists a register in which "Date, Name, Number, Money, Valuables" of the deceased inmates are recorded. It includes 750 names. 189

In December the mortality rate was quite low, due in part to the reduction of the number of inmates and in part to the improvement of sanitary conditions. The fragmentary population reports for that month indicate the following death figures: 190

| DATE               | # DECEASED |
|--------------------|------------|
| Dec. 9             | 3          |
| Dec. 11            | 7          |
| Dec. 12            | 5          |
| Dec. 13            | 9          |
| Dec. 16            | 9          |
| Dec. ? (illegible) | 7          |
| Dec. 22            | 1          |

Extrapolating from these figures, one arrives at approximately 180 deaths for December 1943.

The second Death Book<sup>191</sup> refers to March and April 1944 and contains 1,940 names, distributed as follows:

| RUNNING NUMBER | TIME PERIOD | # DEATHS  |
|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| 20,686—22,339  | March 1-31  | 1,654 192 |
| 22,340—22,625  | April 1-6   | 286       |
| <u> </u>       | Total       | 1,940     |

The number of dead for March corresponded to 12.72% of the average camp population of 13,000 inmates. That the mortality rate was so extremely high during this period can surely be explained by the fact that Majdanek had been partially converted into an infirmary camp at that time. 193

Registrations begin with number 20,686 (March 1) and end with number 22,625 (April 6). If one considers that a maximum of 16,200 people died at the Lublin camp between January 1 and August 31, 1943, and that the mortality rate in December 1943 was very low, one cannot but conclude that this Death Book began with January 1, 1943. Accordingly, 22,625 prisoners died in Majdanek between January 1, 1943, and April 6, 1944.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> *APMM* sygn. I. d. 19a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> *APMM*, sygn. I-c-2, v. 1. See Document 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> GARF, 7021-107-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> See Document 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> cf. Chapter II.

In April 1944, the average camp population (which had been approximately 13,000 only the month before) dropped to 4,350, as the evacuation was already in full swing at that time. Assuming the same percentage of deaths as in March, one arrives at (4,350×0.1272=) approximately 550 deaths, but since 286 deaths were recorded in the first six days of April alone, this figure seems too low. One will thus be well advised to apply the percentage from March only to the last 24 days of April; April then totals some 900 deaths. In May the average camp population was approximately 2,500, in June it was roughly 4,500 (despite the ongoing evacuation, inmates continued to arrive). Under these circumstances, the number of inmates to die in May, June and the first 22 days of July was likely not greater than 1,000.

Therefore, taking all this into account, the total number of deaths in Majdanek from the time of its establishment to the day of its liberation on July 23, 1944, was (700 + 17,244 + 22,339 + 900 + 1,000=) approximately 42,200.

# 2. Soviet and Polish Claims: Propaganda, Historiography, and Revision

# a) Propaganda

In its closing report<sup>195</sup> the Polish-Soviet Investigative Commission, which was formed soon after the liberation of the camp, claimed that 1,500,000 people had died in Majdanek in the duration of its existence. The bodies of the victims had allegedly been cremated as follows:

| 600,000                         | in the new crematorium            |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 400,000                         | on pyres near the new crematorium |
| 300,000                         | in the forest of Krepiecki        |
| 80,000                          | in the old crematorium            |
| <b>1,380,000</b> <sup>196</sup> | _                                 |

The Commission does not tell us what allegedly happened to the remaining 120,000 bodies; since they did not figure among those cremated, it was probably assumed that they had been buried.

These figures—which are pure propaganda, as goes without saying—stand in crass contradiction of the material investigations they were supposed to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> This would correspond to approximately 14% of the camp population.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> This report was also published as a brochure: Communiqué of the Polish-Soviet Extraordinary Commission for investigating the crimes committed by the Germans in the Majdanek extermination camp in Lublin, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1944. Later the Soviets submitted this report at the Nuremberg Trial as Document USSR-29; cf. IMT, vol. VII. p. 590.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

have substantiated: in actual fact, the Polish-Soviet Commission, in its search of the camp grounds and Krepiecki Forest, discovered 467 bodies and 266 skulls, which were subjected to forensic analysis. The Commission also discovered 4.5m<sup>3</sup> of ashes and bones, <sup>197</sup> which cannot have corresponded to any more than 3,000 cremated corpses. So the discrepancy between the actual finds and the propagandistic allegations is glaring: (467+266=) 733 buried bodies rather than the alleged 120,000, and at most 3,000 cremated corpses as compared to the alleged 1,380,000!

In the Reasons for Sentence given on December 2, 1944, in the Lublin trial of Hermann Vogel *et al.*, an even greater number of victims was alleged: 1,700,111. This figure was taken up in the charges that the Polish government had drawn up for the Nuremberg Trial, where it was claimed: 199

"It has been proven that 1,700,000 people were murdered in Majdanek, and that Majdanek was an execution camp in the full sense of this term."

# b) Historiography

The Polish "Commission to Investigate the German Crimes in Poland" (later renamed "Commission to Investigate the Hitler Crimes in Poland", and then again renamed "Commission to Investigate the Crimes Against the Polish People" after the end of Communist rule, since Soviet crimes were now also being investigated) reduced the aforementioned propagandistic figures greatly. In 1948, Zdzisław Łukaszkiewicz, a member of this commission, published an article about Majdanek<sup>200</sup>, which set out the results of this Commission's investigation of Majdanek. In other words, this was an official publication, and despite its major shortcomings it does represent an initial step away from pure propaganda and towards proper historiography, even if only in the sense that the author went to the trouble of calculating the number of victims of the camp rather than simply inventing a figure out of thin air. Admittedly, his method still bears the unmistakable stamp of propaganda—which is not surprising in view of the political climate of the time—and is devoid of any scientific and academic value. Z. Łukaszkiewicz bases his arguments almost exclusively on eyewitness testimony and distorts the sum and substance of the

<sup>200</sup> Zdzisław Łukaszkiewicz, *op. cit.* (note 10), pp. 63-105.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Ibid., p. 13, as well as Protocol No. 1 of the forensic examination of the Crematorium, from August 4 to 23, 1944, GARF, 7021-107-9, p. 258. The heap of allegedly 1,350m<sup>3</sup> "compost of soil, the ashes of burned corpses, and small human bones", which the Commission mentions on p. 20 of its aforementioned Communiqué and which today is located in the camp mausoleum not far from the new crematorium, consists for the very most part of sand.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Na samym Majdanku wymordowano 1,700,000 ludzi" (1.7 million people were murdered in Majdanek alone). Sentencja wyroku. op. cit., (note 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> The Republic of Poland vs.: 1. German war criminals. 2. Their formations and organizations, identified in Charge 1 at the International Court-Martial, p. 44. This report was submitted as Document USSR-93 at the Nuremberg Trial. Cf. *IMT*, vol. VII, pp. 214.

few documents he does use. We shall restrict ourselves here to a discussion of the figures he gives.

Łukaszkiewicz subdivides the time of Majdanek's existence into four periods.<sup>201</sup> For the first period, from the establishment of the camp until the end of 1942, he gives the following victim counts:

- 5,000 Soviet prisoners of war, who were allegedly sent to the camp at the very beginning but were not registered;
- 2,000 Soviet prisoners of war, admitted in 1942 in small groups;
- 9,000 registered Czech and Slovak Jews;
- 3,000 unregistered Jews from Western and Central Europe;
- 15,000 unregistered Polish Jews;
- 12,000 registered Polish Jews;
- 7,000 registered Jews;
- 57,000 unregistered Polish Jews;
- 3,000 Poles admitted in small groups.

For this first period, Łukaszkiewicz cites a sum total of "approximately 100,000" victims. 202 of course, if one adds up the above numbers, the total is actually 113,000.

The second period lasted from early 1943 until June of the same year; according to the author, the victims to die in this time were:

- 116,000 registered inmates;
- 30,000 unregistered Jews.

Thus, the running total at this point is 146,000.

The third period covers the time from July 1943 until April 1944; the victims for this period were:

- 71,000 registered inmates;
- 4,000 unregistered Poles;
- 20,000 unregistered Polish and Russian Jews;
- 18,000 Jews shot on November 3, 1943, among them 4,000 who had been registered.

That makes 113,000 victims for this period.

The fourth and last period covered the time from April to July 22, 1944. During that time, 2,000 Poles died.

Thus, Z. Łukaszkiewicz arrives at a total of 360,000 dead,<sup>203</sup> and concludes:<sup>204</sup>

"Based on an analysis of the evidence, one can say with considerable certainty that approximately 60% of the 360,000 victims died a camp death,  $^{[205]}$  while some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91. If one adds the subtotals, one arrives at a total of 374,000 dead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Z. Łukaszkiewicz, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Meaning those who died of 'natural' causes.

25% were gassed and the rest were shot or killed by other means (hanging, lethal injections)."

As we can see, the number of those who, according to the author, died of 'natural' causes is much greater than those who were murdered: 216,000, versus 144,000 (including 90,000 gassed). The component parts of his statistics indicate that 215,000 registered and 159,000 unregistered inmates died.

Z. Łukaszkiewicz's methodology is decidedly clumsy and is based on two principles: eyewitness accounts and extrapolations. The component figures and sum total of the allegedly unregistered victims are based entirely on eyewitness testimony, which deprives them of any and all evidential value. The sum total of those who died of 'natural' causes, on the other hand, is based on completely arbitrary extrapolations of two German documents: from the 9,216 deaths recorded in these documents, Łukaszkiewicz concludes that the total was 215,000! Let's take a look at his method.

The author proceeds from the assumption that 10,000 Czech and Slovak Jews were deported to Majdanek in April 1942. Since 90% of the 7,026 dead recorded in the "Death Book" for June 1 to September 28, 1942, were Czech and Slovak Jews, he assumes (10,000×0.9=) 9,000 dead for April to September, which is not that much in excess of the actual figure. To calculate the victim count for October, November and December he refers to a section of the "List of Inmates Deceased in the Majdanek Camp", which covers the time from November 20 to December 5 and contains the following note: "Month of November 1942, deaths of Jews in the concentration camp Lublin—2,190." <sup>206</sup> He uses the same figure for October and December and thus arrives at (2,190×2+2,190=) 6,570 dead for that three-month period; he rounds this number up to 7,000. This figure is even too low. But he arbitrarily adds another 12,000 dead, which he arrives at as follows: on the basis of eyewitness testimony he assumes that 15,000 Polish Jews arrived at Majdanek, of which 3,000 were allegedly still alive in November; the others purportedly died.

Z. Łukaszkiewicz's reasoning is quite muddled; as he himself states, those 3,000 of these inmates who were still alive in November included 1,000 foreign and 1,500 Polish Jews as well as 500 inmates of other nationalities, so that he should actually assume (15,000-1,500=) 13,500 deceased Polish Jews, not 12,000. Furthermore, the alleged 12,000 deaths already include the number for October—but the author adds another 2,190 dead to these.

As an aside, it should be noted that Łukaszkiewicz derives a further 57,000 deaths from the number of registered Jews who died, by assuming from eyewitness testimony that the (12,000+7,000=) 19,000 registered inmates who died made up 25% of the total number of deportees. This total number, he therefore claims, was 76,000, of which 75%, or 57,000, were murdered without having been registered.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Łukaszkiewicz's number of 116,000 registered inmates who died during the second phase is truly amazing. For September 1942, when the camp population was 11,000, Łukaszkiewicz postulates 180 deaths per day, which would mean a daily mortality rate of fully 1.6%. Drawing on eyewitness testimony, he proceeds to calculate an average camp population of 36,000 for the first six months of 1943, setting the daily mortality rate at 1.8% due to the overcrowded conditions. In this way he arrives at 36,000×0.018×180= 116,640 or, rounded off, 116,000.

In actual fact, the average mortality rate in September 1942 was 84 per day, not 180; even assuming an average camp population of 11,000, this means that the daily mortality rate was 0.08%. Furthermore, the alleged average camp population of 36,000 for the first half of 1943 is pure fantasy; according to Z. Leszczyńska's statistics, discussed here in Chapter II, it was approximately 15,300. A daily average mortality rate of 1.8% for a camp population of 36,000 would amount to 648 deaths per day, or 19,940 per month, meaning a monthly mortality rate of 54%! Also, the hypothesis suggesting that the mortality rate remained consistently at the same high level for six months is arbitrary and unfounded.

Z. Łukaszkiewicz uses the same method to calculate the number of registered inmates to die during the third period. He assumes an average camp population of 22,000 and a daily mortality rate of 1.2%, in which way he calculates (22,000×0.012×270=) 71,280 dead—rounded off to 71,000—for the nine months in question. Here as well, his method is completely arbitrary and devoid of any serious foundation. We would just point out that according to Łukaszkiewicz the monthly mortality rate was approximately 7,900, or almost 36%, whereas we know from Pohl's September 30, 1943, report to Himmler that fewer than 800 people died in Majdanek in July 1943, and 1,054 in August. The Pohl Report also refutes Łukaszkiewicz's postulated mortality rate; in actual fact it was 3.4% in July (or a little over 0.1% per day) and 8.84% in August (a little over 0.2% per day)—which is still very high.

Polish historiography proceeded to elevate Z. Łukaszkiewicz's statistics to the status of inviolable truth, so that as late as 1979 the "Commission to Investigate the Hitler Crimes in Poland" maintained the figure of 360,000 victims in its most important, official publication about Majdanek.<sup>208</sup>

After Z. Łukaszkiewicz, who was a judge by profession, J. Marszałek, then the Director of the Majdanek Memorial, was the first historian to take a detailed look at the number of the Lublin camp's victims. In his book about the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 129), pp. 13-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Glowna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945. Informator encyklopedyczny.* Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979, p. 309.

history of Majdanek,<sup>209</sup> he devotes a section to the 'natural' mortality factor, in which he wrote:<sup>210</sup>

"In the case of Majdanek, it is impossible to describe this form of extermination<sup>[211]</sup> in figures, for we do not have complete records of those who perished in the camp."

Despite this "*impossibility*", he sets the number of those who died of 'natural' causes at 160,000. Let us now see how he arrived at that figure. To start, Marszałek mentions the two *Death Books*, and states correctly: <sup>210</sup>

"On the basis of the fragments of these two books, the mortality rate in the second half of 1942 can be estimated at 15,000 persons."

With reference to the year 1943, J. Marszałek writes:<sup>212</sup>

"In 1943, notably in its first three quarters, when the average number of prisoners rose to 20,000 and a typhus epidemic raged, the mortality rate increased considerably. [...] According to a secret letter from Oswald Pohl to Himmler, of September 30, 1943, the mortality rate in Majdanek was the highest among all concentration camps and in August amounted to 7.47 per cent among men and 4.41 per cent among women. Thus, one can assume that in the first three quarters of 1943, an average 300 persons died each day, which gives a total of about 90,000 deaths throughout that period."

Both the method of calculation and the result are statistically completely unfounded, for the following reasons:

- 1) Even if the average daily mortality rate had been 300, then from early January until late September (273 days) the total number of inmates to die would have been (300×273=) 81,900, not 90,000;
- 2) Even if one accepted Marszałek's extremely high figures—an average camp population of 20,000 and an average mortality rate of 7.47%<sup>213</sup>—then from January to September (9 months) a total of (20,000×0.0747×9=) 13,446 people would have died, not 90,000;
- 3) As we have seen in the previous section, the actual mortality rate for the entire camp, according to the Pohl Report, was 6.84%; accordingly, the number of dead would have been (20,000×0.0684×9=) 12,312.
- 4) The average camp population during this time was  $16,700,^{214}$  so that the number who died would be  $(16,700\times0.0684\times9=)$  10,280.
- 5) The figure of 300 dead per day, or 9,000 per month, would amount to (9,000÷20,000×100=) 45% of the average monthly camp population cited by J. Marszałek and would therefore be six times greater than the maxi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Józef Marszałek, *Majdanek*. The Polish original was published in 1981 under the title *Majdanek*. *Obóz koncentracyjny w Lublinie*. We quote from the English translation: *Majdanek*. *The Concentration Camp in Lublin*. Warsaw: Interpress, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> J. Marszałek considers 'natural' mortality to be an indirect form of extermination.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> J. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 209), pp. 214f.

The average mortality rate was 6.84%.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> See Documents 9 and 10.

mum death rate of 7.47% cited by Pohl. If one considers the actual average camp population, then according to Marszałek (9,000÷16,700×100=) 53.89% of the inmates would have died every month!

The Pohl Report indicates a total of 1,054 dead for the month of August, signifying a daily mortality of  $(1,054 \div 31=)$  34 inmates, not 300!

But the oddest thing about all this is that Marszaek assigns a greater number of victims to Majdanek in the first six months of 1943 than the Pohl Report indicates died during that time in all German concentration camps put together! [For the time from January to June of that year, Marszałek calculates a sum of (300×180=) 54,000 victims, but the Pohl Report—which the Polish historian quotes from, and must therefore be familiar with—shows that during the time in question the death count in *all* concentration camps (there were 17 of them) was 53,309.

The following figures apply to the next three months: in July approximately 4,700 inmates died;<sup>215</sup> 4,699 in August; for September, considering the fact that the mortality dropped and the camp population grew, one can assume a maximum of 5,000 dead, so that approximately 14,400 prisoners may have died altogether in these three months. [Marszałek, on the other hand, comes up with (300×90=) 27,000 victims for Majdanek alone, to make no mention of the extra 9,000 which he generously invents in addition.

Regarding the following period, J. Marszałek writes:<sup>216</sup>

"In the fourth quarter of 1943, mortality declined as a result of a decrease in the number of prisoners and a certain improvement of living conditions. However, in the first two months of 1944, it rose again following the arrival in Majdanek of thousands of sick prisoners from other concentration camps. During these two months, between 6,000 and 8,000 prisoners died. According to the extant death book for March 1944, 1,502 persons died at the camp in that month, among them 128 women."

As we have already emphasized, some (20,686-16,200=) 4,500 inmates died in Majdanek from September 1943 to February 1944, so that Marszałek's figures for January and February 1944 are grossly inflated. On the other hand, he set the figure for March a little too low; it was 1,654, not 1,502.

From the above data, Marszałek concludes:<sup>216</sup>

"Altogether, during the whole period of the camp's existence, about 160,000 prisoners perished as a result of indirect extermination."

Of course, if one adds up his figures, one arrives at a maximum total of (15,000+90,000+8,000+,500=) 114,500 dead. Marszałek adds the extra (160,000-114,500=) 45,500 simply by decree, without even trying to account for them somehow. And what adds even more confusion is that these 45,500 must have died in the last three months of 1943—at a time when Marszałek

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Calculated based on the average camp population and the actual mortality rate, which was 2.23% in July.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> J. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 209), p. 125.

himself admitted that the living conditions in the camp had improved and the inmate population had decreased—as well as in the last four months of the camp's existence, when the evacuations continued to massively decrease the camp population and the mortality thus dropped yet again!

Marszałek's figure of 160,000 deaths from 'natural causes' does represent a revision of the figure of 216,000 postulated by Łukaszkiewicz 33 years earlier, but since the former accepts the latter's calculated total of 360,000 without reservation, <sup>217</sup> the entire exercise merely amounts to a redistribution of those "indirectly exterminated" (as Marszałek puts it) and the "directly exterminated", i.e., those allegedly murdered without having been registered. Lukaszkiewicz set the number of these latter victims at 144,000, while Marszałek sets it at 200,000.

#### c) Revision

Naturally, Z. Łukaszkiewicz's dogmatic decree regarding the number of victims was dictated by important political considerations to which historians of that era had to submit whether they liked it or not. It was not until the early 1990s that Polish historiography made a first tentative attempt to shake off the fetters that had been placed on it by the now-defunct Communist regime, and to revise the number of Lublin victims. This arduous process was initiated by Czesław Rajca with a 1992 article whose title translates as "The Problem of the Number of Victims of the Majdanek Camp". Rajca wrote:<sup>218</sup>

"The loss of human life in Hitler's camps, including Majdanek, was a taboo topic until the late 1980s. It was practically impossible to modify the post-war claims which, given the lack of historical analyses of this topic, were based on very meager sources. Both the Commission to Investigate the Hitler Crimes in Poland and the former inmates of Hitler's camps opposed any such modification. This is the reason why, in the monograph 'Majdanek 1941-1944' which I coauthored, I accepted without debate the figure calculated by Z. Łukaszkiewicz in 1948; according to him, some 360,000 people died in the Lublin concentration camp. Now that the aforementioned restrictions dictated by non-scientific considerations have fallen by the wayside, a re-examination of the number of victims of the Lublin camp is possible."

C. Rajca denounces the grossly exaggerated figure of fully 1.5 million Maidanek victims, proclaimed by the Polish-Soviet Extraordinary Commission in September 1944; the Commission, he says, had had access to only "a small number of documents from the camp bureaucracy, as well as a few statements from former inmates." As well, it had been provided with expert reports about the gas chambers and the crematorium, but these reports had been false since the capacity of the facilities in question had been exaggerated, and since it had been falsely alleged that both facilities had worked without interruption and in

<sup>218</sup> Czesław Rajca, *op. cit.* (Note. 9), p. 127.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

tandem from the time of their first use to the time when the camp was dissolved. And finally, 800,000 pairs of shoes had been found there, and the automatic assumption had been that they had belonged to murdered inmates, whereas documents discovered later showed that there had been a storeroom in Majdanek where shoes were sent from other camps. (Also, as we have seen in Chapter I, worn-out shoes were sent from the Eastern front to Majdanek for repair.)

C. Rajca criticizes Z. Łukaszkiewicz's aforementioned article summarily but quite bluntly. He acknowledges correctly that compared to that of the Polish-Soviet Commission Łukaszkiewicz's work was groundbreaking, but also stresses the unreliable nature of the documentation his work was based on and which threw his entire line of argument into a very questionable light: almost every figure is inflated; that of the deportees to Majdanek, the camp population in the first half of 1943 as well as in the first quarter of 1944, the mortality rate of 1.8% per day, and the number of Jews sent to the camp.

After C. Rajca has thus set himself up to banish the ghosts of the past, he explains the approach on which his own calculations are based:<sup>219</sup>

"Given the lack of documentary material relating directly to the extent of the crime committed in Majdanek, the only rational means of calculating the number of victims is to subtract from the total number of prisoners sent to the camp, the number of those transferred to other camps, those released, and those who escaped."

The figures with which the author works are those given by Z. Leszczyńska in her studies about the transports to and from Majdanek. According to Leszczyńska, it is a documented fact that approximately 275,000 inmates were deported to Majdanek and 45,000 were transferred to other camps. But as she claims that the first of these figures is incomplete, C. Rajca increases it (arbitrarily) to 300,000. Since the sum of all transferred, released and escaped inmates, according to Rajca, totals some 65,000, he arrives at a victim count of 235,000. Of the 300,000 inmates brought to Majdanek, he states, approximately 120,000 were Jews, 100,000 were Poles, 40,000 were Soviet citizens, and approximately 30,000 were Western Europeans. About 110,000 of the victims were Jews.

As we have seen in Chapter II, Z. Leszczyńska's statistics regarding the inmates deported to Majdanek are utterly unrealistic, and thus C. Rajca's calculations, which are based on precisely these statistics, are devoid of any rational foundation.

Rajca concludes his article with a look to the future:<sup>221</sup>

"The above balance sheet of Majdanek victims represents the current state of research into this subject. It is not out of the question that the discovery of new

<sup>220</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Czesław Rajca, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 129f.

sources (we may yet hope that the documents that were taken to the Soviet Union in 1944 will become accessible) will require a correction of this balance sheet, but it does not seem that drastic changes are likely."

In a brochure published by the Majdanek Museum the matter is portrayed thus:<sup>222</sup>

"Of the approximately 300,000 inmates sent to Majdanek, roughly 235,000 died in the camp, 45,000 were transferred to other camps, 20,000 were released, 500 escaped, and 1,500 were liberated [by the Red Army]."

The two authors remain silent as to the source of these statistics.

Z. Leszczyńska cites a former inmate named Andrzej Stanisławski, who had worked in the camp registry, and reports that a total of 240,000 prisoners had been recorded in said registry.<sup>223</sup> If this claim were correct, the breakdown of inmates admitted to the camp would look a follows:

Total admitted: 300,000 Registered: 240,000 Unregistered: 60,000

Dead: 235,000 (including 175,000 registered)

In this case, the number of those who died from 'natural' causes would be more than four times the number actually documented—which says it all where the credibility of the 'information' provided by A. Stanisławski is concerned.

At this point we would like to add our own estimates of the number of inmates deported to Majdanek during the time of the camp's existence. If one accepts—as we do—the official Polish figures of 20,000 released and 45,000 transferred inmates, then one arrives at the following breakdown:

 Released:
 20,000

 Transferred:
 45,000

 Deceased:
 42,200

 Liberated on July 23, 1944:
 1,500

 Total admitted, ca.:
 109,000

# d) The Numbers Given by Western Historians

As we have already pointed out in the Introduction, there is no scientific literature about Majdanek to be found in the western world at all. The historians of renown have never looked into the question of the number of victims of the camp, and the wildly divergent figures they offer depend entirely on which source they used. In some cases they have even "corrected" these sources in accordance with their own personal preference. Added to this is the fact that some of these historians are interested exclusively in the Jews, the alleged vic-

<sup>223</sup> Z. Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 136), p. 37.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Anna Wiśniewska, Czesław Rajca, op. cit. (note 2), p. 32.

tims of the "Final Solution"—as though the non-Jewish inmates who died of diseases, exhaustion etc. did not merit any attention at all. The following examples illustrate the morass of western historiography in this area.

The most pathetic character among the Western historians is no doubt Lucy Dawidowicz, who even as late as 1979 had the effrontery to write of 1,380,000 murder victims in Majdanek;<sup>224</sup> quite obviously she adopted the Polish-Soviet Commission's propaganda figure of 1.5 million victims<sup>225</sup> and arbitrarily deducted 120,000 who died of 'natural' causes. Other historians, such as Lea Rosh and Eberhard Jäckel, have taken up Z. Łukaszkiewicz's figure of 360,000 dead.<sup>226</sup> Wolfgang Scheffler, who for whatever reason does not like Łukaszkiewicz's statistics, offers a total victim count of 250,000.<sup>227</sup> This same figure appears in the article "Majdanek" in the Enzyklopädie des Holocaust;<sup>228</sup> the author of this article, however, is most likely the Polish historian Czesław Madajczyk. The District Court of Düsseldorf, which in the Majdanek Trial made reference to an expert report by W. Scheffler as well as to various witness statements, reduced the victim count yet again and spoke of "at least 200,000 victims, including at least 60,000 Jews."<sup>229</sup>

Certain authors regard the Jewish victims as the only ones worthy of note. Aharon Weiss estimates their number as 120,000 to 200,000,<sup>230</sup> Martin Gilbert speaks of 125,000,<sup>231</sup> Raul Hilberg of 50,000.<sup>232</sup> And finally, Adam Rutkowski, the author of the chapter on Majdanek in the well-known anthology *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen duch Giftgas*, makes do with the succinct comment that "only estimates exist" with regard to the number of victims of the gas chambers; Rutkowski is also cautious enough to refrain from mentioning any numbers of victims of 'natural' causes.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews 1933-1945*, Pelican Books, 1979, p. 191.

The German version of the relevant report is listed among the sources used by L. Dawidowicz, ibid., p. 528.

Lea Rosh, Eberhard Jäckel, *Der Tod ist ein Meister aus Deutschland*, Hoffmann und Campe, 1991, p. 217.

Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich*, Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1964, p. 40.

Enzyklopädie des Holocaust, op. cit. (note 7), v. II, p. 918.
 District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. I, p. 90.

Aharon Weiss, "Categories of camps—Their character and role in the execution of the 'final solution of the Jewish question'", in: The Nazi concentration camps. Proceedings of the fourth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, January 1980, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984, p. 132.

Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982, p. 437.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer, 1990, v. II, p. 956; the original English edition (*The Destruction of European Jewry*, Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967) speaks only of "tens of thousands", p. 572.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> E. Kogon *et al.* (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 244.

### 3. Death from 'Non-Natural' Causes

In Polish historiography the expression 'death from non-natural causes' refers to various groups of victims which fall into two main categories: the registered and the unregistered victims.

The first category is that of the registered inmates who became unable to work—particularly those inmates suffering from typhus—who were allegedly "selected" and killed in the camp.

The second category includes two groups of victims: Poles arrested for activities against the occupation forces and executed in accordance with the verdict handed down by a Special Court, and Jews deported to Majdanek but judged immediately upon arrival as being unfit to work (old men, children and women).

Whereas the mortality due to 'natural' causes is largely documentable and a number of executions of registered Majdanek inmates can also be proven on the basis of documents, all claims made with regard to mass killings without individual trials and without court sentences are based on witness statements (with the possible exception of executions in Krepiecki Forest, to which we shall return later).

Orthodox historiography's allegations of the mass extermination of tens or even hundreds of thousands of people in Majdanek is not only not supported by any documentary proof whatsoever, but is also refuted by a number of verifiable facts.

# a) The Alleged Mass Extermination of Registered Inmates

As we have already noted earlier, 234 Polish historiography itself demonstrates with numerous examples that the sick inmates in Majdanek were not exterminated. We remind the reader of the camp for disabled Soviet ex-servicemen, established in 1943 and also mentioned in the July 3, 1944, letter<sup>235</sup> of the garrison physician of the SS and Police Lublin; of the war-disabled there, 1,250 were transferred to Mauthausen on July 7, 1944, and 500 were still there when the Red Army liberated the camp. We have also already mentioned the June 3, 1943, transfer, ordered by the WVHA, of malaria patients from Auschwitz to Majdanek. The camp physician of Auschwitz I explained the reason for this transfer in the December 16, 1943, "Quarterly Report about medical services in the concentration camp Auschwitz":<sup>236</sup>

<sup>236</sup> *GARF*, 7121-108-32, p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Letter of the garrison physician of the SS and Police Lublin to the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office, Amt III, of July 3, 1944. APMM, sygn. I.d.2, v. I, p. 1. See Chapter VIII.

"To prevent the spread of malaria, an extermination of flies and mosquitoes was carried out with the insecticide GIGS at the end of the quarter-year to which this report pertains. The malaria patients, or inmates who have recovered from malaria treatment, were transferred to the concentration camp Lublin, which is considered to be freer of anopheles<sup>[237]</sup> than Auschwitz."

There can be no doubt about the accuracy of this explanation, since it would have been quite nonsensical to spare these sick inmates the trip into the gas chambers of Birkenau, only to send them into the gas chambers of Majdanek!

Towards the end of its existence, Majdanek was at times turned into a veritable sickbay. As early as 1944, many sick inmates were sent there from other camps:

2,993 from Dachau (January 8 and 17, February 6); approximately 3,000 from Buchenwald (January and February); approximately 800 from Ravensbrück (January and February); approximately 2,500 from Neuengamme (January 26, March 13); 2,700-3,000 from Sachsenhausen (January 26, March 16); 300 from Flossenbürg (March 11).<sup>238</sup> This explains the extremely high mortality rate in Majdanek in March 1944. In the course of the evacuation, the surviving patients were transferred to Auschwitz: on April 9, 1944, 1,980 sick inmates arrived there, 99 of which died *en route*; on April 16, 988 sick women with 38 children were assigned to the infirmary in Sector BIIa of Birkenau. The last patients who were fit to be transported were taken out of Majdanek by bus on July 22, together with 30 women and children. These facts disprove the allegation that sick inmates in Majdanek were put to death.

Beyond that, there were many young children in Majdanek who naturally could not be put to work. In early 1943 the higher SS authorities even made plans to establish a regular Children's Camp there. In the western regions of the Soviet Union, partisan warfare had turned many children into orphans, and the Command of Army Unit South turned to the *Reichsführer*-SS with the request to decide on their fate. On January 6, 1943, Himmler ordered that "racially worthless" children were to be turned over to the economic enterprises in the concentration camps, where they would be trained to work and raised to be obedient and disciplined. Himmler entrusted Pohl with the task of setting up a collection camp for children and minors from the occupied Soviet territories. Pohl chose Compound V of Majdanek for this purpose, and informed Himmler of his decision on January 25. But this project was never put into ef-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Malaria-transmitting mosquito.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Zofia Leszczyńska, *op. cit.* (note 112), p. 116. See Chapter III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Danuta Czech, op. cit. (note 122), p. 752.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Zofia Leszczyńska, op. cit. (note 111), p. 127.

fect, perhaps due to engineering problems or to squabbling over responsibilities among various authorities.<sup>242</sup>

As of 1943, numerous transports of White Russian women and children arrived in Majdanek. Zofia Murawska has partly reconstructed the events in question. According to her, the first transport arrived in the Lublin camp on June 13, 1943. The next group, of 61 women and children, was admitted on October 9. Approximately 200 children between the ages of 2 and 10 years were brought in on October 31, and roughly 2,000 women and children of various ages two months later.<sup>243</sup>

On the intervention of the Polish Red Cross, 2,167 people (957 children and 1,210 women) were released from the camp between July 19 and September 20, 1943. The children, who were in a very poor state of health, were then admitted to the hospital in Lublin, where a high percentage especially of the youngest among them died: 44 of 134 children up to two years of age died, 35 of 173 between the ages of three and five, and 4 of 75 between the ages of six and ten.<sup>244</sup>

Since the hospitals of Lublin, like the entire city, were under SS control, it is logical to assume that they were discharged so that they might recover their strength in the civilian hospitals.

# b) The Alleged Mass Extermination of Unregistered Inmates: the Jews

Unfitness to work was allegedly also a reason for extermination where the Jews who were deported to Majdanek were concerned. This presupposes that only those who were fit to work were admitted to the camp and registered. However, this assumption is not supported by so much as a single document. Another factor that speaks against it is that at least a part of the Jews brought to Majdanek from the Warsaw ghetto were admitted as a body, without any selection. The Düsseldorf Court, which found itself faced with the task of in-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Zofia Murawska, "Dzieci w obozie koncentracyjnym na Majdanku" (The Children in the Concentration Camp Majdanek), in: ZM, X, 1980, pp. 141f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148f.

In other cases, the selection was performed in Treblinka, even though according to the official 'Holocaust' literature that camp was "strictly an extermination camp"! T. Berenstein and A. Rutkowski (op. cit., note 115) comment: "A few transports from Warsaw arrived in Lublin via Treblinka; a selection of the deportees had been carried out in Treblinka." The authors also mention that in February 1943, 104 Jewesses were sent to Majdanek from Treblinka, and similarly, in March of the same year, 35 Dutch Jews were sent there from Sobibór (also "strictly an extermination camp"! op. cit., note 115, p. 16). And finally, Z. Leszczyńska reports that 1,700 Jewesses were sent to Majdanek from Bełżec (the third "strict extermination camp"! op. cit., note 110, p. 189). According to the statements of Rudolf Vrba, a transport of Slovak Jews that arrived in Majdanek on June 16, 1942 was selected at the Lublin train station; only those who were judged fit to work were admitted to the camp (APMO, RO, t.XXa, pp. 37f).

terpreting this fact standing in such crass contradiction to the extermination theory, dreamed up the following explanation:<sup>246</sup>

"In spring 1943, when the mass transports primarily of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto arrived in the camp and, unlike in previous times, included not only many older people but also numerous mothers with children, the immediate liquidation of all these people 'useless for labor purposes' was no longer always possible due to the 'limited' capacity of the gas chambers and the cremation facilities. From time to time this forced the camp administration to temporarily admit Jewish mothers and children to the Women's Compound, and to send the children to the gas chambers only later, when a 'suitable opportunity' arose."

This attempt at an explanation is downright pathetic. After all, the facilities considered by the court to be execution gas chambers had a total capacity of 600 people, <sup>247</sup> and the rest of the new arrivals marked for death could simply have been shot in Krepiecki Forest.

Since the Jews who were admitted to the camp without being 'selected' were registered normally, their 'belated' murder would have had an impact on the 'natural' mortality rates in the camp, but such was not the case.<sup>248</sup>

For November 1943, the Düsseldorf Court remarked:

"The barracks to the right housed Jewish workmen, presumably from Czechoslovakia [sic!], together with their families which also included children and toddlers."

This also does not agree with the theory of selection and the extermination of children and other people unfit to work!

On Compound V there were two barracks that served to house pregnant Jewesses and small children, which represents another blow against the extermination theory. In an attempt to explain this contradiction, the eyewitnesses claim that the sanitary conditions in these barracks defied description and that the inhabitants of these barracks were all gassed within three weeks anyway;<sup>249</sup> if this were true, then there would have been no reason for these two barracks to have existed in the first place, since there could have been no reason to register the women and children already marked for death, rather than "selecting" and killing them immediately upon their arrival.

# c) The Alleged Mass Extermination of Unregistered Inmates: the Poles

According to Polish historiography, this category included, first and fore-most, partisans, hostages, and citizens sentenced to death by Special Courts for acts of resistance against the occupation power. Even though these executions are not documented, we have no doubt that they took place, given the political climate at that time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. II, p. 405.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, v. I, p. 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, v. II, p. 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Zofia Murawska, *op. cit.* (note 242), p. 144.

As an aside, the autopsies conducted by the Polish-Soviet Commission on the 733 bodies discovered in Krepiecki Forest showed that 349 of the dead exhibited bullet wounds. <sup>250</sup> In this particular instance we do not question the credibility of the Commission's claims. We do not know whether some of these execution victims may have been Majdanek inmates sentenced to death for violations of camp rules.

How many Poles were killed in this way is not known. J. Marszałek speaks of approximately 10,000,<sup>251</sup> but this figure (based only on eyewitness testimony) is likely to be inflated for propaganda reasons. The Düsseldorf Court mentioned 10 transports, each with 30 to 50 persons to be executed.<sup>252</sup> The actual figure may very well have been higher.

<sup>250</sup> Communiqué..., op. cit. (note 195), p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> J. Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 209), p. 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. II, p. 505.

# Chapter V: The Crematoria of Majdanek

# 1. History of the Company H. Kori

The two crematoria installed in the concentration camp Majdanek were equipped with furnaces manufactured by the firm H. Kori, 253 headquartered in Berlin, Potsdam St. 111. This company, established in 1887, soon specialized on the construction of cremation furnaces for the elimination of animal cadavers. It constructed the first facility of this type in autumn of 1892 in the Nuremberg slaughter house.

In November 1901, at a meeting of the Brandenburg Provincial Medical Board, Dr. Th. Weyl suggested cremating the bodies of the victims of the plague epidemic raging there at that time. He consulted the engineer Hans Kori, who had relevant experience. Kori replied that he could set up a cremation oven, valued at 2,750 marks, within 36 hours and put it into operation immediately. We do not know whether such a facility was then actually set up.

By 1905 the firm Kori had installed 55 "animal cadaver cremation ovens", nine years later the figure had already risen to 160.<sup>255</sup> The company's activities gradually expanded to include the construction of facilities to incinerate all kinds of garbage. By 1927 the number of such installations sold by Kori was about 3,500.<sup>256</sup>

Not until relatively late did Kori begin building crematoria. At that time the German market in this area was controlled by four companies. In early 1925, 142 cremation furnaces existed in Germany. Of these, the firm Richard Schneider-Didier, Stettin, had manufactured 64, the firm Gebrüder Beck of Offenbach, 42, the firm J. A. Topf & Söhne of Erfurt, 21, and the firm Wilhelm Ruppmann of Stuttgart, 15.<sup>257</sup> The first two companies were in a decline at that time, while Topf was enjoying rapid growth. Kori managed, albeit with

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<sup>253 &</sup>quot;Technisches Büro und Fabrik für Abfallverbrennungsöfen aller Art und vollständige Verbrennungsanlagen. Kesseleinmauerungen—Schornsteinbau. Glüh-, Schmelz-, Muffel- und Wärmeöfen, sowie sämtliche Feuerungsanlagen der Metallindustrie, Einäscherungsöfen für Krematorien."

To the German Reichstag. Petition of February 20, 1902, regarding cremation of the bodies of plague victims. Enclosure II.

<sup>255 &</sup>quot;Bau und Betrieb von Krematorien. 1. Neue Wege und Ziele", by engineer H. Kori, Berlin, in: Die Wärmewirtschaft, yr. 1, issue 8, 1924, p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> H. Kori GmbH, Berlin. Verbrennungsöfen für Abfälle aller Art. Advertising brochure from 1927. APMM, VI-9a, v. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Die Wärmewirtschaft, yr. 2, issue 6, 1925, p. 90.

difficulty, to secure a share of the market by spending the first five years of its activities as manufacturer of crematoria by also installing many furnaces: two in 1926 in Hagen (Westphalia), one in 1927 in the crematorium of Weissenfels, and another two in 1930 in the crematorium of Schwerin. By the early 1930s Topf had become the leading manufacturer of such furnaces, while Kori was in last place behind the companies Gebrüder Beck, Schneider-Didier and Ruppmann.

Nonetheless the company's founding engineer Hans Kori's contribution to the development of cremation technology in Germany was very significant. The Prussian law of September 14, 1911, permitted only the hot-air cremation method devised by Friedrich Siemens (the so-called "completely indirect process"), in which the body was turned to ash in the recuperator by air heated to 1,000°C without the generator's combustion products being allowed to enter the muffle. In February 1924 engineer Hans Kori turned to the Berlin-Schönberg police headquarters with the request to revise the law of September 14, 1911. From his experience with his animal cadaver incinerators, where the cadavers were exposed directly to the generator's combustion products, Kori had found that this method required considerably less fuel than the "completely indirect process".

The engineer explained that the reasons which had prompted the passing of the law in question had not been valid, if only because the body was loaded into the oven together with the coffin; once the coffin had caught fire, it naturally envelops the body in flames. Besides, once the body's moisture content had evaporated, it burned by itself. Another factor was that during the "completely indirect process" the temperature dropped sharply while the body fluids evaporated; this could only be avoided by channeling the generator's combustion products into the combustion chamber.

Therefore, Kori proposed that the "direct process" should also be legally recognized as a legitimate cremation process. The Berlin police headquarters notified the Ministry of the Interior, which showed lively interest. On July 19, 1924, Kori sent them a detailed report about his proposal. <sup>260</sup> The matter was investigated by the Berlin Association for Fuel Conservation, which assessed Kori's proposal positively. The Ministry of the Interior seconded this opinion and passed a decree on October 24, 1924, declaring the "intermittently direct"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> IV. Jahrbuch des Verbandes der Feuerbestattungs-Vereine Deutscher Sprache 1928, Königsberg Pr., 1928, p. 82; Einäscherungsofen System "Kori" im Krematorium der Stadt Hagen/Westf.; Einäscherungsöfen System "Kori" im Krematorium der Hauptstadt Schwerin (advertising brochure from the 1930s). APMM, VI-9a, v. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Friedrich Hellwig, "Vom Bau und Betrieb der Krematorien", in: Gesundheits-Ingenieur, yr. 54, issue 24, 1931, p. 370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 255), pp. 115-119.

introduction of generator gases into the corpse chamber" to be legally acceptable. 261

Ironically enough, the most intense resistance to Kori's suggestion came from the company Topf,<sup>262</sup> which was to become Kori's chief competitor in the construction of cremation ovens for the German concentration camps in the early 1940s.

# 2. Structure and Function of the Coke-Fueled Kori Furnaces for the Concentration Camps

The coke-fueled Kori furnace in the concentration camp Mauthausen which was put into operation on May 4, 1940, was probably the first model of the furnaces designed by Kori for the concentration camps.

The furnace stands on a brick platform, with its right side adjoining the wall of the service room. The standard double door for closing the muffle is at the front.

The muffle is equipped with a grate of three bars made of fire-resistant firebrick. They run crosswise and are joined in the middle by a bar running lengthwise. Underneath the grate is the ash pit, which may be closed off by a small door at the front. The generator is located at the back of the furnace section; the small door via which it is stoked, as well as the firing door beneath it, are located on the left side of the furnace.

The firing grate consists of 14 cast-iron bars and two crossbars for support. The supply shaft for the generator opens onto a sloping grate of broad bars, constructed in such a way that not only coke, but wood as well, can be used as fuel. No auxiliary devices are mounted on the furnace's back wall. The system for drawing off the flue gases includes an opening on the muffle vault in the front part of the oven as well as a horizontal smoke channel that can be shut with a metal damper. The system for loading the corpse consists of the bier, of a device on wheels to support it, as well as of a "firebrick barrier"; the latter is a device for closing off the body in the muffle.

The Kori oven to follow after this prototype was an improved model, which is why it was called "reform cremation oven". We quote a May 18, 1943, letter from the company Kori to Amt CIII of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office in which this model is advertised as follows:<sup>263</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> "Amtliches. Bau und Betrieb von Krematorien", in: Die Wärmewirtschaft, yr. 2, issue 7, 1925, p. 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> On December 24, 1924 the company Topf appealed the Ministry of the Interior's decree, but the appeal was rejected. *Die Wärmewirtschaft*, yr. 2, 1925, pp. 89-91 and 95, 96; issue 7, 1925, pp. 107f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Letter from the company Kori to engineer Waller of Amt C III of the SS Economic-

#### "Re. Cremation Ovens

Pursuant to our verbal discussion with you regarding the purchase of a single cremation facility, we recommend to you our coal-fueled Reform Cremation Ovens, which have proven themselves very well in practical application to date.—For the construction project planned, we suggest two cremation ovens, but we recommend double-checking to confirm that these two ovens would suffice. The specific arrangement of the ovens must also be decided on, since this determines how the fittings and the anchor frame are set up. If possible, the oven should be located in a closed room and connected to an existent smokestack.—If the location for set-up has already been chosen, we would ask you to send us a plan of the site so that we may provide you with an appropriate layout. From the enclosed diagrams you can see the area required for the ovens with service and stoking areas. Diagram J.-Nr. 8998 shows the layout for two ovens, whereas Diagram J.-Nr. 9122 shows how four ovens were set up for Construction Project Dachau. Another diagram—J.-Nr. 9080—shows your Lublin facility, with five cremation ovens and two fitted furnace chambers.

Regarding the cost of two crematoria, we are pleased to make you the following offer:

1) 2 Reform Cremation Ovens of the latest design, with vaulted coffin chamber and horizontal ash pit floor, including all fittings, the insertion, service and maintenance doors, the air valves, heating fixtures for the main furnace unit and the embers grate, the complete anchor frame of strong angle-iron rails and U-iron rails connected via anchor rails, all building materials i.e., high-quality firebrick form and regular bricks, firestone mortar, facing and backing bricks, brick mortar and cement, as well as complete installation by our heating engineer with the support of all technical assistants,

 $RM4.500 \ each = RM9.000.$ 

In the event that the second oven is to be set up adjoining the first, the price for the second oven is reduced [...] to RM 4,050.

However, this amount does not include the expenses for freight and carriage of the material to the site, traveling expenses for the installer, other traveling expenses, or posting rates. We would bill these expenses separately for your convenience.

Our cost estimate also excludes: extra construction-related tasks on-site, such as excavation, foundation for the ovens, construction of the room where the ovens are to be set up, as well as the flues from the ovens to the smokestack, and the stack itself.

As soon as the questions regarding location and set-up of the ovens have been resolved, we will be happy to provide you with a supplementary offer for the manufacture of the flues.

To facilitate the loading of the bodies into the oven's incineration chamber, we suggest in addition:

1) 2 cremation carts, trough-shaped, with rollers and handles, RM 160,-- each RM 320

Administrative Main Office. Archive of the Curatorship for the Concentration Camp Dachau Memorial, 660/41.

2) 2 castered trestles to support the cremation carts, RM 75,-- each RM 150

RM 470

We fully guarantee the effectiveness of the cremation furnaces to be supplied, as well as their stability, and also the supply of only first-rate materials and the quality of workmanship.

The cast-iron fittings and anchor hardware as well as the fireclay form bricks can be supplied on short notice if we are provided with a Wehrmacht waybill for this purpose.

To supply the iron furnace parts we require 1,460 kg [iron] per furnace, i.e., 2,920 kg for two furnaces. Enclosed please find the requisition forms for the iron.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Heil Hitler!

H. KORI GmbH

Encl.: 3 diagrams—J.-Nr. 8998, J.-Nr. 9122, J.-Nr. 9080— Requisition form for iron."

Today the three diagrams enclosed with this letter are held in the Belgrade archives of the "State Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers as well as Their Accomplices".

Diagram J.-Nr. 8998 was a project for the crematorium of the SS New Building Administration of the concentration camp Neuengamme, which had two furnaces connected to the chimney via an ordinary flue.

Diagram J.-Nr. 9122 shows the project on the basis of which the four furnaces of the new crematorium ("Barrack X") in Dachau were built. Furnaces 1 and 4 are positioned on either side of the incineration chamber, while furnaces 2 and 3 are located in its center. They are paired, but although they share a common wall, their muffles are not connected. The system for drawing off the combustion gases is designed as follows: in the muffle vault, in the front part of each furnace, there is an opening through which the flue gases can escape; it opens into a flue running through the wall in the upper part of the furnace above the muffle and proceeding first diagonally, then vertically downward, winding around the generator in the interior back brickwork and then continuing downward, beneath the floor of the furnace room, before extending horizontally towards the chimney.

The two furnaces of the crematorium in the concentration camp Stutthof were structured similarly to the two central furnaces of the Dachau crematorium, but without the firebrick damper.

The four furnaces of the crematorium in the concentration camp Sachsenhausen were of the same shape as the five-muffle furnace built later in Majdanek. Together they formed a single unit 12.46 m long and 2.66 m high. The system for drawing off the smoke consisted of a vertical flue turning off at a right angle above the muffle and opening into another, horizontal smoke channel, to which it was in vertical orientation; this second channel passed through the interior of the brickwork in the upper part of the facility. Furnaces

1 through 3 were equipped with a damper of fireproof firebrick, located in front of the junction into this channel; the damper for furnace 4, on the other hand, was located in the lengthwise channel in front of furnace 3. This channel was divided into two sections by a centrally located piece of brickwork: the left section drew off the flue gases from furnaces 1 and 2, while the right part serviced furnaces 3 and 4. Both channels turned off at right angles and opened into two pipes, each of which in turn opened into one of the chimney's two flues.

# 3. The Crematoria of the Concentration Camp Majdanek

## a) Construction of the Crematoria

Even though none appears on any known blueprint from the Central Construction Office, the installation of a crematorium had been planned for Maidanek (then called "prisoner-of-war camp") as early as October 1941. The original project which, however, was not put into practice until two years later, and then with only one modification, provided for five coke-fueled Kori furnaces which were to form a single unified brick unit. This is apparent from Diagram J.-Nr. 9079 of October 16, 1941. 264 In an October 23, 1941, letter to SS-Sturmbannführer Lenzer, the Kori company described it as follows, with reference to exactly this diagram:<sup>265</sup>

"Our diagram, sheet 2 (J.-Nr. 9079), shows the solution to the space problem for a total of 5 cremation furnaces, of which furnace 5 in the middle is intended as reserve unit. In other word, only furnaces 1 through 4 are meant for ongoing use; they are built in two groups, with a common heating chamber located between two units for better utilization of the flue gases. Each group, consisting of two furnaces and one heating chamber, takes up an area of 4.80 x 3.00 m. The doors through which the bodies are loaded are at the upper front of the furnaces, and the service door for ash removal is located below them. Installed opposite to them, i.e., at the upper back of the furnaces, is the fuel input, which is operated from the common maintenance and stoking area. The floor here is 0.40 m lower than in the anteroom, to which the stone steps to the left and right of the furnaces give access and which also equalize the difference in height. The joint flue for 2 cremations each is located above the furnaces, with a diversion flue that permits channeling the flue gases either directly to the stack or through the heating chamber for purposes of utilizing the [heat from the] flue gases."

The aforementioned diagram shows only the incineration chamber, which measures 11.50 × 14.50 m. The other locations, including the coke depot, are only sketched in. The following diagram, J.-Nr. 9080, dating from March 31,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> See Document 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> APMM, sygn. VI-9a, v. 1.

1942,<sup>266</sup> shows the definite shape of the furnace. The facility corresponds to that on the earlier plan, with the exception of the system for drawing off the flue gases. This now consists of two flues opening into a single stack equipped with two flue pipes. Each of the two pipes is outfitted with a ventilator located in a room next to the incineration chamber.

We shall return to the structure and function of this installation later. According to the diagram, the crematorium measured  $30 \times 10$  m. Of that, the incineration chamber took up  $10 \times 16.30$  m; besides that, there was also a mortuary  $10 \times 5.50$  m in size, a  $3.75 \times 5.50$  m room for inmates working in the crematorium, an office of the same size, a hallway measuring  $2.50 \times 4.50$  m, and a room for the Chief of the crematorium; this room measured  $4.50 \times 5$  m.

Since the implementation of this project would have required a great deal of time, whereas the increasing number of deaths among the camp's inmates made a crematorium an ever more immediate necessity, the Central Construction Office decided to construct a temporary crematorium with two mobile, oil-fueled Kori furnaces. For this purpose, as we shall see, it adopted the project from the diagram of March 31, 1942, modifying it accordingly.

Only one document regarding the planning and construction of the first crematorium in the concentration camp Majdanek has been preserved. What little references the Polish literature makes to this topic<sup>267</sup> are all based on the August 14, 1947, statements of SS-*Oberscharführer* Erich Mußfeldt.<sup>268</sup>

Mußfeldt stated that the two furnaces had been brought to Majdanek from the concentration camp Sachsenhausen, and that the crematorium was brought into service in June 1942<sup>269</sup> and remained in operation until late October of that year. As of November—Mußfeldt stated—no more cremations were carried out there because there was a lack of fuel, *i.e.*, oil, and in early 1943 the two furnaces were dismantled and taken over by the Central Construction Office.<sup>270</sup> After the old crematorium was shut down, and before the new one was brought into service, the bodies of those who died in the camp were buried in

<sup>267</sup> J. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 81), pp. 55, 56; J. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 209), p. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> See Document 19.

Mußfeldt was promoted to SS-Oberscharführer on June 1, 1943. The relevant note of the Majdanek camp office (GARF, 7021-107-5, p. 283; cf. Document 27) includes the spelling "Mußfeld", which is also used in another German document. The latter originated in 1944 in Auschwitz; it is an undated pay sheet for NCOs and soldiers and begins with the name "Osch. (Oberscharführer) Mußfeld". However, the box marked "Receipt" on the same sheet contains the hand-written signature "Mußfeldt" (GARF, 7021-108-54, p. 96). For this reason we are using this spelling rather than "Mußfeldt" or "Muhsfeldt", even though the latter incorrect spelling is consistently used in Polish subject literature.

According to a German document, the Crematorium (Bldg. XV) was 80% complete on July 1, 1942 (WAPL, Central Construction Office, 8, p. 3), but it is conceivable that the Furnace Room was already finished in June, so that Mußfeldt's statement may be correct.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> This claim by Mußfeldt contradicts SS-Hauptsturmführer Krone's report of January 20, 1943, according to which the two furnaces were still in operation at that time. We shall discuss the relevant section of the Krone Report later in this chapter.

the woods. He himself, Mußfeldt stated, had been in charge of the unit that performed this work.<sup>271</sup>

Mußfeldt testified that both oil-fueled furnaces had been taken to the labor camp Płaszów near Cracow, but in fact one remained in the camp; today it is kept in the building of the new crematorium. Afterwards, the barrack where the first crematorium had been located was also torn down. Only its concrete floor remained after the camp was liberated. The first crematorium had been located on Intermediate Compound I, in front of the southeast side of the Laundry. On the official plan of the Majdanek Memorial it is erroneously shown at the southeast corner of the Drying facility, a small barrack approximately  $15 \times 8$  m in size which said plan falsely shows as an inmate barrack of normal size.  $^{273}$ 

In late November 1942 the Central Construction Office of the concentration camp Majdanek decided to restructure the crematorium—or, more precisely, its furnace room; several alternatives were considered. The diagram of December 1, 1942, shows four mobile, oil-fueled furnaces, located in pairs to either side of a central brick chimney and connected to the latter via flues affixed above the furnaces. Considering how scarce oil was at that time, this project seems rather unrealistic. In reply to an inquiry by the Central Construction Office, the Kori company suggested retaining the two old, oil-fueled furnaces and installing two further units of this type, albeit coke-fueled ones this time, which would require the addition of a coal generator in the rear section. The construction system is shown on Diagram J.-Nr. 9239.

The diagram drawn up by Kori on December 10, 1942,  $^{276}$  shows two possible configurations of the installations in the furnace room. In Sketch 1 they are set up lengthways, and widthways in Sketch 2. Both options provide for two sets of adjoining furnace pairs, each with a brick stack located between the two units. The stack is rectangular; its exterior dimensions are  $1.20 \times 1.40$  m, its interior dimensions  $0.40 \times 0.50$  m. One of two furnace pairs is intended to be coal-fueled, the other is oil-fueled. No doubt the two furnaces already present were connected in this way.

The incineration chamber is  $12 \times 10$  m in size. The arrangement of the furnaces as per Sketch 1 agrees very well with the Building Administration's plan of November 23, 1942, <sup>277</sup> which shows an incineration chamber  $12.15 \times 9.74$  m in size, with two chimneys measuring  $1.20 \times 1.20$  m outside and  $0.45 \times 1.20$  m

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Anna Zmijewska-Wiśniewska, *op. cit.* (note 164), p. 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> See Document 4a and Photographs III, IV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> See Document 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> See Document 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> H. Kori GmbH, Anhau einer Kohlenfeuerung am ölbeheizten Krematoriumsofen, Berlin, Dec. 14, 1944. ÖDMM, N 17, no. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> See Document 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> See Document 20.

0.45 m inside and aligned along the longitudinal axis of the incineration chamber. As noted above, this plan is nothing other than an adaptation of that of March 31, 1942, whose overall size  $(30 \times 10 \text{ m})$  and interior divisions were retained. The size of the incineration chamber was reduced to  $9.74 \times 12.15$  m because the two oil-fueled furnaces were less massive than the five cokefueled ones that had been planned for originally. The mortuary, on the other hand, was enlarged to  $9.46 \times 9.60$  m. The sizes of the other subdivisions (inmates' room, office, hallway, and the room for the Chief of the crematorium) remained the same.

Very soon, however, the Central Construction Office dropped its plan to restructure the crematorium's furnace room, and returned to its original project providing for the construction of five coke-fueled furnaces. On January 8, 1943, Kori sent *Hauptamt CIII* of the Economic-Administrative Main Office a letter in which it enclosed its offer from April 9, 1942; this was based on five coke-fueled furnaces and drew on the diagram from October 16, 1941. The system for drawing off the flue gases had been modified and was set out in a diagram (J.-Nr. 9112) which, while it has been lost, was most likely identical to Diagram J.-Nr. 9080 of March 31, 1942.

In its letter of January 8, 1943, Kori stated that it had provided for two ventilator installations. The flue gases, it said, cooled off in the course of their passage through the heating coils (this mechanism was used to heat the water), and this drop in temperature could adversely affect the strength of the draft during the summer months. (The strength of the draft depends primarily on the temperature difference between the flue gases and the outside air; the warmer the latter, the less the temperature difference, therefore the weaker the draft.)

Kori added that the fittings for the furnaces were almost ready, and that it awaited the *Hauptamt CIII*'s order confirmation so that it could go ahead and order the fireproof materials, which were being supplied by a company in Upper Silesia.<sup>278</sup>

On January 21, 1943, the Chief of the Central Construction Office sent the following telegram to SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Krone of *Amt CIII* of the Economic-Administrative Main Office:<sup>279</sup>

"The Central Construction Office Lublin requests that diagrams be forwarded of the water heating installation for the 5 stationary incineration furnaces to be shipped here by Kori, so that preliminary work can be completed."

However, the new crematorium was not built until two months later. The first known diagram of the installation dates from June 24, 1943;<sup>280</sup> a diagram titled "Sketch of the Crematorium for Concentration Camp Lublin", <sup>281</sup> drawn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> GARF, 7021-107-9, p. 250. See Document 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> *APMM*, sygn. VI-9a, v. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> See Document 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> See Document 25.

up five days later, on June 29, shows a T-shaped building and gives a view of it from a 'bird's-eye' perspective. The roof section is labelled:

"Notes: bring mortuary to same level as boiler house. Coal shed must have same width as dissection room. Therefore, same elevation of roof ridge, and clean roof shape!"

In August 1944, following an examination of the building, the Polish-Soviet Commission drew up a plan of the crematorium<sup>282</sup> which reveals the following:

Where its exterior dimensions and the arrangement of its subdivisions are concerned, the long section of the crematorium where the furnaces were located was constructed as per Diagram J.-Nr. 9080 of March 31, 1942. This section indeed measured  $10 \times 30$  m, <sup>283</sup> while the sizes of the interior subdivisions had been slightly modified: The mortuary was  $9.40 \times 5.70$  m in size, the incineration chamber  $9.40 \times 16.80$  m, the inmates' room  $5.46 \times 3.40$  m, the office  $5.46 \times 3.40$  m, the hallway  $4.30 \times 3.30$  m, and the room for the Chief of the crematorium  $4.30 \times 3.40$  m.

Two symmetrical annexes of  $10 \times 10$  m each were added to this section, joining crossways with the mortuary, so that together with the mortuary they formed a T-shape whose upper, lengthways part also measured 30 m. The annex on the side where the furnaces were located consisted of one single section, the coal shed; the annex located opposite, on the side of the chimney, was subdivided into five sections, the purpose of which is only known for three: the dissection room  $(3.35 \times 5.70 \text{ m})$ , the bath  $(3 \times 2.20 \text{ m})$  and the washroom  $(3 \times 1.35 \text{ m})$ .

The Polish-Soviet Commission christened the remaining rooms "Pre-Dissecting Room" and "Gas Chamber". The latter room measured 6.10 × 5.62 m and allegedly served as Zyklon B gas chamber for murdering human beings. Of course, even if only from a technical point of view, the use of this room for such a purpose would have been utter madness, as we shall show later. <sup>284</sup> In actual fact it was probably a sort of funeral parlor or urn room. <sup>285</sup> The room which the Polish-Soviet Commission dubbed "Pre-Dissecting Room", to which the main door gave access and which one perforce had to cross to get from the dissecting room to the supposed funeral parlor or urn room, was nothing more than a relatively large anteroom.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> See Document 26.

According to the measurements taken by the Commission, the length was 29.89 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> See Chapter VI.

See the photograph of the urns in T. Mencel's book, *op. cit.* (note 23); the photograph is on an unnumbered page.

# b) The Structure of the New Crematorium

The Polish-Soviet Commission provided the following description of the new crematorium as it appeared in July and August 1944:<sup>286</sup>

"The furnaces for cremating dead bodies are located in the southeastern part of the concentration camp at a distance of 60 m from the internees' living barracks. The building's yard is behind a triple barbed-wire barrier serving primarily to contain the inmates. The yard fencing consists of two rows of barbed wire, 3 m high. [287] The yard covers an area of 3,600 m² (60 x 60 m). The layout of the entire complex is T-shaped and divided into 12 major rooms; further, a wing had been set up around the chimney to house the ventilators.

At the time the building was examined, it was found that all wooden parts of the building were burned, and the room formerly used to lay out the corpses /No. 4/ as well as the furnace room /No. 1/ contained numerous charred corpses. Only those facilities and building parts of brick, concrete and reinforced concrete survived the conflagration, including:

- a) The incineration furnaces with the upper smoke flue and connector flue;
- b) Smokestack with two ventilators;
- c) The concrete gas chamber with reinforced concrete overhang and two small windows on the mortuary side;
- d) Brick wall separating the bath and the washroom from the pre-dissecting room;
- e) Brick wall separating the dissecting room from the pre-dissecting room;
- f) Part-brick walls outside the entrance to the bath, and
- g) Foundations, brick bases and concrete floors for all 12 rooms mentioned, and the dissecting room table mounted on a stone base.

The buildings not affected by the fire and adjoining the burned facilities, as well as the aforementioned separate rooms which survived entirely intact, allowed the reconstruction of an outline sketch of all buildings after on-site measurements, an assessment of the purpose of each object, and a schematic representation of the technical function of the incineration furnaces.

Listing of the rooms:

и сл

| # of the rooms,     | Description of rooms | Dimensions   | Area in m² |
|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| as per layout plans |                      |              |            |
| 1                   | Incineration room    | 16.80 x 9.40 | 157.92     |
| 2                   | Dissection room      | 5.70 x 3.45  | 19.67      |
| 3                   | Gas chamber          | 6.10 x 5.62  | 34.28      |
| 4                   | Morgue               | 9.40 x 5.70  | 53.58      |
| 5                   | Fuel room            | 9.70 x 9.40  | 91.18      |
| 6                   | Pre-Dissection room  | 6.55 x 3.55  | 23.25      |
| 7                   | Bath                 | 3.00 x 2.20  | 6.60       |
| 8                   | Washroom             | 3.00 x 1.35  | 4.05       |
| 9                   | Ventilation room     | 6.20 x 5.25  | 32.55      |
| 10                  | Room                 | 5.56 x 3.40  | 18.56      |
| 11                  | "                    | 5.46 x 3.30  | 18.02      |
|                     |                      |              |            |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> GARF, 7021-107-9, pp. 235-237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> The crematorium was located outside the camp fence, and had its own enclosure.

| # of the root | ms, Description of | rooms Dimensions | Area in m <sup>2</sup> |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| as per layoi  | ut plans           |                  |                        |
| 12            | "                  | 4.30 x 3.40      | 14.62                  |
| 13            | Hallway            | 4.30 x 3.30      | 14.19                  |

The block of incineration furnaces is set up in the Incineration Room /No. 1/ and consists of 5 chambers for the cremation of corpses and 2 utility chambers for exploiting the heat from the exhaust gases. /The installation of equipment in these utility chambers was not completed./

Dimensions of the incineration furnace block within the brickwork:

| Length                                 | 11.60 m |
|--|---------|
| Width                                  | 3.00 m  |
| Height                                 | 1.90 m  |
| Height of furnaces to upper smoke flue | 2.64 m  |

*Interior dimensions of the cremation furnaces:* 

| Pre-heating furnace /a                 | $0.384m^3$  |
|--|-------------|
| Incineration chamber /b                | $0.834m^3$  |
| Ash pit /c                             | $0.655m^3$  |
| Cross-section of smoke flue /d         | $0.216m^2$  |
| Ash box /d                             | $0.0625m^3$ |
| Ash box /d1                            | $0.0833m^3$ |
| Area of grate in incineration chambers | $0.65m^2$   |

Materials used in the brickwork of the incineration furnaces: pre-heating furnace a), incineration chamber b), ash pit c), and smoke flue d) consist of DIN-brick.

The DIN-grating rails in the incineration chamber are melted and the firebrick is structurally altered.

Some of the components in the upper horizontal channel are deformed, and melting has taken place in the lower part.

The base surface of the pit beneath the grate b) and the brick components of all door frames of the incineration furnaces are of firebrick. The exterior walls of the furnaces are of red brick.

The entire construction of the incineration block is held together at the top and bottom by 4 horizontal and 20 vertical anchor bolts and is reinforced by rods of sectional iron (No. 10).

The heating system and the ash pits of the furnaces are closed off with cast-iron double doors. The furnaces contain a large number of charred bones. In front of each oven there are iron rolling tracks in the form of vertical frames with two rollers. Five metal gurneys are present by the furnaces, four of which have suffered heat deformation due to the fire. Metal rods are next to the furnaces."

# 4. Structure and Function of the Cremation Furnaces

# a) The Coke-Fueled Furnaces

The coke-fueled five-muffle furnaces of the concentration camp-Majdanek consist of two pairs of muffles to either side of one central muffle. Two heating chambers are installed between the two pairs to either side. The construction of the individual furnaces reveals additional modifications as compared to the furnaces of Dachau and Sachsenhausen. The standard double door through which the bodies were loaded is located at the front of the furnace; it measures  $0.55 \times 0.65$  m and exhibits the typical round ports for observing the cremation process and for supplying air to aid this process. The incineration chamber is 0.77 m wide and 0.67 m high. It is delimited at the bottom by a fireproof grate of 9 pairs of crossbeams of standard type. The muffle's utilizable depth is 2.17 m.

Beneath the fireproof grate is the ash pit whose front section is equipped with an embers grate. The ash pit can be closed off at the front by two doors. The upper one, located directly below the door for loading the corpse, allows the operator to use a scraper to reach pieces of the body which have dropped through the gaps of the fire grate and to drag them onto the afterburn grate, where they burn up completely. The second door, located beneath the first, allows removal of the ashes. On the sides of the upper door there are two air valves which close the vents of the two air channels through which combustion air enters the muffle.

These air channels run horizontally through the furnace brickwork, whence they turn off at right angles upward, and again at a level with and parallel to the muffle, to which they are connected by means of four  $8 \times 8$  cm openings—two on either side.

The generator is located at the rear of the furnace; the main heating system consists of a level grate  $0.68 \times 0.63 = 0.43$  m<sup>2</sup> in size. Given a natural draft, approximately 50 kg of coke fuel could be burned on this grate per hour. At the rear of the furnace there is a double door, the so-called generator stoking shaft door, and the firing door.

The firebrick is 12 cm thick. The flue gases are drawn off in a manner very similar to that for the furnaces of the Sachsenhausen camp, with the one difference that the muffle is directly connected, via a vertical pipe, to the horizontal smoke channel in the upper part of the brickwork. Two cleaning hatches are located on either side of the smoke channel.

Six smoke channel dampers of  $0.60 \times 0.45$  m each are located in this smoke channel. Two heating chambers are installed between furnaces  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; each chamber consists of two sections, each of which is equipped with a

<sup>289</sup> See Photograph VI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> See Document 19.

heating coil with 15 m² surface area, for heating water. These heating coils are connected to two horizontal pipes installed outside the furnace; the connections are made by 8 vertical pipes of smaller diameter. An observation hatch is installed beneath the second horizontal pipe. These two pipes were connected to two boilers located above the two heating chambers. If five furnaces were in operation, this provided a heating surface of 30 m², with an hourly output of 300,000 Kcal. In this way enough hot water for 50 showers could be supplied; if these showers were in use 20 hours a day, then given an effective shower time of 5 minutes and five shower cycles per hour, 5,000 to 6,000 people could take a shower each day.

The flue gases from furnaces 1 and 2 (and potentially 5) and from numbers 3 and 4 crossed the heating chamber from top to bottom, giving off their heat to the heating coil, thereby producing hot water. They then entered two underground smoke channels  $0.70 \times 0.75$  m in diameter, which led to two ventilators. These consisted of a pipe and an elbow, and a horizontal damper to close the system off, as well as a blower and a motor. Each blower was connected to one of the two draft pipes into which the chimney was subdivided.

The system for loading the body consisted of the gurney, the rollers and the castered trestles, whereas the firebrick damper is absent.

In the front, beneath the loading door, the muffles exhibit two doors, one above the other, because the afterburn chambers are equipped with an afterburn grate. The upper door allows an operator to move body parts which have dropped through the muffle grate into the afterburn chamber, onto the afterburn grate; the lower door allows removal of the ashes.

The generators are located at the rear of the furnace, where the generator filling shafts and (directly beneath these) the stoking doors are installed; the latter give access to the firing grates.

The system for drawing off the combustion gases consists of an opening in the muffle vault in the front part of the furnace. This arrangement recalls the design of the furnaces at Dachau, with the difference that the smoke channel is installed inside the brickwork above the furnace and runs along the entire furnace. At the ends of this set-up there are two doors, one to permit observation and one to facilitate cleaning the smoke channel.

The latter is connected via special openings to two heating chambers between Furnaces 1 & 2, and 3 & 4, respectively, which in turn are connected via openings in the bottom to two smoke channels installed in the floor of the furnace room.

The two smoke channels lead into the right and left chimney pipe, respectively. The chimney was about 20 m tall and equipped with two draft pipes whose arrangement is shown on Diagram J.-Nr. 9098.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Letter from the company Kori to SS-Sturmbannführer Lenzer, October 23, 1941. APMM, sygn. 9a, v. 1, pp. 3f.

The new crematorium was not brought into service until January 1944. Nonetheless the five furnaces had technical flaws, which Karl Müller, the Kori company's master installer, listed precisely. On February 4, 1944, Hans Kori sent the command of the Majdanek camp a long letter, explaining the reasons for these flaws and giving instructions on how to remedy them.<sup>291</sup>

### b) The Oil-Fueled Furnaces

The structure and function of the mobile oil-fueled Kori cremation furnace are well explained in a diagram which the Institute for Heat and Fuel Technology of the Cracow Mining Academy drew of the furnace at Trzebionka, a satellite camp of Auschwitz, which it no doubt based on original documents from Kori. Furnaces of this type were installed in Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, Groß-Rosen and Ravensbrück, among others. The two furnaces in the first crematorium of Majdanek were of this type.

The furnace,<sup>293</sup> which is shaped like a muffle, is lined with sheet iron on the outside. At the front we find the standard double door for loading the bodies. Beneath is the door to the ash pit, on whose sides two air valves are affixed to admit the air necessary for combustion. The incineration system is the same as that for the coke-fueled furnace.

The nozzle of the main oil burner is in the rear part of the muffle. The muffle grate consists of 20 fireclay rods resting on two rails and joined in the middle. The grate ends 25 cm short of the rear wall.

Underneath the grate is the ash pit, under whose rear wall the nozzle for the auxiliary oil burner is located. Above, at the inside left of the furnace, the blower and electric motor are installed which supply the two incineration chambers, located towards the back of the furnace, with the needed combustion air via pipes. Beside the blower, in the right-hand part of the furnace, is the oil reservoir, whence the fuel travels to two combustion chambers through a pipe of smaller diameter. At the bottom right- of the furnace is an observation port, above which the air valve for the ash pit is located.

The system for drawing off the flue gases consists of an opening on the muffle vault towards the front of the furnace, and a short smoke channel leading from the furnace into a small pipe. The latter is square and of cast-iron; a regular chimney is installed on top of it, in the form of a cast-iron pipe. The bodies were loaded via a castered trestle, just as for the coke-fueled furnaces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> APMM, sygn. VI-9a, v. 1, pp. 25f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Obozowe krematorium w Trzebionce (The camp crematorium of Trzebionka), APMO, nr. Neg. 6671.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> See Photograph VII.

## 5. Capacity of the Cremation Furnaces

### a) Capacity of the Coke-Fueled Furnaces

In August 1944, the Polish-Soviet Commission of engineers, including the engineers Kelles-Krause, Teljaner, and Grigorev, examined the cremation furnaces of Majdanek. They then drew up a technical expert report, concluding as follows:<sup>294</sup>

- "a) The temperature in the cremation chambers was 1,500 degrees Celsius;
- b) Loading the bodies into the furnaces and cleaning the ash pits took no longer than three minutes;
- c) Four 'treated' bodies—i.e., bodies whose arms and legs had been chopped off—could be burned at one time, together with the cut-off extremities; [295]
- d) The time required for cremating such a load did not exceed 12 minutes; Therefore, when the furnaces were operating 24 hours a day, their capacity for this period amounted to  $((24 \times 60 \times 4 \times 5) / 15 =) 1,920$  bodies."

According to this report, the capacity of the furnaces depended on the following factors:

- the temperature in the incineration chamber;
- the time required to load the bodies;
- the number of bodies burned at one time;
- the time required to incinerate a 'load'.

Since these factors are interdependent, we must examine all of them together.

The experts claimed that the coke-fueled cremation furnaces of Majdanek had a normal operating temperature of 1,500 degrees Celsius, but technically this is incorrect. A recognized authority in this field, engineer Richard Kessler, who carried out a series of test cremations in the crematorium of Dessau, emphasizes:<sup>296</sup>

"Loading temperatures of 1,200 to 1,500 degrees Celsius, though they are frequently mentioned in reports about crematory operations (the publication 'Die Flamme' even mentioned 2,000 degrees) would seem to be incorrectly estimated, not measured temperatures. At temperatures such as these, both the bones and the firebrick material would soften and fuse with each other. The most expedient loading temperatures, as determined in the Dessau tests, are between 850 and 900 degrees Celsius."

Contrary to what the experts appointed by the Polish-Soviet Commission claim, the fireclay brickwork of the muffles is still in good shape even today

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> *GARF*, 7021-107-9, pp. 245-249. See Document 28. The numbers mean: 24 hours, 60 minutes, 4 corpses, 5 muffles, 15 minutes (cremation time).

The crematorium staff's alleged habit of cutting the arms and legs off the corpses prior to cremation will be discussed later.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Richard Kessler, "Rationelle Wärmewirtschaft in Krematorien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Leuchtgasfeuerung", in: V. Jahrbuch des Verbandes der Feuerbestattungsvereine Deutscher Sprache, Königsberg Pr., 1930, p. 136.

and shows no trace of any such fusion. This becomes apparent from a comparison with the brickwork of the two generators in the Topf double-muffle furnace of Gusen. Besides, the smoke channel dampers were of fireclay, not cast iron.

The experts arrived at the time required for cremation on the basis of an "Orientation Diagram to Determine the Time for Cremation of Bodies in Various Cremation Furnaces, Depending on Temperature", which they enclosed with their report. This diagram starts with a muffle temperature of 800 degrees Celsius and goes up to 1,500 degrees. The relationship between temperature and incineration time is represented as follows:

| 800°C   | 120 mins | (Klingenstierna furnace) |
|---------|----------|--------------------------|
| 900°C   | 105 mins | "                        |
| 1,000°C | 90 mins  | (Siemens furnace)        |
| 1,100°C | 75 mins  | "                        |
| 1,200°C | 60 mins  | (Schneider furnace)      |
| 1,300°C | 45 mins  | ٠.                       |
| 1,400°C | 30 mins  | "                        |
| 1,500°C | 15 mins  | 66                       |

Which sources the experts based this on remains a mystery, but it is a fact that the times given for temperatures over 1,000 degrees are ludicrous.

The diagram mentioned above attributes to the Klingenstierna furnace a cremation time of 120 minutes at a temperature of 800 degrees, to the Siemens furnace a time of 90 minutes at 1,000 degrees, and to the Schneider furnace a time of 60 minutes at 1,200 degrees.

These three furnace types were designed according to the principle of the "indirect process" whereby the body was exposed only to heated air. In this process, air passed through the recuperators or regenerators, which were heated to a temperature of 1,000 degrees, and then, heated to the same temperature, it entered the muffle, where it effected the incineration of the corpse. According to the architect E. Beutinger, cremation in the Siemens furnace of Gotha took 90 minutes at a temperature of 900 degrees Celsius, 60 to 90 minutes at 1,000 degrees in the Klingenstierna furnaces, and 45 to 90 minutes at 1,000 degrees in the Schneider furnaces.

According to a report of the Stuttgart Municipal Planning Department and Building Control Office about 48 cremations carried out between July 20 and September 15, 1909, in a hot-air cremation furnace of the Wilhelm Ruppmann type, the maximum temperature achieved in the incineration chamber was 1,120 degrees C.<sup>298</sup>

E. Nagel, Wege und Ziele der modernen Feuerbestattung, Stuttgart: Verlag Wilhelm Ruppmann, 1922, p. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> E. Beutinger, Handbuch der Feuerbestattung, Leipzig: Carl Scholtze Verlag, 1911, pp. 106, 110, 113, 115.

In the course of the test cremations carried out by Richard Kessler between November 1, 1926, and January 12, 1927, in the crematorium of Dessau in a furnace manufactured by the firm of Gebrüder Beck (it was an improvement on the Klingenstierna model), a maximum temperature of 1,100 degrees Celsius was attained in the cremation chamber, but only for a short time, namely while the coffin burned up.<sup>299</sup>

Therefore, it is certain that temperatures greater than 1,100 degrees were hardly ever reached in the cremation chambers of the civilian crematoria to which the Soviet experts referred. Temperatures of 1,500 degrees could only have been reached directly above the generator grate.<sup>300</sup>

This means that the figures given in the Soviet diagram for temperatures greater than 1,000 degrees were nothing more than unacceptable extrapolations.

The experts committed another untenable extrapolation in the context of the 'loading' of the furnaces, *i.e.*, the introduction of the corpses into the incineration chamber. Since the simultaneous cremation of two or more bodies in one muffle in civilian crematoria was forbidden, (after all, the ashes were to go to the deceased's next-of-kin)the subject literature contains no information about such multiple cremations. Accordingly, the Soviet experts perforce based their diagram on data from the cremation of single bodies and then incorrectly extrapolated these onto the hypothetical cremation of multiple bodies in one and the same muffle. The fact that the results thus obtained are completely wrong is easily proven with reference to the Kori-built furnaces for the cremation of animal cadavers. While such a comparison may seem sacrilegious, we cannot help but draw it, since it does provide reliable information regarding the time that would be required for the cremation of multiple bodies in one muffle.

It should be noted at the start that the furnaces for incinerating animal cadavers were more efficient facilities for cremating organic material than the crematoria were, since the only factor to consider in their design was maximum economy. Kori manufactured eight such incinerators of various sizes. Model 2b, whose incineration chamber measured 1.38m² (which approximates that of the Kori crematoria, where the corresponding area was 1.5m²), was able to reduce a maximum of 450 kg flesh to ashes in an eight-hour period; the process required 170 kg of coal. This corresponds to the incineration of one kg of flesh in 64 seconds at a consumption of 0.37 kg coal. Accordingly, the cremation of several bodies with the maximum total weight possible—450

1905, p. 43.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Richard Kessler, "Ratinelle Wärmewirtschaft in den Krematorien nach Maßgabe der Versuche im Dessauer Krematorium", in: Die Wärmewirtschaft, yr. 4, issue 9, 1927, p. 155.

Hans Keller, "Versuche an einem Feuerbestattungsofen", special reprint of the periodical Archiv für Wärmewirtschaft und Dampfkesselwesen, yr. 10, issue 6, 1926, p. 3.
 Wilhelm Heepke, Die Kadaver-Vernichtungsanlagen, Halle a.S.: Verlag von Carl Marhold,

kg—would have required approximately 74 minutes and 24.6 kg coal per 70-kg body.

The largest animal cadaver incinerator manufactured by Kori had a capacity of 900 kg flesh in 13.5 hours. The process required 300 kg coal. This corresponds to an incineration time of 54 seconds and a coal consumption of 0.333 kg per kilo of flesh.<sup>301</sup> To simultaneously cremate 13 bodies weighing (900÷13=) 69.2 kg each, the process in this furnace would have required an average of 62 minutes and 23 kg fuel per body.

Based on this data, we can conclude with certainty:

- a) the average minimum time to cremate a body weighing approximately 70 kg was roughly 62 minutes;
- b) increasing the load (450 kg for Model 2b, 900 kg for Model 4b) resulted in maximum savings of approximately 12% fuel and 16% time.

Thus, experimental evidence shows that the simultaneous cremation of multiple bodies in one and the same muffle would have increased the capacity of the Majdanek crematoria only by an insignificant degree.

These data are confirmed by the testimony of Erich Mußfeldt, who stated in this context: 302

"Only one body was inserted into each muffle; cremation took about one hour."

This is also exactly how long it took to cremate a body in the Topf furnaces of the crematoria at Auschwitz-Birkenau. 303

To summarize: since no cremation furnace achieves temperatures greater than 1,000 degrees Celsius in the cremation chamber, and since the insertion of multiple bodies into one muffle would have increased the cremation time by almost the same factor, the Soviet diagram is devoid of any scientific value.

It should be emphasized that not even the experts appointed by the Polish-Soviet Commission dared suggest an incineration time of less than 60 minutes at the effective cremation temperatures. According to them, cremation took 75 minutes at 1,100 degrees C. Their own diagram shows that at the actual temperature (800 degrees C) a cremation takes no less than two hours!

The reason for the Polish-Soviet experts' grotesque exaggeration of the crematoria's capacity is obvious: if 600,000 bodies had really been incinerated in the new crematorium, as the Polish-Soviet Commission claimed, then the furnaces *had* to have an incredible capacity! Of course even the fantasy figure of 1,920 bodies (the capacity imputed by the Commission to the crematoria, an exaggeration 19 times greater than the actual fact) would not have sufficed to cremate 600,000 bodies: since the crematorium was not brought into service until January 1944 (we do not know on what day), and was thus opera-

Carlo Mattogno, "The Crematoria Ovens of Auschwitz and Birkenau", in: Germar Rudolf (ed.), op. cit. (note 142), pp. 373-412.

<sup>302</sup> APMO, ZO, sygn. D-pr-20/61a, p. 76: "Do jedney retorty wkladano tylko jedne zwłoki, spalenie ich trwało około 1 godziny."

tional for only six or at most barely seven months, then even operating at the aforementioned fantasy figure capacity it could hardly have managed more than 300,000 bodies.

Incidentally, to this day the new crematorium of Majdanek sports a plaque on which the capacity of the five furnaces is given as 1,000 per day. The actual figure is approximately one-tenth of that!

## b) The Capacity of the Oil-Fueled Furnaces

Regarding the capacity of the two oil-fueled furnaces, SS-Hauptsturmführer Krone, an employee of Amt CIII of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office, wrote in his January 20, 1943, report, which we have already mentioned in Chapter III:<sup>304</sup>

"Crematorium.

At this time two oil-fueled cremation furnaces are in operation. Together, these furnaces can dispose of some 100 bodies in a 12-hour period."

This corresponds to a capacity of 4 bodies per hour. J.-C. Pressac comments:305

"Comparing this capacity with that of the Topf double-muffle furnaces in Crematorium I of Auschwitz (which were more efficient than the furnaces of Ma*jdanek*), one finds that it is exaggerated to twice the actual capacity."

Pressac's comparison is not sound, since oil-fueled furnaces most certainly did have a noticeably greater capacity than coke-fueled ones. The reason for this is that in the former, the flame in the combustion chamber could be regulated independently of the furnace draft. As an aside, Mußfeldt also gave the capacity of each of the two oil-fueled furnaces as being approximately 100 bodies per 24 hours.<sup>306</sup>

The oil-fueled Kori furnace was designed to cremate one body at a time. Further, the fairly small openings in the grate  $(7.5 \times 24 \text{ cm})$  show that the incineration of the body had to take place more or less completely in the incineration chamber before the small remnants could drop through the mentioned openings and into the ash pit. This means that the cremation process took approximately one hour from start to finish.

The two oil burners did ensure a steady and considerable supply of heat, and further, the temperature could be regulated and adjusted as needed for each stage of the cremation process. If one had aimed for the maximum temperature, and if one had made use of the scraper to push the dried-out and disintegrated body to the back of the muffle where it could drop through the 25  $\times$ 65 cm opening there into the afterburn chamber before the main cremation process was even complete, one could have reduced the time required for this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> *APMM*, microfilm no. 816, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *op. cit.* (note 14), p. VII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Anna Zmijewska-Wiśniewska, op. cit. (note 164), p. 140.

main cremation process to about 30 to 40 minutes. This corresponds to the minimum time required in the main incineration chamber in today's state-of-the-art crematoria. In practice, the normal cremation time could be cut in half since the main cremation process continued in the ash pit, so that this practically assumed the function of a second muffle. Whether or not two bodies could have been cremated at the same time in this way without an increase in the time required depends on the capacity of the two oil burners, which is not known. If these burners were powerful enough, the possibility of simultaneous cremation of two bodies in special cases—for example, given small or very skinny bodies Can not be ruled out.

In such a case, the two bodies would have dried out in the muffle within half an hour, and incineration would then have finished in the ash pit in the same length of time.

# 6. The Polish-Soviet Commission's Forensic Report About the New Crematorium's Furnaces

In August 1944 the Polish-Soviet Commission appointed a committee of experts to draw up a forensic assessment of the furnaces in the new crematorium, or, more precisely, of the human remains that had been found there. We shall quote the salient points of their report:<sup>309</sup>

"Furnace No. 1

A small quantity of light-colored ash was found in this furnace, as well as some charred human bones, which have retained their structure well but crumble readily to ash when they are squeezed with the fingers. In the space beneath the grate of this furnace there is ash and a large number of gray, charred bones which fill the entire space under the grate, right up to the latter. In the ash pit of this furnace a small quantity of charred human bones was also found, mixed with coke fuel.

Furnace No. 2

Approximately 0.5m³ of gray ash as well as charred human bones were found in this furnace. Among the bones there is a large number of well-preserved heel bones, metacarpal bones, and individual metatarsal bones. There is also much ash and charred human bones in the space beneath the grate, including forearm, shoulder and finger phalanx bones, which have retained their shape well. The entire space beneath the grate is full of burned bones and ash.

Furnace No. 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> C. Mattogno, *op. cit.* (note 303), p. 397.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> In such a case, the low calorific value of the bodies would be compensated for by the heat supplied by the two oil burners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> *GARF*, 7021-107-9, pp. 256-259.

The furnace contains approximately  $0.5m^3$  of gray ash as well as charred human bones, among them well-preserved shin bones, thigh bones, sacral and individual vertebral bones. The space beneath the grate is half-filled with gray ash and small, burned human bones. In the ash pit there are smaller quantities of ash and splinters of burned human bones.

#### Furnace No. 4

Approximately 0.5m³ gray ash and charred human bones were found in the furnace, including charred pieces of large long bones, pelvic bones and individual vertebrae. The space beneath the grate contains ashes and fragments of human bones, filling the space up to the grate. Small quantities of ash and fragments of charred bones are in the ash pit.

#### Furnace No. 5

A small quantity of gray ash as well as charred fragments of human bones were discovered in this furnace. The furnace also contains a special iron gurney for inserting the corpses. The space beneath the grate contains ashes and parts of charred human bones: thighs, pelvises, shoulders etc.; they fill the entire space below the grate. The entire ash pit is filled with ashes and small parts of bones.

Twelve charred corpses are laid out in the area in front of the furnaces, lined up with their heads towards the furnaces. On many of the bodies the remnants of individual muscles are well-preserved on the torso as well as on the extremities. On all the bodies, the lower extremities have been chopped off at the level of the middle third of the upper thigh; in fact, the preserved bones exhibit cut marks at the same place. Some of the internal organs are preserved in the form of a charred, dry, crumbling mass. On all bodies the skulls are crushed and charred. Judging from the shape of the pelvis, and from the sexual organs which were well preserved in some cases, one may conclude that the 12 bodies were those of 7 males and 5 females.

A small quantity of coke fuel was found in the adjoining area by the opening to the heating system. Four bent iron gurneys, with which bodies were inserted into the furnaces, stand in the same location. Approximately 50 metal urns, most of which are filled with ashes and small fragments of charred human bones, stand in the corner of this area beside the fifth furnace.

A total of  $4.5m^3$  of ashes and charred human bones was found in the furnaces and the spaces beneath the grates."

It is difficult to imagine that the Chief of the crematorium should have been so negligent as to permit half a cubic meter of bones and ash to pile up in ash pits. There would have been no practical benefit; the ashes could be easily removed by an assistant after the cremation was complete. Two photos published by Constantino Simonov show a muffle from the Majdanek furnace, full of bone fragments; they completely cover the grate. Such a massive accumulation of human remains would perforce have resulted in a drastic retardation of the cremation process. The presence of coke in the ash pit of Furnace

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<sup>310</sup> C. Simonov, Il campo dello sterminio (The Extermination Camp), Moscow: Edizione in lingue estere, 1944. The photographs are on several pages.

1 is also inexplicable, since the generator's stoking shaft was separate from the ash pit. And finally, the parts of large bones (thigh, pelvic and shoulder bones) could hardly have dropped through the small 18 × 6 cm openings in the muffle grate. There is only one explanation for these oddities:

After the SS had fled, the ashes and bones were taken out of the ash containers—where the coke slag had evidently also been put—and were placed into the furnaces. This was no doubt an organized stage production by the inmates remaining in the camp after the German retreat and was intended to make the crematorium appear as gruesome as possible. A similar production was staged in the alleged gas chambers in Barrack 41.<sup>311</sup> The "Polish Resistance Committee", which according to Gerald Reitlinger took command after the retreat of the SS and which had handed Majdanek over to the Soviets, was probably the party responsible for these creative embellishments.<sup>312</sup>

Probably the twelve bodies which the Commission found in front of the furnaces were also put there by that same Resistance Committee, as crowning touch. Whatever the case may be, the photograph<sup>313</sup> published by J. Marszałek shows only a confused jumble of bones. The bodies intended for cremation were probably charred in the fire that gutted the crematorium, and if they were missing the legs then it was because they had burned off in whole or in part.

The Polish-Soviet Commission then proceeded to claim that the Germans had mutilated the dead in order to be able to cremate four bodies at a time in one and the same muffle. It goes without saying that this "finding" by the committee of experts was a strategic lie which served to give the illusion that the crematorium in fact had an immensely great cremation capacity.

<sup>311</sup> cf. Chapter VII.
312 Gerald Reitlinger, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 512.

Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 209). The photographs are on unnumbered pages.

# Chapter VI: The Gas Chambers

# 1. Structure and Purpose of the Gas Chambers: The Polish-Soviet Expert Report of August 1944

The joint Polish-Soviet Commission, which we have already mentioned repeatedly in the previous chapter and which apparently was constituted on Polish initiative,<sup>314</sup> drew up a technical and chemical expert report about the alleged facilities for the mass extermination of humans. The Commission began its work on August 4, 1944, and concluded on the 23rd of that same month. In the following we shall quote the text of this historically very significant, yet unpublished document which seems to be unknown even in Polish historiography. In the previous chapter we have already quoted the section dealing with the (new) crematorium, which has no relevance to the subject here at issue.

Now, the expert report about the gas chambers:<sup>315</sup>

"File

August 4 to 23, 1944, city of Lublin

Technical and chemical forensic expert report by the Commission, consisting of the following members:

- Chairman: engineer and architect for the city of Lublin, KELLES-KRAUSE;
- Chief engineer and lecturer for building and construction matters, D. M. TEL-JANER;
- Chief engineer, Candidate for the technical sciences, and lecturer for fire studies, G. P. GRIGOREV:
- Chief engineer, Candidate for the chemical sciences, and lecturer for organic chemistry, P. S. PELKIS; and
- Colonel of the Medical Corps, W. A. BLOCHIN,

who, acting in agreement with and on the suggestion of the Polish-Soviet Commission, and in order to further the investigation of the German atrocities and misdeeds in the city of Lublin and its environs, have drawn up a technical and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> The "Communiqué" of the agency Polpress states:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Considering the fact that the Germans have committed mass murders and killings of Soviet prisoners of war, the Polish Committee of National Liberation turned to the Soviet government with the following suggestion: an Extraordinary Polish-Soviet Commission should be set up to investigate the German misdeeds in Lublin, and the Soviet Union itself should appoint representatives for this purpose." Text quoted in: Constantino Simonov, op. cit. (note 310), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> *GARF*, 7021-107-9, pp. 229-243.

chemical forensic expert report about the gas chambers, toxins and cremation furnaces located on the territory of the Lublin SS concentration camp.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECTS

Facility: Plan of the Concentration Camp Lublin<sup>[316]</sup> and Diagrams No. 1, <sup>[317]</sup> 2, 3 and 4

Altogether, the following were inspected and pencil-sketched on tracing paper:

1. Six gas chambers / cf. Diagram No. 1

Including: three gas chambers (Nos. I, II and III), located at the northeastern end wall of the Bath; one gas chamber (No. IV) immediately adjoining the Bath and forming an entire building wing as seen from the exterior. / On the plan of the concentration camp, gas chambers I, II, III, IV and the Bath, which actually consisted of Barracks No. 41 and 42, are labelled No. 16. / Two gas chambers (Nos. V and VI), located on the area between Compounds 1 and 2.

- 2. Arsenal of chemical substances.
- 3. Crematorium, with adjoining rooms.

The GAS CHAMBERS Nos. I, II and III (see Diagram 1) are actually separate facilities of rectangular shape, with a room (No. 14) protruding from the southwest side, serving to store gas bottles, and another room (No. 4) adjoining the northwest side, in which an air heater was installed.

These chambers, and Room 14 for the storage of gas bottles, have massive concrete walls 50 cm thick, as well as dividing walls 20 cm thick. Except for the heating system, the entire facility is lined with a panel of reinforced concrete, 15 cm thick. The walls and ceiling are neatly plastered, the floors consist of concrete with stud screws. A layer of clay covers the reinforced-concrete walls.

Room No. 4 where the air heater is installed / Air Heater Room / is a simplified kind of wooden annex. The entire room is built of wooden slats and can be dismantled.

On the plan, the layout of the gas chambers is divided into three subsections, two of which (Nos. I and II) are the same size, measuring  $4.75 \times 3.60$  m each. The third subsection (No. III) measures  $9.70 \times 3.70$  m. The interior height of the room is 2.2 m.

Therefore, the area and volume of the gas chambers Nos. I, II and III are as follows:

| # of the chamber | Area in m² | Volume in m³ |
|------------------|------------|--------------|
| I                | 17.1       | 37.6         |
| II               | 17.1       | 37.6         |
| III              | 36.6       | 79.8         |

GAS CHAMBER NO. I. It has a door measuring  $2 \times 0.9$  m in the south wall, as well as a hermetically closable ventilation opening ( $20 \times 20$  cm) in the ceiling. Within the gas chamber there is a galvanized gas pipe 1.5 inches in diameter, with openings 6 mm in diameter. The distance between these openings is 25 cm each along the entire length of the gas pipe. The pipe is installed at a height of 30 cm

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> See Document 5.

<sup>317</sup> See Documents 35 and 36.

above floor level and runs along all four walls of the chamber, with the exception of the space taken up by the door. One end of the gas pipe is 'blind', while the other leads to the chamber where the gas bottles were stored / Equipment Room No. 14.

The chamber door is of boiler plate iron 12 mm thick, with a rubber lining and locking levers that allow it to be hermetically sealed. The iron door contains a glass peephole 85 mm in diameter, surrounded with a screen.

To allow observation of the events in Gas Chamber No. I, the wall of the same contains an observation s window 20 x 12 cm in size, through which one can see out of the gas bottle storage room / Equipment Room No. 14 / and into the gas chamber. It is glazed on the side of the Equipment Room. On the side of Gas Chamber No. I it is protected with a grid of iron rods 10 mm in diameter. The chamber is illuminated by two electric lights mounted in niches to either side of the entrance door and protected by a double iron grate. The connection for the switch is in the Equipment Room.

GAS CHAMBER NO. II. Its interior has no gas pipe, no electric lights and no peephole. There is a 20 x 20 cm opening in the ceiling. This opening can be hermetically sealed with a lid located above the room. The chamber door is of iron and outfitted with clamps and rubber gaskets, allowing it to be hermetically sealed.

GAS CHAMBER NO. III. It has two entrances, located on the longitudinal axis of the chamber on opposite walls. Both measure 2 x 0.9 m. In the wall on the heating side there are two round openings 25 cm in diameter, via which Gas Chamber No. III is connected to the heating system installed in the adjoining room. There are no openings in the opposite wall of Gas Chamber III or in the ceiling. Gas Chamber No. III is equipped with a gas pipe of galvanized iron, 1.5 inches in diameter. It spans the entire length of the room at a height of 30 cm above the concrete floor. Both ends of the pipe have openings through which the gas is discharged. These openings are protected with cast-ion gratings cemented into the wall. The pipe leads from the room where the gas bottles were stored / Equipment Room No. 14 / into the Gas Chamber.

The construction of the doors and the means for sealing them hermetically are as for Gas Chamber No. I. One of the doors is fixed with an iron casing to hold a thermometer.

The chamber is illuminated by an electric light mounted in a niche on the wall, protected by two iron grids. The switch leads to the gas bottle storage room.

EQUIPMENT ROOM / chamber for storage of gas bottles, No. 14 / adjoins Gas Chambers I and III. The gas pipes from chambers I and III lead into this Equipment Room. Each of the pipe ends is equipped with a special copper socket for the rubber connector hoses to the bottles. The wall of the Equipment Room has an observationwindow through which one can see into Gas Chamber I; it is surrounded with a metal grate on the gas chamber side, and glazed on the side of the Equipment Room. Beside the window is the switch for the electric lights of Gas Chambers I and III. The area of the Equipment Room is 2.9m².

All three chambers as well as the Equipment Room / No. 14 / are covered by a pole-support roof, i.e., one erected on wooden posts, 6.5 m high and with an area of 855m². The pole-support roof is surrounded by a 3-m-high barbed wire barrier with two gates to admit cars. The pole-support roof is only accessible through said gate or through the immediately adjacent Undressing Room of Barrack No. 42 and the gas chamber of Barrack No. 41 / see Diagram 1 /.

GAS CHAMBER NO. IV. Gas Chamber No. IV is located in Barrack 41, which in part leads directly to the Canopy. Gas Chamber No. IV consists of a wooden porch / No. 7 / and Room No. 5, separated by a plastered wall. Room 5 and Gas Chamber IV together take up an area of 28.8 + 72.2 + 6.7 = 107.7m². The Heating Room / No. 15 / is located at Chamber IV.

Gas Chamber IV leads directly to the northern wall of the Shower, together with which it forms an entire wing of the building as seen from outside. Inside, the gas chamber can be reached from the Shower only through a door that can be hermetically sealed with clamps affixed to the side facing the Shower.

The door on the canopy side is of wood; on the inside it is lined with roofing felt. It can be locked from outside with a bolt, and is equipped with screws for the clamps. The outside of the door is lined with felt.

Gas Chamber No. IV, and Room No. 6 which leads to it, are of wooden construction; they are lined on the outside with 'wagonka' [unknown term], on the inside with thin slats, and the gaps in the panelling are filled with pressed wood shavings. The average thickness of the outside walls, with plaster, is 10 cm.

On the ceiling of Chamber No. IV there are two hermetically sealable, retractable openings  $20 \times 20$  cm in size. The wall adjoining the Heating Room contains two round openings of 25 cm diameter each, with permanently installed pipes for the intake of hot air from the heating system installed in Room 15.

The following is a tabular summary of the area and volume of the gas chambers as well as of the adjoining Shower and the remaining rooms of Barrack 41:

| No.        | Description of room      | Numbering | Area in $m^2$ | Volume in m |
|------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| 1.         | Gas chamber No. IV       | 8         | 72.2          | 180.6       |
| <i>2</i> . | Gas chamber No. IV       | 5         | 28.8          | 72.0        |
| 3.         | Porch for g.ch. IV       | 7         | 6.7           | 16.9        |
| 4.         | Zyklon storage room      | 6         | 6.6           | 16.5        |
| 5.         | Heating                  | 15        | 6.9           | 15.2        |
| 6.         | Room for 72 shower heads | 9         | 105.6         | 264.7       |
| <i>7</i> . | Boiler room              | 11        | 33.7          | 84.4        |
| 8.         | Undressing room          | 12        | 64.9          | 162.2       |
| 9.         | Hallway                  | 10        | 20.6          | 51.5        |
| 10.        | Porch                    | 13        | 6.6           | 16.5        |

The shower room for 42 shower stands in Barrack 42 (set up parallel to the Shower in Barrack 41) includes a heat chamber for disinfecting the clothing of those people in the showers. The Shower is set up as follows: on the southern side is the Undressing Room, from which one door opens on to the porch in front of the disinfecting chamber and another opens into the Shower.

The opposite wall of the Shower contains a door leading to the Dressing Room. In this room, one door opens into the porch of the Disinfecting Chamber, while another, an exit door, opens under the Canopy. From this exit, the floor underneath the Canopy is equipped with a 1.5-m-wide board panel that leads to the doors of Gas Chambers I and III. At the time of inspection, the Disinfection Chamber was being renovated.

GAS CHAMBERS Nos. V and VI. (See Diagram 1.) Located on the area of the mechanized laundromat between Compounds I and II, in Barrack 28. Each chamber has a heating system, which is installed in the corridor. The chamber's walls on the side where the heating systems are installed are built of red brick. Inside, the walls are plastered with cement stucco. All of Barrack 28 is built of wood slats, and the outside walls are lined with pressed wood shavings. On the inside, Chambers Nos. V and VI each measure 70.5m², with a volume of 170m³. The doors of both chambers are of wood, lined with flat iron and equipped with the requisite accessories to permit air-tight sealing. On the ceiling of each chamber is a telescoping valve 30 x 30 cm in size, exiting above the ridge of the roof constructed of roofing felt. The telescoping valves are hermetically sealable with lids.

#### 2. Chemical Arsenal

Barrack No. 52 served as storage room for various chemicals. Aside from numerous chemicals generally used for disinfestation and disinfection, the following were discovered there:

a) Five bottles, dark red in color. The following is stamped on them in German:

'Carbon monoxide. Bottled at 150 atmospheres 8.7. 42, Schönerwein and Brenen. Berlin B. 9. Tested at 225 atmospheres. Empty weight 75.8 kg. Volume 40.6 liters.'

On examination of the bottles it was found that the gas contained therein had been used up, but that a small remnant still remained.

b) A box of anti-gas material specifically labeled as protection from carbon monoxide. The box has a diameter of 12.8 cm, its height is 25.4 cm. The box is cylindrical in shape and is coated with dark protective paint.

The box of anti-gas material is inscribed in German:

'CO filter number 86. Protects against carbon monoxide. Also against all chemical warfare agents and against acidic gases, fumes and dust. (1-38)25. Use in accordance with §8 of Air Raid Regulations. Company AUER A.G. of Berlin.'

Aside from the inscription, a label is also glued onto the box of anti-gas material, with the following text in German:

'AUER, CO filter No. 09903. Not for use later than June 1944. Can be used for two years from the time of first use. No more than 40 hours total. First use: Date: Use: Hours:

from: to:

Note: After each use, close box tightly, top and bottom. Store in a cool dry place.'

c) 135 metal cans containing the substance 'Zyklon'. Each can weighs 1,400 grams. More than 400 cans containing the substance 'Zyklon'. Weight per can, 3,750 grams.

The cans are labelled with the following text, in German:

'Zyklon B. German patent: 438818, 447913, 490355, 524261, 575293. POI-SON GAS! Cyanide substance! Store in a cool dry place! Keep away from sunlight and open flame!

To be opened and used only by trained personnel. Cyanide content 1,500 grams. Main supplier for Germany east of the Elbe, General Government, Poland, Denmark, Norway and border states: TESCH & STABENOW. International Society for Pest Control. Hamburg. 1 / Messberghof. German Society for Pest Control. Frankfurt am Main. Use within three months.'

Tin cans, painted gravish-green, cylindrical in shape.

Among the large cans some were found whose label text differs from that of those mentioned in the previous, in that the description 'Zyklon B' is replaced with 'Zyklon' and reference is made to the last German patent number 575293. 90% of all cans found had been opened and used in the camp.

 $[...^{318}]$ 

[...] The concrete gas chamber, with reinforced-concrete roofing and two small observation windows on the side of the mortuary. [...]

[...] Gas Chamber: 6.10 x 5.62 m, 34.28m<sup>2</sup>. [...]

(Signatures)

#### **CONCLUSION**

Based on the results of the technical examination of all hermetically sealable chambers located on the grounds of the SS-administered Lublin concentration camp, on the results of an expert chemical analysis similarly carried out for all special facilities of the camp and for the chambers, and on the examination of the chemical substance 'Zyklon' and the bottles of carbon monoxide, but also taking into account the reports of eyewitnesses, the Commission arrived at the following conclusion:

- A) The chambers set up on the grounds of the camp were designed and used primarily for the mass poisoning of human beings, which becomes apparent from the following:
  - 1. For Chamber No. I, with an area of 17.1m<sup>2</sup> and a volume of 37.6m<sup>3</sup>, notable elements of construction and equipment are:
    - a) The presence of the gas pipe;
    - b) The presence of a special room with devices for opening the gas bottles and for channeling the gas into the chamber;
    - c) The presence of a peephole, which was protected by a massive chamberside iron grid, of two electric lights installed in niches in the wall and also protected by double iron grids, and the absence of any other apparatus or devices inside the chamber, indicate that Chamber No. I was intended ONLY for the poisoning of human beings with carbon monoxide and hydrocyanic acid; therefore, its immediate and direct purpose was THE EXTERMINATION OF HUMAN BEINGS.
  - 2. Chamber No. II, with an area of 17.1m<sup>2</sup> and a volume of 37.6m<sup>3</sup>, is a room of reinforced concrete, with a single massive hermetically sealable door

The section omitted here, which deals with the new Crematorium, is quoted in Chapter V. At this point we quote only those few lines that refer to "Gas Chamber VII".

and a hatch in the ceiling, and lacking any kind of equipment or devices (heating system, racks, coat hooks etc.). This design indicates that this chamber was intended exclusively for poisoning human beings with hydrocyanic acid.

- 3. Chamber No. III, with an area of 36.3m² and a volume of 79.8m³, was similarly designed FOR POISONING HUMAN BEINGS WITH CARBON MONOXIDE, as indicated by its construction and by the heating system and gas pipe which comprised its equipment. This chamber could also have been used to disinfest the clothing of the poisoned victims, but not to disinfest the clothing of people washing themselves in the Shower, since it is not connected to the Shower; it is a detached building and is separated from the Shower by a barbed wire barrier.
- 4. Chamber No. IV, the largest, has an area of 107.7m² and a volume of 269.5m³. A door leads directly from this chamber into the Shower, but it cannot be considered a regular disinfection chamber associated with the Bath because it was designed to make use of the substance 'Zyklon'. (The use of 'Zyklon' is prohibited if the [gas] chamber is directly connected to a facility where there are people.) The heating system was set up in order to warm the air in winter, which is indispensable for the optimal use of the substance 'Zyklon'. In view of the particular location of the chamber as described in the previous, the possibility that this chamber was used for hotair disinfestation purposes can be ruled out.

Consequently, this chamber also served the purpose of exterminating human beings.

According to eyewitnesses, this chamber was the chief location used for the mass poisoning of human beings.

5. Chambers V and VI, located between Compounds I and II near the Laundry, were equipped with heating systems and also suited to the use of 'Zyklon'. Accordingly, they too could have been used as chambers for poisoning human beings, but in view of their location / proximity to the Laundry, where the clothing that had belonged to the murdered people was taken to be washed, it follows that these chambers were also used for disinfestation.

In this way, the technical and sanitation-chemical examination of the hermetically sealable chambers of the Lublin concentration camp fully confirms the fact set out herewith, that all these chambers, and especially Nos. I, II, III and IV, were designed and used as sites for the systematic mass extermination of human beings by means of poisoning with poison gases such as hydrocyanic acid (the substance Zyklon) and carbon monoxide. If Chambers V and VI were also used for disinfestation purposes, then only for the treatment of the clothing of exterminated victims.

B) Assuming that up to six standing people can fit into an area one meter square, then given the simultaneous operation of all chambers designed for poisoning, 1,914 people could be poisoned all at once.

|                |               |                                | <i>Total # of people fitting</i> |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Number         | Area in $m^2$ | # of people per m <sup>2</sup> | into the chamber                 |
| $\overline{I}$ | 17.1          | 6                              | 102                              |
| II             | 17.1          | 6                              | 102                              |

|        |               |                                | Total # of people fitting |
|--------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Number | Area in $m^2$ | # of people per m <sup>2</sup> | into the chamber          |
| III    | 36.3          | 6                              | 208                       |
| IV     | 107.7         | 6                              | 646                       |
| V      | 70.5          | 6                              | 423                       |
| VI     | 70.5          | 6                              | 423                       |
| Total  | 319.2         | 6                              | 1,914 people              |

Poisoning people with hydrogen cyanide in hermetically sealed chambers takes 3 to 5 minutes; poisoning with carbon monoxide takes 5 to 10 minutes.

A hydrocyanic acid concentration of 0.3 milligrams per liter suffices as lethal dose. To attain such a concentration in all chambers equipped for the purpose / Nos. I, II, IV, V and VI / with a total volume of 684.7m3, 684.7 x 0.3 grams = 205.4 grams are required, i.e., less than half the contents of a small can of 'Zyklon'.

A carbon monoxide concentration of 5.6 milligrams per liter / i.e., 0.5% air volume / is lethal within 5 to 10 minutes. In Chambers Nos. I and III, which were equipped for poisoning with this substance and totalled a volume of 116.4m3, this concentration could be attained with the use of 0.1 bottles of carbon monoxide.

#### FILE

of the forensic chemical laboratory analysis.

In 1944, from August 4 to 21, a committee of experts consisting of

Colonel of the Medical Corps W. A. BLOCHIN, Chief engineer, Candidate for the chemical sciences, and lecturer for organic chemistry, P. S. PELKIS, and Chief engineer, Candidate for the technical sciences, and lecturer for fire studies, G. P. GRIGOREV

conducted a forensic chemical laboratory analysis of the contents of the cans labelled 'Zyklon B' and of the bottles labelled carbon monoxide, which had been discovered on the grounds of the SS concentration camp Lublin.

1. 535 cans of the substance 'Zyklon B' were found on the camp grounds. These included 135 cans weighing 1,400 grams and 400 cans weighing 3,750 grams. 90% of all the cans had been opened and used in the camp.

The cans bore the manufacturers' labels with the following text / labels and text in German are enclosed:

'Zyklon B. German patent: 438818, 447913, 490355, 524261, 575293. POI-SON GAS! Cyanide substance! Store in a cool dry place! Keep away from sunlight and open flame!

To be opened and used only by trained personnel. Cyanide content 1,500 grams. Main supplier for Germany east of the Elbe, General Government, Poland, Denmark, Norway and border states: TESCH & STABENOW. International Society for Pest Control. Hamburg. 1 / Messberghof. German Society for Pest Control. Frankfurt am Main. Use within three months.'

Labels with the same text are also affixed to the small cans, along with a specification of the cyanide content: 500 grams.

Among the large cans, some were found with labels whose text differs from that quoted above in that the description 'Zyklon' is given instead of 'Zyklon B' and that reference is made to only one German patent, 575293.

All cans are of tin, cylindrical in shape and gray-green in color.

Weight of a full, large can: 3,750 g.

Diameter of the can, 15.4 cm

Height, 31.5 cm

Weight of a full, small can: 1,400 g.

Diameter of the can, 15.4 cm

Height, 12.5 cm.

The contents of the cans were tested for the presence of hydrocyanic acid: with indicator paper dipped in benzidine acetate as well as with sodium picrate, the formation of Prussian Blue was effected.

Samples were taken from 18 cans, and 48 individual tests were performed. All samples clearly indicated the presence of hydrogen cyanide by means of reactions specified in the previous.

Two cans of 'Zyklon' weighing  $1,750^{[319]}$  grams were opened, and the hydrogen cyanide was driven out for two hours by means of heating to a temperature of 23 to 28 degrees C; the remainder, including the can, weighed:

1.-2,330 grams

2.—2,310 grams

An empty can weighs 600 grams.

Therefore, the evaporable component of the substance 'Zyklon B' weighs from 1,430<sup>[320]</sup> to 1,440 grams per large can.

Since hydrogen cyanide becomes partly polymerized during storage—which becomes evident in an analysis due to the reduction of the hydrogen cyanide content—one can assume with a fair degree of certainty that the quantity of hydrogen cyanide in a can weighing 3,750 grams is in fact 1,500 grams. This is also the quantity of hydrogen cyanide stated on the manufacturer's label.

For the small cans, removal of the evaporable portion at 28 degrees C for two hours yielded the following values for two cans thus analyzed:

Weight of the remainder including the can, 930 to 950 grams

Weight of the empty can, 350 grams

Weight of the hydrogen cyanide, 450 to 470 grams.

This also approximates the weight of the hydrogen cyanide stated on the manufacturer's label, namely 500 grams.

Therefore, the contents examined are in fact the substance 'Zyklon', which consists of a special preparation of diatomaceous earth in the form of granules 1 cm in diameter, which are soaked with stabilized liquid hydrocyanic acid.

The contents of the cans labelled 'Zyklon', of which a small number were found in the camp, are identical to those of the cans labelled 'Zyklon B'.

<sup>319</sup> Misprint; read 3,750.

<sup>320</sup> Misprint; read 1,420.

Hydrocyanic acid / the substance 'Zyklon' / is primarily used to combat pests in grain silos / mealworms, ephestia moths, and fumigation of plants.

Since 'Zyklon' contains a high percentage of hydrogen cyanide and since it also affects the human organism with its usual toxicity, only specially trained personnel are permitted to handle it.

Aside from the cans containing 'Zyklon', five dark red bottles were also discovered in Barrack No. 52. They bear the manufacturer's imprint with the following text:

'Carbon monoxide. Bottled at 150 atmospheres 8.7. 42, Schönerwein and Brenen. Berlin B. 9. Tested at 225 atmospheres. Empty weight 75.8 kg. Volume 40.6 liters.'

The bottles are numbered: 10, 17, 44, 52, 60.

An examination of the bottles determined that the gas they had contained was largely used up. To permit a chemical analysis of the remaining gas, the bottles were exposed to sunlight and warmed. The insignificant pressure thus achieved in the bottles sufficed to permit the drawing of gas samples.

The samples taken from all five bottles were analyzed to determine the presence of carbon monoxide by means of reactions with iodine pentoxide as well as indicator paper with palladium chloride. In total, ten reactions were performed with iodine pentoxide and ten with palladium chloride.

All tests for these reactions clearly showed the presence of carbon monoxide.

#### **CONCLUSION**

- 1. The substance 'Zyklon' which was discovered in the storage rooms at the gas chambers of the Lublin concentration camp consists of specially prepared kieselguhr soaked with stabilized liquid hydrogen cyanide.
- 2. The quantitative content of hydrogen cyanide in the cans labelled 'Zyklon' corresponds to the data given on the manufacturer's labels. The larger cans contain 1,500 grams, the smaller ones 500 grams.
- 3. Chemical analysis shows that five bottles numbered 44, 52, 10, 60 and 17 contained carbon monoxide.

Therefore, the results of the chemical analyses substantiate the correctness of the information marked on the bottles.

[Signatures]"

# 2. Design, Construction and Purpose of the Gas Chambers

The original documents surviving to this day verify the exact opposite of the Polish-Soviet Commission's conclusions: *all* the gas chambers in the concentration camp Majdanek were designed and built exclusively for sanitary purposes, as disinfestation chambers.

One March 23, 1942, plan by the Central Construction Office provided for three disinfestation facilities. The first was an H-shaped facility, called "De-

*lousing*", at the center of the camp next to the Laundry;<sup>321</sup> the second was a barrack also called "*Delousing*" but located outside the camp on its northwestern side; the third was in that part of the camp which, as the detailed plan of this sector shows, was described as "Waffen-SS Clothing Manufacturing Plant".<sup>322</sup>

The aforementioned H-shaped facility had already been designed in October 1941. The blueprint was drawn by the firm of Hans Kori and provided for a large hygiene and sanitation complex consisting of two delousing facilities, set up as mirror images of each other within the aforementioned facility. The one intended for the inmates was located in the left wing while the other, which included eight delousing chambers for clothing, took up the right wing.

The delousing facility for the inmates is shown on Diagram J.-Nr. 9082<sup>323</sup> which the Kori company drew up on October 23, 1941, and is described in a letter sent that same day by Kori to SS-*Sturmbannführer* Lenzer. The letter stated:<sup>324</sup>

"Due to your sudden departure from Berlin we had no opportunity to review with you the unresolved issues regarding the delousing facility. Therefore we are writing to you in this matter to inform you of the following:

The ground plan for the left building section with disinfection chamber is divided functionally as shown on the enclosed sketch, Page. [325] The Shower is reduced in size whereas the Drying Room is enlarged. We consider an anteroom of the same shape and size as that between the Undressing Room and the Shower to be a desirable addition between the Disinfection and the Drying Room. The space apportionment in front of the Shower and Drying Room can be done as you like, and is suggested on our sketch J.-Nr. 9082."

The description and the enclosed diagram indicate that the building's left wing, intended for delousing the inmates, provided for the following sequence of rooms: Undressing Room with clothing drop-off, Anteroom, Shower, Drying Room, Anteroom, Disinfection. After being disinfected, the inmates proceeded into the building's right wing, where their deloused clothing was returned to them.

The delousing facility intended for the right wing is described as follows in the aforementioned letter from Kori:<sup>327</sup>

"Regarding the layout of the delousing chamber in the Delousing Facility, we wish to point out that we are currently working on numerous such facilities in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> See Document 3a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> See J. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 26), map on unnumbered page.

<sup>323</sup> See Document 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> *APMM*, sygn. 9a, v. 1, p. 1.

<sup>325</sup> This document has been lost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> Disinfection was done with chemical substances dissolved in water. See Walter Dötzer, Ent-keimung, Entseuchung und Entwesung, Arbeitsanweisungen für Klinik und Laboratorium des Hygiene-Instituts der Waffen-SS, Berlin. Published by SS-Standartenführer Ass't. Prof. Dr. Mrugowski. Berlin and Vienna: Verlag von Urban und Schwarzenberg, 1943, pp. 48ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> *APMM*, sygn. 9a, v. 1, p. 3.

service of the relevant Wehrmacht offices. There are usually two delousing chambers, operated with a Kori Calorifer, but often there are also several delousing chambers, adjoining in sequence and operated with one or more Calorifers, depending on the size of the facilities. For the project at issue, we consider the arrangement of the 8 delousing chambers as per the enclosed Diagram J.-Nr. 9081<sup>[328]</sup> to be the most functional. While the preliminary plans had projected 10 delousing chambers, these were only 1,400 to 1,500 m/m wide. Practice has shown that one must make the delousing chambers at least 2,000 m/m wide, if not a bit wider, to allow for easy movement of adequately large carts both in and out. Our Diagram J.-Nr. 9081 reflects this. Between each of two delousing chambers an air heater is installed at 1,000 m/m below floor level. This same lowering also applies to the small Anteroom, from which a few stone steps lead to the main entrance to the Contaminated Side. This is also where the entranceways to the 4 coke bunkers are planned, which, however, are joined into one common bunker along the length of the Delousing Room so as to be able to accommodate a larger supply of coke as the ground plan on Diagram J.-Nr. 9081 indicates. Cross-section e-f shows details of the arrangement of the warm-air vent and circulation grates, while crosssection c-d shows the differences in height of the floors in the various rooms."

As per this project, the eight delousing chambers were each 2 m wide, 2.10 m high and 3.5 m long and were heated with a coke-fueled calorifer or air heater located between each pair of chambers behind the outside walls. On the inside an opening in the top, connected to the air heater, allowed warm air to exit; on the opposite side, on the floor of each pair of chambers, was a ventilation opening also connected to the air heater via an underground air channel. In structural terms the facility was very similar to the model designed by Kori on July 5, 1940, for the delousing facility of Alt-Drewitz. 329 Delousing proceeded not with Zyklon B, but with hot air.

Kori's projected delousing facility, described above, never became reality.

A March 31, 1942, plan by the Central Construction Office, depicting the "Temperature Delousing Facility of POW Camp Lublin", 330 shows 8 delousing chambers, considerably smaller and without an air heater; most likely they were metal disinfection devices such as were installed in Buildings 5a and 5b of Birkenau.

On this plan, the eight small cells are set up side by side in a structure called "Delousing", 13.5 × 4 m in size. They separate the "clean" side from the "contaminated" side leading outward. The delousing facility consists of a barrack 40.76 × 9.56 m in size. The path taken by the inmates through this structure was: Entrance/Registration → Shaving/Undressing Room → Shower  $\rightarrow$  Dressing Room  $\rightarrow$  Exit. For clothing the cycle was as follows: Clothing Collection  $\rightarrow$  Delousing ("contaminated"  $\rightarrow$  "clean")  $\rightarrow$  Clothing Return.

<sup>328</sup> See Document 30.

<sup>329</sup> See Document 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 41, p. 5.

The Shower included 40 shower heads; the hot water was supplied from the Boiler Room.<sup>331</sup>

This was the original plan of March 23, 1942, for the delousing facility intended to be established outside the camp. As far as one can tell from looking in through the windows of this building, which is off-limits to visitors, this plan was realized, with a few modifications, in Barrack 42 (Building XII). In this barrack one can see<sup>332</sup> the Boiler Room<sup>333</sup> as well as a cement-lined chamber<sup>334</sup> which seem much larger than those sketched on the aforementioned plan.

According to a report of the Central Construction Office, Building XII was 40% complete on July 1, 1942. The report states: 335

"Building XII Delousing and Bath—meanwhile a second horse stable barrack, with shower facility, has been added."

This second facility was Barrack 41, Building XII<sup>A</sup>, set up south of Barrack 42. Several documents exist about Barrack 41 which shed some light on its design, its construction and its purpose.

On June 19, 1942, SS-*Sturmbannführer* Lenzer, Chief of the Central Construction Inspection Office of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office, <sup>336</sup> forwarded to the Building Inspector of the Waffen-SS and Police of the General Government a May 27 request from *Amt BII* regarding the construction of a disinfestation facility for the Lublin Clothing Plant: <sup>337</sup>

"In the aforementioned letter<sup>[338]</sup> Amt BII submitted a request for the construction of a disinfestation facility as per the system of disinfestation with hydrogen cyanide.

As I intend to grant this request, considering its urgency, the appropriate Building Office is to be instructed to draw up and submit a construction proposal without delay. The local office of Amt BII is to be involved in this project.

According to information I have been given, the required furnace is available through Amt BII. This letter is to accompany the construction proposal as official recommendation.

Date for submission, June 30, 1942."

On June 27, 1942, the Chief of the Building Inspection of the Waffen-SS and Police for the General Government informed the Lublin Central Construction Office that the "preliminary design and cost estimate" for the disinfestation facility for the Lublin Clothing Plant would have to be submitted to him

<sup>331</sup> See Document 31.

This barrack is closed to tourists, but it is possible to look in through the windows.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> See Photograph VIII.

<sup>334</sup> See Photograph IX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 8, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Amt C/V, Central Construction Inspection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 141, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> This refers to the May 27, 1942 letter from *Amt BIII*.

"as supplement to the preliminary design for the construction of the Fur and Clothing Works by July 10, 1942." <sup>339</sup>

On July 10, 1942, the Chief of the Central Construction Office provided the Building Inspection of the Waffen-SS and Police for the General Government with the entire administrative documentation for the disinfestation facility, namely: official recommendation, explanatory report, planning draft A, cost estimate, ground plan 1:500, sketch of the delousing barrack. The accompanying letter stated:<sup>340</sup>

"Enclosed as per the order of June 27, 1942, please find the supplement to the construction proposal for a disinfestation facility as Building XII in the Fur and Clothing Works of Lublin, to the amount of RM 70,000, with the request for review and provision of the financial and material means. The Polish contractors' prices were used as basis for the cost estimate."

Of the documents enclosed with this letter, the explanatory report and the cost estimate are the only ones to have survived; both were drawn up by Chief of the Central Construction Office on July 10, 1942. The first, reproduced in its entirety in the following, explained the purpose of this facility:<sup>341</sup>

"Explanatory Report

for the Construction of a Disinfestation Facility for the Fur and Clothing Works of Lublin.

For purposes of disinfesting the arriving items of fur and clothing, a disinfestation facility as per the diagram provided by the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office is to be built on the grounds of the Fur and Clothing Works of Lublin. As the enclosed diagram shows, the disinfestation chamber is to be constructed solidly with a ceiling of reinforced concrete. A so-called pole-support roof must be built above this delousing chamber. This pole-support roof is to be 60.0 x 18.0 m in size to allow the disinfested materials to be spread out and stored. The furnace as well as the remaining equipment is provided by Amt BII. Everything else follows from the Diagram."

The "Cost Estimate for the Construction of a Disinfestation Barrack for the Fur and Clothing Works of Lublin" is comprised of 27 sections and cites a sum total cost of 140,000 zloty. Section 18 reads:<sup>342</sup>

"4 air-tight iron [sic] doors, delivered by the contractor and installed with the fitter's aid, including all work involved in calking and plasterwork."

The original project, of which a subsequent diagram has been preserved—namely, the August 1942 diagram "Prisoner-of-war Camp Lublin. Disinfestation Facility. Building XII<sup>4</sup>," by the Central Construction Office—shows a rectangular block  $10.76 \times 8.64 \times 2.45$  m in size, containing two disinfestation chambers 10 m long, 3.75 m wide and 2 m high. Each chamber has two doors 0.95 m wide and 1.8 m high, located opposite each other in such a way that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7f.

each of the shorter sides of the chambers included a pair of doors 3 m apart. Above the block with the two disinfestation chambers is a similarly rectangular pole-support roof of 18 × 60 m, which is divided down the middle into two halves of equal size, corresponding to the "contaminated" and the "clean" sections. Between the two doors of the disinfestation chamber on the smaller side of the "clean" sector, a coke-fuelled furnace is installed whose structure resembles the previously described Kori air heaters. The furnace is sunk 0.66 m; its lower part includes a trap door and a stoking door. Four steps lead down to it. Its upper part includes the pipe for drawing off the smoke. The furnace is connected to the two disinfestation chambers via two round openings of 35 cm diameter each. The latter are located sideways to the left and right of the wall dividing the two sectors, 33 cm away from this wall and 1.72 m above the floor. Since the disinfestation facility was operated with hydrogen cyanide, this furnace served to heat the air and to accelerate the circulation of the airgas mixture.

The actual construction of the facility adhered to this plan, with the exception of the heating system:<sup>344</sup> the central furnace described above was replaced by two air heaters manufactured by the company Theodor Klein Maschinen-und Apparatebau, headquartered in Knollstrasse 26 in Ludwigshafen. The Central Construction Office had ordered it on September 11, 1942.<sup>345</sup> One of them was installed in front of the outside wall of the westward-facing delousing chamber described in the Soviet expert report as "Chamber III".<sup>346</sup>

The Klein hot-air device was a coke-fueled air heater. It consisted of a stoking system underneath a heating chamber, within which a recuperator was installed. This recuperator was composed of a number of ridged vertical heating pipes connected to the stoking chamber below and to the air exhaust above.

A ventilator was installed in the heating chamber, and underneath the ventilator, beside the heating system, was a chamber out of which the pressurized-air pipe extended; in front of the ventilator was the opening of the ventilation pipe, which was equipped with a flap to regulate the air flow. Both pipes—pressurized-air and ventilation—were 31 cm in diameter and were connected via two round openings in the wall to the chamber where the air heater was installed. The system worked as follows: the smoke from the stoking chamber flowed through the recuperator pipes, giving off some of its heat in the process, and then escaped through the chimney. If the ventilator was operating, the air flowing through the ventilation pipe came into contact with the hot recu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> See Document 32.

The dimensions of the various rooms were also modified slightly: the Commission speaks of  $9.70 \times 3.70$  m, whereas the Polish reports give the measurements as  $9.27 \times 3.80$  m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> J. Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 81), p. 53, his note 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> For practical reasons I have adopted the room numbering system used in the Polish-Soviet report; the southward-facing delousing chamber is Chamber IIIa. See Table on page 87.

perator pipes, warmed up, and was pumped by the ventilator through the pressurized-air pipe and into the room. In this way a constant circulation of hot air was ensured. The air heater could produce 80,000 Kcal per hour; the air temperature was 120°C. Air temperature could be regulated with the air flap as well as with suitably timed additions of fresh outside air into the circulation system.<sup>347</sup>

If the air temperature was kept low, the air heater served the same function as the DEGESCH circulation system for delousing with the hydrogen cyanide product Zyklon B.

J.-C. Pressac believes that the second hot-air device was installed in the other delousing chamber symmetrically to the first,<sup>348</sup> but this hypothesis is incorrect since the east wall of this chamber,<sup>349</sup> which was later subdivided into two sections, bears not so much as a trace of round openings for warm-air input and circulation. We shall return to this point in Section 3. A hot-air device similar to the one just described was installed in Building 20L of the Protective Detention Camp in Auschwitz in autumn of 1942.<sup>350</sup>

On October 22, 1942, the Chief of the Building Administration sent the SS-Economist of the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government a progress report about the camp's various construction projects. The work in progress for the building project POW Camp Lublin included the construction of

"2 delousing barracks with baths, erected partly on wooden post supports and partly on solid foundations."

Regarding the building project of the Lublin Fur and Clothing Works, the report mentions the "construction of a disinfestation facility" among the jobs completed; the work still to be performed after November 1 included "installation of 4 disinfestation chambers". The disinfestation facility in question was the one installed beside Barrack 41, with two delousing chambers, i.e., Barrack XII<sup>A</sup>.

From the Central Construction Office's aforementioned report about the "Completion, in %, of the Buildings on July 1, 1942", it follows that the two delousing barracks of the POW Camp Construction Project were Barracks 42 and 41. However, this document simply describes Barrack 41 as "Horse Stable Barrack with Shower Facility", which means that the delousing facility must have been set up there in the following months.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> Instytut Techniki Cieplnej. Ekspertyza dotycząca konstrukcji i przeznaczenia pieców zainstalowanych przy komorach gazowych w Obozie na Majdanku w Lublinie. Lódz, 1968. APMM.

<sup>348</sup> See further on.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> Henceforth this locale will be referred to as Chamber IIIa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> TCIDK, 502-1-332, p. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> WAPL, Central Construction Office, 8, p. 22.

The November 18, 1942, cost estimate from the Polish company Michał Ochnik, Contractor, headquartered in Sliska Street 6/3, Lublin, refers to this facility:<sup>352</sup>

"Cost Estimate

for the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police in Lublin, regarding commissions for the Fur and Clothing Works.

Brick construction of two chimneys in the gas chamber, dimensions  $0.75 \times 0.75 \times 1.70$ , including cutting through the concrete ceilings.

Estimate, zl. [=zloty] 285.00."

The Central Construction Office accepted the company's offer, and the work was probably carried out in December. On January 8, 1943, Michał Ochnik submitted the following bill to the Central Construction Office, "for the Clothing Works of the Waffen-SS in Lublin": 353

"Re.

For brick construction of chimney and connecting the draft pipes from two sides to the chimney in the gas chamber in the brick building. Cutting 2 openings in the concrete ceiling, brick construction of the chimney, dimensions  $0.75 \times 0.75 \times 1.70$ .

Amount, zloty 285.00.

In words: two hundred eighty-five zloty."

In fact, the ceiling of the site mentioned still exhibits two openings  $60 \times 60$  and  $40 \times 40$  cm in size respectively, approximately 4 meters apart. According to the bill quoted, two pipes were installed in the two openings which led to the central chimney 0.75 m in diameter and 1.70 m high.

Evidently the disinfestation facility of Building XII<sup>A</sup> turned out to be insufficient for the Fur and Clothing Works' requirements, for, as mentioned previously, the Central Construction Office planned a further four disinfestation chambers for this construction project. Two civilian companies—the Lublin construction firm Michał Ochnik, which we already know, and the Warsaw firm "Polstephan" Construction Ltd.—were commissioned by the Central Construction Office with converting an existing building into a disinfestation facility. Both companies submitted a "Cost Estimate for the Construction of 4 Disinfestation Chambers in an Extant Building on the Grounds of the Former H.K.P. [?]". The text of these two cost estimates is identical, and subdivided similarly into eight paragraphs, which indicates that it was drawn up by the Central Construction Office as a sort of form, with the column "Amount" being left blank; the two companies then completed this column with their cost estimates for the work specified in each paragraph. The November 7, 1942, estimate of the company Ochnik totalled 8,855 zloty, 354 while that of "Polstephan", submitted on November 10, 1942, totalled 10,345 zloty. 355 These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> Further on, 145, p. 13.

Further on, p. 14. See Document 33.

<sup>354</sup> Further on, pp. 1f.

<sup>355</sup> Further on, pp. 5f.

two documents show that the four disinfestation chambers had to be outfitted with cast-iron doors, whose openings were to measure  $0.83 \times 1.93$  m. Each chamber had to be connected to a "disinfestation furnace", also called "gas furnace", which was protected by a projecting roof. We do not know whether this set-up was ever put into effect.

Another document dating from this period is the November 12, 1942, "Registered Letter" from the Chief of the Central Construction Office to the company Bernhard J. Goedecker in Munich, touching on the "delivery of air heaters for delousing cells":<sup>357</sup>

"With reference to the letter from the SS-Economist, Group C, Construction, Cracow, please find enclosed the 3 requested waybills for shipment of the 10 coalfueled air heaters for delousing cells as ordered by the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office Berlin.

The Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin asks that you please proceed with shipment immediately upon receipt of the waybills, as these materials are urgently needed here."

The surviving documents do not allow any conclusions regarding which delousing cells these ten air heaters were destined for. All we know is that another two delousing barracks were planned for the Women's Camp. Their construction had been ordered on October 29, 1942, by the Chief of Amtsgruppe C of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office, SS-Brigadeführer and Major General of the Waffen-SS Kammler. The Women's Camp was to be set up "on the grounds of the Clothing Works of the Waffen-SS Lublin". 358 Building IX of the Women's Camp was to accommodate these two delousing facilities, whose cost had been estimated at RM 45,000. The project encountered serious difficulties and remained "on paper only" for fully nine months. In fact, the Chief of the Central Construction Office did not even send the "outline proposal for the construction of a Women's Concentration Camp" to the SS-Economist of the SS and Police Chiefs in the General Government until July 10, 1943.<sup>360</sup> Only two of the documents enclosed with this letter have been preserved. "Construction Notice A" defines the camp's purpose as "housing for female inmates to be employed in the armaments factories" and refers to the list of buildings confirmed on November 20, 1942, by the Chief of the Central Construction Office, including Building IX with "2 delousing barracks". 361 The "Explanatory Report on the Construction of a Women's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, Sections 1, 3, 4 and 7.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, p. 85.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid., 95, p. 3. Letter from Kammler to the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government, SS-Economist Building Group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8. Building distribution for the establishment of a Women's Camp in Lublin, drawn up on November 20, 1942 by the Chief of the Central Construction Office.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 96, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10f.

Concentration Camp for 5,000 Inmates in Lublin" contains a precise description of the individual buildings. Regarding Building IX it states: 362

"Building IX—2 Delousing Chambers.

2 RAD [Reich Labor Service] barracks are set up and subdivided into disinfestation chambers for purposes of delousing the newly arrived inmates and for keeping articles of clothing clean. Equipment is provided by Amt BII but must be paid for from here. The foundation is a pile support. Exterior walls are similar to those of the other barracks."

Therefore it is certain that the aforementioned 10 air heaters were not intended for the Women's Camp. According to Zofia Murawska, this was brought into service on October 1, 1942, on Compound V of the Majdanek camp; two months later the women interned there were transferred to a new Women's Camp, which was being built approximately 500 distant from Majdanek on the air field, but on February 22, 1943, they were again transferred, for a final time, to Majdanek. 363 It is quite possible that Barrack 28 on Intermediate Compound I was converted into a disinfestation facility for this Women's Camp; in this case it would have replaced the two delousing barracks provided for in the airfield-camp project. It is also conceivable that it was divided into smaller subsections for this disinfestation facility, and that the 10 air heaters were intended for these; however, the description given by the Polish-Soviet Commission, and especially its sketch of this facility, 364 is more indicative of a drying facility for the Laundry than of a delousing installation, since the air heaters were connected to the respective barrack subsections via only a single pipe—which means that they were not intended to provide circulation of hot air but only the constant input thereof: the hot air entered from the air heater and exited through the small opening in the ceiling. The air-tight lid<sup>365</sup> made it possible to keep the hot air in the sub-chambers longer while the air heaters were off, for example when clothes were being dried overnight. The Polish-Soviet Commission partially confirms this interpretation: on its sketch of Majdanek it describes the barrack containing gas chambers V and VI as "suschilka"—drying facility.

Z. Łukaszkiewicz has published an undated sketch titled "Project for the Irrigation, Drainage and Water Supply Installation in the Building of the Gas Facility in Lublin", <sup>366</sup> showing eight "gas chambers for Cyklon hydrocyanic acid" and six "gas chambers for Ventox"; <sup>367</sup> it also shows a set-up for heating

<sup>363</sup> Zofia Murawska, "*Kobiety w obozie koncentracyjnym na Majdanku*," in: *ZM*, IV, 1969, pp. 94-97. Cf. the information given in this regard in Chapter I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> See Documents 35 and 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> See Photograph X.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> See Document 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> The plan published by Łukaszkiewicz is cut in half; the left half is reproduced below the right. The division into two halves is not precise, and the left part includes a section of the diagram shown on the right part. Łukaszkiewicz failed to notice this inexactitude, and ar-

water. The installation designed by the company Ludwig Rechkemmer in Warsaw, for the "Central Construction Inspection of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin", <sup>368</sup> was never actually built.

## 3. Using the Gas Chambers to Kill Human Beings

In the previous section we have shown that contrary to the Polish-Soviet Commission's conclusions, the gas chambers of Majdanek were designed exclusively for purposes of hygiene and sanitation. Of course it is conceivable that they were restructured later to serve for the mass extermination of human beings. In this section we shall examine this possibility from a historical and technical perspective. In his reply to the *Leuchter Report*, Jean-Claude Pressac provided a detailed and at times quite astute analysis of the gas chambers of Majdanek, which is an excellent starting point for the discussion to follow. Pressac deals with the various facilities in the chronological order of their construction. We shall subdivide his arguments into sections, titled based on the numbering system used in the Polish-Soviet experts' report. The following table explains and summarizes this:

| Number       | LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION                      | DIMENSIONS                | AREA                |
|--------------|---|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Chamber I    | Barrack 41, facility in the south-east        | 4.50×3.80 m <sup>2</sup>  | 17.1 m <sup>2</sup> |
| Chamber II   | Barrack 41, facility in the north-east        | 4.50×3.80 m <sup>2</sup>  | $17.1 \text{ m}^2$  |
| Chamber III  | Barrack 41, delousing chamber in the west     | 9.27×3.80 m <sup>2</sup>  | $35.2 \text{ m}^2$  |
| Chamber IIIa | Barrack 41, delousing chamber in the east     | 9.27×3.80 m <sup>2</sup>  | $35.2 \text{ m}^2$  |
| Chamber IV   | Barrack 41, gas chamber beside the shower     |                           | $107.7 \text{ m}^2$ |
| Chamber V    | Barrack 28, drying facility                   | 11.75×6.00 m <sup>2</sup> | $70.5 \text{ m}^2$  |
| Chamber VI   | Barrack 28, drying facility                   | 11.75×6.00 m <sup>2</sup> | $70.5 \text{ m}^2$  |
| Chamber VII  | Crematorium, facility between morgue and dis- | 6.10×5.62 m <sup>2</sup>  | $34.9 \text{ m}^2$  |
|              | secting room                                  |                           |                     |
| Cell 14      | Barrack 41, cell south of chambers I and III  | 1.80×1.30 m <sup>2</sup>  | $2.3 \text{ m}^2$   |

## a) Chambers V and VI and the "First Homicidal Gassings"

Regarding these two chambers, Pressac comments:<sup>369</sup>

"The first so-called homicidal gas chambers, which were allegedly set up in a wooden barrack, were located on the Intermediate Compound (a strip of land between Compounds I and II). They were near a Laundry and the first Crematorium, which was also located in a wooden barrack with concrete floor and contained two mobile single-muffle furnaces, manufactured by the Berlin firm H. Kori and heated with heavy oil (fuel oil) [...]. The two gas chambers are said to have been

<sup>369</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *op. cit.* (note 14), p. VII.

rived at a total of 12 Zyklon B gas chambers rather than 8; he also specified the former number in the diagram's subtitle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Incorrect term for the "Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Lublin".

operated partly with HCN, partly with CO. Later, it is said, they were converted into a drying room for clothing. Today the barrack in which they were located still exists, [370] but it is off the route suggested to tourists. Evidently the Poles never searched for cyanide residue there.

In its present condition, the barrack has numerous windows, which would have made any homicidal gassings impossible. What is even more significant are the reports of the former camp inmates who claim that several dozen [approximate translation of "quelques dizaines"] sick inmates and emaciated 'Muslims', who were taken to the first crematorium daily at that time, were not in fact gassed but rather killed with blows to the neck with an iron bar. Probably these two improvised gas chambers served to delouse articles of clothing with Zyklon B (HCN). The facility's proximity to the Laundry is another argument in support of this interpretation."

As early as 1969, Józef Marszałek attempted to explain these inconsistencies. His resultant article served as the basis for Pressac's studies. Marszałek wrote:371

"One problem remaining to be solved is that of the location of the entire chamber complex. It is odd that the chambers were joined to the Bath and not, as in Auschwitz-Birkenau for example, to the crematoria building. The chambers adjacent to the crematorium on the so-called Intermediate Compound I were not adequate to their task since there were too many witnesses to the homicidal gassings. The Laundry, where a considerable number of people worked, was also near the crematorium; the inmates arriving on Compounds I and II could also observe the camp authorities' criminal activities. And finally, the location of the chambers near or in the crematorium could have prompted the people marked for death to revolt. On the other hand, the location adjacent to the baths and the disinfestation chambers, which actually did serve that purpose, camouflaged their true purpose much better. The procedure of cutting the hair and bathing prior to gassing had a calming effect particularly on the new arrivals. This is exactly why the entrance to the bath was labeled 'Bath and Disinfection'. The short distance between the chambers and the crematorium (150 m) ensured that no major difficulties arose during transport of the bodies to the cremation furnaces."

Pressac was completely justified in drawing radical conclusions from these rather far-fetched attempts at an explanation. 372 His arguments, which strike us as perfectly logical, can be supplemented with other, even more valid ones.

First of all, we note that the official literature does not even know the precise location of the first two alleged execution gas chambers! In his abovementioned article, Marszałek contents himself with saying that they had been located on Intermediate Compound I; the reader is left in the dark as to any-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> This is an error. Barrack 28 no longer exists. Presumably Pressac confused it with another.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> J. Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 81), pp. 54f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> The 150 m distance from the alleged gas chambers would have exacerbated the problems mentioned by Marszałek: due to the proximity to Barrack 42 (delousing facility with baths). which all inmates admitted to the camp had to go through, all new arrivals would have been potential witnesses to the homicidal gassings!

thing else. In his later book *Majdanek* he touches on this matter again in his section *The Gassing of Prisoners*: <sup>373</sup>

"The concrete gas chambers in Majdanek adapted for the use of Cyclone B, were opened in October 1942. Earlier, however, exploiting Auschwitz experience with the use of that gas for killing Soviet prisoners of war, gassing was begun in a makeshift chamber. Evidence thereof is offered by the efforts of the camp administration to obtain Cyclone B. On July 25, 1942, the administration applied to the Tesch und Stabenow Internationale Gesellschaft für Schädlingsbekämpfung (International Company for Pest Control), abbreviated to Testa and performing the function of an intermediary in supplying camps with poison gas, for the allotment of 1,474 cans of Cyclone B."

In the most extensive study of Majdanek, Czesław Rajca, discussing the so-called "direct extermination" of the inmates, writes:<sup>374</sup>

"At the time the concrete [gas] chambers were completed—this was in October 1942—the inmates were being murdered in a gas chamber with Zyklon B, located near the Bath<sup>[375]</sup> and probably [in original: "prawdopobnie"] in a barrack on Intermediate Compound I, which was also the location of the so-called small crematorium."

As source, Rajca cites an article by Adela Toniak about the deliveries of Zyklon to the Majdanek camp, <sup>376</sup> but the cited page of this article merely states, without any sort of documentation: <sup>377</sup>

"The first two gas chambers of the Majdanek camp were built in 1942 on Intermediate Compound I."

Z. Łukaszkiewicz is the only one to have specified the exact location of these two first gas chambers. He places them in the first crematorium: <sup>378</sup>

"In May 1942, two gas chambers measuring  $10 \times 6 \times 2$  m are set up in a wooden barrack between Compounds 1 and 2. The chambers are intended for the use of Zyklon B. In June 1942 the first temporary crematorium, consisting of two separate furnaces, is set up in the same location."

On the camp plan which is appended to this article (on an unnumbered page),<sup>379</sup> a barrack marked with a "J" is in fact described as "stare krematorium i komory"—old crematorium and (gas) chamber.

These claims are devoid of any historical foundation. As we have already shown,<sup>380</sup> the old crematorium was located in a barrack (later torn down) southeast of the Laundry, while the two alleged homicidal gas chambers, ac-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> J. Marszałek, op. cit. (note 209), p. 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> C. Rajca, "Eksterminacja bespośrednia," in: T. Mencel, op. cit. (note 23), p. 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> The author is confusing the Bath with the Laundry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> Adela Toniak, "Korespondencja w sprawie dostawy gazu cyklonu B do obozu na Majdanku" (Correspondence regarding the shipment of Zyklon B gas to the Majdanek camp), in: ZM, II, 1967, pp. 129-170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> Z. Łukaszkiewicz, op. cit. (note 10), p. 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> See Document 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> See Chapter V.

cording to the Polish-Soviet Commission, were located in Barrack 28, northwest, not southeast, of the Laundry. The barrack labelled "J" on the plan published by Łukaszkiewicz never had the same dimensions as the other barracks in the camp, and was only 15 m long.<sup>381</sup>

The evidence supporting Pressac's view is rounded off by what is perhaps an even more compelling argument:

The aforementioned October 22 report of the Chief of the Central Construction Office only mentions the construction of "2 delousing barracks with baths". These barracks, the reader will recall, were Barracks 41 and 42.382 This means that as late as October 22 there was no gas chamber in the Barrack labelled "J", and consequently no gassings, of humans or anything else, can have taken place prior to that day. If delousing chambers were ever set up there at all, it was not until later.

Finally, where Marszałek's 'proof' is concerned, how one can conclude the existence of a homicidal gas chamber merely from an order for Zyklon B remains a mystery.

### b) Chambers I—III

Regarding these facilities, Pressac comments:<sup>383</sup>

"The block of three homicidal gas chambers in the northeastern [actually: northwestern<sup>384</sup>] extension of Section 'Bath and Disinfection I' has undergone interior and exterior modifications which one must reconstruct in order to understand its lay-out and its later functions.

Construction was begun in August 1942 and completed in September or October of that year. The block, whose intended dimensions were 10.60 x 8.64 x 2.40 m, was to contain two chambers for exterminating vermin. After completion, each measured 9.2 x 3.62 x 2.05 m inside, with a volume of  $73m^3$ . Disinfestation was done with dry, hot air which was produced by two furnaces supplied by the Ludwigshafen firm of Theodor Klein for a total price of RM 1,400.00. One was set up along the north wall [sic; actually: the east wall] of the block and heated the first section (which is arbitrarily labeled 'Section A' on the accompanying sketch). [386] The other was installed along the south wall [actually: the west wall] and served to heat the second section (called 'Section B'). The temperature produced was 120 degrees Centigrade (the normal temperature for disinfestation in autoclaves), which required monitoring with a thermometer. The hot air was forced into the rooms by means of ventilators (one per furnace).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> See Photographs III and IV.

<sup>382</sup> This follows from the aforementioned Chief of the Central Construction Office's October 1942 report, which only mentions the construction of "2 delousing barracks with baths"; as we saw in the previous section, these were Barracks 41 and 42.

J.-C. Pressac, op. cit. (note 14), pp. VII, VIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> The bearings given by Pressac are wrong.

The two facilities originally measured  $9.27 \times 3.80 \times 2 = 70.45 \text{m}^3$ . The dimensions given by Pressac indicate a volume of 68.27m<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> See Document 37.

The block was at ground level. Its walls were of brick, the floor of cement and the ceiling of concrete. Each section, A and B, had two heavy, tightly sealing iron doors with peepholes in the east [actually: north] and west [actually: south] end. The west [actually: south] doors also had an opening where a thermometer could be inserted to check the temperature. The doors had been supplied by the Berlin firm Auert. The block, as well as the northeastern [actually: northwestern] extensions of the two barracks 'Bath and Disinfection' were protected against the elements by a large pole-support roof, 60 x 18 m in size and 4 or 5 m above the ground. At that time the facility was used for nothing other than disinfesting clothing with 120°C-hot air, to which the clothing was exposed for half an hour. The pole-support roof made it possible to carry clothing back and forth between the block and the two barracks without exposing it to rain and snow. In the condition they were in at that time, Sections A and B can be compared to two enormous autoclaves.

Since touching the doors, which were still blazing hot after a disinfestation cycle, was no doubt problematic, or the furnaces failed to produce the desired temperature, this technique was abandoned, and replaced with clothing disinfestation with hydrogen cyanide gas (Zyklon B). The furnace mechanism was simplified to match the new method, since 30°C sufficed to effect the vaporization of the hydrogen cyanide gas. Therefore, the ventilators were dismantled. [387] A man wearing a gas mask placed the Zyklon disks or granules on the floor of the chambers, and the doors were closed. After the product had served its purpose, the rooms were ventilated naturally, by opening the eastern [actually: the northern] and the western [actually: the southern] doors, which caused a cross-draft. The service personnel then either had to leave the building until ventilation was complete, or to resume their work wearing gas masks as soon as the gas concentration had thinned sufficiently. The fact that Sections A and B were used for disinfestation with HCN is readily proved by the phenomenon of the 'blue walls' (Prussian Blue). The color is even more intense than in the Disinfestation Facilities (Buildings 5 and 6) of Birkenau because hot air was admitted directly into the rooms (rather than these merely being heated from inside, as was the case in Birkenau). The blue discoloration spread to all the dividing walls of Section A as well as to part of those of Section B."

Pressac's interpretation lacks any and all historical foundation: as we have seen in the previous section, the delousing chambers of Barrack 41 had been designed "for the system of hydrogen cyanide disinfestation" from the start, so that the site was never converted from a hydrogen cyanide facility to a hot-air facility; if ever there was a conversion, then at most it went the other way around. We shall return to this point later.

### J.-C. Pressac continues: 388

"One last renovation of the block resulted in the creation of gas chambers in which human beings were killed with carbon monoxide. There can be no doubt at

388 *Ibid.*, pp. VIII, IX.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Actually this was not done until after the camp was liberated, when everything that could still be used was dismantled.

all that this set-up served criminal purposes, for CO is fatal to warm-blooded creatures—and thus also to man—but utterly useless for combating lice.

Section B was subdivided into two identical rooms, which I call B1 and B2. Only B1 had a system for introducing CO. It consists of a perforated metal pipe running along three sides of the room, 30 cm above the floor. Initially it was connected to a steel bottle containing liquid CO. An external annex was added halfway along the western [actually: southern] side of the block. It contained two bottles of CO—the second for Section A [=Chamber III]—as well as a glass peephole protected by a grid. The gassing of the victims could be observed only in Room B1. No observation device was installed in Room B2. The ceiling of the two newlycreated chambers each had an opening. The furnace which earlier had heated Room B [=Chamber IIIa] now no longer served a purpose; it was moved, and reinstalled on the south wall [actually: east wall] of Room C. The fact that Room B was subdivided only after it had already been used as Zyklon B gas chamber is shown by the blue spots which cover its walls and of which one is separated into two parts by the dividing wall. The dividing wall itself has no blue discoloration.

Regarding section A, it too had a device for distributing CO; the carbon monoxide came from the second steel bottle in the annex. The set-up consists of a pipe (of a lesser diameter than that in Room B1) running along the south wall [actually: east wall] 30 cm above the floor. On either end of the pipe the gas flowed out through the perforated metal plates affixed in the corners of the room. There were no openings in the ceiling, and it was not possible to see into this room from the adjoining one.

It is difficult to say whether the rooms A, B1 and B2 were used as homicidal hydrogen cyanide gas chambers. This question remains open. In rooms B1 and B2, it is said, the Zyklon granules were poured in through the opening in the ceiling. As far as I know, no witness has ever claimed to have seen an SS-man climb a ladder up to the roof. In the absence of openings other than that in the ceiling, and the door, and also due to the lack of artificial ventilation, airing out these rooms measuring 36m³ each perforce took a long time.

Introducing the Zyklon B into room A posed problems which a historian at the Majdanek Museum has characterized as follows: 'The Zyklon was not thrown in through an opening in the ceiling, as in the previous chamber [B1], since there was no such opening. Instead, it was thrown in through the door just before the door was closed.' To be honest, it is difficult to imagine an SS man, wearing a gas mask and holding a can of Zyklon B in his hand, throwing the granules into the 30 cm headspace between his victims' heads and the ceiling (and, in the process, taking the chance of the pellets dropping outside the gas chamber) and then trying to slam the door, without this operation resulting in a desperate attempt by the victims to break out.

For these reasons I do not believe that Section A could have served for homicidal Zyklon B gassings. In rooms B1 and B2 this seems to have been technically possible, but it is unlikely that these facilities were really used for this purpose. Rather, it seems that the SS wanted to have two different carbon monoxide gas chambers (A and B1) that could be used for different numbers of victims: Chamber A (36m²) for groups of 250 to 350 people, Chamber B1 (18m²) for 125 to 175 people. These figures have repeatedly been mentioned by survivors giving the numeri-

cal strengths of the transports sent to the gas chambers. Finally, the openings in the ceilings of rooms B1 and B2 probably served to speed up ventilation rather than to input the Zyklon. This interpretation goes only for Room B1. In setting up the block for homicidal purposes, B2 seems to have had only a passive purpose as 'dead space', despite the opening in the ceiling.

During liberation, the pole-support roof which protected the block was damaged. The annex was empty. At first, Zyklon B cans had been stacked there in order to give the impression that their contents could be poured into the pipe of room B1 (instead of through the ceiling hatch). Five steel CO bottles were found in the camp. After their contents were analyzed chemically, two of them were put into the annex."

To summarize: Pressac considers it theoretically possible that Zyklon B was used to kill human beings, but he practically rules it out for Chamber III and considers it "unlikely" for Chambers I and II.

Here too we cannot help but second the French historian's expositions, and we would add another argument: if the camp authorities had wanted to use the two delousing chambers also, if not exclusively, for murdering people, they would have equipped both locales with an opening for introducing Zyklon B. On the other hand, the absence of an opening rules out any possibility that Chamber III was used for such a purpose—for the reasons given by Pressac. The existing openings in Chambers  $I^{389}$  and  $II^{390}$  are so small (26 × 26 cm and 29 × 33 cm respectively) that contrary to Pressac's opinion they could hardly have been an aid to ventilation. Furthermore, they were cut through the ceilings in a downright crude manner, especially in Chamber II where there is not even so much as a wooden frame for the hole. All indications are that these openings were hastily added for the Polish-Soviet Commission.

The following description of Chamber I by Constantino Simonov, a correspondent for the Soviet army paper Red Star who visited Majdanek right after liberation, is of great interest: 391

"But let us open the next door and enter the second disinfestation chamber, which has been built along completely different criteria. It is a square room, not much higher than two meters, and approximately 6 x 6 m in size. The walls, the ceiling, the floor-all are of gray, monotonous reinforced concrete. There is no rack for clothing such as we saw in the previous room: here, everything is bare and empty. A single large steel door hermetically seals the entrance to the room; it is closed from the outside with strong steel bolts. The walls of this reinforcedconcrete crypt contain three openings: two of them are pipes entering from outside, the third is a porthole, a square little window barred by a large, thick steel grid solidly anchored in the reinforced concrete. The thick glass is on the outside so that it cannot be reached through the grid."

C. Simonov had just left Barrack 42, which he described as follows:<sup>391</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> See Photograph XI.

<sup>390</sup> See Photograph XII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> C. Simonov, op. cit. (note 310), p. 8.

"Then we arrive at the chambers where the clothing taken from the inmates was disinfected. Pipes are affixed in the ceiling, and the disinfestation agent was introduced through these. Then they were closed off, the doors were sealed airtight, and disinfestation proceeded. In fact, the barrack walls, constructed of wooden slats, and the doors, which were not lined with metal, were not nearly solid enough to have served for any purpose other than disinfesting clothing." (Emphasis added.)

So if Simonov mentions the openings in the ceiling of the disinfestation chambers in Barrack 42, but not the opening in Chamber I which he entered immediately thereafter, this can only mean that that opening did not yet exist at the time.

To summarize: the delousing chambers of Barrack 42, which are acknowledged to have served exclusively for disinfesting clothing, had openings in the ceiling for pouring in the Zyklon B, even though such openings were not absolutely necessary (the pellets could just as well have been thrown on the floor). On the other hand, Gas Chambers I and III of Barrack 41, which allegedly served only for killing people, were not equipped with any ceiling openings for introducing Zyklon, even though such openings would have been utterly, unequivocally necessary!

The next point to examine is the alleged restructuring of Chambers I and III to serve as homicidal CO gas chambers. Pressac has no doubts about their use for criminal purposes, but his certainty rests on a pure hypothesis:namely, that the facilities were in fact used for CO. Actually, the Polish-Soviet Commission's allegation that these rooms were used for gassing human beings with CO is not supported by so much as a single proof. On the contrary, two arguments speak against it: the first is based on a witness statement, the second on material evidence.

First of all, as Pressac rightly points out, there were no bottles in the cell outside Chambers I and III immediately after the camp's liberation—there were only cans of Zyklon B. These had been placed there by the newly liberated inmates to give the impression that people had been killed in these facilities by means of Zyklon B poured in through the pipes. We shall return to this in more detail in Section 4; for the moment, this statement will suffice.

Second, two of the five steel bottles which the Soviets found in Barrack 52 were later set up in Cell 14. According to the Polish-Soviet Commission's report, these five bottles had contained CO, but the two bottles presently stored in the cell are engraved with the label " $CO_2$ ", i.e., carbon dioxide. It is common knowledge that carbon dioxide is not poisonous.

These plain and simple facts permit two conclusions: if two of the five CO bottles actually contained CO<sub>2</sub>, then for one thing it is logical to suspect that

<sup>392 &</sup>quot;Dr. Pater Victoria Kohlensäurefabrik Nuβdorf Nr 6196 Full. 10 Kg [...] und Fluid Warszawa Kohlensäure [...] Fluid Warszawa Lukowski. Pleschen 10,1 kg CO<sub>2</sub> Gepr." (The inscriptions are only partly legible.)

the Polish-Soviet Commission lied on this point—as it did in a number of other matters as well. Second, even if the other bottles had actually contained CO, there is still no proof that the facilities in question were really used for CO and not for  $CO_2$ . This alone suffices to cast grave doubts on the alleged criminal purpose of these installations.

The Auer filter which the Commission discovered in the arsenal of chemicals closely matches the description of a CO filter, both in terms of its size as well as regarding its storage method. An expert on this subject writes:<sup>394</sup>

"A common flaw in the various filters against CO is the noticeable hygroscopicity of the adsorbing substances: This results in a modification of the distribution of the filtering and adsorbing substances in the filters, in their limited usability in damp surroundings, as well as strict measures required to conserve the filters themselves in order to prevent their premature wearing-out as a result of dampness; prior to use, the filters are stored in a hermetically sealed box."

In the case of the filter here at issue, these rigorous measures seem to have been strictly enforced; it was stored in a hermetically sealed metal box bearing the following label:

"AUER, CO filter No. 09903. Not for use later than June 1944. Can be used for two years from the time of first use. No more than 40 hours total. First use:

Date: Use: Hours:

from: to:

Note: After each use, close box tightly, top and bottom. Store in a cool dry place."

Since the spaces for "Date", "Use" and "Hours" were blank, one can assume that the filter was unused; the camp physician, who was in charge of storing the protective gear against gas, certainly would not have permitted use of the filter without recording the required data on the label.

On the other hand, the CO filter was polyvalent in nature and offered protection from other gases as well, such as ammonia, benzol, chlorine, phosgene, sulphur dioxide, hydrogen sulphide and carbon tetrachloride. It could even be used against hydrogen cyanide: the Degea CO filter could absorb 6 grams of HCN, the Dräger CO filter 3.3 grams.<sup>395</sup> Thus, the mere presence of such a filter by no means proves that it was used for protection specifically against CO.

Historically as well, Pressac's hypothesis is flawed. He believes that the installation of the pipes in Chambers I and III was the last step, after the two locales had been used first as hot-air disinfestation chambers and then as Zyklon B disinfestation chambers. Yet the pipe fixed to the east wall of Chamber III is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> This suspicion is all the more well-founded in that the other three bottles are no longer to be found on the camp grounds. We do not know where they may have got to.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> Cap. Dott. Attilio Izzo, Guerra chimica e difesa antigas, Milan: Editore Ulrico Hoepli, 1935, p. 183.

Ferdinand Flury, Franz Zernik, *Schädliche Gase, Dämpfe, Nebel, Rauch- und Staubarten,* Berlin: Verlag Julius Springer, 1931, p. 617.

lined in its full length by plaster that is stained an intense blue, 396 as though it had acted as a sort of catalyst for the formation of ferrocyanides. Chamber I, on the other hand, shows no traces of blue discoloration; in Chamber II, blue spots are to be found only on the east wall, between the door and the interior dividing wall in the middle as well as on the lower part of this dividing wall itself, in other words at the place where the pipe is located in the adjoining room.<sup>397</sup>

From this we may conclude that HCN was used in Chamber III after the pipe was installed, while HCN was never used at all in Chamber IIIa: the spots of Prussian Blue are too small and are evident only in a few places in Chamber II, so that what we are seeing here is no doubt the phenomenon of diffusion of the Prussian Blue, similar to that which caused the formation of ferrocyanides on the exterior of the north wall. 398 Chamber IIIa was subdivided into Chambers I and II even before the disinfestation facility was brought into service, which follows from the fact that the planned air heater was not installed.

All these points go to show that Pressac's hypothesis of the criminal use of these facilities proceeds from false premises, and is inexplicable from a purely technical perspective as well:

Even though they had two real hydrogen cyanide gas chambers which could have been converted to homicidal execution gas chambers merely by adding ceiling openings for the introduction of the Zyklon B, the SS allegedly hurried to install a method of gassing with CO—whatever for? If, as we are told, homicidal gassing with Zyklon B worked perfectly in Auschwitz, then why should the would-be murderers in Majdanek need to resort to CO?

From a technical perspective, Pressac's explanation(the subdivision of Chamber IIIa into two rooms to serve as gas chambers, one of which (measuring 17.1m<sup>2</sup>) was used to gas groups of 125-175 people while the other (35.2m<sup>2</sup>) was used for groups of 250-350)<sup>399</sup> is quite nonsensical. Not only would such a strategy have brought no advantages (groups of 125 to 175 victims could very well also have been murdered in the larger chamber, without any noteworthy waste of gas), it would also have added considerable difficulty to the gassing process. For one thing, the dividing wall inhibited the natural ventilation of Chambers I and II which would have resulted from opening the doors on opposite sides of the room. For another, as Pressac himself must concede, Chamber II was reduced to a mere "dead space".

The small window in the south wall of Chamber I poses further insoluble problems. In its present state, it is locked by a grate, but there is no way to seal

<sup>396</sup> See Photograph XIII.

<sup>397</sup> See Photograph XIV.

This is even more noticeable on the outside walls of the disinfestation chambers of Buildings 5a and 5b in Birkenau.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> In both cases, for the facilities mentioned, Pressac inexplicably assumes a maximum capacity of 9.72 people per square meter! In comparison, the Polish-Soviet Commission contented itself with 6 victims per square meter.

it hermetically. 400 After the liberation of the camp, as both Simonov and the Polish-Soviet Commission report, it had a glass pane on the observer side in Cell 14. If this is correct, then the pane had not been initially installed, but rather was merely inserted into the window, for this window has no permanent frame or even fixative clamps for a frame. Thus, not only could the pane not be hermetically sealed, it could even be removed. Further, since the wall is only about 40 cm thick, the victims could easily have smashed it, since it is possible to pass a hand through the grate. And finally, if the point of the window had been to permit observation of the gassing victims, there is no indication why it should have been required for Chamber I but not for Chamber III.

Thus, we may rule out the use of CO. What remains to be explained is why the facility was altered at all. Given the lack of documents, we must make do with another hypothesis, albeit one far more plausible than Pressac's. Based on the fact that the two bottles contained CO<sub>2</sub>, and considering the time during which the alteration was performed, the following explanation seems the most likely:

As of July 1942 the camp's 'natural' mortality increased steadily, so that September already saw 2,431 deaths; in October this figure skyrocketed again, to 3,210.401 The "old crematorium" existing at that time only had two (oilfueled) furnaces which could no longer handle the increasing number of bodies. Added to this was the lack of fuel oil which, as the Chief of the crematorium SS-Oberscharführer Erich Mußfeldt reported, ultimately resulted in the crematorium being closed in November 1942; admittedly this is contradicted by the Krone Report, according to which the facility was still operating in January 1943. 402 As an aside, the Mortuary, Building XIV, 403 was a semiunderground barrack of modest size, measuring only 11.50 × 6.50 m, 404 and could hold only a limited number of bodies. Faced with this alarming situation, the Central Construction Office decided to convert the disinfestation facility beside Barrack 41 into two additional mortuaries, one of which (Chamber III) was temporary and the other (Chamber I) permanent. Thanks to the pipes, hooked up to two bottles of CO<sub>2</sub>, both rooms could be cooled<sup>405</sup> to the desired temperatures. 406 Further, CO<sub>2</sub> has the ability to considerably retard oxidation processes and thus also the onset of decomposition in dead bodies.

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<sup>400</sup> See Photograph XV.

<sup>401</sup> See Chapter IV.

<sup>402</sup> See Chapter V.

<sup>403</sup> On July 1, 1942, work on this building was already 70% complete. WAPL, Central Construction Office, 8, p. 3.

These dimensions follow from the corresponding plan: POW Camp Lublin, Mortuary, Bldg. XIV, scale 1:100. *Ibid.*, 47, p. 14.

The expansion of compressed and liquefied gases causes a decrease in ambient temperature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> The door of Chamber III has an opening where a thermometer could be inserted.

When it was not required as temporary mortuary, Chamber III could be returned to its original purpose, namely HCN disinfestation, to which the strip of ferrocyanide pigment on the east wall along the entire pipe bears eloquent witness.

As for the little window in the south wall of Chamber I, when the bodies had to be removed it could have aided in airing out the locale, since the glass pane could be taken out. But there is nothing to prove that it already existed at the time the pipes were installed in Chambers I and III. Since Chambers I and III lost their auxiliary function as mortuaries when the new crematorium was opened in January 1944, they were no doubt assigned a new function. Given the chronic shortage of Zyklon B, Chamber III was probably used as hot-air disinfestation chamber, which also made use of the air heater. Chamber I could well have been used as a store room for materials that required visual monitoring, for example weapons and ammunition.

### c) Chamber IV

# J.-C. Pressac writes:<sup>407</sup>

"The sixth gas chamber (labeled C) is in the barrack 'Bath and Disinfection I', which was used primarily for showering. This locale is in the farthest northeast [actually: north] part of the building, beside the Shower. In the 1950s and 60s this proximity resulted in some unfortunate confusion because at that time the Shower itself was often portrayed as a homicidal gas chamber in which the poison came through the shower heads. Locale C has a surface area of 75m², a height of 2.90 m and a volume of 217m³. It was closed with two tight wooden doors (the model was similar to that used in the cells of Auschwitz-Birkenau). There were two openings in the ceiling; two more were in the south wall [actually: east wall], where a solid window at head level lit the room. After the delousing block was renovated as homicidal gas chamber, the furnace of Room B was reassigned to Room C and reinstalled on the south wall [actually: east wall]. The fact that Room C was used intensively for delousing with hydrogen cyanide is shown by the unusually strong blue discoloration of its walls.

That this facility could have been used for homicidal purposes is conceivable only with two prerequisites: the removal of the window, which the victims would immediately have broken, and the installation of a mechanical ventilation system. After the delousing cycle, opening the two doors could have produced a crossdraft which would have spread gaseous poison to other parts of the barrack. For this reason it was vitally important to keep the door leading to the Shower closed. If ventilation had been restricted only to the two upper openings and the door, it would have taken a long time and been quite inefficient. If both doors were kept closed, the room could be aired out by pumping hot air into it (with the furnace's ventilator). This made the hydrogen cyanide gas lighter than air and thus able to escape through the two ceiling openings, after which it dissipated in the atmosphere. After a short time the remaining concentration of HCN was so low that the

<sup>407</sup> J.-C. Pressac, op. cit. (note 14), p. IX.

two doors could be safely opened, whereupon the resultant cross-draft dispersed the last traces of the gas and cooled the facility. Therefore, Locale C served as clothing delousing facility.

It could have become a most 'efficient' homicidal gas chamber if the window had been removed. Whether or not this window existed at the time of Majdanek's liberation is the deciding factor in the question whether the locale could have been used to gas human beings; since I do not know the answer to this point, I must reserve judgement."

As we have seen in the previous section, Barrack 41 was originally constructed as a humble "horse stable barrack with shower", which was the function it still served on July 1, 1942. If one compares a sketch of its final state with the original plan for Barrack 42 ("Temporary Delousing Facility for Prisoner-of-war Camp Lublin" of March 31, 1942), one comes to the conclusion that the latter, except for the central portion that was used for delousing, was originally designed as the mirror image of the former and was to include the following sections (from north to south): Porch/Entrance, Registration, Hair cutting, Undressing room, Shower, Dressing room, Porch/Exit. This is also confirmed by the fact that the four main sections of the two buildings—Porch/Undressing room, Shower/Clothing return, Boiler room, Dressing room—have virtually identical measurements:

| Entrance        | Showers | Boiler house                       | Dressing Room (Barrack 42) |  |
|-----------------|---------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 13.5 m          | 13.5 m  | 4.5 m                              | 9.0 m                      |  |
| Undressing room |         | Clothing distribution (Barrack 41) |                            |  |
| 13.5 m          | 13.7 m  | 4.5 m                              | 9.2 m                      |  |

In late September or early October 1942 a hydrogen cyanide gas chamber was set up in Barrack 41, with an air heater joined to the east wall. Work was completed on October 22, and the locale was called "Delousing barrack with bath". The area which had previously served as undressing room was used as gas chamber, without any extensive architectural modifications, which proves that it was a temporary facility. Chamber IV as it appears today has a very irregular shape, with two corners closed in on three sides (and therefore very difficult to ventilate) as well as an interior room equally difficult to air out. This room, which corresponds as mirror image to the haircutting room in Barrack 42, would have to have had a gas-tight door; it is a fact that it has blue spots on the ceiling and also on the plaster of the north wall. Similar spots are also to be found on the plaster of the south wall, in Chamber IV. Even more distinct blue spots appear on the plaster of the east wall, in the porch area.

Probably this gas chamber was difficult to air out, since the Central Construction Office decided to install a ventilation chimney on the roof, for which purpose it turned to the Polish company Michał Ochnik which we have already encountered before. The pertinent cost estimate of November 18, 1942, provided for the construction of two chimneys  $0.75 \times 0.75 \times 1.70$  m in size,

with holes to be cut through the concrete ceiling. However, according to the invoice of January 8, 1943, only one chimney was actually built on the roof of the gas chamber; this chimney was connected "to 2 openings in the concrete ceiling via pipes on two sides". There is no doubt that this was a ventilation system; this already follows clearly from the fact that the two openings in the gas chamber roof were installed along the extended axis of the air heater suction pipe.

The gas chamber was not intended for homicidal purposes:

For one thing, the chimney as it is described on the aforementioned invoice from the company Michał Ochnik could not have been used to introduce Zyklon B, because the HCN-soaked pellets would have landed on the floor of the chimney without getting into the two parallel pipes in the concrete ceiling. For another, while the gas-proof door on the south side (leading into the Shower) is closed from the outside, 408 the one opposite it, on the north side, is closed from inside. This means that the disinfector who had to distribute the Zyklon B had to enter the area wearing a gas mask, close the north-side door, pour the Zyklon out of the can, leave the room through the south door, and close it from the Shower. In a homicidal gassing scenario it would not have been possible to open the north-side door due to the piles of bodies blocking it inside. Given Pressac's postulated number of victims per square meter, 520 to 729 people would have been gassed at one time in this 75m² (or 72.2m², according to the Polish-Soviet Commission) large room! But if only one of the two doors could be opened, ventilation would have taken forever.

Today, the two openings in the room's ceiling measure approximately  $60 \times 60$  cm (eastern opening)<sup>410</sup> and  $40 \times 40$  cm (western opening).<sup>411</sup> Both hatches open into a wooden shaft in which a small chimney of wooden slats is installed; it is closed off with a lid, also of wood, on the barrack roof. Measured from the room's ceiling, the two chimneys are approximately 1.15 m tall. Except for their size, their present condition reflects the project outlined in the cost estimate of November 18, 1942, meaning that the actual, original structure must have been altered later. This also follows from the fact that, in the room's interior, the wooden frames surrounding the openings interrupt the spots of Prussian Blue on the ceiling plaster. The plaster on many places around the frame was renewed, which is evident from its clean white color. And finally, not even the faintest trace of blue discoloration is evident on the frames themselves—quite unlike the window frames.<sup>412</sup> This proves conclu-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> See Photographs XVI and XVIa.

<sup>409</sup> See Photograph XVII.

<sup>410</sup> See Photograph XVIII.

<sup>411</sup> See Photograph XIX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> See Photograph XX. This was pointed out by C. Mattogno after his first visit to Majdanek in July 1992. Cf. the discussion by G. Rudolf, whom Mattogno gave access to his documents, in his article, *op. cit.* (note 15).

sively that the frames were installed at a time when Zyklon was no longer being used in this room. The presence of blue spots on the window frame, on the other hand, shows that this window already existed *before* the camp was liberated. Therefore Pressac's question, on which he hinges his verdict about the possibility of execution gassings in this room, is answered.

It is possible that the reasons for the modifications described were that the use of Zyklon B was discontinued and that delousing in Chamber IV was continued with hot air, for which purpose the air heater behind the east wall was used.

This hypothesis is supported by the constant shortage of Zyklon B, which was a severe hardship for the camp especially in the summer of 1943. At that time a devastating typhus epidemic was raging in Majdanek, and enormous quantities of Zyklon were needed "to disinfect the camp". The modifications described were most likely done during this time: since the meager quantities of Zyklon which the camp received were used to disinfest the barracks, the hydrogen cyanide disinfestation chambers III and IV were converted to hot-air delousing chambers.

This hypothesis, which explains the modifications of Chambers III and IIIa, also permits an explanation for the set-up of gas chamber IV. During the construction of the disinfestation facility, which had actually been intended for the Fur and Clothing Works, the Central Construction Office decided to use two rooms in the facility as additional mortuaries—one (Chamber I) permanently, the other (Chamber III) temporarily 414—which meant that the original Chamber IIIa could no longer be used for Zyklon B delousing. To make up for this loss, and to come up with a replacement for Chamber III which at times could not be used, another (temporary) hydrogen cyanide delousing chamber was installed at that time in Barrack 41; the surface area of this chamber corresponded more or less to those of Chambers III and IIIa. From an administrative and technical perspective, this was part of the Fur and Clothing Works, even if it did happen to be located in a building which was part of the POW camp construction project. Barrack 41 was chosen as site for the gas chamber because the disinfected clothing could easily be moved from there into the "clean" sector, under the protective roof located above the original disinfestation facility. Subsequently the Fur and Clothing Works were assigned a permanent installation in the form of a four-gas chamber delousing facility, which had already been designed on October 22, 1942, and which figured in the two cost estimates of November 7 and 10 of that year.

We remind the reader of SS-Hauptsturmführer Krone's January 20, 1943, report about the camp's "sanitary facility", in which Krone noted that the ex-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Of course these two mortuaries became superfluous when the new crematorium was completed.

tant delousing, disinfection and bathing facilities sufficed for the time being but would no longer be adequate for the increase in population that was expected, which was why three larger disinfection facilities would shortly be shipped to Lublin. 415

This document shows that the camp administration's interests were in disinfestation facilities, not in gas chambers with which to murder people. The same goes for SS-*Untersturmführer* Birkigt's report which also touches on the inmates' physical cleanliness and on the disinfection facilities.<sup>415</sup>

### d) Chamber VII

Here too we shall begin with a quote from J.-C. Pressac:<sup>416</sup>

"The seventh alleged execution gas chamber is located in the new crematorium, in which a massive complex of five Kori single-muffle furnaces is installed which could cremate approximately 300 (or 1,000, according to official sources) bodies per day in a 24-hour operation. The acting Director of the [Majdanek] Museum has informed this author that this gas chamber saw only little—really very, very little—use, which means, plainly speaking, that it was not used at all. This fiction is maintained in order to preserve the popular belief that a crematorium must necessarily have included a gas chamber (as for example the crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau).

Aside from this verbal information, the existence of a gas chamber is not alleged in any description of the interior features of the new crematorium, and with good reason, for the German plan of the building labels the room in question as a mortuary.

If anyone had wanted to kill human beings with Zyklon B in this locale, its enclave-like location inside the building—between the autopsy room, a corridor and the funeral parlor—would perforce have required an artificial ventilation system, of which, however, there is not a trace to be found. If one assumes natural ventilation by means of cross-draft, the entire crematorium would have to have been completely evacuated for a period whose duration is difficult to estimate."

Pressac is quite correct. This may be seen from the plan of the crematorium which the Polish-Soviet Commission drew up after an inspection of the facilities, and it also becomes apparent from first-hand examination of the "murder site". Chamber III, the room called the "gas chamber" ("komora gazowa"), is indeed located between the pre-dissection room (Locale 6) and the mortuary (Locale 4).

We would add the following observations of our own:

a) The walls of the room in question show not even the slightest trace of Prussian Blue;

416 J.-C. Pressac, op. cit. (note 14), p. IX.

<sup>418</sup> See Document 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> The actual capacity was perhaps one hundred bodies per day; see Chapter V.

- b) The Polish-Soviet Commission did not see fit to mention the opening ( $26 \times 10^{-5}$ 26 cm) cut through the ceiling, whereas it certainly did consider those in Chambers I, II, IV, V and VI worthy of note. The opening in the room in question was added after the fact, in an extremely crude manner; the person/s making this alteration could not even be bothered to trim back the iron bars in the reinforced-concrete ceiling and to install a wooden chimney with a lid, 419 such as in Chamber IV. Since the ceiling is 2.2 m above the floor, this would have resulted in the same problems during a homicidal gassing as Pressac indicates for Chamber III.
- c) Two open peepholes are located in the dividing wall to the mortuary. 420 The Polish-Soviet Commission discovered no mechanism with which to close them, so there surely was no such thing when the camp was liberated. Therefore, the gas would have spread to the mortuary and the incineration chamber during execution gassings.

The Commission was determined to find an execution gas chamber in the new crematorium at any cost, for if the camp administration had indeed planned a mass extermination of inmates, the sequence "gas chambermortuary—incineration chamber" would have been the most logical. Even though the new crematorium was constructed at a time when the gassings were allegedly already in full swing, the administration did not plan for any gas chamber for this building at all, neither for murder nor for disinfestation. And as if that were not enough: even though the camp administration had already planned the installation of a Kori furnace with five muffles at a time where according to Polish historiography the camp was not yet even supposed to become a death factory, the plans for precisely this Kori furnace were maintained unchanged after Majdanek's alleged conversion into a death camp, with not so much as a thought being given to increasing its cremation capacity! This proves conclusively that the camp administration did not foresee the enormous increase in mortality which a mass extermination would have involved.

Incidentally, in his report which we have already quoted several times, SS-Untersturmführer Birkigt clarified the direct relationship of the crematorium to the sanitary conditions in Majdanek by commenting, with regard to its expansion in order to take in up to 25,000 inmates:<sup>421</sup>

"It seems important that the infirmary should receive its own disinfection facility, and that the crematorium also be transferred into the infirmary section if possible."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>419</sup> See Photograph XXI. <sup>420</sup> See Photograph XXII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> See Chapter III.

# 4. The Gas Chambers of Majdanek in Revisionist Literature

As we have noted in the introduction, the only Revisionists to have commented on the technical aspects of the alleged homicidal gas chambers of Majdanek are Fred A. Leuchter and Germar Rudolf.

On the occasion of his visit to Majdanek on March 2, 1988, 422 Leuchter examined the new crematorium as well as the facilities known as "Bath and Disinfection I" in Barrack 41. He subsequently drew up his well-known Report in which he concluded that the facilities mentioned were "not suitable [...] for execution purposes", 423 i.e., could not have been used to kill human beings. To support his thesis, Leuchter produces a number of arguments which Pressac assesses as follows: 424

"Here, Leuchter's historical incompetence becomes perfectly clear. [...] After the only scientific element of his investigation was omitted, [425] Leuchter further dilutes the value of his comments by basing them on the current state of the facilities without taking into account the changes which were made to the buildings since liberation in order to protect them from the harmful effects of weathering. Leuchter stubbornly insists on his erroneous calculations, and has the crematoria explode as soon as he suspects the use of hydrogen cyanide in a morgue. Furthermore, he has neglected to make a complete visit to the camp, failing to pay any attention to one of the three gas chambers of the block in the north-east [actually: north] section of Barrack 41 (Bath and Delousing I). He has also neglected to study the model of the camp which would have enabled him to understand the original lay-out of the facilities he was to 'expertly assess'. He failed to consider the first crematorium's two mobile Kori furnaces which today is located in Barrack 50 of the Memorial Site. Since Leuchter's comments on the gas chambers and the new crematorium of Majdanek are negatively influenced by these omissions, errors and oversights, they have lost any serious foundation and are devoid of value."

J.-C. Pressac's criticism is thoroughly justified. Leuchter claims that in the new crematorium "the furnaces are the only portion of the original facility which has not been rebuilt." <sup>423</sup> If this were the case, it would mean that even the alleged gas chamber was reconstructed later, which is not so. Further, he believes that in a gassing scenario using Zyklon B in such a place, the gas

<sup>422</sup> The date is given by Leuchter himself in his article "The Leuchter Report: The How and Why". This article was published in The Journal of Historical Review, no. 2, 1989, pp. 135-137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup> Fred A. Leuchter, *op. cit.* (note 13), 12.002.

<sup>424</sup> J.-C. Pressac, op. cit. (note 14), p. VII.

<sup>425</sup> This refers to samples of mortar taken from the brickwork of the facilities described as gas chambers. Leuchter was able to take such samples in Auschwitz I and Birkenau, but not in Majdanek.

would have reached the furnaces, killed the operating personnel, and caused an explosion that levelled the building, 423 which is technically impossible. 426

Leuchter dismisses the possibility that Barrack 42 could have been used for criminal purposes—which no-one has ever claimed anyhow. He reasons:<sup>427</sup>

"For Bath and Disinfection #2, although closed, an inspection through the windows confirms its function was only a delousing facility, similar to those at Birkenau."

In fact, a look in through the windows permits no such conclusion.

Regarding Chamber IV, Leuchter notes the Prussian Blue on the walls and ceilings and hypothesizes that this might have been a "delousing room or storage room for deloused materials", but categorically dismisses the possibility that it was an execution chamber. The arguments he cites to support his thesis—lack of a chimney for ventilation, inadequate air circulation system, lack of air-tight gasketing of the doors—are not sound, for if this were the case, no Zyklon B could have been used in this facility at all, neither for execution nor for delousing. This in turn contradicts Leuchter's own statement that it might have been a delousing room, and is also disproved by the presence of the blue splotches that clearly indicate an intensive use of Zyklon B in this chamber.

In his discussion of Chamber III (which he calls #1), Leuchter advances even more implausible arguments. Though he certainly did notice the "characteristic blue ferric-ferro-cyanide staining" of the walls, 429 he claims that this chamber was not designed to be used with HCN and rules out its use not only for homicidal purposes but even as a simple delousing chamber. But then what could explain the Prussian Blue on the walls? According to Leuchter, Chamber III could not even have been used for gassings with carbon monoxide since it would have been necessary "to pump in 4,000 parts per million (the lethal concentration) at a pressure of 2.5 atmospheres". Technically, this is nonsense.

Elsewhere, contradicting his own statements, Leuchter writes that this same room "is operational for carbon monoxide". 430

For Chamber I (which he calls #2), Leuchter considers that homicidal gassings with carbon monoxide would have been impossible because "the piping

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup> Regarding the explosiveness of hydrogen cyanide gas, cf. Carlo Mattogno, *Olocausto: dilettanti allo sbaraglio*, Edizioni di Ar, 1996, pp. 212-215.

<sup>427</sup> Leuchter, op. cit. (note 13), 17.001.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.003 and 17.002.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.004.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid., 12.005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> One atmosphere corresponds to a pressure of 10,333 kg/m², 2.5 atmospheres to 25,825 kg/m². Therefore, the pressure exerted on each of the two doors of Chamber III (their surface area was 1.90m²) would have been approximately 49,000 kg, which would simply have blasted them off their hinges!

is incomplete" and "the vent has never been opened in the roof". 431 The first argument is unclear, and the second is unfounded since the current roof was built after the end of the war.

Superficiality and ignorance of the historical starting point also mark the following comments about the block consisting of Chambers I, II and III, surrounded by a rainwater drainage ditch:<sup>433</sup>

"A special characteristic of this complex is a depressed concrete walkway surrounding the chambers outside, on three sides. This is completely at odds with an intelligent handling of gas, since gas seepage would collect in this depressed ditch and, being protected against the wind, would not disperse. This would have made the entire area a death trap, especially given the use of HCN."

In actual fact this drainage ditch was built in response to a 1965 technical expert report by the engineer and architect T. Makarski in order to protect the delousing facility's foundations from dampness. 434 Of course one cannot expect Leuchter to have known this, but his argument is untenable in chemical and technical respects as well: since HCN disperses readily, it is hard to see how such a ditch could have posed a danger.

Unlike Leuchter, Germar Rudolf never personally visited the alleged extermination facilities of Majdanek, and his critical analysis is are partly based on photographs which we took in July 1992 and later put at his disposal. Rudolf published five of them in his article. In his "Critique of the Accounts" he also gave a schematic summary of some of the observations we made about our first visit to the camp, and in doing so added the occasional error. He gave particular attention to the retrospective addition of two openings in the ceiling of Chamber IV, which we had stressed, to the blue pigmentation of the window frame in the same room, and to the label " $CO_2$ " on the steel bottles in Cell 14.

G. Rudolf supplements these arguments with others which, however, pertain not to impossibilities but mere improbabilities, and some of these are historically inapplicable. For example, he writes:

"J. Marszalek recounts the Lublin Town Council's unsuccessful attempt to prevent the Majdanek Camp Administration from connecting the concentration camp to the town gas mains of Lublin. Thus, the camp had access to the highly toxic and CO-rich town gas, at a price of only a few pfennig [cents] per cubic meter. Under these conditions, mass gassings with costly bottled CO are not believable."

But Rudolf evidently mis-read. Marszałek did not speak of the camp being connected to the municipal gas mains, but to the municipal sewer system. 437

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.006; retranslation from the German edition.

<sup>434</sup> T. Makarski, Orzeczenie techniczne sposobu zabezspieczenia i konserwacji (Technical report on the manner of protection and conservation), June 1965, p. 4. APMM, Pracownie Konserwacji i Zabytków, No. zlec. 8735/W-1.

<sup>435</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 15), Photographs 13 on p. 276 and 14 through 17 on p. 278.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 277f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> J. Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 209), p. 35.

### Rudolf's subsequent argument is also based on a misunderstanding:

"The installation of hot-air blowers which allegedly blew hot air of 250°F into the chambers indicates that Rooms A and B were hot-air delousing chambers. No-body would outfit an execution gas chamber with CO ducts for murder with carbon monoxide and hot-air blowers for murder with hot air and Zyklon B input holes for murder with hydrocyanic acid, to inflict upon his victims three kinds of death at once."

As we have shown in Section 2, Chambers A and B (=IV and V) were not designed as hot-air delousing chambers, but as Zyklon B gas chambers. Noone has ever claimed that the two air heaters connected to these locales were used to murder people with hot air; rather, they clearly served to accelerate the evaporation of the hydrogen cyanide in Zyklon B delousings. Where Chamber III is concerned, speaking from a purely theoretical perspective there is no reason why a HCN gassing facility could not be replaced with a facility for CO (or vice versa); besides, this locale has no input hatch.

Rudolf's following hypothesis is possible, though rather unlikely:

"There were in fact some delousing methods where the gas was introduced via pressure cylinders (eg.  $SO_2$ ). What is more, in a delousing chamber a window would not have been a problem."

In this case, the most effective kind of bottled gas would have been T-gas, a mix of approximately 10 parts ethylene oxide and 1 part carbonic acid, bottled and delivered in steel cylinders. The steel cylinders could be filled by first using one bottle ethylene oxide and then two bottles  $CO_2$ , as per the model illustrated by Lenz and Gassner. Since there was, after all, at least one bottle  $CO_2$  in the camp, this would also be a compelling explanation for the pipes installed in Chambers I and III—if there were not compelling chronological reasons why this cannot be the case.

# Rudolf's most important argument is of a chemical nature:

"Finally, one must ask what might be the explanation for the high levels of cyanide present in the walls of Rooms A and B (Ill. 12), which are also readily apparent visually from the blue staining we have already encountered in the delousing chambers of Birkenau. There are two possible explanations:

- a) The residue is the result of the few execution gassings with Zyklon B which are postulated for these chambers today. If this is the case, then the only explanation for the absence of any such residue in Auschwitz would be that no gassings took place there. All eyewitness testimony telling of homicidal gassings in these rooms in Auschwitz would therefore be false. This begs the question why the identical eyewitness testimony regarding Majdanek should then be true.
- b) The residue is the result of disinfestations with Zyklon B. Therefore these rooms are not execution gas chambers for human beings, but rather delousing chambers. In other words, the witnesses for Majdanek did not tell the truth. This in

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<sup>438</sup> Otto Lenz, Ludwig Gassner, Schädlingsbekämpfung mit hochgiftigen Stoffen, issue 2: Aethylenoxyd (T-Gas). Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung Richard Schoezt, 1934, pp. 17-19.

turn begs the reciprocal question, why the witnesses should then have told the truth for Auschwitz."

# Rudolf concludes: 439

"If the execution gas chambers of Majdanek existed, then those of Auschwitz cannot have existed, for the iron berlinate which one finds in Majdanek is absent in Auschwitz. But if there were no homicidal gas chambers in Auschwitz, in other words if all the eyewitness testimony affirming them is false, then who or what is there to prove the homicidal gas chambers of Majdanek existed at all?

And vice versa: if the execution gas chambers of Auschwitz existed, then those of Majdanek cannot have existed, for the iron berlinate which one finds in Majdanek could then only be explained by delousing chambers. But if there were no homicidal gas chambers in Auschwitz, in other words if all the eyewitness testimony affirming them is false, then what is there to prove the homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz existed at all?"

But this seemingly flawless observation by Rudolf is shortchanged by the fact that a third possibility was ignored:

Since the two rooms were demonstrably designed and built as Zyklon B delousing chambers, there is no reason, *from a strictly chemical perspective*, why the Prussian Blue could not have been caused by delousing gassings *and* by homicidal gassings If one were to proceed from this hypothesis, then *from the point of view of chemistry* homicidal gassings in Majdanek would by no means rule out the same in Auschwitz.

Of course one must not overlook the fact that media accounts in particular, and unfortunately court verdicts as well, often pretend that the descriptions and design plans of these facilities as delousing installations only served as camouflage. The historical manipulation hiding behind this strategy is aimed at preventing its consumers from coming up with the sort of critical thinking that might arise if it were generally known that Zyklon B delousing facilities were used intensively almost everywhere in the German concentration camps for the sake of protecting the inmates. In this respect, Rudolf's provocative thesis, which stands in crass contrast to the one-sided accounts of the media and all too often also of the legal system 440 and of science and academia, at the very least provides food for thought and discussion. 441

The fragile nature of Revisionist arguments to date is largely due to the fact that so far the Revisionists have neglected the study of the concentration camp Majdanek just as reprehensibly as the orthodox western historians have done. Under these circumstances, the way in which the Revisionists have dealt with such a fundamental aspect of concentration camp history must perforce be superficial, and scientifically unsatisfying.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> G. Rudolf, E. Gauss, op. cit. (note 15), p. 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> For example, G. Rudolf, *ibid.*, p. 125, footnote 125, rightly points out that the accused who testified that the alleged "gas chambers" were only delousing chambers incurred the wrath of the Court. Cf. Chapter X.2, this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup> And that was probably also its purpose; pers. comm. G. Rudolf.

# Chapter VII: Homicidal Gassings: Genesis and Reasons for the Charge

# 1. Origins of the Homicidal Gassing Story

Having determined that the alleged extermination facilities in Majdanek were not technically suitable for mass destruction of human beings with poison gas, and consequently that such a mass destruction never took place, the question remaining to be answered is: how did this story come about?

To answer this, we must examine the relevant wartime sources.

In his book *Il campo della sterminio* (The Extermination Camp), which we have already quoted repeatedly, Constantino Simonov wrote:<sup>442</sup>

"There is no doubt that rumors about the existence of the camp as such, as death camp, inevitably circulated among the inhabitants of the surrounding areas, but this did not worry the Germans. They felt quite at home in Poland. To them, the 'General Government Poland' was a region conquered for all time. Those who had remained alive within its boundaries were supposed to regard the Germans with fear, first and foremost, and for this reason the gruesome reports about the Lublin camp that made the rounds throughout Poland were almost welcomed by the Germans. On those days when mass exterminations took place, the stench of corpses spread throughout the environs of the camp; it forced the camp's inhabitants to plug their noses with handkerchiefs, and plunged the area's population into fear and terror. This was supposed to imbue all of Poland with a sense of the power of the German rulers, and of the horrors awaiting anyone who dared offer up resistance. The pillar of smoke rising for weeks, even months from the tall smokestack of the main Crematorium could be seen from afar, but the Germans did not care about this either. Just like the stench from the bodies, this horrible smoke was also used to spread terror. Many thousands of people, seeing all this, marched along the road to Chelm, and once they had passed through the gate to the Lublin camp they never returned; this too must have been an effective demonstration of the German power, which could indulge in anything it wanted without having to account to anyone."

No doubt this lurid propaganda image<sup>443</sup> would necessarily have been accurate if Majdanek had really been an 'extermination camp', especially if homicidal gassings had taken place there.

<sup>443</sup> Elsewhere Simonov contradicts what he writes here, and claims instead:

<sup>442</sup> C. Simonov, op. cit. (note 310), pp. 12f.

<sup>&</sup>quot;At night, the tractors roared in the camp; they were being run on purpose to drown out the rattle of the submachine guns and the screams of the people who were shot." (p. 16.)

As we have already pointed out, the entire grounds of the camp were completely open, and the camp itself was surrounded by the towns Dzesiąta, Abramowice, Kosminek and Kalinowka as well as the Lublin-Chełm-Zamość-Lwów road. Any mass murders actually taking place in Majdanek could not have been kept secret, particularly—but not only—because of the steady flow of information leaving the camp on a daily basis and by various means:

- Reports by released inmates (approximately 20,000 of them!).<sup>444</sup> Most of these were Poles who had been arrested and sent to the camp in the course of police raids, on suspicion of being members of the Resistance. Many of these prisoners were released again after a short time.
- Letters and secret messages smuggled out of the camp by the inmates (cf. Chapter III).
- Reports by the free civilian laborers employed in the camp. We have already seen in Chapter I how numerous these were in Majdanek.
- Reports by the food suppliers who came to the camp every day with their wares.

All the information obtained via these channels was collected by the local cells of the secret Polish Resistance Movement and passed on to the "Delegatura". A few words about this:

In September 1939, Poland was overrun by German armed forces in the west and by Soviets in the east, and vanished as an independent national entity. The government went into exile in London.

An underground shadow government, subordinate to the government-in-exile in London, was set up: the Delegatura Rządu (stand-in government). The Delegatura supplied its London contacts with an unbroken flow of news about the situation in Poland. Naturally it worked closely with other illegal organizations, especially with the Armija Krajowa (AK, national army), *i.e.*, with the armed Resistance. Even though tens of thousands of members and helpers of the Resistance were arrested, the Germans never succeeded in completely halting its activities.

It goes without saying that the Delegatura took especial interest in the occupation power's concentration camps from the start, and strove to find out what was going on in them.

The news collected in these ways were summarized by the Delegatura in official reports and published in various press organs, including that of the

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<sup>444</sup> It must be pointed out that the number of 20,000 released inmates is quite impossible to reconcile with the image of the "extermination camp". Each of these released inmates would have observed mass murders or at least heard about them from fellow prisoners. The news of the massacres would have spread like wildfire throughout Poland, and from there through all of Europe! The very same historians that expect us to believe this also tell us that the National Socialists used code words in their documents to cover up their atrocities. What on earth would have been the point of these amateurish attempts at camouflage in light of the fact that the Germans continually released eyewitnesses to the alleged genocide?

government-in-exile, the *Polish Fortnightly Review* published by the Polish Ministry of Information. This aimed at influencing the Allies' policy in favor of Poland. Naturally, the leitmotif of these reports was the Germans'—factual as well as fictitious—acts of cruelty against the Poles and the Polish Jews in the entire occupied territory and primarily in the concentration camps, about which the Delegatura was very well informed.

The reports issued by the Delegatura have been examined by Krystyna Marczewska and Władysław Waźniewski, who published a lengthy article about the information these reports contained about the Majdanek camp. These reports cover the time from November 30, 1941, to July 7, 1944, but the bulk of them date from 1943. In the introduction to this article, Józef Marszałek comments on the origin of this information:<sup>445</sup>

"The system by which the Polish Resistance Movement gathered information about the Majdanek camp has not yet been adequately studied. The major problem is the lack of accessible sources, namely so-called primary documentation. Most of what we have are reports that were drawn up in the offices of the Delegatura, which based them on various accounts which were then destroyed for conspiratorial reasons [i.e., so as not to endanger the informants]. The published documents mention only indirectly that the regional branch at Lublin included a special cell ('Lublin circle') which dealt with matters relating to the Majdanek camp, among other things. A similar cell existed as part of the AK's Lublin District commando; it was known as Centralna Opieka Podziemna (Central Underground Supply) or 'OPUS'. Special couriers were also sent from Warsaw to scout out the Majdanek camp. Some documents contain a note stating that they were based on the accounts of prisoners released from Majdanek. The memories and recollections of the participants in this endeavor are one concrete option for filling in the gaps in the sources relating to this topic."

Jolanta Gajowniczek has also dealt with the question of what the London-based Polish government-in-exile knew about Majdanek. She has examined the reports about the Lublin camp that were published in two Polish exile newspapers in Great Britain. 446

Contradicting even the most obvious facts, the author Gajowniczek opens her article with the claim that the existence of the concentration camps was "most painstakingly kept from the sight of unauthorized witnesses". <sup>447</sup> She then describes how news from Poland was conveyed to the government-in-exile in London. Besides the couriers, who could take a message from Warsaw to Paris in only ten days, illegal radio transmitters played an increasingly important role. As of early March 1940, the Resistance regularly broadcast news

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>445</sup> Krystyna Marczewska, Władysław Waźniewski, "*Obóz koncentracyjny na Majdanku w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj,*" in: *ZM*, VII, 1973, pp. 164-241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> Jolanta Gajowniczek, "Obóz koncentracyjny na Majdanku w świetle 'Dzennika Polskiego' i 'Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza' z latach 1940-1944," in: ZM, VII, 1973, pp. 242-261.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

abroad, and as of December of that same year such news were transmitted directly to England. In other words: anything they knew in Poland, London also knew just a few days later.

The first issue of the newspaper published by the government-in-exile, Dziennik Polski (Polish Daily), appeared in the British capital on July 12, 1940. Parallel to this, another Polish exile paper appeared in Scotland as of June or July that same year: the Dziennik Żołnierza (Soldiers' Daily). On January 1, 1944, the two papers merged to become the Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza.

In her study, J. Gajowniczek includes partial or full reprints of the reports about Majdanek which were published in the Dziennik Polski (1941-1943) and the Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żolnierza (1944). In 1941 and 1942, all of three brief reports about the camp had appeared. In 1943 there were 16 reports, including a few longer ones; and in 1944 there were a further eight.

Let us take a closer look (in chronological order) at the sources mentioned. The first reference to a gas chamber appears in the following laconic report from the Delegatura. It is dated December 15, 1942:<sup>448</sup>

"Lublin. Work on the camp at Majdanek proceeds at full steam. At present it can hold several tens of thousands of people. Aside from Poles, there are also Jews there (scattered from Lublin), Germans, as well as English and French. [449] A gas chamber and a crematorium are in service."

What is remarkable about this first reference to a homicidal gas chamber (and that it is supposed to be a homicidal one follows from the fact that it is mentioned together with the crematorium) is the unusual brevity of the report: if such an instrument for murder had really been brought into play, it would have been fodder for gruesome and deeply shocking news bulletins; consequently, the Polish informants would have been highly motivated to focus on and emphasize such a tragedy, and to give the appropriate attention to a description thereof. Yet the information is given in a downright businesslike tone, as though it were an insignificant detail.

In the months that followed, no mention at all was made of the gas chamber(s). But the situation in which the Jews found themselves was touched on time and again. For example, a report of December 20, 1942, states: 450

"The camp extends for several kilometers and could hold approximately 80,000 people at present, but is only filled to a small part of its capacity. It cannot be meant for Jews, as the destruction of the Jewish element is almost complete and is being carried out in the camps in Treblinka, Belżec, Kole<sup>[451]</sup> and Sobibór. For this reason it is assumed in Poland, and especially in Lublin, that the consolida-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>448</sup> Since the Polish language does not have an article, the last sentence can also be translated as "the gas chamber and the crematorium are in service".

As the authors comment in a footnote, the presence of English and French inmates in Majdanek at that time is not proven (p. 168).

450 Krystyna Marczewska, Władysław Waźniewski, *op. cit.* (note 445), p. 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> This refers to Chełmno, also called Kulmhof.

tion of the Majdanek camp has something to do with comprehensive anti-Polish plans of the German authorities."

Here, in other words, the possibility of Majdanek being planned as extermination camp is expressly ruled out. As an aside, note that Auschwitz is missing from the list of the alleged extant extermination sites for Jews, even though according to official historiography the mass murders in that camp had already been going on for more than half a year at that time!

On December 31 the arrival of several thousand French Jews in Majdanek is reported. Furthermore, old and infirm Jews were allegedly admitted to the camp. The same report states that according to unconfirmed accounts 5,000 Poles were shot in Majdanek between November 8 and 20.

The authors of these reports repeatedly commented in a decidedly critical tone on the behavior of the Jews in the Lublin camp. On February 6, 1943, for example, a report states with reference to the Czech-Jewish functionary inmates that they were particularly cruel to the prisoners; <sup>452</sup> on February 25, 1943, it is reported that the criminal German inmates and the Jews beat and tortured their fellow inmates on the flimsiest of pretexts, <sup>453</sup> and a report from March 31, 1943, refers to the "camp terror", a "Jewish boy" and "the Commandant's darling" who enjoyed unlimited rights to beat people and who made full use of this privilege. <sup>454</sup> (This was a young Jewish sadist named Bubis, whom many witnesses also mentioned.)

On April 1, 1943, the arrival of a large number of Jews from western Europe is noted. Also, many western Jews arrived from Treblinka and Bełżec. Since official historiography states that Bełżec was already shut down in December 1942, this latter claim is rather odd.

On May 5, 1943, the informant reported that sick people were being murdered *en masse* in Majdanek, via lethal injections given in the crematorium, whereupon their bodies were immediately burned. Between December 20, 1942, and May 5, 1943, the Delegatura disseminated a total of 25 reports about Majdanek. Not one of them mentioned gassings.

Despite its considerable length, one of these reports—titled "Location and Organization of the Camp, Inmates and Living Conditions, Camp Life, Jews and Poles in the Camp, Inmate Transports"—is reproduced in the following almost in its entirety; we only omit the final section, which adds no further information relevant to Majdanek. The report is undated, but according to its publishers it is from late January or early February 1943:<sup>456</sup>

"The Concentration Camp in Lublin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221-226.

Location. The concentration camp in Lublin is located in the suburb of Majdanek, three to four kilometers distant from the old part of the city. It is located along the road leading to Chelm and covers an extensive territory which is occupied by the army and borders immediately on the road. A side road crosses the camp and leads to the village Piaski, which civilians can only reach with a permit. Numerous housing and other barracks (probably storehouse magazines) have been set up to either side of this road, some of them standing alone, others in groups and surrounded by barbed wire barriers. The ground has been levelled over the entire area, and further barracks are being built. The camp is on the left side of the aforementioned village road, close to it and approximately 1.5 km from the road to Chelm, on a tract of land occupied by the army.

Appearance of the Camp: The camp is divided into three separate but adjoining compounds surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence 3 m high. Inside the fence a barbed wire net has been strung up, and the wire is under high voltage—at least that is what the warning signs say. Along the camp fence, especially where it curves, there are numerous wooden towers with crows' nests for guards and machine guns. On the inside, parallel to the fence, each Compound is surrounded by a single wire marking the proximity to the nearby fence. The first two Compounds are built up with two rows of barracks, with 11 barracks per row; the space between the rows is approximately 70 m wide and is used for gatherings. [457] Compound 3 has only one row of barracks. The crematorium is located at the edge of Compound 1. [458] On each Compound, two (sideline) barracks are used as stations, one for administrative purposes, and one as kitchen; the prisoners are housed in the rest.

Inmates. From the time of the camp's establishment—which was soon after the Germans captured Lublin—the camp served to detain Jews from the vicinity, but also some that were brought in from Warsaw and other places. Later, Poles were also imprisoned there—for a limited time, for example for failing to meet their supply obligations, etc. At that time the camp was run as a penal and labor camp, and the inmates were put to all kinds of work. After the war with the Soviets broke out, Soviet prisoners of war arrived. Some time ago there were only Jews in the camp—about 2,000 of them. In early January [1943] the first transport of Poles arrived in the camp; there were about 3,000, and they had come from the provincial prisons. After January 18, further transports from Warsaw and other cities began to arrive. By the end of January there were approximately 3,000 Jews, 2,000 Jewesses and roughly 5,000 Poles—about 3,000 of them women—in the camp. At full capacity, the camp can hold up to 30,000 people.

Living Conditions. The barracks are series-produced. They were initially intended as horse stables, and their conversion to accommodations for human beings remains incomplete. In only a few of them, three-story wood-slat constructions have been set up as makeshift plank beds. In most of the barracks the inmates sleep on straw pallets spread out on the wooden floor. The barracks are not very wind-proof; for heating, 4 small iron stoves are installed, but the fuel rations are so small that they suffice for heating three hours a day at most. For that reason,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> *I.e.* the roll calls.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> Reference to the old crematorium, which was located on Intermediate Compound I.

the temperature inside the barracks is somewhat lower than that outside. The straw pallets are padded quite insufficiently, and long-term inmates are given a blanket. So far the Poles have not received blankets; in several barracks ten to twenty spare blankets were available, but they were so louse-infested that no-one wanted them. On the other hand, the barracks are fairly well lit; the electric lights are turned out at night.

The barracks are old; before the Poles arrived they were not disinfected, consequently they are incredibly dirty and crawling with lice. The unsanitary conditions are aggravated by the open boxes at the end of the barracks into which the inmates relieve themselves at night when no-one is allowed to step outside. The unsanitary conditions are worsened further by the complete lack of water. The few wells on the camp grounds are closed, as they are said to have been contaminated by the typhus epidemic that raged in the camp recently. As a result, there is no water for washing or even for drinking; the one well by the kitchen provides at most one or two buckets of water for more than 400 people, and the dishes must be washed in that first. Due to this lack of water, the inmates—especially the new arrivals who have not yet received anything to eat on their first day in the camp quench their thirst with snow, which they sometimes melt for that purpose. There can be no talk of washing; some people rub themselves down with snow, while the women use tea to wash themselves. At mealtimes, tin bowls are handed out, one per four or so inmates, because water is not the only thing in short supply—time is too (meals are distributed in a great hurry). Therefore the inmates perforce eat one after another, without washing the bowls in-between or even wiping them out with paper (for there is none of that either). All meals are eaten in the barracks; the soup is brought in air-tight pots so that they do not get cold. The inmates receive neither knives (there is only one knife per barrack) nor spoons, so that they must make do with their fingers, with pieces of wood, etc. All this creates ideal conditions for the spread of all sorts of diseases, particularly when one considers that the camp has no infirmary at all and that the sick inmates share the barracks with the healthy. It must also be noted that between 400 and 500 people live in one barrack.

Camp life. Reveille is at 4:30 a.m., but the inmates may not leave the barracks for fully one hour (until the lights are on in the camp). Roll-call is twice daily, at 6:30 a.m. and 2:30 p.m.; the red lights go on at 7:00 p.m., and from that point on it is forbidden to leave the barracks. Bed times are not precisely fixed; they are determined by the rules in each barrack, which is set by the Barracks Elder. Previously, rations were quite meager but recently they have improved and are of better quality than they were, for example in the POW camps in 1940. At about 6:00 a.m. the inmates receive half a liter of barley soup (peppermint-flavored herb tea two days a week). For lunch at 1:00 p.m. half a liter of fairly nutritious soup is given out which has even been thickened with fat or flour. The evening meal is at 5:00 p.m. and consists of 200 g bread with a spread (jam, cheese or margarine, 300 g sausage twice weekly) and half a liter barley soup or soup made from the flour of unpeeled potatoes. Potatoes are passed out individually, a few per person. There is practically no food trade in the camp, but it is possible to buy a little flour or groats for approximately 400 zloty per kg; some will sell bread for 30 to 50 zloty per 100 g. In principle, smoking is banned in the camp, especially in the barracks

and during work, but nonetheless the Germans themselves will sell cigarettes. At first the price per cigarette was 10 zloty; later, 3 zloty for one Machorkowy. [459] Bulgarian cigarettes were also offered for sale (at 5 zloty each).

Camp organization is managed by the SS Death's Head Units, which incidentally are not very strong, numerically speaking; they fill the leadership positions and do duty on the guard towers. A division of Ukrainians and former Soviet prisoners-of-war who chose the German side serve as their auxiliary troops. The latter (the former Soviet POWs) are detailed to guard duty outside the fence, and to escort duty for arriving transports—at least for Polish ones—but they do not enter the camp themselves. From the way they handle their weapons and particularly from their behavior one may conclude that they do not have live ammunition. They do their duty indifferently, their behavior towards the Poles is not marked by animosity but they are ruthless towards the Jews. The SS-men in the camp only do roll-calls, spot-checks etc.

The real thugs are the so-called Kapos, of which there are four in Maidanek. [460] They are Germans, themselves prisoners, who have been convicted for Communist activities or criminal misdemeanors. They are set apart from their fellow prisoners by their colorful clothing: long boots, red cloth pants (Communists) or green pants (criminals), blue jackets with the letters 'KL' painted in red on the back, a ribbon on one shoulder bearing the word 'Kapo' (black on white), a number on their chest and beneath it a triangle of the same color as their pants; they always carry leather truncheons, impose punishments and keep order in the camps, supervise the work, etc.; they must greet the German soldiers by taking off their caps. The Kapos are assisted by a house-elder, nominated for each barrack, who is dressed like all the other inmates but wears a ribbon on the left (text: St.Al. on a yellow background). Their job is to keep order in the barracks and to supervise the people. They live in the barracks, where they and their helpers have special plank beds, and they are authorized to impose on-the-spot punishments, for which they also use the truncheons or thick sticks.

There is another intermediary rank between the Kapos and the house-elders whose role is not precisely defined. In Majdanek this function is served by a 15year-old Jewish boy who is dressed like a Kapo but whose ribbon reads 'V' [= Vorarbeiter, foreman]. He seems to be the protege of the camp Commandant, who has created this function just for him. Recently one of the Poles received a similar ribbon. The last group that is different than the rest is the functionary inmates, who are employed in the kitchens, the office etc. They have separate quarters, enjoy better food and housing, and join the house-elders for roll call.

Among the outsiders in Majdanek are the food merchants, who are admitted after showing their passes. They come every day with their carts. They have the opportunity to bring the prisoners the current news, cigarettes and even food.

The Jews in Majdanek are treated brutally and inhumanely. They wear inmates' clothing with white and blue belts as well as caps, and beneath the number on their chest (to date the numbers go up to 16,000) they wear a star. The clothing, made of hemp, offers little protection from the cold, and they have almost no warm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup> Probably a brand of cigarettes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>460</sup> Author's mistake; there were considerably more.

underwear. All of them wear shoes with wooden soles. The Jews are used for all kinds of work, and the block wardens and Kapos urge them on with blows and kicks. They must take off their cap to every German, even a Kapo. Their demeanor is strangely passive; they do their work stoically and even bear the blows meekly; they do not try to avoid these, but lie down on the ground and play dead, which usually results in them being badly beaten. The sick who are still able to work are made to do so just like the healthy; in any case, every one must line up for roll call or be carried out for this purpose, even the dead. Mortality among the Jews is enormously high and was especially so during the typhus epidemic that recently raged. On average, 10 to 12 die per day. At present all Jews are quartered in Compounds I and II. Since the Poles who were arrested during the raids in Warsaw have arrived, only Jews serve as working inmates.

The Poles. The first transports of Poles arrived in early January. Prisoners were brought in from a number of provincial prisons (Kielce, Radom, Piotrkow), 800 people altogether, and were quartered in Compound II. They were registered but received no inmate clothing (they sewed their numbers onto their clothing and caps) and were not relieved of their possessions. They were put into barracks; the Block Leader of one is a Jew and that of another is a Pole who recently received his own ribbon with the letters 'SV' [=Sicherheitsverwahrung, Security]. Lately they have been put to work on various tasks in the camp. But they are not treated as cruelly as the Jews; they are not tortured. Just recently, approximately 150 skilled laborers and strong-looking persons were selected from among them and transferred to Compound II, where they were given inmate clothing, allowed to bathe and—apparently—told that they were to become skilled laborers for the camp and receive better rations, but if someone (who?) were to suggest to them that they should travel to Germany to work there, they should refuse, because they were needed in the camp.

Further transports of Poles began to arrive as of January 18. On the 18th and 19th, two transports arrived from Warsaw, with more following; some involved only 10 to 20 people, mostly such as had been arrested during police raids, as well as inmates from provincial prisons. They filled a total of 6 barracks. So far none of them have been registered; they are treated decently and not forced to work. Aside from the roll calls, their only activity involves the gatherings at which the names of the prisoners to be released are read out. Recently even the roll calls, which had used to take an hour, have been cut short and now take even less than half an hour when it is dark. It seems that initially the Germans had intended to register all these transports (an internal list was drawn up, with a detailed sub-listing of all the skilled manual laborers), but gradually they lost all interest in this. The transports to arrive from Warsaw are made up of very different people: they are former inmates of Pawiak. [461] inmates who had been held in the detention cells of the criminal police in Koszykowa Street (when they were brought to the camp they were assured that they would be treated like those who had been arrested during the raids), people who were picked off the streets, some who were taken out of their houses, and even tramps and beggars from the night shelters. In principle, the former Pawiak inmates have separate barracks (No. 14, initially also Nos. 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>461</sup> A large prison in Warsaw.

and 11), but in practice there is no strict segregation and they can also be found in other barracks. Morale among the inmates is good; there is a general, optimistic assumption that they will be released soon, or sent out to work. It is typical that there is no antagonism to be found between the criminals and the political prisoners, just as there is none between the intelligentsia and the common folk. Instead, there are many signs of solidarity.

**The women** stay on Compound III and live under the same conditions as the men. There are many prostitutes and criminals among them.

Miscellanea. Two Polish barracks (including one for registered inmates) also house some Jews. At first their relationship with the Poles was completely normal, but they are becoming ever more aggressive and beat the Poles (most often during roll call: in Barrack 5, the Jew Feder beat one Polish inmate, knocked out three of his teeth and then beat him bloody with a spade handle[...<sup>462</sup>]. Recently the Germans began setting up an infirmary in a barrack equipped with plank beds.

Releases are done by calling out the names; the inmates in question are led aside and their identity is verified; everyone on the list is double-checked to see if he was really arrested during a raid. The released receive no documents or travel funds, but they are warned not to drop out on the way, especially in Deblin. At first only people who worked in German institutions were released, but lately releases have been granted generously, so that employees from the municipal administration, the RGO [?] and even private companies have benefitted.

Conclusions. The lack of interest on the part of the German authorities shows that the situation in the camp Majdanek is temporary. According to rumors originating with the camp commandant, Majdanek is a 'distribution camp': the approximately 70% who were arrested during raids are to be set free, the others—many of them long-term inmates—shall be sent to Germany or the East to work, and anyone who is still left will be transferred to other camps. According to other rumors circulating in the camp, Majdanek is to be expanded further, until it can hold 50,000 people, and will become another Auschwitz. This second version does not seem likely, as no preparations for such an expansion are evident. Rather, the overall picture indicates that originally the Gestapo had actually planned to set up a new Auschwitz, but that a different solution was eventually chosen, which resulted in a certain confusion, even ambivalence, in the organization of the camp."

We would like to correct a few errors in the text: in January 1943 there were already 5 Compounds, not 3; the given number of barracks corresponded to the state of affairs in summer 1942 and by January 1943 had grown to 24 barracks per Compound, in double rows; in January 1943 the women were quartered on Compound 5.

However, such minor points do not change the fact that this article discusses in great detail all the important issues regarding the conditions in the camp, and it is obvious that the text originated with an exceedingly well-informed source.

It is overwhelmingly significant that this long and knowledgeable account of the conditions and events in Majdanek contains not even the slightest sug-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>462</sup> In the original text, a linguistically incomprehensible half-sentence follows here.

gestion of homicidal gassings. Yet according to official historiography these had already been going on for at least half a year at that time. For reasons already set out, it was impossible to gas people en masse in Majdanek without the outside world learning of it in short order; such murders could not have been kept secret for even two weeks, much less for half a year or more.

The only possible conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that between August 1942 and January 1943 no homicidal gassings took place in Majdanek. And with that, the entire tale of the gas chambers already collapses, for the 'evidence' which is offered for gassings between February and October 1943 is no better than that for gassings between August 1942 and January 1943.

The gas chamber rumors must have been started towards the end of 1942 at the latest; the brief and completely isolated reference to "the gas chamber" in the report of December 15 of that year proves it. The Resistance Movement's propaganda machinery seems to have dropped this again for the time being, probably due to the story's obvious lack of credibility.

Sources quite above suspicion confirm that the Delegatura did not report about gassings in Majdanek until it was already impossibly late. In 1967 Ireneusz Caban and Zygmunt Mankowski wrote: 463

"Documents from the Delegatura show that this organization knew in early 1943 that the camp Majdanek served not only for depriving people of their freedom but also for extermination. As we have noted above, these Delegatura documents remarked on the phenomenon of mass executions as well as on the activity of the crematorium, which was greater than would have been necessary to cremate the bodies of people who died of natural causes—whether they be malnutrition or poor sanitary conditions. But the efforts of the news service went farther than that. It was important to find out how the liquidations were being done, and to ascertain the numbers and personal data of the victims. In May 1943, the documents record the dissolution of the infirmary and, in this context, the cremation of approximately 80 sick inmates per day. In June it was determined that gas chambers were being used to poison Jews and Poles."

The date "in June" is imprecise, since the gas chamber stories already began circulating on May 7, 1943. As of that date, the Delegatura reports make frequent mention of gassings in Majdanek. One report for that date states that inmates were constantly being poisoned in gas chambers on the camp grounds. 464 And a long, undated report which summarizes the events of March-May 1943 (and can therefore not have been written before early June 1943) expressly calls the Jews the main victims of gassing; we quote: 465

"Suddenly, in late April, groups of 2,000 to 3,000 Jews began to be brought in: women, children and groups. They were Jews from Warsaw. They were housed on the barbed-wire-enclosed Intermediate Compound between Compounds NN 4 and

465 *Ibid.*, pp. 192f.

<sup>463</sup> Ireneusz Caban, Zygmunt Mankowski, "Informacje o Obozie na Majdanku w aktach Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj," in: ZM, II, 1967, p. 113.

464 Krystyna Marczewska, Władysław Waźniewski, op. cit. (note 445), p. 184.

5, where piles of coal etc. lay. They were usually left sitting there for 10 to 20 hours after their arrival, for example a whole day or a whole night, with no regard to weather, rain etc. Then they were divided into groups and led to the bath. Not all transports returned from this 'bath'. Some of the men really were bathed, freshly dressed (of course everything they had brought with them was taken away from them) and quartered in their own barracks on separate Compounds. The rest vanished as the transport was taken to the bath. If a transport was led to the bath at night, it either did not return at all or came back sharply reduced in number; if it was taken there during the day, it returned in most cases. The barrack into which the people had been led was locked, and some time later naked corpses were thrown out.

The windows of the Polish barracks, from which one could see this barrack, were painted on purpose so that one could not see anything. The corpses were loaded onto trucks, covered with rags, taken to fields three or four km from the camp, and burned. The pyres burned nonstop for days; they could easily be observed from the camp grounds, since they were located lower than the camp.

Screams and whimpers came from the barracks into which the Jews had been led, but these sounds were drowned out by the noise of a tractor engine that ran the entire time. Whenever this engine was heard running in the camp, the inmates knew that Jews were being poisoned. Those who observed the goings-on despite the painted windows described Dantesque scenes. People fell to their knees, kissed the Germans' feet and boots and begged for their lives. They were herded into the barracks forcibly, with kicks and blows. Our informant was told—and she has passed this on with reservation—that some sort of tin cans were on the barrack roof while this was happening. No-one knows whether these were used to release gas, or perhaps to seal the barrack. Depending on the concentration of gas used, death occurred after one-and-a-half to seven minutes."

The "tin cans" on the roof may be a first reference to the cans of Zyklon, from which—according to official historiography—lethal granules were poured into the gas chamber. On October 31, 1943, the Delegatura reported that shipments "of some kind of new gas" had arrived in the camp. <sup>466</sup> The authors comment that this referred to Zyklon B, 999 kg of which had been shipped to Majdanek only shortly before.

Except that Zyklon B, which was allegedly used in Majdanek since July 1942, was no longer a "new kind of gas".

On the whole, the reports written after May 7, 1943, which mention gassings do not contain any indication of Zyklon B, and the exact sequence of events constituting the murders is never described.

In this context, a letter smuggled out of the camp on December 14, 1943, by Majdanek inmate Jerzy Henryk Szczęśniewski is significant. The letter states: 467

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<sup>466</sup> Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> Zbigniew Jerzy Hirsz, "Korespondencja z Majdanka Henryka Jerzego Szczęśniewskiego VIII 1943—IV 1944," in: ZM, II, 1967, p. 216.

"L[ublin] M[ajdanek] December 14, 1943, 3:00 p.m.

Dear Babunia! All my loved ones! Unexpected changes. The lights have been turned off, we must already go to bed at 5:00 p.m., sleep until 5:30 a.m., and even dress in the dark before going to work. We do not get light until 7:30 a.m. Here inside there are no changes, but outside the compounds they're reinforcing the camp—bunkers. During the night, Jewesses were gassed—about 100 -; they were among those who had to work in the old clothes on Compound V."

Note that these gassings of Jewesses allegedly took place at a time when, according to the verdict of the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial, the murders in gas chambers had already ceased for one and a half months! Significantly enough, the Polish literature does not mention when the last gassings allegedly took place.

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Now to the aforementioned two Polish exile newspapers. On May 28, 1943, 469 the *Dziennik Polski* reported: 470

"In the Majdanek camp, which is currently being expanded so that it can hold 80,000 inmates, a large number of prisoners are victims of the mass arrests and street raids which the Germans carried out in the first few months of this year. Recently the Germans officially acknowledged these prisoners as 'prisoners of war who have been imprisoned by the Waffen-SS occupation troops'. This is further evidence that the mass raids and arrests in the large Polish cities, namely Warsaw, Lwów and Cracow, are a preventive measure aimed at arresting and imprisoning in the camps those Poles whom the Germans consider to be the most dangerous and capable of organizing the armed Resistance against the occupation power.

The inmates who are considered prisoners-of-war are given especially harsh treatment in Majdanek. Mortality in the camp is increasing alarmingly as a result of the widespread starvation, rampant diseases and the lack of any sanitary facilities. The prisoners are tormented on the flimsiest of pretexts, and even on-the-spot executions are the order of the day. News from Poland confirm that the general mood in the camp is one of desperation. In letters to their kin, inmates confirm that they do not expect to live much longer, and say their good-byes to their families.

How the so-called prisoners-of-war are treated is shown most clearly by the fact that there is no water in the camp for the inmates, whereas the Germans recently set up baths for the police dogs who are specially trained to guard the prisoners and to kill any who attempt to escape."

What is far more significant than the creative embellishments of the poor conditions in Majdanek, which are of a particularly inspired nature in the last paragraph, is the total absence of any mention of gas chambers—and this fully nine months after the gassing allegedly began.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. I, p. 103. According to the Düsseldorf verdict, no more homicidal gassings took place in Majdanek after the (alleged) massacre of November 3, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> Jolanta Gajowniczek, *op. cit.* (note 446), p. 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 250f.

The first mention of "chambers" used for mass murder comes on July 20, 1943. In Lublin, the relevant article states, large transports arrive every day; approximately 15% of them are sent to Germany, the rest to the infamous camp Majdanek, where massacres were taking place where the Poles were being murdered in "chambers" just as the Jews had been before. 471

Two days later, on July 22, the paper in question published another report about Majdanek in which no "chambers" were mentioned. But on July 27 it stated that recently more than 3,000 people had been poisoned daily with gas in the course of just a few hours in Majdanek.<sup>472</sup>

One article of interest is a longer one of October 5, 1943, titled "*Ponad 100 obozów koncentracyjnych w Polsce*" ("More than 100 concentration camps in Poland"). <sup>473</sup> The article distinguishes between eight types of camps: transit camps, ordinary concentration camps, forced labor camps, camps for clergy, women's camps, camps for Jews, camps for "*improving the race*", and children's camps.

Among the camps for Jews, the article specifies Bełżec, Sobibór and "*Treblinka III near Małkinia*", a camp which is unknown to modern historiography. There, the article claims, Jews were murdered with poison gas, electrical current and machine guns. The article does not state whether these camps were still operating at the time of publication.

For the category of forced labor camps, the article mentions Treblinka II, the camp which according to 'Holocaust' literature was the largest extermination camp for Jews second only to Auschwitz. Both "Majdanek II" and Auschwitz are listed as ordinary concentration camps, while "Majdanek I" is ranked as transit camp. "Majdanek I" may possibly refer to the airfield camp, whence inmates were taken to the actual Majdanek camp. We invite the reader to draw his own conclusions from the fact that in October 1943, at a time when gassing had allegedly already been going on for one and a half years, this Polish exile newspaper rates Auschwitz, the greatest "extermination camp" according to 'Holocaust' literature, as one of the "ordinary concentration camps".

Of the articles published about the Lublin camp in the *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza* in 1944, only one—dated August 31, shortly after the camp's liberation—is of any interest. This article stated that "a crematorium and a gas chamber" had been operating in Majdanek and that mass murders had been taking place there since spring 1943. There is no mention of any earlier gassings, and not so much as one word about the mass execution of November 3, 1943, which after all did allegedly claim 18,000 lives. We read:<sup>474</sup>

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252-254.

"In the first days of March 1944 [...] the local authorities decided that the best solution would be to gradually kill off the inmates. First and foremost the Jews, of course, but then the remaining Poles as well."

According to the current version about Majdanek, there were virtually no Jews left in Majdanek in March 1944, since almost all had been murdered in November of the previous year. So, once again, a contemporaneous account of events in that camp does not in any way agree with the account that has been given modern historiography's retrospective blessing. And again we shall leave it to reader to decide why this is so.

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The reports of Poles who had fled to allied or neutral countries abroad were another source of information. A report published in Geneva on November 1, 1943, by a young Polish doctor deserves mention here. About Majdanek, this report states: 475

"The camp Majdanek, guarded by the Gestapo and uniformed Ukrainians and Lithuanians, is located in the vicinity of Lublin. Since early 1941, all Jews who were rooted out of the various towns of Lublin District were sent to the Majdanek camp, where the Lithuanians and the Ukrainians learned the hangman's trade on the Jews. The German masters taught their students various methods of hanging, roasting alive, or otherwise torturing people. The technique of extorting 'confessions' with needles shoved under the fingernails—this technique, which later was used throughout Poland, was invented in the Majdanek camp!

Camp Majdanek had its attractions: in the depths of winter the Jews were dressed in paper clothing; then they were soaked in cold water and left to stand outside until they were frozen all over!

Then the character of the Majdanek camp changed, and presently it is a concentration camp for political prisoners, the second after Oświęcim. Of those who are taken there, 100% die.

Lublin was a 'reservoir' for the German, Austrian, Czech etc. Jews. In late 1941<sup>[476]</sup> primarily Jews from Slovakia were there.

Foreign Jew considered themselves superior to the Polish Jews, and even the Germans granted them better quarters and lighter work. Yes, the Germans even knew to exploit the differences between these two kinds of Jews and to place foreign Jews into 'guard' positions over the Polish ones."

As we can see, this report is rife with imaginative accounts of German atrocities—but its author knows nothing of gassings, even though these are said to have already been going on there for more than a year at the time of this article's publication.

476 Read: 1942.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> A. Silberschein, *Die Judenausrottung in Polen*, Fifth series, Geneva, 1944, pp. 17f.

# 2. The Story Begins to Take Shape

In the sources we examined above, the tale of homicidal gassings begins in a random, superficial manner.

The first detailed eyewitness account of gassings was published in 1944 by Abraham Silberschein; he wrote:<sup>477</sup>

"A witness who was arrested by the Germans in 1939 and was sent first to a camp in Berlin reports about the concentration camp Lublin. In February 1941, this witness was taken back to Lublin with 2,500 prisoners and put into a special camp guarded by the SS. He remained in this camp from February 1941 until 1943, i.e., until his escape. He writes that he was a witness to the entire tragedy that played out in Lublin during this time. He witnessed the events in the ghetto as well as the destruction of the ghetto. He also witnessed how the remaining Jews were quartered in Majdan Tatarski and how this ghetto of barracks was liquidated. He guarded the camp on several occasions and came into contact with various people from the service branches and from the camp."

We shall quote the most significant excerpts of the report supplied by this witness; they are immensely revealing where our current subject is concerned:478

### "The Camp.

The camp was called a K.Z., an abbreviation of 'Konzentrationslager' [concentration camp]. It was more of an extermination camp, for no-one who ended up there ever left it again.

The camp is located along the road leading from Lublin to the town of Piaski. It was set up on an open field, at 100 m distance from the main road, in summer 1941. 20,000 Russian prisoners and 800 Jews from the ghetto of Lublin served as construction crew.

The man in charge of the camp was SS-Sturmbannführer Dollf, one of the founding fathers of the National Socialist Party. He was a drunkard, rather short, with a face like an ape, a sadist who had trained his dog to tear anyone to pieces who was said to be a Jew.

Right after the camp was finished, its construction crew all died; for Dollf ordered that they should not receive any food.

The place intended for ten barracks was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire, and a net of especially dense barbed wire was strung between these. Then German military barracks were set up in this area, in five rows. Close to one corner, outside the barbed wire, towers of armored concrete were built, each 12 m tall (see plan). [479] SS men were posted on these towers as guards. There were also very bright spotlights that were trained on the barracks, and beside each spotlight was a machine gun and a cannon, aimed at the camp. The soldiers from the towers walked up and down at barrack-level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>477</sup> *Ibid.*, "*Das K.Z. Lager Lublin*," p. 11. <sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-17, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup> See Document 38.

10 m distant from the first Compound (Plan Camp 1) a second 'Compound' was built, identical to the first. (See Plan Camp 2.) Half a meter from the second, the third and then the fourth and fifth were built. All these barracks in turn were fenced in with barbed wire. On the street side there was an entrance gate.

Across from the barracks, about 20 m distant, were the various facilities, first of all the Bath. It consisted of an undressing room and a shoe depot. From the shoe depot one entered the Bath, and from the Bath, the clothing distribution center. The clothing depot was between the dressing room and the clothing distribution center. On the same side of the camp there were also the SS stables and the camp workshop. (See Plan.)

In the space between the compounds and these facilities there were posts from which delinquents were hanged.

The <u>Furnace Barrack</u> was located in the 10-m space between the first and second barrack. (See Plan.) From the outside this barrack resembled the others, except that it had two mighty chimneys, in the style of factory smokestacks. This barrack was divided into three parts, each of which was almost separate. The first part was the undressing room (Wardrobe, on the Plan), the second part was closed off and air-tight. That's where the gas experiments were done (Gassing Room, on the Plan). The third part held two enormous furnaces.—This barrack was between Compounds I and II.

### Arrival and Admittance.

From the train station, the Jews were taken under SS guard to their 'state'. They were given a pep talk; then they went to the Bath to wash up. In the Bath, their clothing, underwear and any leather objects they may have had were taken from them. The bundles of clothing were sent through the window into another room (Clothing Depot, on the Plan). They were sent into the Bath in groups of a hundred, old men separately, then the sick, and then the women and children.

Those who had money had hidden it in their shoes or in leather pouches. But everything had to be left behind in the foyer before they entered the Bath. The clothing and shoes were then immediately searched by the guards and Gestapo, who simply stole the money and all the valuables.

After the bath the new arrivals were led through another room into a hall where everyone received clothing and shoes. Everyone was given a sort of boiler suit with white and blue stripes. A Star of David was fixed to the chest, with alternating yellow and red triangles. On the back and knees was a number—the inmate number. The prisoners also received wooden shoes. This outfit was worn in summer and winter alike.

#### Distribution.

Young people with special skills were sent to work the very same day. The old and sick were also dispatched right away—to the barrack that contained the furnaces. In the first room they were instructed to undress; in the second, they died of asphyxiation within two minutes. From the second room they were transported to the furnaces. There was a fire under the ground; the furnace itself did not burn, but it collected hot air of 2,000°. The dead bodies were thrown in, and the enormous heat dried them out completely. In this way, each was reduced to just a few bubbles that were so dry they crackled. Special trucks then drove the remains out of the city to prepared ditches.

Throughout the entire year 1942, thousands of Jews were killed in the gassing chamber every day. New crowds were brought in weekly, and this has been going on to this day.

The children were taken to hospitals for blood transfusions.

Work in the Camp.

Once someone had entered the barrack, they could not leave it again except under guard. The strong and healthy men were assigned to work. At first they considered themselves lucky. No-one suspected that the end might be near; for they had been promised food and shelter—provided they did good work. Nevertheless, reasons were found to send thousands of working Jews into the ovens every day. The walk to work was already difficult. Whoever among the Jews did not march neatly in a row was sent between the barbed wire, and from there, into the oven.

Marching was hard; going barefoot was forbidden, and the wooden shoes were very painful. Since all the old and sick were liquidated, no-one dared report sick. Every day, those who did not work as desired were culled for the oven.

There was no work on Sundays; but there were gymnastics exercises. If anyone fell, he was not allowed to get up: he was doomed to feed the oven.

Several people died of the hellish pain the wooden shoes caused them; their feet were all bloody. Several Jews got sick from wearing the wooden shoes, which made their feet swell up to the point where they could no longer go to work. [...]

This was the fate of the Central European Jews. Some two million of them went through the camp to their deaths. And the miserable death the Germans gave them, they dreamed up just to conserve their bullets." (Emphasis added)

The account of this witness is illustrated with a sketch of Majdanek that allows us, on the basis of our knowledge of the camp's construction history, to penetrate to the roots of the rumors of the execution gassings.

The sketch<sup>479</sup> shows a fairly accurate depiction of "Bath and Disinfection II", Barrack 42, with "Undressing Room", "Clothing Depot" (Clothing Drop-Off), "Baths" (Showers), and "Distribution of Prison Clothing" (Clothing Distribution).

According to the witness, all the Jews to arrive in the camp, including the old people, the sick, the women and the children, were sent to the showers, where they undressed, showered, and were issued prison clothes; then the young ones were promptly sent off to work, while the old and sick were gassed. We do not quite understand the purpose behind letting those who were judged unfit to work take showers first rather than sending them straight to the "gassing room".

But what is even more surprising is this: even though the report dates from 1943, it makes no mention at all of "Bath and Disinfection I"—that is, Barrack 41, the alleged main murder site, where according to Polish historiography the homicidal gassings had already been taking place since October 1942!

Where the extermination facilities are concerned, the witness has created a sort of collage of elements which did in fact exist, but neither at the same time nor in the same place. The "gassing room" is nothing other than that part of Barrack 28 that was approximately 110 m distant from the furnaces, and the

Laundry, located between the barracks and the furnaces. If Barrack 28, which merely contained a drying facility in July 1944, had previously been equipped as a delousing facility, this could not have been done until after the alleged main extermination facility in Barrack 41 had been brought into service but which the witness does not even deem worthy of mention.

The witness description of the cremation furnaces seems odd at first:

"There was a fire under the ground; the furnace itself did not burn, but it collected hot air of 2,000 degrees."

In actual fact, this description is not one of the cremation furnaces at all, but of the air heater. As we have already shown in Chapter VI, these devices were coke-fueled, with the stoking mechanism being installed beneath the floor, so that there actually was "a fire under the ground"; no combustion took place in the upper part ("the furnace itself did not burn"), but air heating did ("it collected hot air"). The temperature cited by the witness—2,000°C— is a gross exaggeration, not only for a hot-air chamber but even for a cremation furnace.<sup>480</sup>

It goes without saying that the victim count touted by the witness (thousands every day, two million by the end of 1943) is nothing more than the crudest kind of atrocity propaganda.

The account by C. Simonov which we have already mentioned in Chapter VI is of downright overwhelming significance since the author, who visited Majdanek right after its liberation and spent several days there, was able to talk with former inmates, who told him the history of the camp and explained its various facilities to him; accordingly, Simonov's account is based on eyewitness testimony and, from that perspective, represents the 'official' version that circulated among the just-liberated inmates in July and August 1944. This version differs from that examined above in several decisive aspects: it introduces a new extermination facility, knows nothing of the "gassing room" in the old crematorium, and transfers the execution gassings into the delousing facility at Barrack 41, describing a very strange technique indeed:<sup>481</sup>

"The first place where mass exterminations took place was a wooden barrack which had been built between two wire barriers when the camp was set up. This barrack had a long beam across the top, from which eight nooses always hung down—for hanging anyone who showed signs of weakness. [...]

Soon the primitive crematorium, consisting of two furnaces, was set up; we have already mentioned it above. Construction of the gas chamber dragged on; it was still not finished. During this time, the main method for exterminating the sick and exhausted inmates was the following: a room with a very narrow and low entranceway was set up in the crematorium—the entrance was so low that anyone who passed through it had to duck. Two SS-men with heavy, short iron bars stood to either side of the door. As the victim walked through the door with his head

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> See Carlo Mattogno, op. cit. (note 303), pp. 395.

ducked down, one of the SS-men aimed a blow at his neck vertebrae with his iron bar. If the one SS-man missed, the other took a crack at the victim. It didn't matter if the victim failed to die right away and just passed out. Anyone who fell was considered dead, and was thrown into the cremation furnace."

Thus it follows that there was no execution gas chamber in the old crematorium. Naturally, the account of this homespun murder method was intended to give a reader extra goosebumps since it suggested that some of the victims were still alive when they were burned.

C. Simonov gives an exact description of the alleged execution gas chambers in the Delousing Facility in Barrack 41, but he knows nothing of Chamber IV, which the inmates obviously did not yet at that time consider a homicidal gas chamber. We have already quoted the beginning of this description in Chapter VI; let us now continue it:

"Where does the window lead to? To answer this question, we open the door and leave the room. Next to it there is another small chamber of concrete; that's where the window leads to. Here there is electric light as well as a power outlet. From here, looking through the window, one can observe anything that happens in the first room. On the floor there are a few round, air-tight, sealed cans labelled 'Zyklon'; 'for special use in the Eastern regions' is added in smaller letters. The contents of the cans were introduced through the pipes into the adjoining room when it was full of people.

The naked, tightly crowded people did not take up much room. More than 250 people were packed into the 40m² room. They were forced in and then the steel door was closed; the cracks were sealed with clay to make it even more air-tight, and a special unit wearing gas masks introduced the 'Zyklon' from the cans through the pipes from the adjoining room. The 'Zyklon' consisted of small blue crystals that looked perfectly innocent but, once exposed to oxygen, gave off poisonous gases that simultaneously affect all the body's vital functions. The 'Zyklon' was introduced through the pipes; the SS-man leading the operation supervised the asphyxiation process which, according to different eyewitness accounts, took between two and ten minutes. He could safely observe everything through the window; the horrible faces of the dying people and the gradual effect of the gas; the peephole was just at eye level. When the people died the observer did not need to look down; they did not fall down as they died—the gas chamber was so crowded that the dead remained standing.

It must be pointed out that the 'Zyklon' really was a disinfectant and really was used in the neighboring rooms<sup>[482]</sup> to disinfest clothing. Quite properly and as per regulations! The difference was merely to know which dosage of the 'Zyklon' to introduce into the chamber.' (Emphasis added)

This tale, which describes a technically utterly impossible murder method, proves that the former inmates of Majdanek had never attended or observed any homicidal gassings at all. None of the witnesses told Simonov that he had seen an SS-man wearing a gas mask or holding a can of Zyklon B on the roof

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> In Barrack 42.

of the alleged execution gas chamber; none told him that in the areas where the pipes are installed, the victims were gassed with bottled CO. As J.-C. Pressac has emphasized, the Zyklon B cans which Simonov observed had been planted in the small room outside Chambers I and III to create the impression that their contents might have been poured into the pipes. This little stage production that was no doubt the doing of the former inmates proves *a fortiori* that these had never seen people being gassed. There can be no doubt that *rumors* of homicidal gassings were circulating in the camp, and the ex-inmates tried to make these seem credible by means of the stage production described. But these rumors were devoid of all factual basis.

There were all sorts of other rumors as well. Just as in any other concentration camp, their power of suggestion fired up the prisoners' weakened psyche and prompted the most outlandish speculations on their fate. Dionys Lenard, a former inmate of Majdanek, can tell us a thing or two about it:<sup>483</sup>

"I remember learning from the newspaper that the British had landed in Bologna. We had great expectations of this event. Everyone hoped for a coup. But these hopes were disappointed. Usually we did not believe the rumors. It was impossible to verify all these unrealistic reports, but for many they served as a basis for seemingly even more unrealistic conclusions. The temptation to blend imagination and reality was very great. It helped many get through difficult times.

'Turkey has declared war.' This rumor also did not turn out to be true. Once the story was that the Russians were already in Lvov. It was said that one could already hear the booming of the guns. Another time they said that the German front in the north had collapsed and the Russians were already outside Königsberg. They also said that the Hungarians had laid down their weapons and the Italians had joined them. For a while the Czechs and Serbs were in fashion. It was said that they had staged such a huge uprising that the Germans were forced to deploy 40 divisions against them. The Japanese, on the other hand, had allegedly signed a peace treaty with the United States and Great Britain. Japan was to hold back in China at the line where it was at that time (May 1942). In return, Japan was to surrender Hong Kong to the British and to declare war on Germany [...]."

This sort of rumor was prompted not only by the inmates' hopes and expectations, but also by their fears, which is perfectly understandable. Other rumors in turn were deliberately started and put about for purely political motives; false witness statements and deceptive 'evidence' was used to help the process along. We shall give two particularly revealing examples.

#### C. Simonov writes: 484

"Pietro Mikhailovic Denissov, a Russian, and Claudio Elinski, a Pole, two engineers from Lublin who were paid civilian workers involved in the construction of the camp—in constructing the sewer system, among other things—told me that in late April or early May 1943, while in the camp's building materials depot, they ran into a Lublin Jew whom they had already known in peacetime. The inmate was

<sup>484</sup> C. Simonov, op. cit. (note 310), p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> Dionys Lenard, "Juden aus der Slowakei," in: Tomasz Kranz, op. cit. (note 138), p. 65.

carrying axes into the camp. He spoke to them, pointed at a frail old man who was also carrying axes, and said: 'Do you know who that old man is? That's Léon Blum.' Since they saw that there were no SS-men nearby, the two engineers came closer. The following conversation then took place: 'You are Léon Blum?' Denissov asked.—'Yes, I'm Léon Blum.'—'The Prime Minister of France?'—'Yes, the Prime Minister of France.'—'And how did you come to be here?'—'I arrived with the last group of French prisoners.' - 'Why didn't you try to escape in your country? Can it be possible that there was no way for you to save yourself?' Denissoy persisted.—'I don't know, maybe I could have,' said Léon Blum, 'but I decided to share my people's fate,' and his eyes filled with tears. At that moment several SSmen appeared on the scene, and Blum, just like the other man, hastily laid a heavy axe of several cm diameter on his shoulder and carried it away. He took a few steps, then stumbled and fell. One of the prisoners standing nearby helped him get up. He stood up, put the axe back on his shoulder, and walked away. A week later Denissov and Elinski again had things to do in this depot. Again they encountered the man who had pointed Léon Blum out to them, and they asked him where Blum was. He replied laconically, 'Where I'll also be soon,' and pointed up at the sky. This is just one event from the history of this death camp. Both witnesses, who are living in Lublin today, confirm each and every detail."

This event, confirmed in "each and every detail" by the two witnesses, is pure fiction: Léon Blum was deported to Buchenwald on March 31, 1943, and later transferred to Dachau, where he was freed on May 4, 1945. 485

Of course this did not hinder the Soviets from officially sanctioning the rumor of Blum's death in Majdanek. In its issue 26 of August 1944 the French Communist paper *Fraternité* wrote:<sup>486</sup>

"Radio Moscow reports the death in Majdanek of former President of the Council Léon Blum, a 70-year-old man who like so many of his brethren fell victim to racist barbarism."

The false news of Blum's internment in Majdanek had been put about in May 1943 by the *Dziennik Polski*, the organ of the Polish government-in-exile. 487

The second example we shall give specifically concerns one of the Soviets' propaganda techniques. The Norwegian ex-inmate Erling Bauck, who was transferred from Sachsenhausen to Majdanek in 1944 together with 13 compatriots, as skilled laborers, 488 reports: 489

"In autumn 1944 we read in American and illegal Norwegian newspapers that 14 Norwegians had been executed in Lublin, on orders from Berlin. The fact that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> Enzyklopädie des Holocaust, op. cit. (note 7), v. I, p. 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup> Stéphan Courtois, Adam Rayski, Qui savait quoi? L'extermination des juifs 1941-1945. Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1987, p. 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> Jolanta Gajowniczek, *op. cit.* (note 446), p. 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>488</sup> Erling Bauck (misspelled as Bank) is recorded with registration number 6508 on an undated list of 13 Norwegian inmates sent from Sachsenhausen to the DAW of Lublin. *Majdanek*, Lublin: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1985, Document 46.

<sup>489</sup> Erling Bauck, op. cit. (note 138), p. 197.

we were allegedly 14 Norwegian executees proves that the order must have come at least four months earlier, when there were still 14 of us. [490] We were all listed by name and inmate number. In November the priest in Notodden received a letter signed by Ilya Ehrenburg, asking him to notify the father of the Brattli brothers that his sons were among those executed. The papers which the Russians found in the main camp stated that we had been murdered with Zyklon gas and then thrown into an acid bath so that no mortal remains were left to be found."

The "papers which the Russians found" were simply the inmates' personal papers—identification, labor passes, school report cards, etc.—which C. Simonov had already found in a room in the camp office. These also included some papers belonging to Norwegians. Propaganda quickly turned these into evidence that their owners had been murdered, even though these owners were actually still very much alive.

Obviously, fanning the flames of gas chamber rumors belonged to the repertoire of political propaganda: the tremendously detailed Silberschein Report could not possibly have been the report of a credulous witness. Of course this does not mean that *all* witnesses who spoke of homicidal gassings were liars. In most cases they no doubt simply misinterpreted events they witnessed without intending any deception. In this regard, the Düsseldorf court presiding at the Majdanek Trial stressed:<sup>491</sup>

"The mass selections of people to be killed by gassing was general knowledge in the concentration camp Majdanek at least as of early 1943. This resulted in the fact that screenings carried out under similar conditions as selections but actually intended for other purposes, primarily transfers to other camps, were misunderstood by a number of inmates as being selections for gassing. This goes primarily for the screenings of female inmates for the aforementioned transports, from late June to late August 1943, into the concentration camps Auschwitz and Ravensbrück and to the forced labor camp Skarcysko-Kamienna; these screenings required that the female inmates being considered had to undress for an 'assessment' by one of the camp doctors, in the presence of female SS guards, in the Washing Barrack of the Women's Compound. However, unlike the 'selections for death' which were performed under similar conditions, these screenings were not intended to cull those who were unfit to work, but rather to cull those who appeared 'particularly fit to work'."

In fact, matters were the reverse of what the court assumed: since the selected inmates who were transferred elsewhere did actually disappear from the camp, those who remained behind became convinced that their departed comrades had been murdered. This conviction was strengthened by the fact that before leaving the camp, the selected inmates went through the showers and delousing, *i.e.*, through Barracks 41 and 42 where delousing gas chambers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup> One of the Norwegians had meanwhile died of an inner ear infection. A second, suffering from tuberculosis, had been admitted to the main camp's infirmary, where he survived. A third had been sent back to Sachsenhausen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. I, pp. 88f.

were known to exist. This procedure left the remaining inmates with one powerful impression: their fellow prisoners had been sent to where the gas chambers were; they had not returned; *consequently*, they had been gassed.

The inmate transfer of July 1943 demonstrated clearly just how easy it was to fall for this misunderstanding. On June 24 of that year, an SS-*Untersturm-führer* from Division IIIa (Labor) of the concentration camp Auschwitz came to Majdanek to negotiate the transfer of 5,500 inmates for the labor camp Monowitz (east of Auschwitz I). On July 6 he drew up the following report:

"Immediately upon my arrival in the concentration camp Lublin on June 24, 1943, I was told that, of the 5,500 male and female inmates available, 1,700 had already been selected for the labor camp in Radom. Therefore only 3,800 were left for us. 1,000 inmates were ready to be transferred; they were said to have been chosen by the garrison physician SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Blanck. In a brief inspection together with our camp physician, SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Kitt, we determined that only about 30% were in any condition to work in our labor camps Buna and Neu-Dachs. And the final results confirmed our expectations. The garrison physician, SS-Hstuf. Dr. Blanck, then informed us that it had not been he, but rather the camp physician SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Rindfleisch, who had selected them. However, the latter declared that he had not selected them either. Over the next few days, those of the available male and female inmates were selected that could with a clear conscience be considered fit to work, and that were reasonable and justifiable for our purposes. Of the remaining inmates, some might have been fit for light work. But since there is no more such light work in this camp, and since the inmates had been intended for work in Buna and Neu-Dachs, on orders from Oranienburg, they could not be included. The camp physician, SS-Ustuf. Dr. Rindfleisch, also admitted that the remaining inmates really could not be considered fit to work. In the course of the inspection, I asked why these inmates had even been reported fit to work in the first place, and was told that the local labor office had reported them fit. I could not justify taking the rest of the inmates just to oblige, since a great many of them would have had to be put straight into the recovery block or the infirmary on their arrival. SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Kitt will report on their fitness for work from the medical perspective."

On July 8 a transport of 1,500 inmates could finally be put together for Auschwitz. The very same day SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Krebsbach, deputy to SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Eduard Wirths, drew up this report on the inmates' state of health:<sup>493</sup>

"Of the 1,500 inmates (750 men and 750 women) to be transferred from Lublin on July 8, 1943, a very high percentage was not fit to work.

49 of the male inmates had to be admitted to the Inmates' Infirmary or the recovery blocks immediately upon their arrival, for great physical weakness, bacterial tissue inflammation, or severe hernias. Another 277 inmates had to remain in Camp AI for lesser physical weakness, so that only 424 inmates remained available for their actual purpose, namely to work in the labor camp Buna. These too

<sup>493</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> Dokumenty i Materiały, opracował mgr N. Blumental. Lodz, 1946, Tom I, pp. 138f.

will not be fit for the hard physical labor there until after the mandatory four weeks' quarantine.

Of the female inmates, 5 were already dead on arrival, 2 others were suffering from bullet wounds. 80 other inmates cannot be considered fit to work. These are broken down as follows:

28 inmates physically extremely weak; these include inmates aged 15-17

2 with edema

44 with more or less severe injuries of the lower extremities

5 with ulcers on the lower legs

1 with inflammation of cell tissue.

Beyond that, a high percentage of the female inmates suffers from scabies. In other respects as well, the overall and nutritional state of the inmates is such that they cannot yet be expected to handle the full work load demanded in Auschwitz."

It is clear that sick inmates in the infirmary barracks of Majdanek underwent a selection process. It is no less clear that they also underwent this procedure before being transferred to Auschwitz; and all that the inmates who remained behind recalled of these events is that sick inmates had been sent off in the direction of the gas chambers, from where they had not returned.

For other types of transports, sick inmates were the only ones to be selected; 494 in other cases, only children were chosen. In this context, Zofia Murawska cites a classic example of a misunderstanding on the part of the Majdanek inmates: 495

"In the fall of 1943 (September or October) trucks arrived on Compound V, and the SS-men began to load the children onto these; they tore them from the arms of their unsuspecting mothers. Even though the SS assured the mothers that the children would be placed in homes under the care of the Polish Red Cross, the mothers became terribly upset, for they thought that the children's destination was really the gas chamber. In fact, the young inmates were sent to the Children's Camp in Lodz."

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the fears of the prisoners remaining in the camp turned into certainty.

The fact that the rumors about homicidal gassings were unfounded and misleading follows clearly not only from the above account by C. Simonov, but also, and all the more so, from the investigation conducted by the Polish-Soviet Commission. This Commission consisted of engineers who were familiar with the properties and practical application of Zyklon B as well as CO. The Commission questioned ex-inmates, who incidentally were already aware of the conclusions drawn by the former. Regarding the homicidal gassings, the protocol states: 496

<sup>495</sup> Zofia Murawska, *op. cit.* (note 242), p. 146. The Security Police's Polish youth detention camp was located in Przemysłowa Street in Lodz. *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945*, *op. cit.* (note 208), p. 297.

<sup>496</sup> GARF, 7021-107-9, pp. 311a-313a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> See Chapter IV.

#### "VI. Gassings

One of the most commonly used methods for exterminating human beings in the Lublin camp was gassing.

According to the findings of the technical expert report, six gas chambers were set up on the grounds of the camp. These chambers are equipped with special facilities: the presence of a gas pipe, the presence of a special room with fixtures for connecting the gas bottles [to the gas pipe] and to introduce the gas into the chamber, etc. People were gassed in these chambers with hydrogen cyanide (substance 'Zyklon') as well as with CO (carbon monoxide).

A considerable quantity of hydrogen cyanide (substance 'Zyklon') in special cans as well as a few bottles of CO were found on the area of the camp (see file about the inspection—l.d. [497] 575).

The technical expert report concluded:

'All these chambers, and especially Nos. I, II and IV, were designed and used as sites for the systematic mass extermination of human beings by means of poisoning with poison gases such as hydrocyanic acid (the substance 'Zvklon') and carbon monoxide. If Chambers V and VI were also used for disinfestation purposes, then only for the treatment of the clothing of exterminated victims.' (l.d. 585).

*Numerous witnesses who were questioned on this topic reported a considerable* number of cases of mass poisoning of human beings in these gas chambers. Men, women and children were asphyxiated here. All the weak inmates, those unfit for physical labor, those suffering from typhus—all those whom the Germans deemed it necessary to kill—were taken here.

The witness Stanisławski reports:

In March 1943, 300 Poles were gassed in the gas chamber; on May 16 or 17, 1943, 157 children of Jewish nationality were murdered in the same chamber. I witnessed these horrors myself, since I was on duty as courier at the gate to the third camp Compound. First, the children were led to the Bath, where they undressed; then they were chased into the gas chamber; any that resisted were gunned down. Obersturmführer THUMANN did it himself. Afterwards, all the shot and gassed children were thrown onto a lorry and taken to the camp crematorium to be burned. Fourteen Russian POWs operated the gas chamber and the bath. They were ordered to go into the gas chamber and to squeeze the children more tightly together. As soon as they had entered, the chamber door closed behind them, and all 14 of them were poisoned together with the children.

On June 20, 1943, 350 Jews were undressed on the first camp Compound and led into the Bath, where they were killed in the gas chamber.

On October 14, 1943, 250 or 270 Jews were gassed in the same place (l.d. 7).

Evewitness Solowjew reports, 'I myself saw how the bodies of men, women and children of various ages who had been asphyxiated in the gas chamber were laid on lorries and taken to the crematorium to be burned' (l.d. 76).

Prisoner-of-war Dr. Konajko recounts:

'After that I had several opportunities to see for myself that this chamber served to gas people, and I observed that dead bodies were taken from there to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> *List doprosa* = Interrogation Sheet.

crematorium, by truck and trailer. Particularly in April and May [year is not stated] bodies were taken from this gas chamber, and I later learned that 50 prisoners had been gassed' (l.d. 222a).

OKUPJAK, a resident of the city of Lublin who worked in the camp barracks as water pipe fitter, reports:

'I myself saw how dead people were dragged out of this gas chamber. The bodies were placed on two platforms (?)... When these were loaded with dead bodies, a tractor came to take the bodies to the crematorium, that is, where the bodies were burned.' He continues: 'The vehicles loaded in this way with children drove up to the gas chamber. The next day I saw how people who worked there carried the dead bodies of children out of the gas chamber' (l.d. 301).

The witness SELENT reports on the gassing of 87 Poles on March 15, 1944:

'I already learned of the existence and workings of the gas chamber in the very first days of my stay in the camp. On March 15, I made first-hand acquaintance with it when 87 people from a transport that had arrived together with me were simply led off from our Compound. All of them were Poles who were unable to work due to weakness, physical ailments or occasional illness. All these 87 people were herded together in our Block 15, at seven o'clock in the evening; they had to undress, even take off their shoes, and then they were driven, on cars, to the gas chamber, where they were all exterminated. I myself saw how they were crowded naked onto the car and taken out of the Compound; I knew some of them personally. From people who worked in the camp office, I learned that the following morning these 87 people were deleted from the list of the living and entered into the list of the deceased' (l.d. 358).

The eyewitness and former camp inmate Jan Wolski provided an immensely detailed account of the mass murder of people in the gas chambers:

'In October of 1942 a large number of women and children were brought into the camp. The healthy ones were led off to forced labor, but all the sick, weak and children were taken to the Bath, where they were ordered to undress, and then they were all asphyxiated in the gas chamber. The bodies of the victims were driven to the ovens, where they were burned. One must assume that the gassing victims suffered greatly before they died; the distorted expressions of the dead people's faces and eyes, which I saw myself, showed that.

In March of 1943, another 250 women and children were gassed in the same chamber, and another 300 people of various nationalities just a few days later.

On May 16 or 17, 1943, cars brought 157 children aged 2 to 10 years to the camp; all of them were murdered in the gas chamber. The witnesses to this deed, 14 Russian POWs who operated the chambers and the bath, were killed together with the children.

In June 1943, on Compound I, 300 to 350 inmates were ordered to strip naked, and despite the heavy rain they were then herded naked into the Bath, from where they did not return. After they were murdered in the gas chamber, they were driven in cars to the ovens to be burned.

In July 1943 the camp administration gathered up all the sick POWs and inmates, approximately 600 people altogether, and killed them all in the gas chamber. The bodies were transported to the ovens by various means, and burned. That same month, another 200 people were exterminated the same way, and cremated in the ovens' (l.d. 199).

The witness and former inmate BENEN recounts:

'Right after my arrival in April 1943, I saw how approximately 200 people were gassed. They were taken from the third Compound to the gas chamber, after they had been told that they would take a bath and get a change of clothing there. They were stripped naked and led into the Bath. A short time later, bodies were carried out of the room and laid on a bus driven right up to the door. I was doing field work near the Bath and saw this with my own eyes' (l.d. 510).

The Germans doing duty in the camp themselves reported about mass murder with gas.

'On September 15, 1942,' says SS-Rottenführer GENSCHE (or Hensche), who was stationed at the camp from July 15, 1942, on, '350 people, including women and children, were killed in the gas chamber. Their bodies were burned. I was informed of this by Obersturmführer GERSCHON [spelling in original; this may be a reference to SS-Rottenführer PERSCHON] personally, who was in charge of the Baths and the gas chambers' (l.d. 471).

SS-man Wilhelm GERSTMEIER [actually: Gerstenmeier] reports abut the homicidal gassings:

'From accounts by the camp orderlies—SS-Rottenführer ENDRESS and SS-Rottenführer PERSCHON—I know that inmates, including many women, old people and children, were systematically killed in the gas chambers with the gas 'Zyklon'. Camp doctors—Hauptsturmführer BLANKE and Obersturmführer RIND-FLEISCH—were present when the people were taken to the gas chamber.

Very often, THUMANN also attended these exterminations. The bodies of the asphyxiated victims were burned in the crematorium. Many hundreds of people were murdered in the gas chambers in September and October 1943 alone. Endress and Perschon told me that 150 children 10 to 12 years of age had been asphyxiated in the gas chamber on one single day. While on duty, Endress and Perschon often visited the Bath and the gas chamber, and were present at these exterminations' (l.d. 463).

SS-officer THERNES recounts:

'On October 16, 1943, an inmate transport 5,000 strong arrived from Warsaw. Under the leadership of camp physician Hauptsturmführer BLANKE, all the new arrivals were given a medical exam, and everyone who was unfit to work—there were 500 of them—was separated. This group included many women and children. They were led to the Bath, where they were killed in the gas chambers. That evening I personally saw bodies being transported on large lorries from the gas chamber to the crematorium. My co-workers' reports indicate that the bodies were burned on pyres beside the crematorium...'

Further:

'In the evening of October 21, 1943, the camp physician SS-Untersturmführer RINDFLEISCH told me that 300 children 3 to 10 years of age had been killed in the gas chamber with the gas 'Zyklon' today' (l.d. 525).

SS-Rottenführer Theo SCHÖLEN, a member of the Fascist party since 1937, attested with regard to the mass gassings of human beings in the Lublin camp:

'I know that people were systematically murdered with gas in the gas chamber here. Inmates under my charge told me that they had personally witnessed more than 150 children being asphyxiated in the gas chamber. That was in July 1943. I myself saw the bodies of the victims being taken out of the gas chamber the next morning. A truck with a trailer was loaded with the bodies; altogether more than 100 bodies were loaded up. I often saw this truck and trailer driving back and forth between the gas chamber and the crematorium, leaving the gas chamber loaded with corpses and returning again empty' (l.d. 417).

The German STALP also confirms the mass extermination of men, women and children in the gas chambers (l.d. 474).

Later it was found that the Germans made equally extensive use of gas vans for killing people. The witness ATROCHOW saw this 'gas van' himself and describes it as follows:

'This gas van was a hermetically sealable bus, earthy gray in color; it could hold 60 people, who were poisoned in it with exhaust gas. The people were poisoned on the drive from the city to the crematorium, and they were always already dead on arrival at the crematorium. Obersturmführer Gotschik has provided me with detailed witness testimony about the gas van' (l.d. 93).

Stetdiner, a soldier in the Polish army who had fallen into German captivity in 1939 and who was questioned on this subject, also gives a detailed description of this gas van. He says:

'More than once, gas vans came and brought fresh corpses. There could be no doubt that these victims had only just been asphyxiated, for the bodies were still warm... There were cases where these gas vans arrived three times daily. Externally, it was a truck with a massive metal box and metal floor; the door could be closed airtight. A hose ran from the engine under the box, connecting the engine with the box floor; there were numerous small openings in the floor, like a grid' (l.d. 438a).

Therefore, the Germans used not only [stationary] gas chambers to asphyxiate people in Lublin, but also mobile gas chambers—gas vans, the so-called 'Duschegubki' [soul-killers] in which people were poisoned with exhaust gases.

 $Thus, the \ mass \ murder \ of \ people \ in \ gas \ chambers \ is \ substantiated \ as \ follows:$ 

First, by the testimonies of a considerable number of eyewitnesses;

Second, by the construction system of the gas chambers and the gas pipes contained therein;

Third, by the hydrogen cyanide gas (substance 'Zyklon') in special cans, found in great numbers at the murder site, and by 'CO' gas in bottles."

In numerical respects alone, this report surprises the reader with its grotesque imbalance of charges and evidence. On the one hand, it cites all of 9 witnesses (13 if one counts the SS-men), even though fully 1,500 inmates had remained in the camp. On the other hand, the report describes gassing as having been one of the most-used methods of extermination, which means that it must have claimed the lives of many hundreds of thousands of inmates if the

<sup>498</sup> Duschegubka in Russian.

total victim count of 1.5 million<sup>499</sup> postulated by the Commission were correct. The thirteen witnesses quoted tell of a total of 19 gassings; the victim counts they cite total 4,414 dead (plus a few hundred).

Surely the Commission questioned not only the 13 witnesses mentioned in this report. It is no less certain that it chose the most important witness statements to support its conclusions. This is where the Commission's dishonesty becomes especially clear: it supports its allegation that hundreds of thousands of people were gassed with eyewitness testimony according to which a maximum of just over 5,000 people died in the gas chambers.

From a qualitative perspective, the report suffers from a further, obvious discrepancy. The Polish-Soviet Commission was composed of engineers who were thoroughly familiar with the properties and use of Zyklon B and CO. Accordingly, their conclusions could not agree with the silly imaginings with which the inmates attempted to flesh out the *rumors* of homicidal gassings. For this reason the report perforce had to dispense with the witnesses quoted by C. Simonov—which results in the strange phenomenon that those inmates who were 'in the know' could not be heard while those who knew nothing became witnesses for the prosecution!

The statements cited in the report reveal the discomfiture of 'witnesses' who knew nothing but had to bring charges anyway: while these ex-inmates do speak of murders in the gas chamber (always in the singular, with one exception), they fail to specify just where exactly this gas chamber was located and how the gassing actually took place, and they never even mention Zyklon B or CO. Their accounts clearly show that they were witnesses to the aforementioned selections and falsely concluded that they had observed the preamble to homicidal gassings. This follows most obviously from the statements of the witness Benen who has an entire gassing take place right in the Shower (without specifying whether this Shower was in Barrack 41 or 42), and from the statement of the witness Selent who speaks of 300 to 350 inmates being sent naked into the Bath, "from where they did not return". The prisoners did not know what really took place, and therefore they gave free rein to their imagination. In the process they produced the most flagrant contradictions, such as inmates Stanisławski who claims to have witnessed the gassing of 157 children at the entrance to Compound III, approximately 350 m distant from Barrack 41, but then proceeds to describe the alleged events as though he had been inside the barrack.

These witnesses also make do with an incredibly vague description of the gassings themselves.

Whenever there is an opportunity to compare the eyewitness testimony with documented facts, the former proves to be false. For example, according to the inmate Wolski, 600 registered prisoners were gassed in July 1943, but

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup> See Chapter IV.

this figure exceeds the total of new arrivals to the camp that month. 499 The inmate Selent speaks of the March 15, 1944, gassing of 87 Poles who "were deleted from the list of the living the following morning and entered into the list of the deceased", whereas in fact only 34 deaths were recorded on March 16 of that year, of which only three were Poles; the proportion of Poles among the total casualties also remained relatively low in the days to follow. 500

The ignorance of these witnesses also becomes apparent with regard to the number of alleged execution gassings and of their victims; as we have already pointed out, the figures they cite stand in glaring contradiction to those the Commission alleges. For example, the witness to give the most details—Jan Wolski—speaks of only seven gassings totaling some 2,000 victims for a period of fully nine months, October 1942 to July 1943.

Time and again the witness statements claim that inmates were not only sent into the Bath but that bodies were also carried out and to the crematorium. If this claim were based on fact, another misunderstanding is no doubt at work here. As we have seen in Chapter VI, Chambers I and III had most likely been converted to temporary morgues in which a CO<sub>2</sub> cooling system was installed. If this hypothesis is correct, then clearly the witnesses simply misinterpreted what they saw by taking two real but unrelated events—the movement into Barracks 41 and 42 of inmates to be transferred to other camps, and the removal of dead bodies from the mortuaries of Barrack 41 to the crematorium—and construing them to indicate murder.

Two witnesses, Stetdiner and Atrochow, speak of the use of gas vans in Majdanek. This is news even to official historiography, according to which homicidal gas vans were allegedly used in the Chełmno camp, on the Eastern front, and in Serbia, but not in Majdanek. However, here, too, there is a potential explanation. In Chapter VI we pointed out that the Central Construction Office of Majdanek had a working relationship with the company Bernhard J. Goedecker of Munich, which had worked with the Sanitation Institute of the Waffen-SS to design mobile disinfestation facilities. These worked along the lines of a hot air-steam-hot air process; disinfestation took place "in a closed chamber mounted on a vehicle". <sup>501</sup> It is certainly possible that such a facility was sent to the Lublin camp, where an inmate thought it was a mobile gas chamber for killing people.

The four SS-men who were interrogated by the Polish-Soviet Commission and who realized that the noose was pulling tighter and tighter around their necks showed a downright servile willingness to collaborate (for which one can hardly blame them), but their obvious good intentions to 'confess' everything could not hide the fact that they knew nothing of homicidal gassings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup> Of 35 inmates to die on the 17th, 7 were Poles, 6 of 46 on the 18th, 19 of 69 on the 19th, and 4 of 31 on the 20th. *GARF*, 7021-107-9, pp. 177-187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup> Walter Dötzer, op. cit. (note 326), p. 29.

SS-Rottenführer Gensche (or Hensche) had spent two years in the camp but could tell of only one gassing operation, with 350 victims—and not even as first-hand witness, since his information had come from SS-Oberscharführer Perschon. SS-Hauptscharführer Gerstenmeier also had only second-hand knowledge of gassings; his sources were SS-Oberscharführer Endress and, again, Perschon. And, in a truly amazing twist, SS-Rottenführer Schölen was actually alerted to the gassing of 150 children by the inmates under his command! Obviously the prisoners were far better informed about the events in the camp than the SS were... Only SS-Rottenführer Thernes seconded the statements of the aforementioned witnesses and reported that on October 16, 1943, a transport of 5,000 new arrivals from Warsaw was screened and that 500 people deemed unfit to work had been selected for the gas chambers. However, the large transports from Warsaw to Majdanek took place between May and August 1943; 502 beyond that, we must note that the percentage of prisoners allegedly fit to work (90%) is too high to be credible. <sup>503</sup> Thernes was also aware of a second gassing, but he had only heard of it from SS-Untersturmführer Rindfleisch.

In light of these plain and unambiguous facts it is hardly necessary to spend more time on the post-War eyewitness testimony about homicidal gassings in Majdanek. It speaks volumes that J. Marszałek, the official historian of the Majdanek camp, devoted all of *two pages* to the gassings there, and supports these by quoting, not a former inmate of Majdanek or an SS-man who had been stationed there, but SS-*Rottenführer* Pery Broad, who had been stationed in Auschwitz. Marszałek writes:<sup>504</sup>

"The technique of killing with the gas is presented below by Perry [sic] Broad, an employee of the Political Division of the Auschwitz camp. A similar technique was applied in Majdanek."

It would be hard to imagine how the total bankruptcy of the official Majdanek historiography could be exposed more drastically!

<sup>504</sup> J. Marszałek, *op. cit.* (note 209), p. 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>503</sup> At that time, according to a May 26, 1944 report (NG-2190) by E. von Thadden, only one-third of the deported Hungarian Jews were fit to work.

# Chapter VIII: Zyklon B Deliveries to the Concentration Camp Majdanek

#### 1. Zyklon B: Manufacturers and Distributors

In Germany, Zyklon B was manufactured by two companies: the Dessau Plant for Sugar and Chemical Industry A.G. in Dessau and the Kali Works A.G. in Kolin. 505 Both firms produced this insecticide for DEGESCH (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingsbekämpfung*, German Society for Pest Control), which owned the patent and the manufacturing license and was thus the actual producer of the substance.

DEGESCH did not sell Zyklon B directly but via two main distributors: the Frankfurt-based company Heerdt und Lingler GmbH ("Heli") and the Hamburg-based company Tesch und Stabenow International Society for Pest Control ("Testa"), who had split the market between them. Heli operated in the territories west of the Elbe river, Testa in those east thereof, including the Sudeten Gau, the General Government and the Reich Commissioner's Department East; it also sold the insecticide in Denmark, Norway and Finland. Accordingly, the concentration camp Majdanek, being on the territory of the General Government, obtained its Zyklon B from the company Testa.

An extensive correspondence on this subject between the camp administration, Testa, and the SS institutions also involved in the Zyklon B deliveries has survived to present times. This correspondence<sup>506</sup> was examined by the Polish historian Adela Toniak, whose study reproduces 37 of the total 60 documents involved.<sup>507</sup> According to the author, the correspondence in question was found, together with other documents, in July 1944 in a German truck parked on the camp grounds.<sup>508</sup> The extant documentation allows us to reconstruct this aspect of the camp's history almost completely. However, to make all this easier to understand, we shall first outline the bureaucratic procedures involved in obtaining supplies of this insecticide.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup> The company I.G. Farbenindustrie AG only manufactured the warning substance bromoacetic-methylester and the stabilizer chlorocarbonic-methlyester.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup> *APMM*, sygn. I.d.2, v. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> Adela Toniak, *op. cit.* (note 376), pp. 129-170.

#### 2. The Bureaucratic Procedure for Obtaining Zyklon B

A shipment of Zyklon B to the concentration camp Majdanek (and to any other German camp as well) required three separate approvals from higher SS authorities: one sanitation-medical, one financial and one budgetary approval. The path taken by an order was as follows:

The first camp physician requisitioned a certain quantity of Zyklon B from the Administration, specifying its intended use. The Administration passed this request on to Amt DIII (Sanitation and Camp Hygiene) of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office, which approved the order if it was justified from a sanitation and medical perspective. Next, the Administration of camp Maidanek turned to Amt DIV (Concentration Camp Administration), whose Section DIV/5 (Legal, Taxation and Contract Matters) saw to the required financing and approved the necessary funds. Payment was then made via Section DIV/1 (Budget, Funds and Salaries).

Since all materials, especially metals, were rationed under the conditions imposed by the war economy, the company Tesch und Stabenow could only sell the Zyklon B to a state authority if it was granted a sufficient quantity of iron to manufacture the cans in which the Zyklon B was packaged. This requisition (called "Kennziffer", or Reference Number) was sent by Tesch und Stabenow to the Zyklon B manufacturer Dessau Plant, which then received the iron needed for the cans from the appropriate state authority. 776 g iron were required for each can intended to hold 1.5 kg Zyklon B. 509 This follows from two requisitions, dated June 3 and 21, 1943, pertaining to the supply of 1,144 kg iron for 1,474 cans<sup>510</sup> and 2,328 kg for 3,000 cans.<sup>511</sup>

To receive a Reference Number, the company Tesch und Stabenow had to comply with two bureaucratic formalities. First, it had to send a "Metal Allocation Voucher", in triplicate, to the SS Raw Materials Office in Berlin-Halensee. This document, called "Allocation Voucher" for short, was a list of the requested metals (iron, copper, zinc etc.), their quantities and intended use. Second, it had to inform the camp administration of the "Iron Requisition", *i.e.*, the quantity of iron needed to manufacture the cans.

On the request of the concentration camp Administration, the Reference Number was issued by the Iron Distribution Office of the Building Inspection of the Waffen-SS and Police in the General Government, located at Außenring 118, Cracow, and subordinate to the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government. SS-Economist. Building Section. This latter authority was headquartered at the same place as the Building Inspection and was in turn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> The weight is that of the HCN. As we have seen in Chapter VI, a can containing 1,500g Zyklon B weighed 3,750g in total. Aside from the 1,500g HCN it also contained 1,650g kieselguhr or a similar carrier substance. The empty can weighed 600g.  $1{,}144 / 1{,}474 = 0.776$ .

 $<sup>^{511}</sup>$  2,328 / 3,000 = 0.776.

subordinate to the Raw Materials Office of the Reichsführer-SS, headquartered at Kurfürstendamm 143/6, Berlin-Halensee. The aforementioned Iron Distribution Office also issued a special mark, the "Eastern Control Number", which had to be noted on the Metal Allocation Voucher. After approval had been granted by the sanitation-medical and financial authorities in the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office (and sometimes even before, if there was no doubt that these approvals would in fact be granted), the Administration proceeded to order a given quantity of Zyklon B from Tesch und Stabenow. That company then forwarded the supply requisition, with a listing of the required number and size of the cans, to the office in question via the aforementioned bureaucratic channels.

If the Zyklon B was to be delivered by rail, the Administration first had to send Tesch und Stabenow a Wehrmacht Freight Waybill. It could also choose to pick the product up directly from the manufacturer in Dessau, per truck. 'Spent Zyklon' (i.e the inert carrier substance) was collected and returned to the Dessau Plant, where it was recycled. In all likelihood, empty cans were also reused.

As of July 1943, the distributor companies were no longer permitted to supply Zyklon B directly to the camps; the latter had to direct their requests to the Main Sanitation Office in Berlin-Lichtenberg. The basis for this change in supply procedure was the Reich Minister of Commerce's Edict II L 120151/43, as well as Edict Rü A Rü I Nr. 15325/43, issued on July 22, 1943, by the Reich Minister of Arms and Ammunition about the expansion of central procurement of supplies for sanitation purposes.

### 3. The Correspondence Between the Administration and the Company Tesch und Stabenow

In December 1941 typhus broke out among the Soviet POWs interned in Majdanek. On the 23rd of that month, the camp administration contacted Tesch und Stabenow to find out whether they had a branch office in the General Government; there was a possibility, the Administration stated, that "a gassing"512 would need to be performed in the camp. On the 27th Tesch und Stabenow replied in the negative, but enclosed a "Questionnaire for a Cost Estimate" containing all the information needed for the optimal performance of a gassing.<sup>513</sup> However, this correspondence brought no practical results. On

dated Nov. 23, 1941. Re.: gassing with Zyklon B.

513 *Ibid.*, p. 115. Letter from the company Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, dated Dec. 27, 1941.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup> APMM, sygn. I.d.2, v. 1, p. 113. Letter from the Administration to Tesch und Stabenow,

July 29, 1942, SS-*Oberscharführer* Hans Perschon, a member of the Camp Sanitation Service, personally travelled to Hamburg and visited the headquarters of Tesch und Stabenow, where he dropped off two order forms: Form 200, for 3 gas-can openers, 5 reserve blades, 10 gas masks, 200 inserts, 1 gas residue detector and 20 rubber caps, as well as Form 251 for 6,000 cans of Zyklon B at 1.5 kg, *i.e.*, a total of 9 tons. Perschon took some of the auxiliary equipment with him right then and there. Tesch und Stabenow instructed the Dessau Plant to furnish Perschon with 20 crates of 12 cans Zyklon B at 1,500 grams, a total of 240 cans containing 360 kg altogether. The remainder of the Zyklon ordered could not be supplied without the requisite Reference Number. 514

On August 3, 1942, SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Heinrich Worster, Chief of Administration, applied to the Building Administration of the Waffen-SS and Police in the General Government for the allocation of 6,516 kg hot-rolled metal and 98 kg high-grade zinc, explaining his request as follows:<sup>515</sup>

"These Reference Numbers are required in order to obtain the disinfestation equipment and materials needed for this camp, so that the hazards posed by incipient epidemics and contaminated barracks, some of which are already badly louse-infested, can be effectively brought under control."

On August 22, Worster notified the firm Tesch und Stabenow that the previous order had been based on incorrect assumptions: the actual requirement was 1,474 cans at 1,500 g, at a value of RM 13,995.63, of which 360 cans had already been delivered together with invoice no. 1,738 of August 6. Depending on circumstances, another order would be placed, this time for 1,114 cans at a total value of RM 10,577.43. The same day the Chief of Administration sent the following requisition to *Amt DIV* of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office: <sup>517</sup>

"To eliminate the danger of epidemics in this camp, a larger quantity of the disinfestation agent Zyklon CN, supplied by the firm Tesch und Stabenow of Hamburg 1, is required. For the time being, a shipment of 1,474 cans of Zyklon CN, at RM 13,995.63, is needed. Permission for purchase, as well as the transfer of the abovementioned funds, are hereby requested."

Five days later, Amt DIV approved the purchase. 518

On August 26 the company Tesch und Stabenow announced that the order for 6,000 cans had been cancelled. The cans already delivered would be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> Ibid., pp. 107-109. Letter from the company Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, dated July 29, 1942.

<sup>515</sup> Ibid., p. 103. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the Building Administration of the Waffen-SS and Police in the General Government, dated Aug. 3, 1942.

<sup>516</sup> Ibid., p. 99. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated Aug. 22, 1942.

<sup>517</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office, *Amt D IV*, dated Aug. 22, 1942. Re.: obtaining a disinfestant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> Ibid., p. 95. Letter from Amt D IV of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office to the Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, dated Aug. 27, 1942. Re.: obtaining hydrogen cyanide Zyklon.

treated as part of the following order for 1,474 cans. 360 cans had been delivered on July 30 and on August 20, so that 754 cans still remained to be supplied. The entire shipment required an iron allocation of 1,601 kg, for which reason the company requested the prompt issuance of the appropriate Reference Number. On September 4 Tesch und Stabenow inquired with the Administration whether they should ship the remaining 754 cans by rail, or whether the Administration intended to pick them up. On September 7 Worster responded by sending a waybill for rail delivery, noting that the Zyklon already supplied would last until October 1, 1942.

That same day, acting on Worster's request of September 1,<sup>522</sup> Tesch und Stabenow sent the Administration the "Allocation Voucher for Iron and Steel with Control Number East 94584/1942/6.516kg",<sup>523</sup> which was no longer valid; the Building Inspection of the Waffen-SS and Police in the General Government had to issue a new one so that the Reference Number could be replaced with one required for the shipment of 1,601 kg iron. Worster did so on September 14.<sup>524</sup> But the request for allocation of 6,516 kg iron was not cancelled, as Worster had wanted: according to a message from the Head of the Building Group with the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government, SS-Obersturmführer Norbert Grosch (who seems not to have been fully informed of the matter), the request could not be filled because the allotment previously granted the Building Administration had been cancelled on the orders of the Reich Economic Ministry.<sup>525</sup>

On February 2, 1943, the Chief of Administration sent the Dessau Plant a rail shipment of 1,163 kg "Empties (spent Zyklon)", i.e., the inert carrier substance, together with the appropriate Wehrmacht waybill. 526

On May 22, Worster inquired with Tesch und Stabenow whether he could expect the "speedy delivery of another 1,474 cans of Zyklon CN" and asked that in that case he be given the appropriate Reference Number. <sup>527</sup> In their re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> Ibid., p. 93. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, dated Aug. 26, 1942.

<sup>520</sup> Ibid., p. 89. Telex from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, dated Sept. 4, 1942.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the company Tesch und Stabenow, dated Sept. 7, 1942. Re.: shipment of Zyklon B.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the company Tesch und Stabenow, dated Sept. 1, 1942.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, dated Sept. 7, 1942.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the Building Inspection of the Waffen-SS and Police in the General Government, dated Sept. 14, 1942.

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79. Letter from the Chief of the Building Group of the SS-Economist at the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government to the POW Camp Lublin, Sept. 21, 1942.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77. Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, Wehrmacht waybill of Feb. 2, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated May 22, 1943. Re.: obtaining Zyklon CN.

ply of May 28, the company stated that they would be able to fill the order, and asked which kind of can (1,000, 1,200 or 1,500 g) was desired. On June 3, Worster replied by telegraph that cans containing 1,500 g were needed, and asked for prompt notification regarding the Reference Number. Tesch und Stabenow complied the very same day: 1,144 kg iron would be needed to manufacture 1,474 cans of the requested size. Still on June 3, Still on June 3, Tesch und Stabenow replied that the order had already been forwarded to their supplier, and that delivery would take 8 to 10 weeks.

On June 8 the Chief of Administration sent the company Order Form 23 for 3,000 cans of Zyklon at 1,500 g, superseding the previous order for 1,474 cans. <sup>534</sup> On June 12, Worster sent Tesch und Stabenow a Wehrmacht waybill for shipping 200 respirator inserts of type " $\mathcal{J}$ ", <sup>535</sup> and on the 21st of the same month he asked the SS-Economist of the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government for allocation of 2,328 kg iron for the 3,000 cans of Zyklon ordered, adding the following explanation for his request: <sup>536</sup>

"These Reference Numbers are needed for the purchase of the required quantities of hydrocyanic acid (Zyklon) so that disinfestation of inmate quarters and clothing can proceed without delay, to forestall the danger of epidemics."

The following day the Administration issued Tesch und Stabenow a Wehrmacht waybill for 1,500 cans Zyklon B, and inquired whether it could pick up part of the remaining 1,500 cans directly in Dessau.<sup>537</sup> On July 2 the company replied that they had forwarded the inquiry to the Dessau Plant but could not as yet give a definite answer.<sup>538</sup>

529 *Ibid.*, p. 71. Telegraph from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, of June 3, 1943. Re.: obtaining Zyklon CN.

531 *Ibid.*, p. 69. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated June 3, 1943. Re.: respirator inserts.

533 APMM, sygn. I.d.2, v. 1, p. 59. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated June 7, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup> Ibid., p. 73. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated May 28, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated June 3, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> The German filter inserts were of the following kinds: A, B, D, E, F, G, J, K, L, M, O, R and U. Each letter corresponded to a specific color and a specific use. Filter G (blue) was for hydrogen cyanide, Filter J (blue-brown) for Zyklon B. F. Flury and F. Zernik, *op. cit.* (note 395), p. 611.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup> Ibid., p. 63. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated June 8, 1942. Re.: shipment of Zyklon.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid., p. 57. Letter from the Chief of Administration, dated June 12, 1943. Re.: respirator inserts "J".

<sup>536</sup> Ibid., p. 43. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government, dated June 21, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> Ibid., p. 39. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated June 22, 1943.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid., p. 67. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration

On July 10 the Chief of Administration contacted the Dessau Plant directly to find out when he could pick up the Zyklon B ordered; he stressed that the matter was very urgent. He did not need to wait long for an answer: only two days later the Administration received a telegram from Tesch und Stabenow, stating: "500 kg Zyklon ready for pick-up in Dessau—Testa". The Dessau Plant itself also sent the same message, first per telephone and then by telegram personally to SS-Hauptsturmführer Worster: "500 kg Zyklon ready for pick-up on Thursday—Refinery". In the accompanying letter, Tesch und Stabenow rebuked the Administration for having gone over their heads directly to the Dessau Plant; they informed the Administration that 500 kg Zyklon were ready for them in Dessau, but "as a result of repairs that cannot be postponed", no further deliveries could be made until August.

The Reference Number for 3,000 cans Zyklon B ordered on June 8 had been sent to Tesch und Stabenow on June 17,<sup>543</sup> but on August 26 it had not yet been received.<sup>544</sup> Worster now explained the matter to the SS Economist for the Higher SS and Police Chief,<sup>545</sup> who turned to the Raw Materials Office in Berlin-Halensee with the request that they make inquiries with the mail system regarding the lost Reference Number, and approve a new one if need be.<sup>546</sup> As of October 12 Tesch und Stabenow were still waiting for something concrete.<sup>547</sup> It was not until October 20 that the matter was finally resolved: Tesch und Stabenow received a new allocation of 2,328 kg iron.<sup>548</sup>

In August 1943 the sanitary conditions in the camp called for a general disinfection. On the 11th of that month the First Camp Physician sent the following letter to the Administration: 549

Camp Lublin, dated July 2, 1943.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61. Telegraph from the Chief of Administration to the Dessau Plant, July 10, 1943.

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. Telegram from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated July 12, 1943.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated July 12, 1943.

<sup>543</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated July 30, 1943.

<sup>544</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated Aug. 26, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the Higher SS and Police Chief in the General Government. The SS-Economist, dated Sept. 1, 1943.

<sup>546</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17. Letter from the Chief of Group C—Buildings to the Raw Materials Office in Berlin-Halensee, dated Sept. 7, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated Oct. 12, 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>548</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated Oct. 20, 1943.

<sup>549</sup> Ibid., p. 37. Letter from the First Camp Physician of the Concentration Camp Lublin to the Administration, dated Aug. 11, 1943.

"Since another thorough disinfection is to be performed in the Men's Concentration Camp, a larger quantity of Cyklon gas will be required. I hereby request that a supply of this gas be ordered so that efforts at disinfection can proceed without interruption."

On August 12 the Administration replied that they had already ordered large quantities of Zyklon B from Tesch und Stabenow, but that only a small part of the order had been received to date. Further, "as a consequence of the terror attacks on Hamburg" no further deliveries could be expected for the time being; the Administration requested that "disinfection should not begin just vet." <sup>550</sup>

That same day the Administration sent Tesch und Stabenow a letter pointing out that of the 3,000 cans Zyklon ordered on June 8, only 342 cans, at 1,500 grams, a total of 513 kg, had been delivered on July 16, with invoice dated July 19. The Administration requested the immediate delivery of at least 1,500 cans and inquired when it might expect the remaining 2,658 cans. <sup>551</sup> In its reply the company stated that it had forwarded the inquiry to their supplier, and asked whether the Administration had picked up the 500 kg Zyklon that had been set aside in Dessau on July 12. <sup>552</sup> Since the Administration had received only 342 cans, for which the invoice was issued by Tesch und Stabenow, it is clear that these 500 kg had not been picked up. On August 31 the Chief of Administration sent a protest to the company because no further deliveries had taken place beyond the aforementioned 342 cans; he concluded his letter with the words: <sup>553</sup>

"Disinfection of the camp is urgently necessary and cannot tolerate further delays in supply."

The same day Worster also wrote to the Dessau Plant and requested shipment of the remaining Zyklon B order, which was most urgently needed "for disinfecting the camp." <sup>554</sup>

On September 11 the First Camp Physician again sent an urgent request to the Administration:<sup>555</sup>

"I hereby request that larger quantities of disinfection gas be ordered, for purposes of disinfecting the camp. Reason: the supply of disinfectant gas is almost exhausted and an undesirable interruption of efforts at disinfection may result."

<sup>550</sup> Ibid., p. 33. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the First Camp Physician, dated Aug. 12, 1943, Re.: disinfection with Zyklon gas.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid., p. 31. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated Aug. 12, 1943.

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated Aug. 25, 1943.

<sup>553</sup> Ibid., p. 27. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated Aug. 31, 1943.

<sup>554</sup> Ibid., p. 29. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the Dessau Plant, dated Aug. 31, 1943. Re.: shipment of Zyklon.

<sup>5555</sup> Ibid., p. 19. Letter from the First Camp Physician to the Administration, dated Sept. 11, 1943.

On September 13, the Administration replied that the manufacturer was "extremely overtaxed" and that they did not know when and in what quantities "disinfectant gas" would become available to the camp. Worster advised the camp doctor

"[...] to use the remaining supply of disinfectant gas as sparingly as possible and, accordingly, to restrict disinfection to only the most absolutely necessary." 556

On the 21st of that same month, the Chief of Administration wrote the First Camp Physician a letter again dealing with "disinfectant gas"; with reference to the earlier letter, he stated that a delivery of 666 cans of Zyklon (corresponding to 999 kg) was expected to arrive at the camp in the next few days, and requested that "in light of this, please proceed with disinfection." 557

On June 19, 1944, Worster had sent an inquiry to Tesch und Stabenow, asking whether the company could manage the speedy delivery of another 1,500 cans of the insecticide. <sup>558</sup> Their answer was as follows: <sup>559</sup>

"In reply to your abovementioned letter, we must inform you that due to the Edict of the Reich Minister of Commerce, II L 1/20151/43, and the Reich Minister of Arms and Ammunition, Rü A Rü I Nr. 15325/43 of July 22, 1943, regarding the expansion of central procurement of supplies for sanitation purposes, this kind of order is no longer to be filled directly.

Therefore we regret that we cannot accept orders from you directly. Rather, we would ask that you requisition further supplies either directly from the Main Sanitation Office in Berlin-Lichtenberg, or via the Sanitation Office in charge of your area."

The Administration attempted to negotiate this obstacle by turning to the garrison physician of the SS and Police Lublin, who placed a "special order for 500 cans of Cyclon B" with Amt DIII on July 3, 1944, stating that there was a pressing need for this substance:<sup>560</sup>

"Due to the numerous cases of typhus presently occurring in the field hospital for Soviet Russian war-disabled, as well as due to the increase in inmate population resulting from transferred and newly committed inmates, the camp cannot do without Cyclon B."

This is the last document in this correspondence. Twenty days after this letter was written, the Red Army moved into Majdanek.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>556</sup> Ibid., p. 13. Letter from the Chief of Administration to the First Camp Physician, dated Sept. 13, 1943. Re.: disinfectant gas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>558</sup> Ibid., p. 5. Letter from the Chief of Administration to Tesch und Stabenow, dated June 19, 1944. Re.: obtaining Zyklon CN.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid., p. 3. Letter from Tesch und Stabenow to the Administration of the Concentration Camp Lublin, dated June 26, 1944.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid., p. 1. Letter from the garrison physician of the SS and Police Lublin to the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office, Amt D III. Re.: special order of Cyklon B.

# 4. The Quantity of Zyklon B Supplied to the Concentration Camp Majdanek

In her aforementioned article, Adela Toniak points out gaps in the surviving documentation, and writes:<sup>561</sup>

"For the reasons mentioned, any attempt at calculating the exact quantities of Zyklon supplied to Majdanek encounters a serious obstacle. Of the first order for 6,000 cans at 1,500 g, 300 cans were delivered on July 30, 1942, and 764 on September 4. A gap in the correspondence extends from September 22, 1942, to July 1, 1943, after which this order is not mentioned again, therefore one must assume that shipment was made and that the camp received 2,211 kg Zyklon B.

The first document from after this gap states that 500 kg Zyklon were ready for the camp, to be picked up in Dessau. This shows that the administration had ordered more of the gas in the meantime.

After another gap, this time of two months, it again ordered 1,474 cans Zyklon B, and a few days later, 3,000 more cans = 4,500 kg, identifying this last letter as Order No. 23. The following correspondence refers to the second order, and it is the only one to be invoiced. Later letters indicate that the camp authorities received 342 cans = 513 kg [Zyklon B] and 666 cans = 999 kg, a total of 2,012 kg.

The subsequent eight-month gap in the documentation—after which another order was placed for 1,500 cans Zyklon B at 1,500 g, which was changed on July 3, 1944, to an order for 500 cans—gives cause to assume that the 4,500 kg of the substance in question had been delivered in full. A simple calculation shows that in 1943 the camp received 5,000 kg Zyklon B from the manufacturer."

The correspondence ends with the July 3, 1944, order for 500 cans Zyklon B. In fact, the camp office files contain no record of this order, but 1,000 cans of gas were found in Majdanek immediately after liberation, proving that the order placed with this letter actually was filled.

Summing up the calculations based on the surviving letters, we conclude that between July 29, 1942, and July 3, 1944, the camp administration of Majdanek received shipments of Zyklon B totalling 7,711 kg.

The following is a table summary of Adela Toniak's calculations:

| YEAR | # OF CANS | QUANTITY |
|------|-----------|----------|
| 1942 | 1,474     | 2,211 kg |
| 1943 | (333)     | 500 kg   |
| 1944 | 3,000     | 4,500 kg |
|      | 500       | 500 kg   |
|      | Total     | 7,711 kg |

This calculation contains two glaring errors. The first relates to the 500 kg Zyklon B mentioned in the two telegrams of July 12, 1943; as we have seen in the previous, these not only comprised part of the order of June 8, 1943, for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> Adela Toniak, op. cit. (note 376), pp. 136f.

3,000 cans at 1,500 grams, but what is more, the camp administration did not even pick them up. That means that Adela Toniak counted these 500 kg twice.

The second error relates to the 500 cans from the special order of July 3, 1944. According to the Polish-Soviet Commission, 535 cans of Zyklon B were found in Majdanek, 562 135 containing 500 g and the remaining 400 containing 1,500 g of the insecticide. 563 Adela Toniak attributed a content of 1,000 g Zyklon B to each of the mentioned 500 cans, but cans of this weight were neither mentioned in the documents nor ever found. If the 500 cans in question were actually supplied, they either contained 1,500 g each of the insecticide—and in that case the shipment's total weight was 750 kg—or else they contained 500 g each, in which case their contents totaled 250 kg. The latter is probably most likely, since all previous orders had been for cans containing 1,500 g, meaning that the 135 cans of differing size (500 g) can only have been part of the last shipment to the camp. Other considerations also support this hypothesis.

Of the 3,000 cans = 4,500 kg Zyklon B ordered on June 8, 1943, the administration received 1,008 cans by the end of September of that year: 342 cans (=513 kg) on July 16 and 666 cans (=999 kg) in late September. Therefore, the remaining 1,992 cans were delivered in the following months, and this supply lasted until the day—June 19, 1944—when the Administration inquired whether Tesch und Stabenow could manage the "speedy delivery" of an additional 1,500 cans at 1,500 g. Therefore, the 400 cans at 1,500 g mentioned by the Polish-Soviet Commission no doubt were part of this total of 1,992 cans. The remaining 135 cans at 500 g, which made for a rather insignificant quantity of Zyklon (67.5 kg), could hardly have comprised an entire delivery, so that it is extremely likely that these were the remainder of a shipment of 500 cans of this size.

All this indicates that the order of July 3, 1944, resulted in the camp receiving 500 cans at 500 g Zyklon B, a total of 250 kg.

We can now tabulate how much Zyklon B was supplied to the Majdanek camp in total:

| YEAR  | # OF CANS | QUANTITY |
|-------|-----------|----------|
| 1942  | 1,474     | 2,211 kg |
| 1943  | 3,000     | 4,500 kg |
| 1944  | 500       | 250 kg   |
| Total | 4,974     | 6,961 kg |

What remains to be determined is whether there were other shipments not noted in the surviving documentation. The following table 5summarizes the orders and deliveries as indicated in the documents:

 $<sup>^{562}</sup>$  The 1,000 cans mentioned by A. Toniak are not supported by any documentation.  $^{563}$  cf. Chapter VI.

| ZYKLON B SHIPM | ENTS TO THE | I IIDI INLM | AIDANEZ | ('ANID |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------|--------|

| Orders Date | # of cans | mass [kg] | Deliveries<br>Time span | # of cans | mass [kg] |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 07/25/1942  |           |           | July 30, 1942           | 360       | 540       |
| 08/22/1942  | 1,1/1     | 2,211     | Aug. 20, 1942           |           | 540       |
|             |           |           | Sept. 1942              | 754       | 1,131     |
|             |           |           | Subtotal                | 1,474     | 2,211     |
| 05/22/1943  | 3,000     | 4,500     | July 16, 1943           | 342       | 513       |
| 06/08/1943  |           |           | Sept. 1943              | 666       | 999       |
|             |           |           | Oct. 1943 to            | 1,992     | 2,988     |
|             |           |           | June 1944               |           |           |
|             |           |           | Subtotal                | 3,000     | 4,500     |
| 06/19/1944  | (500)     | (250)     | July 1944               | (500)     | (250)     |
| 07/03/1944  |           |           |                         |           |           |
| Total:      | 4,974     | 6,961     |                         | 4,974     | 6,961     |

As we can see, there are two long intervals between the orders—one of nine months (August 22, 1942, to May 22, 1943) and one of an entire year (June 8, 1943, to June 19, 1944). The few documents from these time periods contain no mention of additional Zyklon shipments. Where the second interval is concerned, any such additional shipments can be definitely ruled out, because when the camp Administration ordered 1,500 cans Zyklon from Tesch und Stabenow on June 19, 1944, the latter refused the order, making reference to an edict by the Reich Minister of Commerce and the Reich Minister of Arms and Ammunition from July 22, 1943. Clearly, therefore, the administration was not yet aware of this edict, issued a year earlier, which proves that no further orders had been placed after that of June 8, 1943.

Regarding the first interval, we note that from the time from September 22, 1942, to May 22, 1943, only one single relevant document is known to exist—namely, the Wehrmacht waybill of February 2, 1943, with which the Administration returned 1,163 kg "spent Zyklon" to the Dessau Plant. Since the inert carrier substance in one can of Zyklon B weighed 1,650 g, this quantity theoretically corresponded to (1,163/1.65=) 705 cans. In practice, of course, one had to expect that some of the carrier would be lost, so that this quantity may have come from the 720 cans delivered on July 30 and August 20, 1942, or from the 754 cans delivered in September 1942. In the first case, the Administration would have had a remaining supply of 754 cans in early February 1943, and an order prior to the inquiry of May 22 of that year would have been superfluous; in the second case, the administration would have used up the entire supply from 1942. As pointed out before, the letter of May 22, 1943,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup> In this case the loss would amount to approx. 2%.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup> In this case the loss would amount to approx. 6.5%.

was not an actual order, but merely an inquiry: the Administration wanted to know if a delivery of "another 1,474 cans of Zyklon CN" would be possible. The wording indicates that exactly this number of cans had been ordered before—but was the order in question that of 1942 or another, later one?

To answer this question, let us briefly recap what we have found so far:

- 1) As we have shown with regard to the second, undocumented interval, an absence of documents need not mean that any documents are actually missing;
- 2) The Wehrmacht waybill of February 2, 1943, agrees perfectly with the hypothesis that at that time only 720 of the 1,474 cans of Zyklon B ordered in 1942 had been used up;
- 3) There is no indication of Zyklon deliveries having taken place in the time in question.

The logical conclusion can only be that no undocumented orders were placed.

One last point needs to be cleared up. The time from December 27, 1941, to July 29, 1942, is another long period for which we know of no orders or shipments of Zyklon. Could there have been some anyway?

This last question also can be unequivocally denied. The July 29, 1942, letter from Tesch und Stabenow states:

"Delivery will be made based on our current list prices and our enclosed terms of sale and delivery. We would ask you to return one copy of these terms, [566] signed and with your official stamp."

This shows that Tesch und Stabenow had not supplied the Administration with Zyklon before, since otherwise the latter would already have been familiar with the terms of sale and delivery and the manufacturer would not have needed to explain anything.

### 5. Purpose of the Zyklon B Shipments

Even though the documents do not give cause for even the slightest doubt that the Zyklon B ordered by the Administration of the concentration camp Majdanek was used for disinfestation and nothing else, Adela Toniak prefers to believe in its homicidal purpose. She writes:<sup>567</sup>

"Based on the surviving correspondence regarding the shipments of Zyklon B gas to Majdanek, one finds that this substance was received in enormous quantities but was nonetheless constantly in short supply, and that the camp authorities sent numerous reminders in this regard.

<sup>567</sup> Adela Toniak, *op. cit.* (note 376), p. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup> This was a Statement of Terms titled "Verkaufs- und Lieferbedingungen für Zyklon, Calcid, Aethylenoxyd oder T-Gas, Tritox und Cartox". APMM, sygn. I.d.2, v. 1, p. 121.

One must keep in mind that the mass extermination was kept strictly secret, so that the letters ordering the Zyklon B did not reveal its purpose. This purpose only becomes apparent in the last letter, where we encounter a sort of code word ('special order') which the Germans often used to hint at the liquidation of the inmates.

The reason given in the letters ordering the gas was the need to disinfect the camp due to the epidemics raging there. Originally, this poison had in fact been developed as an insecticide. However, disinfestations of such frequency and extent as would correspond to the quantities of the chemical product that were actually ordered would have been not at all commensurate with the purpose and principles of the camp.

Incidentally, the witness statements and recollections of the former inmates indicate that disinfestation of the inmates' quarters in the camp was done only sporadically. Besides, as I have already pointed out, steam delousing chambers for disinfecting the clothing were located in the immediate vicinity of the gas chambers.

After all, the placement of an order for gas just prior to the camp's liberation proves nothing other than the intent to use it to murder sick and exhausted inmates whose evacuation would have been a problem. The piles of corpses of gassed people [zagazowanych ludzi] that were found in the camp after the Germans had fled confirm this.

When placed into context with other documents, the correspondence about the Zyklon B supplied to the Majdanek camp reveals one fragment of the mechanism by which the system of concentration camps functioned. It sheds light on a little-known matter which the authorities of the Reich kept a closely guarded secret."

From a historical perspective this argument is utterly unfounded. Since devastating typhus epidemics raged in Majdanek time and again (which even Polish historiography cannot deny), and since Zyklon B was the most effective means with which to combat them (which even Adela Toniak concedes), there is no good reason to assume that the shipments of Zyklon served any purpose other than the extermination of lice. Regarding the "code word 'special order", this kind of decipherment is part of an outmoded system of interpretation that flourished in earlier decades but has been thoroughly disqualified by Jean-Claude Pressac. Pressac states that 97 to 98% of the Zyklon B supplied to Auschwitz were used for delousing and only 2 to 3% for homicidal gassings. <sup>568</sup> If homicidal gassings had in fact taken place in that camp, those 2 to 3% would have sufficed to accomplish the alleged number of gas chamber murders, so that Pressac's calculation is theoretically correct.

This goes even more so for Majdanek, where a mere 1% of the Zyklon delivered there would have sufficed for the alleged number of homicidal gassings.

The proof of this is as follows:

Jean-Claude Pressac, Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers, New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989, p. 188; also Jean-Claude Pressac, Die Krematorien von Auschwitz. Die Technik des Massenmordes, Munich: Piper, 1994, p. 58.

In Chamber III, one can of Zyklon B (1,500 g) would have been enough to kill 1,900 people with a concentration of HCN exceeding by a factor of ten the concentration of 3g/m³ which produces lethal effects in a very short time. <sup>569</sup> Even if we accept Z. Łukaszkiewicz's victim count, according to which one-quarter of the alleged 360,000 victims of Majdanek were gassed and which today's Polish historiography acknowledges to be an exaggeration, these 90,000 people could have been killed with approximately 70 kg of the poison, *i.e.*, with about 1% of the actual quantity supplied.

The room in question covers a surface area of approximately  $35\text{m}^2$  and has a volume of about  $70\text{m}^3$ . Presupposing a maximum number of 218 victims per gassing, and subtracting the volume these victims take up from the total room volume, <sup>570</sup> one is left with a remaining volume of roughly  $57\text{m}^3$ . Under these conditions, (3 × 57 =) approximately 170 g Zyklon B would have been quite enough to kill the 218 victims, and a single 1,500 g can of the poison would have sufficed to gas 1,900 people.

Where the term "special order" is concerned, which Adela Toniak interprets as a "code word", this term clearly has to do with the edict issued on July 22, 1943, by the Reich Minister of Commerce and the Reich Minister of Arms and Ammunition, which the company Tesch und Stabenow referred to in their letter of June 19, 1944; as the reader will recall, the company wrote that due to the new regulations they could no longer supply Zyklon B directly to the individual camps. The letter in which the term "special order" was used was from the garrison physician of the SS and Police Lublin. Enclosed with this letter was a copy of the June 26, 1944, letter from Tesch und Stabenow, in which the company had responded to the inquiry it had received from the camp Administration one week before. Clearly, by turning to the garrison physician of the SS and Police Lublin instead of the Main Sanitation Office in Berlin-Lichtenberg, the Administration hoped to go through the earlier bureaucratic channels in which Amt DIII of the SS Economic-Administrative Main Office was involved—but this channel was no longer the proper one and was to be used only under exceptional circumstances. It is precisely such an exceptional case to which the term "special order" refers.

In plain English, the argument that well-organized disinfestations "would have been not at all commensurate with the purpose and principles of the camp" means that such disinfestations, whose purpose was to keep the inmates from dying in an epidemic, would have run counter to the purpose of an extermination camp. In other words: if Majdanek was an extermination camp,

<sup>569</sup> The concentration of HCN that is "*immediately fatal*" to human beings is 0.3 g/liter. F. Flury, F. Zernik, *op. cit.* (note 395), p. 453.

The postulated maximum capacity of this chamber in a hypothetical execution gassing (218 victims per gassing) corresponds to that specified by the Polish-Soviet Commission (cf. Chapter VI). These 218 victims would have taken up a volume of approx. 13m<sup>3</sup>, so that the actual volume of the chamber would have decreased to 57m<sup>3</sup>.

the Zyklon shipment *had to be* for killing the inmates and *could not be* for their protection from epidemic-related death.

What we have here is a classic "vicious circle": that Majdanek was an extermination camp is proven by the Zyklon B shipments, and that these shipments could only have been for criminal purposes is proven by Majdanek's having been an extermination camp!

As an aside: by resorting to witness testimony to assess the meaning of documents, Adela Toniak commits a grave methodological error. A serious scientific and academic historian judges eyewitness testimony on the basis of documents, not vice versa. <sup>571</sup>

The possible existence of steam delousing chambers in Barrack 42 (for which Toniak fails to give any evidence) does not prove anything at all, since the Zyklon B ordered was used to delouse both the camp barracks and the clothing. Accordingly, the Administration's June 21, 1943, letter speaks of the "disinfestation of inmate quarters and *clothing*". The clothing was deloused in the gas chamber of Barrack 41 and in that (Chamber III) of the adjoining building (Building XII<sup>A</sup>).

And finally, Adela Toniak even claims the ability to mind-read mere intent: the July 3, 1944, special order of 500 cans of Zyklon B, she says, "proves nothing other than the intent to use it to murder sick and exhausted inmates". This interpretation is based on two completely unfounded premises, namely that "special order" was a code word of criminal significance and that the bodies of gassing victims were found in the camp. We have already established the invalidity of the first premise; regarding the second, we note that not a single one of the autopsies carried out by the Polish-Soviet Commission on the bodies discovered in Majdanek found gassing to have been the cause of death. Thus, Adela Toniak's claim is devoid of any historical foundations. What is more, her completely arbitrary interpretation is refuted further by the fact that the sick inmates who could be moved were transferred *en masse* to other camps before the Red Army arrived, while those who were not fit to be moved were left behind.<sup>572</sup>

To conclude: the Zyklon B shipments to the concentration camp Majdanek served the purpose of disinfestation, and nothing else!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>571</sup> Cf. Chapter VII. <sup>572</sup> Cf. Chapter III.

# Chapter IX: Operation "Harvest Festival"

#### 1. Origin of the Name

In its entry for "Harvest Festival", the Enzyklopädie des Holocaust writes: 573

"Code word for the murder of most of the Jews in the Lublin District of the General Government on November 3-4, 1943 [...]. In total, 42,000 to 43,000 Jews were murdered during 'Operation Harvest Festival', including those in smaller forced labor camps such as Chełm."

Several authors have touched on this gigantic massacre that is alleged by official historiography, but not one of these authors has approached the matter from an historical and technical perspective. We shall attempt to do this in the present chapter.

Let us begin by noting that while the "code word" Operation Harvest Festival appears in every work discussing the alleged massacre, the origin of this name is not explained in any of them. Who coined the phrase? Who used it? In which documents does it appear? The historians maintain a deafening silence on these fundamental questions—which is not really surprising, since there is not a single document dealing with this alleged mass execution. The only documented use of the term "harvest festival" falling approximately into the time in question occurs in the diary of Hans Frank. In his summary of an October 23 discussion with Secretary of State Josef Bühler, President Ohlenbusch, Press Chief Gassner and Senior Provincial Administrative Councillor Weirauch, Frank used this term, but strictly in the literal sense: Count A. Ronikier, Chairman of the Polish Chief Committee, had sent the Governor General a letter in which he stated that his participation in the harvest festival scheduled for the following day would depend on whether or not the Germans would guarantee that no Poles would be executed. 574

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup> Enzyklopädie des Holocaust. op. cit. (note 7), v. I, pp. 418f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> PS-2233. In: *IMT*, vol. XXIX, pp. 614f. Frank replied that if Count Ronikier was outraged by the execution of Polish partisans by the Germans, then he, Frank, was even more outraged by the murder of almost 1,000 Germans by the Poles. *Ibid*.

# 2. Past History and Reasons for the Alleged Massacre According to Official Historiography

In a long article about "Operation Harvest Festival", Adam Rutkowski writes: 575

"The prisoners' revolt in the extermination camp Sobibór [on October 14, 1943] took the German occupation authorities completely by surprise and triggered a panic. They began to regard the Nazi camps for Jews in the surrounding area as 'highly dangerous hotbeds of resistance' and as autonomous breeding grounds for unrest and chaos. This revolt attracted the attention not only of the police, military and administrative authorities in the District but also that of Hans Frank himself, the Governor General of occupied Poland. On October 19, 1943, just five days after this unusual event, Frank convened an extraordinary meeting of the 'government' in Cracow to discuss the matter of security. All experts and persons responsible for 'order' in the General Government (G.G.) attended, namely Police General Walther Bierkamp, Commandant of the Orpo [=Ordnungspolizei, Order Police], General Haseldorff as representative of the Wehrmacht, General Sommé as representative of the Luftwaffe, Secretary of State Josef Bühler, General Schindler, the Chief of Army Inspection in the G.G., etc. Referring to the recent events in Sobibór, all participants stressed the great danger which the 'Jew camps' in the Lublin District posed for the Germans."

There is no question that approximately 300 inmates broke out of the Sobibór camp on October 14, 1943. Among other units, the three squadrons of the Pol. Cavalry Unit III, stationed in Chełm, were detailed for hunting the fugitives down. Regarding the deployment of the first squadron, their "Situation Reports" for the time from September 26 to October 25, 1943, state: 576

"From October 14 to October 18, 1943, the squadron participated in the Jewrelated operations of the SS Special Unit Sobibór (40 km northeast of Cholm). In cooperation with the Wehrmacht and the Customs Border Patrol [sic], about 100 of the 300 escaped Jews could be eliminated."

Regarding the second squadron, the reports state:<sup>577</sup>

"The second squadron participated in the following major operations: on October 14, 1943, together with the SS.-Pol. Cavalry Unit III, in the forested area north of Kaplonosy. On October 16 to 18, 1943, together with the SS-Pol. Cavalry Unit III, at Sobibór."

However, these brief reports would not seem to indicate that the German authorities were all that worried about security in the Lublin area. While it is true that Hans Frank convened a session on October 19 to discuss this matter,

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

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<sup>575</sup> Adam Rutkowski, "L'opération 'Erntefest' (Fête de moisson) ou le massacre de 43.000 juifs les 3-5 novembre 1943 dans les camps de Majdanek, de Poniatowa et de Trawniki," in: Le Monde Juif, octobre-décembre 1973, no. 72, pp. 13ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup> Wojciech Zysko, "Eksterminacyjna działalność Truppenpolizei w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1943-1944" (The extermination activity of the Troop Police in the Lublin District in 1943-1944), in: ZM, VI, 1972, p. 186.

the discussions focused primarily on the results of the decree regarding combating attacks on the German reconstruction efforts in the General Government which had already been proposed by Assistant Secretary Wehr on October 2, 1943, 578 and which had taken effect on October 10, four days before the mass escapes from Sobibór. This decree, intended particularly as countermeasure to the Polish Resistance movement, provided for an expansion of the areas of jurisdiction of all security organs as well as for public reprisals against the murder of Germans by partisans. Any danger posed to security in the Lublin district by Jewish camps was so purely hypothetical that it is not even mentioned in the excerpts of the October 19 session protocol, which was submitted at the Nuremberg Trial, 579 even though the authors of Nuremberg Document PS-2233 scoured Hans Frank's diary thoroughly for anything which might have served to fashion a noose for him and the members of his Administration.

#### 3. The Chain of Command

A. Rutkowski reconstructs the relevant chain of command as follows: 580

"After Himmler had been informed of the revolt in Sobibór and about the mass escape of the rebels, he ordered Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Higher SS and Police Chief of the General Government, to liquidate all Jewish camps in the Lublin District as quickly as possible. Krüger then called Jakob Sporrenberg, the SS and Police Chief of the same District, to Cracow to inform him of Himmler's order and to put him in charge of carrying it out [...]. After a brief stay in Cracow, Sporrenberg returns to Lublin, where a telegraph message awaits him: SS and Police units will arrive in Lublin to launch the operation against the Jews [...].

In those days, [581] special SS units and commandos arrive in Majdanek, just as General Krüger had announced. They came from various locations, including from the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. Erich Muhsfeldt, then Chief of the Majdanek crematorium, testified that ten SS-men commanded by Otto Moll and Franz Hössler arrived from Auschwitz. The remaining commandos came from Cracow, Warsaw, Radom, Lwów, Lublin and Debica."

The verdict at the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial describes the last phase of the chain of command as follows: 582

"Late in the evening of November 2, 1943, Sporrenberg called together the leaders of the units intended to participate in this operation—the leaders of units of the Commander of the Security Police (KdS) in Lublin, of the Waffen-SS, and of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup> *IMT*, vol. XXIX, p. 612.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 612f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>580</sup> Adam Rutkowski, *op. cit.* (note 575), p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>581</sup> Between October 30 and November 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. II, pp. 459f.

Police Regiments 22 and 25—as well as the Commandants of the camps Majdanek, Poniatowo [actually: Poniatowa] and Trawniki. Representing the concentration camp in these discussions was either the deputy camp Commandant Florstedt, who had been arrested shortly before [...] or the newly appointed camp Commandant Weiss. During these discussions Sporrenberg advised those present of the impending measures, justifying them by pointing out that the Jews remaining in the Lublin district were to be liquidated 'as per the highest orders'."

Before we continue we must explain how the police force in the General Government, and specifically in Lublin District, was structured in early November 1943. The Higher SS and Police Chief (HSSPF), SS-*Obergruppenführer* Krüger, reported directly to Himmler; Krüger himself was the superior to the Commander of the Order Police (BdO), Major General of the Police Grünwald, and to the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (BdS), SS-*Oberführer* Bierkamp. Also subordinate to the HSSPF was the SS and Police Chief (SSPF) of Lublin District, SS-*Gruppenführer* Sporrenberg. Himmler was the Supreme Chief of the police force, but Governor General Frank, who reported directly to Adolf Hitler, attached great importance not only to his complete independence of Himmler but also to his command over all police formations in the General Government, and he made no secret of this. The following is one example from the time period here at issue:

On October 23, 1943, on the occasion of the beginning of the winter semester at the new University of Cracow's Academy of Administration, Frank gave a lecture on the topic of "The Leadership Principle in Administration" in which he said, inter alia:<sup>583</sup>

"We are subordinate exclusively and directly to the Führer. In the General Government the Administration has the same functions as the Reich government and the other Reich offices have in the Reich proper. We have legislative authority for this region. Police and security forces are subordinate to the Governor General."

Three days later, during the government session of October 26, 1943, Frank took same line:<sup>584</sup>

"The policy which I was determined from the start to maintain in this region is sanctioned by the Führer; he is the only one to whom we are answerable. No-one else has the right to give us orders in any way, shape or form."

This was no vain bragging, for the HSSPF of the General Government, Krüger, was also Secretary of State for Security Matters and as such was also subordinate to Frank.

In practice, any order issued by Himmler for the execution of more than 40,000 Jews in the camps of Lublin District could under no circumstances have been carried out without Frank's approval. If Himmler had actually planned such a massacre, there would unquestionably have been some perti-

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 630.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>583</sup> PS-2233. *IMT*, vol. XXIX, p. 614.

nent comments to be found in Frank's diary, regardless whether the Governor General had approved or rejected the plan. But Frank's diary contains not even the slightest suggestion of any such enormous mass murder—neither about its order nor about preparations for it, nor about its implementation, beginning with the aforementioned session of October 19, 1943.

Another strange circumstance is the following:

On November 18, two weeks after the alleged slaughter, Himmler was in Cracow as the Governor General's guest. If the butchery had really taken place, then only with Frank's permission, and what better opportunity could the latter have found to praise the executor of the bloody order? In the presence of Himmler and "leading members of the General Government's Administration and numerous SS and Police Chiefs" (in other words, men with whom he could have been perfectly open), Frank gave an address in which he praised the police and thanked Krüger for having crushed a partisan group. He said: 585

"What the police from all units have achieved here need not be spelled out; their achievements make up one of the proudest chapters in German police history. The fact that you, my dear General Krüger, did such exceptionally good work this summer in combating the so-called Kolbak Gang, which like a bolt out of the blue suddenly struck the District Galicia which we had thought was almost pacified, is a particularly glorious chapter of your achievements. I would like to express my especial gratitude, and thank you in the name of all Germans and all members of the Administration."

Regarding an "Operation Harvest Festival", on the other hand, Himmler said nothing at all, even though if it had taken place he would have had even more reasons to thank Krüger, even if only in veiled form, for example with a covert reference to the Jews in the General Government whose number had declined because they had "emigrated or been shipped East". 586

But what is even more strange is the way in which Odilo Globocnik described the events of that November 3:<sup>587</sup>

"On November 3, 1943, the labor forces were taken from the labor camps and the plants were shut down. The camp Commandants had not been informed of this, even though the responsibility rested with them; thus, I was hindered in the performance of my supervisory duties. I instructed the camp Commandants to carry out the closures and to continue ascertaining orders and transfers.

The day before the camp was evacuated, Arms Inspector/Cracow General Schindler, acting on the basis of SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger's promise, came to an agreement with the camp leaders that

- a) henceforth only arms orders will be sent to the camps;
- b) on November 2 he had been assured that another 10,000 Jews would be detailed to armaments work. This agreement could not be met."

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 619-621.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>585</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 618.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup> Wirtschaftlicher Teil der Aktion Reinhardt. Undated document by Odilo Globocnik. NO-057.

So just one day prior to the alleged mass murder, Schindler and Krüger were intending to expand the camps in Lublin District and to assign another 10,000 Jewish forced laborers. But if Krüger had received Himmler's order a few weeks earlier, decreeing that the Jews in the SS labor camps were to be shot, then how can one explain his above "promise" to the Commandants of these selfsame camps... and on the day before the mass execution, no less?

The fact that these Commandants had not been informed of the evacuation of the Jews from the camps, set for November 3, is admittedly very odd, regardless whether one presumes the murder or the transfer of these Jewish workers.

We are indeed left with an unsolved riddle here.

### 4. Carrying out the Order

In essence, all descriptions of the alleged massacre are based on the account of SS-*Oberscharführer* Erich Mußfeldt, who testified that he had had to attend the mass execution at the new Crematorium and afterwards had supervised the cremation of the corpses. It is therefore worth repeating in detail what Mußfeldt stated on August 16, 1947, in Polish captivity: 588

"One day in late October 1943 the excavation of pits was begun behind Compounds V and VI, approximately 50 meters behind the structure of the new Crematorium. 300 inmates were put to this work; they dug without interruption for three days and nights, in two shifts of 150 each. In the course of these three days, three pits were excavated; they were more than two meters deep, zigzag-shaped, and each about 100 m long.

During these three days, special commandos from the concentration camp Auschwitz as well as SS and Police commandos from Cracow, Warsaw, Radom, Lwów and Lublin gathered in Majdanek. Otto Moll and Franz Hössler came from Auschwitz with 10 SS men. Altogether, some 100 SS men arrived from the cities I mentioned, and these SS men made up the Special Commando. On the fourth day—it may have been November 3—reveille was already sounded at 5:00 a.m. Therefore I went to that part of the camp where I usually stayed. The entire camp was surrounded by the police; I would estimate that there were about 500 policemen. They stood guard with their weapons at the ready. They were armed with heavy and light submachine guns as well as with other automatic weapons.

A truck mounted with a radio transmitter was parked near the new Crematorium; a second such truck stood near the camp entrance, not far from the Building Administration. When I arrived at the camp grounds, both transmitters were already on. They broadcast German marches and songs as well as dance music from records. The two trucks had been provided by the Propaganda Office [of the NSDAP] in Lublin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup> Anna Zmijewska-Wiśniewska, op. cit. (note 164), pp. 142-146.

I want to stress that up to that day I had no idea of the storm that was gathering. While the pits were being dug I had thought that they were air-raid trenches, since an anti-aircraft battery was stationed nearby. I asked an SS-man what they were for but I received no answer, and I got the impression that he himself didn't know what it was all about. The Jews who had been put to digging the pits replied to my questions that these pits were surely intended for them. I wouldn't believe that; I laughed at them and said that no doubt they were air-raid trenches. It was an honest remark, for at that time I really thought that.

Around 6:00 a.m.—or maybe it was already near 7:00 a.m.—the operation began. Some of the Jews who were gathered on Compound V were herded into a barrack, where they had to strip naked. Then Commander Thumann cut the wires of the fence separating Compound V from those pits, making a passageway. Armed policemen formed a human chain from this passageway to the pit. The naked Jews were led past this line-up to the pits, where an SS-man from the Special Commando chased them into one of the pits, in groups of ten. When they were in one, they were chased to the other end of the pit, where they had to lie down, and then an SS-man from the Special Commando shot them from the edge of the pit. The next group was likewise driven to the same end of the pit, where they had to lie down on the bodies already there, so that the pit gradually filled with layers of corpses lying crosswise almost up to the edge. Men and women were shot separately, in separate groups.

This operation went on without a pause until 5:00 p.m. The SS-men in charge of overseeing the execution took turns; after their replacements arrived they went to the local SS barrack to eat, and the execution continued without respite. Music was blaring from the two radio transmitters the entire time. I observed these events from the new Crematorium, where I had my own room for myself and the inmates assigned to my unit.

That day all the Jews in the Majdanek camp were shot, also those who were quartered with various enterprises such as the DAW and the Clothing Works as well as all those in the units working outside the camp. Jews who had been brought in from the [Lublin] Castle were also shot. [589] The entire operation was organized along military lines: a radio transmitter was used to keep in contact with the Chief of the SS and Police in Lublin and with other higher officers. The SD officer supervising the operation on-site (I don't recall his name) used this transmitter to give updates on the progress of the operation by periodically announcing the number killed. I heard that a total of more than 17,000 Jews of both sexes were shot that day. This also included all the Jews from my own commando. In the morning, after I had arrived in the camp, I had made inquiries as to what was going on, and I had asked Commander Thumann to please leave me my commando. He told me that was impossible; the operation, he said, was being conducted by Globocnik and the SD, and all the Jews of Lublin were to be killed, on the order of Governor General Frank. He added that instead of the Jews I would be assigned a unit of Russians.

However, 300 Jewesses were left alive that day; they were needed to sort the things that had been piled up in the barrack where the unfortunate victims had un-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup> The Germans had confined political prisoners in the Lublin Castle.

dressed before being led to the slaughter. Another 300 Jews were kept in the camp, at the disposal of the so-called Special Commando 1005. They were all quartered on Compound V. The women from this group had arrived in Majdanek in March and April 1943. [590] A couple dozen days later the men were gradually incorporated into the Special Commando [...].

After all the Jews had been shot on November 3, the pits were covered over with a thin layer of soil.

On the day this operation was carried out, the camp received a new Commandant. SS-Sturmbannführer Florstedt was recalled, and SS-Sturmbannführer Weiss of Amtsgruppe D took over his post. Florstedt was relieved of duty because he had appropriated Jewish possessions. The matter was investigated by a Special Unit of the Reich Criminal Police led by SS-Sturmbannführer Morgen. To try and save his neck, Florstedt pretended to be insane. Even before he was relieved of office he had ordered me to remove the bodies of those murdered on November 3. Commandant Weiss later repeated this order. I was assigned 20 Russians for this purpose. The fourth day I gathered wood and boards, and on November 5, 1943, I began to burn the corpses.

Since a section of the pits (that end at which the victims had climbed down into them) was not filled with bodies, I piled a bit of soil there so that a small incline was formed, making it easier to climb down. The following day I set up a sort of wooden grate in the pit; that's where the inmates placed those bodies that were in the farthest part of the pit. When the pyre was ready I poured methanol over it and set it on fire. I set up the next pyres closer towards the far end of the pits, on those spots where the bodies had lain that were already cremated. Once the ashes cooled off after the pyre burned down, the inmates from my unit brought it up, and then the bones were pulverized in a special, gasoline-powered mill. This powder was then put into paper bags and taken on cars to an SS-factory near the camp, where this bone meal was later used to fertilize the soil. My work was supervised by an SD functionary from Lublin who saw to it that all the bodies were cremated, that no unburned bodies remained in the pits, that any gold teeth were pulled from the bodies prior to cremation, and that all jewels they wore were removed [...].

By Christmas 1943 I had finished cremating the bodies of the more than 17,000 Jews murdered on November 3. After cremation was concluded, the pits were filled with earth and leveled off [...].

Construction of the [new] Crematorium was completed after New Year 1944. I cremated the bodies of those who had died in the camp up to that time, together with those of the victims of November 3, 1943."

Let us now examine the salient points of this statement.

### a) The Pits

First, a very important point: an air photo dating from September 18, 1944, does in fact show three pits approximately 50 m from the new Crematorium; the longest of these measures some 55 m. <sup>591</sup> But the official plan <sup>592</sup> drawn up

<sup>591</sup> Cf. Photograph V.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>590</sup> The Polish text has 1944 as the date, but this is obviously a misprint.

in August 1944 by the Polish-Soviet Investigative Commission does not show these pits, even though this plan is very detailed and shows, among other things, a depression approximately  $40 \times 30$  m in size, about 250 m northeast of Barrack 42.<sup>593</sup> Why did the Polish-Soviet experts not indicate the pits near the crematorium on their plan?

In his account of the alleged execution of November 3, 1943, C. Simonov speaks of "several pits, two meters deep and several hundred meters long", <sup>594</sup> but even though he personally inspected the camp he does not mention the pits in his description thereof. Simonov writes at length about the new Crematorium, and continues: <sup>595</sup>

"That it was necessary to build the crematorium became particularly apparent after the Katyn affair. Since the Germans feared that they might once again be exposed by an exhumation of the graves where they had buried their victims, they began extensive excavations near the Lublin camp in early fall 1943. They removed the semi-decomposed bodies from the numerous pits in the vicinity of the camp, and burned them in the crematorium to wipe out the evidence of their heinous deeds. The ashes and charred bones from the cremation oven were thrown back into the same pits where the bodies had been dug up. One of these pits had already been opened. In it, a layer of ashes almost a meter thick was found."

Thus it is clear that the three pits appearing on the air photo of September 18, 1944, did not yet exist at the time the camp was liberated. After all, Simonov was escorted by former inmates who showed him the horrors of the camp, and after visiting the ruins of the new crematorium he would not under any circumstances have foregone the opportunity to linger over those pits and to report that the most bestial atrocity in the camp's history had been committed there. A photograph taken in August at the earliest, but probably in September or October 1944, which was then submitted as evidence at the Lublin Trial, shows the cross-section of one of the three pits visible on the air photo: the stack of the new crematorium rises up in the background; in the foreground approximately 50 skulls can be seen, lined up neatly in five rows, and beside them is a pile of long human bones. Farther in the background is a small group of people, two of which are standing in another pit, up to chest level, while the others are standing at the pit's edge. It is also clear that the pits were opened by the Soviets and the Poles, and in any case this photo shows the most horrific of their finds.

Today there are two pits near the new crematorium. The first, which is closer to the camp fence, looks much like that on the aforementioned photo, both in terms of its length and of the location of its three component parts. It consists of three segments. The first is approximately 4 m long and runs south-

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> See Document 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> On the map this ditch is numbered 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> C. Simonov, *op. cit.* (note 310), p. 16.

southwest (about 200 degrees), the second is roughly 25 m in length and runs south-southeast (approximately 145 degrees), while the third is some 27 m long and runs east (approximately 85 degrees). The pit is funnel-shaped; the distance between its edges varies from 4 to 7 m, while the average width at its bottom is 1 m. The depth ranges from 1.50 to 3.20 m. The third segment branches off into another ditch approximately 11 m long and running north (roughly 15 degrees). It extends all the way to the Mausoleum that has been built beside the crematorium. Incidentally, the latter is not visible on the air photo.

The second pit, or ditch, runs parallel to the first in parts and consists of two segments, one 9 m in length running south-southwest (approximately 220 degrees) and one fully 11 m long running south-southeast (about 145 degrees).

This ditch is funnel-shaped as well. Like the first, its ground-level width from edge to edge is 4 to 7 m, and its bottom width is also approximately 1 m. It varies in depth from 1.60 to 2.60 m. On the air photo this second segment is roughly 21 m long. The present-day funnel shape of the two ditches is no doubt due to the gradual crumbling of their edges.

Thus, the present shape and form of these two ditches does not permit any conclusions with regard to what took place there more than half a century ago.

Where the situation of November 3, 1943, is concerned, there is no material or documentary proof that the three ditches visible on the air photo already existed at that time or, if they did already exist, that they were of the dimensions apparent on the air photo. According to Erich Mußfeldt the execution pits were zigzag-shaped, which holds true—partly—for only the first ditch on the air photo. On the other hand, this air photo reveals numerous zigzagshaped ditches, including at least 10 W-shaped ones approximately 30 m long in the area of the construction vard northeast of Compound I, as well as one more than 50 m in length beside the camp fence close by the camp headquarters. Some 500 m west of the camp there is a zigzag-shaped, almost circular ditch about 300 m in length; it is connected to two other pits, also zigzagshaped. The first of these extends eastward for several hundred meters right to the camp grounds. The other runs in the opposite direction for approximately 60 m. Furthermore, some 400 m distant from the three pits near the crematorium there are two additional, sizeable ditches, similarly zigzag-shaped and approximately 100 m long. And finally, a zigzag-shaped ditch of the same length appears at the southern edge of Compound VI. 596 The origin and purpose of these ditches are unknown.

At the Majdanek Trial in Düsseldorf, however, the Court, drawing exclusively on eyewitness testimony, claimed the following with regard to the alleged execution ditches:<sup>597</sup>

<sup>596</sup> See Photograph V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. II, p. 459.

"In late October 1943, probably on Sporrenberg's initiative, excavations were begun behind the eastern corners of the Protective Detention Camp behind Compound V, near the so-called Crematorium and approximately 100 m distant from the so-called L-Barrack located on this side of Compound V. Here, a 6 to 7 m wide pit was dug, as were at least three zigzag-shaped ditches extending from the pit diagonally into the surrounding land. The ditches were up to 100 m long, between 1.5 and 3 m deep, and approximately 3 m wide at the bottom. They were to serve as execution site for the victims; the pit was intended for 'distributing' the victims among the ditches."

Let us note right away that the air photo of September 18, 1944, shows no trace of this pit. Where the three ditches are concerned, they beg two questions:

First, the shape of these ditches is inexplicable. Why did they have to be zigzag-shaped? Normal, straight ditches would have been much easier and faster to excavate. The zigzag-shape is all the more mysterious since E. Mußfeldt claimed that the three ditches were dug in three days' uninterrupted shift work, which means that the matter must have been very urgent.

Second, the location of the pits was such that there would have been no hope of covering up the mass murder. The aforementioned air photo shows that the town of Dziesiata was only approximately 400 to 500 m distant from the ditches, meaning that the townspeople could have watched the massacre comfortably from the windows of their homes. Under these conditions, playing loud music would have been completely pointless, for even if the townspeople had not heard anything, they could still have seen it all.

#### b) The Execution Process

According to E. Mußfeldt the killing began at 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning and ended around 5:00 p.m., so that it could not have taken more than 11 hours. The Jews were liquidated in groups of ten. Assuming that the executions took place in all three ditches simultaneously, this would indicate (17,000÷30=) 567 separate executions. Therefore, each execution took (11×3,600÷567=) approximately 70 seconds. In this short time, the ten people making up each of the three groups had to climb down into their ditch, cover a distance of 50 m on average and lie down on the bodies of their predecessors, to be shot in their turn. After the first few executions, the victims would literally have had to climb onto the corpses of the earlier victims. Perhaps all this might theoretically have been possible in 70 seconds, but only if everything went absolutely smoothly, that is, if there was never any resistance or any attempts at escape—which is impossible. The victims would have known that they had nothing left to lose, and at least some of them would have put up desperate resistance.

The execution commando is said to have comprised 100 SS-men, meaning that 33 or 34 would have been available per execution ditch. If these took

turns and alternated regularly, each executioner would have carried out 17 of the group executions and been "on duty" for about 20 minutes, i.e., for barely 3% of the total time which the entire operation took. Therefore no doubt several SS-men would have been involved per execution. If they used automatic weapons, each execution group would have used many times more than 10 bullets, for the automatic weapons of that time fired some 600 shots per minute, the MG 42 as many as 1,200 shots. 598 For example, if four of the killer marksmen had fired for even two seconds, they would have expended 80 to 160 bullets to kill 10 victims. Thus, the amount of ammunition used would have been enormous. But Mußfeldt wisely remains silent on this point and also makes no mention of the numerous ammunition crates that would have to have been stacked up along the execution pits or on trucks standing nearby.

Where were the men from the Special Commando posted? Mußfeldt makes do with the laconic comment that they stood by "the edge of the pit". Consider:

- Each ditch was approximately 100 m long, 3 m wide and 2.25 m deep on average, making for a volume of about 675m<sup>3</sup>;
- The excavated material took up a volume greater by 10 to 25%;<sup>599</sup>
- Mußfeldt testified that on the very day of the massacre he was ordered to begin cremating the bodies, and that the ditches were filled in again and levelled so as to destroy the evidence.

This means that on November 3, 1943, an enormous pile of earth some 800m³ in volume lay beside each ditch. Oddly enough, Mußfeldt also does not mention this, even though these mountains of excavated material must have made it difficult for him to see what was going on.

That Otto Moll, Franz Hössler and 10 other SS-men were sent to Majdanek shortly before the mass murder is not mentioned anywhere in Danuta Czech's Auschwitz Kalendarium. 122 There is also no other documentary evidence for the dispatch of the other SS-men.

### c) Body Cremation

As we have just pointed out, E. Mußfeldt claims to have received the order to cremate the bodies on the very day of the mass murder. In light of this it is difficult to understand why the bodies would then first need to be covered up with soil at all.

Still according to Mußfeldt's own statements, made in Polish Communist detention, Mußfeldt proceeded to obtain the required firewood on November

<sup>599</sup> G. Colombo, *Manuale dell'ingegnere*, Milan: Hoepli, 1916, p. 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>598</sup> Meyers Handbuch über die Technik, Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1964, p. 500. However, the MG 42 could not have been used for this purpose, since its powerful recoil and higher weight required that it be supported i.e. mounted for use. What is more, on average the barrel of this machine gun had to be changed after every expended ammunition belt, since it was prone to overheating.

4, and began cremating the bodies the following day. He does not touch on the matter of the firewood again in the rest of his statement, but the quantities required would have been enormous. Since we<sup>600</sup> have performed experiments in the burning of animal flesh, we know that 3.1 kg wood are required to burn 1 kg of flesh in an oven that is open at the front and top and equipped with a grate. If the flesh is cremated in a pit, the firewood requirement increases to 3.5 kg. In a mass cremation situation in a large ditch it is safe to postulate a minimum of 3 kg firewood per kg of flesh to be cremated, which means that 200 kg firewood are needed to cremate one body. This means that some 3,400 tons of firewood would have been required for the cremation of 17,000 bodies. That is approximately equal to 120 freight cars, fully loaded! Where did such a gargantuan amount of firewood come from, and how was it transported to Majdanek? Where was it stacked to protect it from the autumn rains and frost? Not only does Mußfeldt fail to answer these essential questions—he does not even acknowledge them.

Since according to Mußfeldt cremation was finished by Christmas, it cannot have taken more than 50 days at most (from November 5 to December 24).

In his statement of August 15, 1947, Mußfeldt testified that in February 1943 Florstedt, then Commandant of Majdanek, had sent him to Auschwitz where he was to familiarize himself with the technique of cremation. He continues: <sup>601</sup>

"After I had looked at everything, I returned to Lublin the following day. On Florstedt's orders, I and the unit assigned to me began to cremate the bodies that had been buried in the forest towards Lwów. At first I excavated a pit, but because cremation did not proceed quickly enough in this pit I devised the following set-up for cremation: I spread old truck tarps over rocks piled to a considerable height, ordered the bodies placed on these, and poured methanol over them. I had wood stacked beneath the tarps and set on fire. In this way about 100 bodies could be burned at one time. Some of them had been dug up, some were fresh, just brought in from the camp. After such a load had been reduced to ashes, these were pounded to powder and dumped into the pit whence we had removed the bodies in the first place. To pound the ashes we used iron sheets and pounders. These tools were supplied by an SD functionary from the so-called Commando 1005 who supervised my work. In this way I managed by the end of October to cremate all the bodies buried in the forest and in the region behind Compound V. According to the pertinent calculations I cremated approximately 6,000 bodies in the forest and approximately 3,000 behind Compound V. These figures also include the fresh corpses of inmates who died in the camp during this time."

To summarize: Mußfeldt dispensed with cremations in pits because this method was inefficient, and he needed more than eight months to cremate 9,000 bodies! But in November and December, he claims, he chose precisely

<sup>601</sup> Anna Zmijewska-Wiśniewska, op. cit. (note 164), pp. 141f.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>600</sup> I.e. Carlo Mattogno, who performed these experiments in fall 1994 and winter 1995.

this inefficient method of cremation in pits, and managed more than 17,000 bodies in at most 50 days!

Judging from a photograph taken in Krepiecki Forest in 1943, cremation proceeded very slowly even with the set-up described by Mußfeldt. The photo shows about 20 charred bodies lying on a metal grate, which rests on some stones and has warped from the heat. In light of this it is not surprising that the cremation of each of the 90 pyres holding 100 bodies took an average of four days.

But if it took more than four months to cremate 9,000 bodies, then why did it only take 50 days, or even less, to manage more than 17,000, especially considering that all of 20 people were available for this job?

One of the aforementioned experiments in cremating animal flesh in a pit showed that the temperature of the embers was still fully 280°C even 24 hours after the wood had been set on fire! After 31 hours it was still 160°C, even though the quantity of firewood that had been burned only weighed 52.5 kg. How long would it have taken the embers from several dozen tons of firewood to cool off? Even if one presumes a minimum time of 48 hours for a pyre to burn down, a cremation would *theoretically* still have taken two days, so that 700 bodies would have been cremated in that time. 603 In *practical* terms, however, the time between individual cremations would have been longer, since the 20 men at Mußfeldt's disposal would have had to perform a whole series of tasks. To give an idea of the difficulties involved in such an operation, we shall base the following data on 700 bodies: 604

- 1. Approximately 140 tons of wood had to be carried into a pit and stacked there;
- 2. 700 bodies had to be carried out. After the firewood was stacked, these bodies had to be placed on the wood;
- 3. After the pyre had burned down, approximately 3.7 tons of human ashes<sup>605</sup> and roughly 11.2 tons of wood ashes<sup>606</sup> had to be removed from the pit;
- 4. The ash had to be sieved, and about 3.7 tons of it had to be transported to the "mill".

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>602</sup> Op. cit. (note 23), Photographs 1 and 2 (photos on unnumbered pages).

One would have to add to the 17,000 execution victims another approx. 500 inmates who died in the camp in November and December 1943.

We assume three pyres, *i.e.*, one per pit.

<sup>605</sup> We proceed from the assumption that the average weight of a body was 67 kg and that a quantity of ash weighing 8% of the body remains after a cremation. The latter figure is slightly greater than the percentage remaining after incineration in a crematorium, since organic tissue is only ever incompletely incinerated in an open-air cremation. The calculation is as follows: (67 × 700=) approx. 3.7 tons.—In the cremation experiment which we (C.M.) performed, the weight of the ashes was 4% of the flesh, even though the beef used was practically boneless.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>606</sup> We proceed from the experimental findings of 8% ashes and arrive at  $(140 \times 0.08=)$  11.2 tons.

5. About 3.7 tons of bone meal had to be put in paper bags (74 bags at 50 kg each).

Even if one accepts the unrealistic assumption that 20 men could have done all this in a single day, a cremation would have taken three days. This means that the cremation of approximately 17,500 bodies would only have been possible if more than 1,000 bodies were burned together each time, 607 in other words at least ten times as many as Mußfeldt had managed in the previous months.

In light of these bare facts, it is no longer difficult to assess Mußfeldt's statements. They are unbelievable through and through, which means that his confession was forced from him.

### 5. Reports of the Polish Resistance Movement

The first account of the alleged massacre is contained in a secret message<sup>608</sup> which Majdanek inmate Henryk Jerzy Szczęśniewski is said to have written on the very day of the crime itself, on November 3, 1943.<sup>609</sup> However, several internal inconsistencies in this note show that it must have been written later. For example, November 2 is not called "yesterday", but "the day before" (na dzien przedtem).<sup>610</sup> What is even more revealing is that author mentions an event that took place three days after the alleged mass execution (na trzeci dzien),<sup>610</sup> i.e., he refers to November 6. The letter seems rather incoherent and disjointed. The author devotes only a few lines to the mass murder itself, and supplements these with a sketch;<sup>611</sup> the text reads as follows:<sup>610</sup>

"The operation proceeded this way: on Compound V, in front of the Crematorium, they [i.e., the guards] set up a fence around the Laundry—in front of the Laundry on Compound V they [i.e., the Jews] stripped naked [in] A and went through the fence [in] C [into] B, where they were shot with carbines and submachine guns, and there they were buried [in] D."

Regarding the number of victims, the author cites 17,000 and 22,000 dead, "as per conversations with the SS-men." 610

The entire letter is written in a sober, downright objective tone: there is no sense of the horror that the writer should have felt at the sight of a blood bath of such an extent, and the massacre is reported more like a trite detail of a camp chronicle. No less surprising is the fact that the letter contains no request to its recipient, one Kazimiera Jarosinska, whom her inmates regarded as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> In that case Mußfeldt's team would have had correspondingly even more work to do.

<sup>608</sup> The Polish term is "gryps".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>609</sup> Zbigniew Jerzy Hirsz, *op. cit.* (note 467), pp. 212-214.

<sup>610</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>611</sup> See Document 38.

sort of mother figure ("mateczka")<sup>612</sup>, to inform the illegal Resistance Movement and the Polish government-in-exile in London of this atrocity.

So there is no doubt at all that this letter was dated retrospectively. We do not know by whom, since H. J. Szczęśniewski's correspondence was not found until 1966. Regarding the mass execution, the writer claims that it actually took place not in the ditches themselves, but in front of these (Zone C on his sketch); not until afterwards were the bodies buried in the ditches (Zone C). This is certainly not an insignificant detail. It is also anything but likely that the author found out in "conversations with the SS-men" how many Jews had been shot.

The Delegatura learned of the alleged massacre only after an inexplicable delay, and the first reports differ from today's official version in some important aspects. We shall reproduce the relevant reports in chronological order.

On November 15 the *Delegatura* reported: <sup>613</sup>

"On Friday, November 5, a massacre was committed in Lublin. The Jews from all Lublin camps were brought together in Majdanek, and shot."

On November 18:613

"Reliable sources state that all camps in Lublin have been entirely liquidated. (Altogether about 10,000 people.) The inmates from all camps were brought together in Majdanek and shot. Among the camps to be liquidated was that on the Lublin airfield which (a unique case on Polish territory) had previously held selected Jews—social activists, politicians, the foremost representatives of science, art etc. For a long time they had lived there under the illusion that since they had been specially selected and, in so many cases, transferred to the air field from other camps, the fate in store for them must be a better one. The liquidation of these camps has inflicted the last painful losses on the Jews' social fabric."

On November 24 the Delegatura reported: 614

"Lublin. In Majdanek a massacre was committed of Jews who had been brought together there from all Lublin-area camps. A few days before, the Jews had been ordered to excavate pits outside the camp grounds—pits several hundred (kilkuset) meters long, three meters deep and five meters wide. On November 4 an SS unit arrived at the camp. The day after (November 5) the Jews were divided into groups, which were led to be executed one after the other. They were ordered to strip naked and were then mowed down with submachine guns. Loud dance music broadcast over megaphones drowned out the shots. The SS-men had been told that the execution victims were all Soviet Commissars and spies. The last group was taken to Trawniki to cremate the bodies, and then murdered."

And finally, the Delegatura report of November 30:615

"Majdanek. Preparing to evacuate Lublin, the Germans have begun the liquidation of Majdanek. The inmates were divided into three groups. The first, composed of a few hundred persons, includes political prisoners charged with grave

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<sup>612</sup> Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>613</sup> Krystyna Marczewska, Władysław Waźniewski, *op. cit.* (note 445), p. 207.

<sup>614</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid., pp. 218f.

crimes, and sick, invalid, and elderly inmates. This group was separated from the rest. There were worries that they might be marked for execution. The others were divided into two groups. One group was to be released, the other abducted to the Reich to work.

Majdanek. The Jews from all the camps in Lublin were brought together there, some 13,000 people in total. A few days before the liquidation the Jews were ordered to dig some ditches outside the camp grounds, ditches several hundred meters long, five meters wide and three meters deep. On November 4 a unit of the Waffen-SS arrived at the camp; on November 5 the Jews were separated and had to strip naked, whereupon they were led off one by one to be executed. The execution was carried out by submachine guns. Loud dance music from megaphones drowned out the noise of the shots.

Trawniki. Before the liquidation, conditions in the camp had improved markedly, so that the shock was all the greater. On November 3 all the men were led away to dig 'air-raid ditches'. During this work they were suddenly surrounded and shot. The women and children were loaded onto 60 trucks, taken to the execution site, and shot, naked. Finally, a group of POWs (Jewish-Polish soldiers) were shot. During the execution loud dance music from megaphones drowned out the sounds of the shots. There was no resistance. The Ukrainians did not participate in the execution. SS-men surrounded and isolated them. 150 Jews who had been brought in from Majdanek were put to work burning the dead bodies, and after they finished they too were shot. Then some 3,000 Italian Jews were brought into the camp."

As we can see, the first report about the blood bath of such incredible extent took up all of two lines! Subsequent reports tried to lend the story credibility by adding details—which, however, stand in noticeable contradiction to today's version. The two most important are: the number of victims (10,000 to 13,000 instead of 18,000) and the date (November 5 instead of 3). While the first 'mistake' may be understandable, it is absolutely incomprehensible how one could be unsure about the date weeks after the alleged event.

As we have shown in Chapter VII, the Delegatura had excellent sources of information about the events in the Majdanek camp at its disposal. Whenever these sources reported verifiable facts, their distinguishing feature was accuracy. We shall give two more examples of this from the time of particular interest in this context:

On October 1, 1943, the Delegatura had a list of 35 SS-men, with first and last names, rank, previous posting, address and birth date!<sup>616</sup> And on November 22, 1943, the Delegatura had an alphabetical listing of 369 inmates, drawn up by the Resistance cell operating in the camp.<sup>617</sup>

As already mentioned, the alleged execution site was clearly visible from the houses in the town Dziesiata, so that the townspeople could readily have provided reliable first-hand information. In short: there is no reasonable ex-

<sup>616</sup> Ibid., pp. 203f.

<sup>617</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 208-217.

planation for why the Delegatura, with its excellent sources of information both inside and outside the camp, should have been so poorly informed of an event with such enormous consequences as this alleged gigantic massacre. What is no less baffling is that it learned absolutely nothing about the cremation of the bodies. Just imagine:

After the execution of 17,000 to 18,400 Jews, the camp must perforce have drawn the attention of informants even more than before. On November 5 Mußfeldt begins to cremate the bodies. For about 50 days, the inmates remaining in the camp, the townspeople of Dziesiata, and everyone else in the area are constantly exposed to the sight of hellish flames and smoke from the pyres, and to the stench of the burning flesh. But not a single informant considers all this worth mentioning, and not one writes even one line about it!

That also goes for the inmate Henryk Jerzy Szczęśniewski, who supplied a wealth of news about the camp in his secret messages of November 25 and December 14, 1943—when the cremation is said to have been in full swing—but wasted not so much as a word on these cremations.<sup>618</sup>

And meanwhile, on November 17, the camp authorities calmly release 300 inmates<sup>619</sup>—no doubt so that these could report far and wide all the horrors they had just witnessed and give the Delegatura as precise an account of the massacre as possible!

# 6. The Alleged Mass Executions Make No Sense Economically

A. Rutkowski points out the economically nonsensical nature of the alleged mass executions with the following question:<sup>620</sup>

"Why would the central authorities of the Third Reich decide in late 1943 to wipe out some 40,000 qualified workers, in complete disregard of the great shortage of manpower?"

The matter is even more important and more complex than this question would indicate.

According to official historiography the massacre allegedly committed in Majdanek on November 3, 1943, was only one part of a much more comprehensive operation affecting all the camps of the Eastern Industries Ltd. ("Osti") in the General Government.

The *Osti* was founded by the SS on March 12, 1943. Oswald Pohl, the Chief of the Economic-Administrative Main Office, as well as *Gruppenführer* 

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<sup>618</sup> Zbigniew Jerzy Hirsz, op. cit. (note 467), pp. 215-217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>619</sup> Krystyna Marczewska, Władisław Waźniewski, op. cit. (note 445), p. 219.

<sup>620</sup> A. Rutkowski, op. cit. (note 575), p. 28.

Lörner, the Chief of Amtsgruppe B of the Economic-Administrative Main Office, were members of its Executive. Pohl, Krüger, Lörner and Sammern-Frankenegg, the Higher SS and Police Chief of Warsaw, made up its Board. The firm's Directors were O. Globocnik and Max Horn, the Economic-Administrative Main Office's chief accountant. 621 Globocnik was also the head of the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (DAW, German Equipment Works) that employed some 8,000 Jews in Lublin and Lemberg (Lwów). 622

The purpose of the Eastern Industries was to establish a group of SS labor camps in order to make use of the manpower of drafted Jews. In June 1943 the Osti already controlled five camps with a total of 45,000 Jewish workers: the SS labor camps Poniatowa and Trawniki, the SS camp Budzyn, the DAW in Lublin, and the Clothing Manufacturing Plant in Lublin, in addition to the concentration camp Lublin, i.e Majdanek. 623

On September 7, 1943, Pohl decided to incorporate ten SS labor camps in Lublin District into the Majdanek camp as branches thereof; this was already done on the 14th of that month.

On October 22, 1943, Pohl put the following camps under the charge of Amtsgruppe D of the Economic-Administrative Main Office:

- the old airfield Lublin:
- SS labor camp Trawniki:
- SS labor camp Poniatowa;
- forced labor camp and SS workshops in Radom;
- forced labor camp and SS workshops in Budzyn;
- main camp Cracow-Płaszów (Płaszów);
- Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke, Lublin; arms production camp in Lemberg.

The same day, Globocnik was relieved of his office as Director of the *Osti*, and replaced by the Vice-Director. 624

On October 26, Pohl sent the Commandants of 19 concentration camps, including Lublin (Majdanek), a directive regarding an increase in the camp inmates' productivity. He noted:625

"Thanks to the expansion and consolidation of the past 2 years, the concentration camps have become a factor of vital importance in German arms production. From nothing at all, we have created armaments production sites that are unparalleled anywhere.

We must now do everything to ensure that our achievements to date are not only maintained but constantly increased.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>621</sup> Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction... op. cit.* (note 232), p. 340.

<sup>622</sup> Joseph Billig, Les camps de concentration dans l'économie du Reich hitlérien, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973, p. 187.

<sup>623</sup> Letter from Globocnik to SS-Obersturmbannführer Brandt, dated June 21, 1943. NO-485.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>624</sup> NO-057.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>625</sup> Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof, I-IB 8, p. 53.

Since the plants and factories are the vital aspect of this, this can only be achieved by maintaining and increasing the inmates' capacity to work.

In years past, given the scope of the educational efforts at that time, it did not matter whether an inmate could do useful work or not. Now, however, the inmates' ability to work is important, and all measures taken by the Commanders, Leaders of the V Service, and physicians must work towards keeping the inmates healthy and fit.

Not out of a false sense of sentimentality, but because we need them with their physical abilities intact—because they must contribute to the German people winning a great victory—we must take good care of their health and well-being.

I propose as our first goal: no more than 10% of all inmates at a time may be unable to work due to illness. By everyone responsible working together, this goal must be attained.

This requires:

- 1) proper and practical diet,
- 2) proper and practical clothing,
- 3) making full use of all natural means for preserving health,
- 4) avoiding all unnecessary strain and expenditure of energy not directly required for work,
- 5) productivity bonuses."

A. Rutkowski answers his own question—quoted at the start of this section—by saying that the reasons for the mass execution were political in nature, and adds that where the Jewish Question was concerned Himmler did not care about economic considerations. 626

Even though, on the whole, this assessment is not entirely untrue, it is incorrect where the matter at hand is concerned. First of all, even before the time of interest here, Himmler's efforts to evacuate even those Jews working in the armaments industry had met with opposition from Hans Frank. On March 31, 1943, at a session in the government seat in Cracow where the state of security in the General Government was being discussed, Krüger gave an address in his capacity as Secretary of State; the session stenographer recorded his words as follows:<sup>627</sup>

"There can be no doubt that the removal of the Jews has also contributed to bringing calm to the region. It was one of the most difficult and unpleasant tasks for the Police, but had to be carried out on the Führer's order because it was necessary in the greater European interest [...] Only recently he [Krüger] again received the order to achieve the removal of the Jews within a very short time. It had become necessary to also remove the Jews from the armaments industry and those enterprises involved in the war industry, unless they were working exclusively for interests vital to the war effort. The Jews were then gathered together in large camps, from where they are dispatched to day labor in these armaments enterprises. However, the Reichsführer-SS would like to see this employment of the Jews ended as well. He [Krüger] had discussed this matter in detail with Lt.-Gen.

627 *IMT*, vol. XXIX, p. 670.

<sup>626</sup> A. Rutkowski, op. cit. (note 575), pp. 31f.

Schindler and believes that in the end it will not be possible to fulfil this wish of the Reichsführer-SS. Among the Jewish workers there are some with special qualifications, precision engineers and other qualified tradesmen which one cannot simply replace with Poles nowadays."

Secondly, in early November the SS labor camps were already part of the Economic-Administrative Main Office's jurisdiction and were considered branches of Majdanek, whose Commandant was one of the recipients of Pohl's letter previously quoted.

In view of these facts, the destruction of more than 40,000 workers who were of great importance and use to the German war industry would have been, in economic terms, sheer idiocy

### 7. What Really Happened on November 3, 1943?

Considering the almost complete lack of documents, it is impossible to answer this question precisely. The only thing we may be certain of is that on November 2, 3 and 4, 1943, various police units participated in a major operation in Lublin which the three squadrons of the Pol. Cavalry Unit III mention, albeit only briefly. The first squadron reported:<sup>628</sup>

"From November 2—November 4, 1943, the squadron, strength 1:25, participated in a major operation of the SS-Pol. Unit 25 in the area of Lublin and Pulawy."

The second squadron noted:629

"The second squadron took part in the major operation of November 2—November 4, 1943, in the Lublin area."

The third squadron reported:<sup>630</sup>

"A section, strength 1/40, was deployed as part of the unit's responsibilities, on a special mission in Lublin from November 2 to November 4."

Battalion 101, about which Christopher R. Browning has written a book,<sup>631</sup> was part of the 25th Regiment. Browning's book also includes a chapter about the "*Harvest Festival*",<sup>632</sup> but it contributes absolutely nothing to our understanding of the matter; most importantly, it cites not so much as a single document in support of the actuality of the alleged massacre.

630 *Ibid.*, p. 190.

632 *Ibid.*, chapter 15, pp. 179-189.

<sup>628</sup> W. Zysko, op. cit. (note 576), pp. 188f.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>631</sup> Christopher Browning, Ganz gewöhnliche Männer. Das Reserve-Polizeibataillon 101 und die 'Endlösung' in Polen, Reinbek: Rowohlt 1997. The book is based almost exclusively on the statements made by 125 former members of Battalion 101 in the course of court investigations conducted twenty years after the fact (p. 13 and 193) and contains a number of anecdotes collected and assiduously commented on by the author. It is much more of a historical novel than a serious study of history.

So what did these numerous units, dispatched to take part in a special operation, actually do? The most likely thing is that it was a major transfer to other camps.

One item of circumstantial evidence for this was provided by the November 20, 1943, issue of the Polish newspaper-in-exile *Dziennik Polski*, printed in England. The paper reported the murder of "15,000 Jews" and added: 633

"25,000 Jews were transferred from Majdanek to Cracow, where they were quartered in hundreds of recently-constructed barracks. Probably these Jews will have to work in the German factories which have recently been transferred to the Cracow district."

The following also supports the hypothesis of a mass transfer of Jewish inmates to the west:

As Raul Hilberg notes in his standard work about the 'Holocaust', a total of 22,444 Jews worked in the armaments industries of the General Government in October 1943. In January 1944, however, two months after the alleged mass murder, the number of Jews working for the armaments industry in the General Government had not decreased; quite the contrary—it had increased to 26.296!<sup>634</sup>

<sup>633</sup> Jolanta Gajowniczek, op. cit. (note 446), p. 256.

<sup>634</sup> R. Hilberg, The Destruction... op. cit. (note 232), p. 341.

# Chapter X: The Trials

From 1944 to 1981, Polish, Allied, and West German courts brought legal actions against former members of the Majdanek guard staff. Only two of them are of interest historically: the trial of six members of the camp guards, conducted in a great hurry before a Special Court in Lublin between November 27 and December 2, 1944, and the Majdanek Trial in Düsseldorf (1975-1981). We shall take a closer look at these two court cases.

#### 1. The Lublin Trial of the End of 1944

On October 26, 1944, in a Special Court in Lublin, charges of murder and abuse of prisoners were brought against four SS-men and two Kapos who had served in Majdanek. The trial was held from November 27 to December 2 of that year and ended in death sentences for the SS-men Hermann Vogel, Wilhelm Gerstenmeier, Anton Thernes and Theo Schölen as well as the Kapo Heinz Stalp. The sixth defendant, the Kapo Edmund Pohlmann, had allegedly committed suicide in pre-trial detention. The death sentences were already set to be carried out on December 3, by hanging.

Under the conditions prevailing at that time, a trial under the rule of law was impossible: after all, the withdrawal of the occupation forces and the end of harsh foreign rule were only four months past, and the war continued to rage in a large part of Poland. Many residents of Lublin and its environs had lost family members in the camp, or had spent some time there themselves. Furthermore, right after Majdanek was liberated, reports of one and a half million murder victims were spread about with all possible hype, and the photos of the crematorium, the "gas chambers" and the bodies that had been found were exploited to the fullest by strategic propaganda.

The people screamed for revenge. In this atmosphere of public incitement the defendants never had a chance. Of course it is too late now to find out if they had really committed crimes during their time of service; there can be no doubt that the same punishment would have been imposed on any other SS-man or Kapo unfortunate enough to come into the same situation as these men. Whether they were guilty or innocent—finding witnesses for the prose-

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<sup>635</sup> Regarding these trials, see Czesław Pilichowski, op. cit. (note 61), pp. 423-436.

cution was an easy matter in any case, and it was also not difficult to obtain the desired confessions.

The Reasons for Sentence made it very clear that these defendants were in the prisoners' dock as proxies for all of Germany, and not only National Socialist Germanv: 636

"This trial revealed all the sordid details of the monstrous nature of that system consolidated, perfected, modernized and mechanized by Adolf Hitler as worthy successor to the imperialist methods of the Crusaders, the methods of the Brandenburg electoral princes, Frederick the Great, Bismarck's imperialism and Treitschke's ideology. The absurd racial theory, the doctrine of the 'Master Race', the catchword of gaining 'living space' at the expense of other peoples were made a reality after the war was set off, by the Hitlerites proceeding step by step in all occupied countries to exterminate the local populations, to an extent and with methods unparalleled in history. The number of victims who were executed or harassed for alleged crimes against the occupation power turns out to be small in comparison to the scope and extent of the extermination that took place in the socalled death camps. In Majdanek alone, 1,700,000 people were murdered. What monstrous total must we arrive at when we add to this figure the number of those martyred to death in the other eleven death camps, not to mention the ordinary socalled labor camps, concentration camps and forced labor camps!"

The following transcript of the pre-trial questioning of a witness shows how summarily 'evidence was taken' for this trial:<sup>637</sup>

- "1. Your name?—Benen Anton.
- 2. Your nationality?—Dutch.
- 3. How long in the camp?—One year.
- 4. What can you say about the beatings and murders in the camp?—I was beaten several times. I was hung up in a special way to be beaten. Half an hour later they threw me into the water and beat me again.
- 5. What can you say about the ordeal of the Soviet POWs?—The people were suffocated in gas chambers and shot.
- 6. What can you tell us?—Everything was done in such a way that no-one saw or heard anything. However, I did see a queue of 600 people being led to death.
- 7. What nationalities did you see in Majdanek?—I saw Russians, Poles and Jews, but I can't say anything.
- 8. What do you know about the murders in the gas chambers?—I know that people were suffocated in the gas chambers, and then the bodies were dragged out.
- 9. Were you sick in the camp? You don't look well, and your throat is bandaged.— I spent four years in concentration camps and got sick because there was not enough to eat.
- 10. Were there other Dutch inmates?—Yes. There were mostly Jews and they were brought here later.
- 11. In which concentration camps were you?—In Ostburg, Dachau and then Lublin. But Lublin was the worst.

<sup>636</sup> Sentencja wyroku, op. cit., (note 198) pp. 99f.

<sup>637</sup> Indictment of Hermann Vogel et al., op. cit. (note 3), p. 51.

- 12. Why were you transferred from Dachau to Lublin?—I was drafted into the army, but I didn't want to go and that's why they locked me up.
- 13. Who's taking care of you today?—The Polish Red Cross is looking after me, but there is still not enough to eat."

That concluded the questioning, and another example of 'evidence' for the mass murders in Majdanek had been obtained.—The interrogation of the defendants in pre-trial detention was also accomplished at top speed, for example the interrogation of SS-*Rottenführer* Theo Schölen:<sup>638</sup>

- "1. Were you in Majdanek?—Yes, I was there.
- 2. Do you know about everything that took place in the concentration camp?—I saw a few things, and heard about others.
- 3. Do you know anything about people being gassed?—I know that gassing was mostly done in the evening, and the bodies were later burned in the cremation furnaces.
- 4. How was that done?—I only saw bodies, I didn't personally attend the killing.
- 5. Is it true that people went through the shower beside the gas chamber?—Yes, they were in the bath, and then they went into the chamber.
- 6. What was the Majdanek camp generally called by the Germans?— 'Extermination camp'; this term was used from the time of the mass murder of inmates onward.
- 7. Do you know what different nationalities were in Majdanek?—I don't know exactly.
- 8. What nationalities were most strongly represented?—Jews, Russian POWs, Poles, French, Italians and others.
- 9. What methods were used in dealing with the Soviet prisoners of war?—I don't know exactly about the Russians. But I know that about 18,000 to 20,000 Jews were killed on November 3, 1943.
- 10. Are you a member of the National Socialist Party?—Yes, since 1937; I have been in the SS only since 1942.
- 11. Who treated the prisoners especially badly, and who was to blame for the mass murder?—There were many of them, but I don't know all the names. But I recall that the SS-man Foschted [possibly a reference to the third camp Commandant, Florstedt], Obersturmführer Thumann and Obersturmführer Mußfeldt played a major part in the administration and in torturing the inmates.
- 12. What did you do in Majdanek?—I was manager of a supply depot.
- 13. Where did the shoes and the children's and women's clothing come from that were found in great numbers in the camp?—These things belonged to murdered people, primarily Jews.
- 14. What was done with the bodies?—I heard that they were burned in the crematorium.
- 15. Did you participate in the murder of people?—No. I was far away from it all and just looked after the supply depot.
- 16. Who told you about the murders?—I don't know the names exactly; I just heard that Mußfeldt and Thumann did it."

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50f.

The trial itself was conducted as per the classical pattern of a Stalinist show trial in which the defense attorneys served as secondary prosecutors. Accordingly, Jaroslawski, the court-appointed defense counsel for the defendants Gerstenmeier and Vogel, requested on the very first day of the trial to be released from his duties, because 639

"[...] in the course of a thousand years Germany has systematically committed crimes against all its neighbors, including the Slavic people; because Germany has completely exterminated the Slavic peoples between the Laba and the Oder and has shown that she wants to completely eradicate the Slavic nations; because Germany, obeying its Führer Adolf Hitler, attacked the Polish state in September 1939 and brought about a horrible world war [...]."

Kazimierz Krzymanski, the court-appointed defense counsel for the defendant Thernes, also begged to be excused from his duties, because <sup>639</sup>

"[...] the misdeeds that are to be judged here in this court room are so absolutely gruesome and were planned and committed in such a satanic way that we, who have lost our loved ones in Majdanek [...], cannot be expected to defend those who are accused of having committed these atrocities."

Naturally, the lawyers' requests were refused, and they had to continue to 'defend' their 'clients'.

The atmosphere of hysteria that must have reigned at this trial can be inferred, for example, from the public prosecutor Jerzy Sawiecki's insane allegation that at least half a million Germans had been involved in organizing the extermination at Majdanek:<sup>640</sup>

"At least 500,000 Germans—accountants, financiers, clerks, storemen, railway men, postal workers, telephone operators, engineers, physicians, jurists, agronomists, chemists, pharmacists—it takes one's breath away, try to imagine it, half a million Germans in total were involved in the well-organized machinery for killing defenseless people. Who can really grasp the horror of this fact? Half a million people, all of them driven by one single thought, namely, how to destroy other people as quickly, cheaply and efficiently as possible. That's Majdanek!"

We would love to know if this public prosecutor actually believed what he was saying.—The evidence, aside from 'material evidence' such as empty cans of Zyklon, consisted of the testimony of a total of 13 eyewitnesses. We shall restrict ourselves to just one sample, an excerpt from the questioning of the witness Jan Wolski:<sup>641</sup>

"Public prosecutor: What do you know, in general, about the extermination of the Slavic peoples in Majdanek?

Wolski: When the Governor General came from Berlin to carry out an inspection, and I was setting the table in the casino, I overheard his discussion with our

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>639</sup> Majdanek. Rozprawa przed specyalnym sądem karnym w Lublinie (Majdanek. Proceedings of the Special Court in Lublin), Cracow: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 'Czytelnik', 1945, p. 6.
<sup>640</sup> Ibid., pp. 79f.

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Commandant Weiss (and Gerstenmeier was there too) about how one could exterminate the Slavic peoples in Majdanek.

Public prosecutor: Do you know that Gerstenmeier ordered additional cans of Zyklon?

Wolski: Yes, I heard about it, because he wanted to stockpile some Zyklon for the future. He put it like this: 'These are uncertain times, we must be prepared to take wipe out all the prisoners.'"

The defendants as well had been thoroughly drilled in their role in this staged spectacle and obediently recited their scripted admissions of guilt. The following is an excerpt from the Kapo Heinz Stalp's interrogation:<sup>642</sup>

"Public prosecutor: I asked you about the children. How were these children exterminated in the gas chamber?

Stalp: I know of one case. When I was in the 'Clothing Plant' in Pohlmann Street, two trucks drove up in the morning and the children of parents working in Majdanek were loaded up. The parents had been told that the children were being taken away for educational purposes.

Public prosecutor: Was the children's clothing taken away too?

Stalp: Yes.

Public prosecutor: How many children were there, and how old were they?

Stalp: There were little ones, one year old, and there were thirteen- to fourteen-year-olds.

Public prosecutor: How were they taken to the gas chamber?

Stalp: The truck drove right up to the gas chamber. Personnel from the SD [Security Service] was present, the children were led onto the Women's Compound (Compound No. I) and ten women were brought from there who had to undress the children. Then the children were ordered to go into the chamber, they were told stories about how nice it was there; some children cried, but they didn't know that they were going to their deaths. Once they were in the chamber, an SD-man closed the door, and then gases were piped in through the square opening.

Public prosecutor: Did you see these children who had been asphyxiated in the gas chamber, and how did they look?

Stalp: Yes, I often saw inmates being brought out of the gas chamber. Their lungs had obviously burst, and there was blood coming out, but not in every case. After two days their dead bodies turned a greenish color."

Note that neither of the poisons allegedly used—carbon monoxide or hydrogen cyanide—causes the lungs to burst! Clearly the Kapo Heinz Stalp had said exactly what he was forced to say.

### 2. The Düsseldorf-Majdanek Trial

After many years of investigation, in the course of which more than 200 people were questioned, the gloomy spectacle that has gone down in history as

<sup>642</sup> Ibid., pp. 27f.

the "Majdanek Trial" began in Düsseldorf on November 26, 1975. The proceedings dragged on for six years and ended with a verdict on June 30, 1981. Initially, 15 former members of the camp guard staff had been charged, including six women. One of the accused, Alice Orlowski, then 73 years old, died in 1976 during the trial; another accused, Wilhelm Reinartz, was released in 1978, not being fit to be held in prison; the three former guards Rosy Süss, Charlotte Mayer and Hermine Böttcher, as well as the camp physician Heinrich Schmidt, were acquitted early, in 1979, since their innocence had been established. Of the remaining nine defendants, one—Heinrich Groffmann—was acquitted in 1981.<sup>643</sup> In the other eight cases, the sentences were as follows:644

- life imprisonment on two counts of joint murder of a total of at least 100 people, for the defendant Hermine Braunsteiner-Ryan;
- 12 years imprisonment on two counts of serving as joint accessory to murder of a total of at least 100 people, for the defendant Hildegard Lächert;
- 10 years imprisonment on two counts of serving as joint accessory to murder of a total of at least 141 people, for the defendant Hermann Heinrich Hackmann:
- 8 years imprisonment on five counts of serving as joint accessory to murder of a total of at least 195 people, for the defendant Emil Laurich:
- 6 years imprisonment on two counts of serving as joint accessory to murder of a total of at least 17,002 people, for the defendant Heinz Villain;
- 4 years imprisonment for serving as joint accessory to murder of 41 people, for the defendant Heinrich Petrick:
- 3 years and 6 months imprisonment for serving as joint accessory to murder of 41 people, for the defendant Arnold Strippel;
- 3 years imprisonment for serving as joint accessory to murder of at least 100 people, for the defendant Thomas Ellwanger.

The two defendants who were given the severest sentences, Hermine Braunsteiner-Ryan and Hildegard Lächert, had been accused of participating in the selection of Jewish women and children for the gas chambers; the other six were charged with participating in the execution of prisoners, particularly within the scope of the alleged mass murder of November 3, 1943.

In the following we shall quote at some length from the Düsseldorf verdict, which discussed the gassing of inmates and the number of victims of the Majdanek camp:<sup>645</sup>

"The most terrible burden on the inmates, especially the Jewish people, were the selections for death by gassing. These selections had begun in late autumn 1942 and were carried out predominantly in spring and summer 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>643</sup> C. Pilichowski, op. cit. (note 61), pp. 432-434.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>644</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55). The sentences and Reasons for Sentence are given on pages 778-795. 645 *Ibid.*, pp. 86-90.

From the start, the crematorium and so-called delousing facilities had been planned for the concentration camp Majdanek, but their completion was delayed considerably, as was the entire construction project. Just as the camp had initially been described as 'prisoner-of-war camp', even though it was actually designed as concentration camp, the term 'delousing facility' also served as code word. Himmler's aforementioned order of July 19, 1942, [that all Jews living in the General Government were to be concentrated in a few set zones by the end of that year] resulted in the circumstance that the camp, aside from its initial purpose of forced labor and transit camp, at times also had to function as extermination camp, which it did with its gassing facilities.

- [...] The gassing victims were Jews of all ages and various nationalities, especially mothers with children, elderly, ill and injured, as well as people appearing to be unfit or not entirely fit to work. For the most part, the camp personnel used its own judgement to decide which of the people preordained for the 'Final Solution' belonged to this group and which were to contribute their manpower to the National Socialist regime for some time yet. [...] It has not been possible to determine whether there were also isolated cases where non-Jewish inmates were included in the gassings, for example who were considered to be so-called Muslims or decrepits for reasons of their age or ill health; but it is likely that this happened, at least sometimes.
- [...] The 'initial selections'—the culling of Jewish people who were considered no longer useful as 'manpower'—continued in further selections for the same purpose, carried out on the various Compounds of the protective detention camp; the SS camp jargon cynically described these selections as 'the unit bound for Heaven'. These selections were done most frequently in spring and summer 1943, at irregular intervals and in various ways. Some were carried out by a sort of 'commission' usually made up of one of the SS camp doctors and a group of other male or female members of the SS, and some by the guards of the individual compounds. The victims were Jewish people who were ill, sickly, exhausted, injured or deemed 'unfit to live' for other reasons.

The gassing always proceeded in the same way. The inmates marked for death were taken to the barrack, made to undress and then herded into one of the gas chambers. As soon as the door was closed air-tight behind them, the carbon monoxide or Zyklon B was introduced into the chamber. Both poisons caused paralysis of the respiratory organs and thus a painful death by suffocation. With carbon monoxide, which was only used in the initial phase of the gassings, death generally took a little longer than with Zyklon B. That poison, however, also did not 'take effect' immediately, only after a certain time, because the effect was dependent on the extent to which the cyanide salt broke down into its gaseous form due to the slowly rising room temperature. As soon as the SS-man in charge of supervising the gassing determined that all the victims had died, the steel doors were thrown open so that the gas could escape. Then the bodies were brought out by a special unit of inmates, loaded onto hand carts or vehicles and either taken to the old or new crematorium to be burned, or to pits or pyres prepared outside the camp in the surrounding forest.

By early 1943 at the latest, the mass selections of people to be killed by gassing were common knowledge in the Majdanek concentration camp. This resulted in the

fact that instances where inmates were culled under circumstances resembling selections, but actually for other purposes—primarily for transfers to other camps—were misunderstood by many inmates as selections for the gas chambers. This goes primarily for the culling of female inmates for the aforementioned transports, between late June and late August 1943, to the concentration camps Auschwitz and Ravensbrück and to the forced labor camp Skarcysko-Kamienna. The women who were considered for these transports had to undress and submit to an 'examination' by one of the camp doctors in the presence of female SS guards in the Washing Barrack of the Women's Camp. However, unlike for 'selections for killing', which were carried out in a similar manner, the purpose here was to cull people appearing to be 'particularly fit to work', not such that were unable to work.

The evidence heard by this court has not been able to determine precisely how many people lost their lives in the concentration camp Majdanek as a result of gassing, execution and other violent means, epidemics and malnutrition, abuse and privation, and other reasons, However, this court considers a minimum of 200,000 victims, among them at least 60,000 Jewish people, to be a certainty."

The Court then went on to substantiate how it had arrived at its "findings" about homicidal gassings, selections for the gas chambers, and the number of victims. Eyewitness testimony was the only basis for these findings, and the witnesses fell into the following categories:

- a) The accused themselves, as well as the four co-defendants who had already been acquitted, "insofar as they gave relevant information".
- b) 75 mostly Jewish former inmates of the camp who testified at the Düsseldorf Trial.
- c) 11 members of the SS who were suspected of participation in the crimes under investigation but who were not charged.
- d) 6 female witnesses who were not fit to travel and were instead questioned in the United States, Canada and Australia by members of the Court.
- e) 37 mostly Jewish former inmates of Majdanek who were not fit or not willing to travel, and were instead questioned in Israel, Poland, the Soviet Union and Austria by means of International Assistance in Law Enforcement, in the presence of members of the Court.
- f) 23 inmates who made their testimony in the form of written depositions, and who have since died or become unfit to be questioned.
- g) 18 former members of the SS or female SS guards who were not suspected of or charged with any crimes.
- h) 3 German witnesses who were unfit to travel and were instead questioned in their homes.

As a fig leaf, the evidence of these witnesses was supplemented with an "expert report" by the "expert on contemporary history" Dr. Wolfgang Scheffler, and with the contents of "other documents, papers and photographs dis-

cussed in the Main Hearing, insofar as they were made part of the trial by reading or visual examination". The Court continued:<sup>646</sup>

"The Court has relied primarily on the report by the expert on contemporary history for its determinations with respect to the design and construction of the camp, the purposes it was used for, the development of the inmate population and the total number of victims. The subject expert has also argued this part of his expositions and conclusions convincingly, and supported it with extensive documentary source materials; further, they are largely congruent with what other evidence has shown in this regard [...]. Where the findings respecting the physical location of the gas chambers and their technical facilities are concerned, this Court has based them on the compelling expositions of the subject expert, on the contents of the protocol of the on-site inspection of the camp conducted by means of International Assistance in Law Enforcement, and primarily on the testimonies of the witnesses Heinz Müller, Cesarski [eight more names follow].

The witness Müller is one of the few members of the SS who have not sought to hide their knowledge behind alleged ignorance, inability to remember, disinterest in camp events at the time in question, or other excuses. According to his own statements, he was initially with the Wachsturmbann from late 1941 on, and with the command staff from late 1942 to spring 1943, and has admitted that as part of his training as SDG [sanitation services assistant] he was present when a group of naked people were killed in one of the small gas chambers by piping carbon monoxide into it, and that he observed the deaths of the victims through the small window. The witnesses Cesarski, Stanisławski, Skibinska and Ostrowski unanimously confirmed the use of Zyklon B; this also follows from the protocols of the questioning of the witnesses Benden, Gröner and Rockinger, which were read into evidence."

So the verdict was based almost exclusively on eyewitness testimony. What should one make of that?

Generally speaking, we note that witness evidence is considered to be the most uncertain form of evidence, since human memory is very unreliable and easy to manipulate. In science as well as in justice under the rule of law there is a hierarchy of evidence with regard to evidential value, according to which any form of material or documentary evidence is superior to eyewitness testimony in terms of evidential value. 647

The French historian Jacques Baynac has aptly described the value of eyewitness testimony for historians:<sup>648</sup>

"For the academic historian, an eyewitness statement does not represent real history. It is an object of history. Eyewitness testimony is not weighty evidence; and many witness testimonies are not much weightier than a single one if there is no solid documentation to support them. It would not be much of an exaggeration

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>647</sup> E. Schneider, *Beweis und Beweiswürdigung*, Munich: F. Vahlen, 1987, pp. 188, 304; quoted as per M. Köhler, "The Value of Testimony and Confessions Concerning the Holocaust", in: Germar Rudolf (ed.), op. cit. (note 142), pp. 85-132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>648</sup> Le Nouveau Quotidien, Lausanne, Sept. 3, 1997.

to say that the postulate of academic historiography is: no paper(s), no established

In the case of the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial, there are additional reasons for treating the eyewitness testimony with utmost suspicion:

- The events that were the subject of the trial had happened more than thirty years earlier. Under these circumstances eyewitness testimony must be considered almost worthless, since human powers of recollection tend not to improve over time.
- There was probably not one of the witnesses that had not spent the years since liberation constantly exposed to stories, both heard and read, of gas chambers and mass murders in the National Socialist concentration camps. Under these conditions one had to expect that the witnesses would begin to confuse what they themselves had experienced with what they had merely heard or read.
- Former inmates of Majdanek perforce felt anger and hatred for their former oppressors. No-one enjoys being deprived of his freedom, and the conditions in the Lublin camp were beneath all human dignity, which the extremely high mortality rate already shows. Further, it is certainly conceivable that at least some of the accused had tormented and harassed the inmates. Under these circumstances, the temptation would have been irresistible for most of the witnesses to expose not only any real misdeeds the SS-men might have committed, but also to impute to them other, far worse crimes, especially since they had nothing whatsoever to fear even if they were caught committing perjury.
- At the time of the Düsseldorf Majdanek Trial, it had already become wellknown that some other German atrocities that had also been 'proven' by eyewitness testimony were in fact fabrications of Allied atrocity propaganda. One example of this is the allegation that the Germans had committed the mass murder of Katyn, which the Soviet perpetrators had blamed on the vanquished Germans. 649 German officers were incriminated in the Soviet courts by eyewitnesses and then hanged as the murderers of Katyn. 650 Even though the Soviet Union did not admit its guilt until Gorbachev's time, the west, and thus the Federal Republic of Germany, knew from the start that the Soviets were responsible for that massacre of Polish officers and that therefore the witnesses drummed up by the Soviet justice system had been lying.

It was equally well known at that time that there had never been any homicidal gassings in Dachau and other western concentration camps, even though 'proof' of such gassings had been obtained right after the war in the form of eyewitness testimony. For example, the Dachau camp physician Dr. Franz

 <sup>649</sup> IMT, vol. VII, p. 425.
 650 Franz Kadell, Die Katyn-Lüge, Munich: Herbig, 1990.

Blaha testified under oath at the Nuremberg Trial that he had performed autopsies on the bodies of gassing victims in that camp. 651 But ever since Martin Broszat, then a staff member and later the Chief of the Munich Institute for Contemporary History, had determined in 1960 that no Jews or other inmates had been gassed in Dachau (or in other western camps), <sup>652</sup> even the orthodox historians, i.e., those supporting the theory of extermination, considered the gas chambers of Dachau, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen etc. as finished. Thus, the witnesses had also lied in these cases. The Düsseldorf court should have borne all this in mind rather than putting blind faith in its witness testimony. for why should eyewitness testimony about gassings in Majdanek be more credible, *a priori*, than eyewitness testimony about gassings in Dachau?

Now the reader may object that even SS-men corroborated the gas chamber murders to the Court—namely, the four acquitted co-defendants, members of the SS who were first suspected but ultimately not charged, and finally, some that had never even been suspected.

We would point out first of all that an outsider has no way of checking the court's claims; we do not know what exactly the SS guards in question said in their testimony, since the trial transcripts are not available to the public. If the members of the SS should actually have testified to the reality of the homicidal gassings, one cannot help but suspect that they bought their early acquittals or their dispensation from criminal charges with this testimony that was so desirable to the Federal German justice system. After all, it was the one with the power to decide which former Majdanek guards would end up in the prisoner's dock and which would not. If the judiciary had been determined to charge and imprison this or that former guard, it was surely not difficult to obtain the desired incriminating eyewitness testimony. The judiciary was not short of means for exerting pressure, as it were, to produce the desired statements.

In this context, the case of SS-man Heinz Müller is quite revealing; as the reader will recall, the court had praised him for being "one of the few members of the SS who have not sought to hide their knowledge behind alleged ignorance, inability to remember, disinterest in camp events at the time in question, or other excuses." He confessed having attended the gassings with carbon monoxide, thus finally furnishing some evidence for murders committed with this poison: even though the official subject literature unanimously alleges this killing method, we have failed to find even one other witness statement to this effect.

Heinz Müller was well rewarded for his cooperation: he never made personal acquaintance with the prisoner's dock.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>651</sup> *IMT*, vol. V, p. 172. <sup>652</sup> *Die Zeit*, Aug. 19, 1960.

The court itself involuntarily furnished a striking proof of the unreliable nature of eyewitness testimony by stating that "many inmates" had misinterpreted "instances where inmates were culled under circumstances resembling selections [...] but actually for other purposes, primarily for transfers to other camps". It obviously never occurred to the Court that with this comment it was declaring all eyewitness testimony about "selections for the gas chambers" to be worthless, since every culling "under circumstances resembling selections" could actually have been done for purposes of transfers to other camps (or assignment to a labor unit) and been misconstrued by inmates as a selection for the gas chambers.

Obviously the Federal German justice system did not try for even a second to obtain documentary or material evidence for the alleged homicidal gassings at issue in the Majdanek Trial (not unlike National Socialist trials of similar nature). One example of its utter ignorance of documentary evidence is its claim that the term "delousing facility" was only a code word with which the homicidal facilities were disguised. If the court had taken the trouble to study the surviving German documents, it would have found the descriptions of the plague of lice in the camp, as well as the construction plans for the delousing facilities. And the delousing operations are also mentioned in the eyewitness reports which the court set such great store by in other respects.

The fact that the picture which the Düsseldorf court painted of Majdanek— (as a site of planned extermination of human beings) is not supported by so much as one documentary proof. It is something that could not be disguised even with numerous references to the "expert on contemporary history", Scheffler, who was said to have supported his findings about the camp's purpose and the total number of victims "with extensive documentary source materials". The court wisely kept silent about what materials these might have been. And since these "extensive documentary source materials" simply do not exist, even Herr Scheffler could not use them to prove either the mass extermination nor the alleged minimum of 200,000 victims.

The Court did not even try to come up with a basis for this completely fictional figure. The reference to the eyewitnesses was a particularly pathetic argument here, for even if the gassings had actually taken place, the witnesses could have been present only at individual murder operations at best, and could not possibly have known the total number of the camps' victims. To determine this number, the first requirement would have been to find out the total number of inmates deported to Majdanek; so the court would first of all have had to try to locate the transport lists. But nothing of the sort was done.

The Court even depended on the "compelling expositions of the subject expert" with regard to the "physical location of the gas chambers" and their "technical facilities". While it is alleged that an "on-site inspection of the camp" was done with "International Assistance in Law Enforcement", this inspection cannot have been very thorough. Otherwise the inspectors would at

least have noticed that one of the "homicidal gas chambers" has a window, which the victims would immediately have smashed.

One thing that is a matter of course in any nonpolitical murder trial, namely, an expert report on the murder weapon, was obviously deemed superfluous by the Düsseldorf Court in a case prosecuting such a spectacular and horrific crime as the alleged mass gassings.

An expert report on the "murder weapon" (meaning, in this case, the rooms described as "gas chambers" as well as the two poisons allegedly used) would have shaken the foundations of the eyewitness accounts about gassings. That, however, was not the purpose of the trial, and therefore such an expert report was omitted and the "expert on contemporary history" Scheffler was consulted instead of a chemist or a toxicologist.

Unfortunately the defense missed its opportunity to take up this point and insist on an expert report about the "murder weapon". Obviously, just as in similar National Socialist trials, the defense attorneys chose to bow to opportunistic considerations and preferred not to question the image of the "extermination camp", insisting instead merely on their clients' personal innocence.

Just as for the alleged gassings, the Court was also satisfied with eyewitness testimony where the alleged mass execution of November 3, 1943, was concerned, and it accepted these testimonies without question.

Aside from the mandatory "expert on contemporary history", Scheffler, the following witnesses are cited in the Court's verdict to prove the massacre of November 3, 1943:

- 24 former inmates of Majdanek;
- the defendants Groffmann and Villain (of whom the former was then acquitted and the latter got away with a sentence that was mild relative to the charge);
- 13 members of the SS who were suspected of complicity but never charged;
- former co-defendant Hermine Böttcher, who had been acquitted;
- 4 German witnesses who were unable to travel and made written depositions instead:
- 5 Polish and Soviet witnesses who were unable or unwilling to travel and made written depositions instead;
- 13 witnesses who have since died—including Erich Mußfeldt(!).

One of the witnesses for the prosecution who was suspected but not charged was the SS-man Georg Werk. With reference to him, the verdict states:<sup>653</sup>

"According to his statements, the witness Werk was posted to the office in Lublin at that time, and had been detailed to the execution squad, but claims that he did not participate in the shooting but only 'watched' because—(in his own words)

<sup>653</sup> District Court Düsseldorf, op. cit. (note 55), v. II, p. 486.

'luckily' his submachine gun malfunctioned. The latter is anything but believable; but the Court has absolutely no doubt that the rest of his testimony is truthful, especially with regard to how the witnesses had to lie down on top of each other like roofing tiles, to be killed with shots to the back of the head or in the neck."

It doesn't take much of an imagination to picture how the Court probably bought this witness's incriminating statement: in return for the desired description of the mass murder, Georg Werk was exempted from criminal charges, even though the Court considered his excuse,the malfunctioning submachine gun, to be unbelievable and he would therefore logically have to have been charged as accessory to murder, and convicted. SS-man Erich Laurich, on the other hand, who categorically denied any involvement in the executions, 654 was "exposed" by the testimony of the witness Zacheusz Pawlak, and sentenced to eight years in prison.

One of the most revealing sections of the verdict is that about the witness Stanisław Chwiejczak. He incriminated the defendant Heinz Villain (who was charged with participation in the alleged mass execution of November 3, 1943) by testifying that on that day, Villain and another SS-man had received some object of value from a Jew destined to be shot; the latter had retrieved his valuable from a hiding place to try to buy his life with it, but then Villain had led the Jew off to the execution ditch after all. The Court considered Chwiejczak's statement to be unbelievable, for the following reason:<sup>655</sup>

"Where [...] the witness Chwiejczak is concerned, under questioning in the Main Hearing on September 17-18, 1980, he identified the defendant Villain as one of the two SS-men who had accompanied the Jewish inmate to his hiding place; the witness Pych had stated the same. However, as the witness Chwiejczak admitted, this claim is exactly the opposite of that which he stated in this context some 10 months earlier, at his hearing on November 6, 1979, in Warsaw in the presence of members of the Court, where he had stated that the defendant Villain was not involved in this incident. The reason which the witness gave for this contradiction—namely, that after his questioning in Warsaw he had thought about it and remembered that the defendant Villain had been present—may be true; however, the Court is not convinced of this, since there are several indications to suggest that in the time between his questioning in Warsaw and his appearance at the Main Hearing the witness has attempted to 'refresh' his memory not only by 'thinking' but also by obtaining information from outside sources."

Evidently it did not occur to the Court that S. Chwiejczak may not have been the only witness to make use of their time and opportunity to "refresh" their "memory [...] by obtaining information from outside sources".

The possibility that one or the other of those accused in Düsseldorf may have been guilty, of abusing inmates or even of murder, cannot be ruled out. More than three decades after war's end, it was impossible to bring evidence and to conduct an inquiry perfectly and in complete accordance with the prin-

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<sup>654</sup> Ibid., v. II, p. 510.

<sup>655</sup> *Ibid.*, v. II, p. 492.

ciples of a state under rule of law. And in any case, such individual crimes would not have contributed anything decisive to the three central issues: whether there were homicidal gas chambers in Majdanek; whether a minimum of 17,000 Jews were shot there on November 3, 1943; and whether at least 200,000 people really died in the Lublin camp.

The irrefutable conclusion can only be that the Majdanek Trial was a political show trial in which the guilt or innocence of the accused was really irrelevant and which actually only served to cement the image of the "extermination camp" with a court verdict, a valuable contribution to the reeducation of the German people.

That the Poles, four months after the liberation of Majdanek, would stage a show trial of members of an enemy nation that still occupied part of their country is something one can understand. But that the Federal Republic of Germany, more than three decades after the end of the war, carried out a trial that disregarded such elementary juridical norms as the subordination of witness testimony to material and documentary evidence is something that cannot be justified. At best there may be mitigating circumstances.

One of the mitigating circumstances one must probably grant the Düsseldorf judges is that they were under extreme pressure from domestic and foreign media, antifascist organizations, foreign governments, particularly the Israeli and the Polish, and most likely also from the Federal German government. Even the early acquittal of some of the accused had prompted a flood of protests. The Court pronounced some of the defendants guilty because it *had to* pronounce them guilty, and convicted them because it *had to* convict them. The sentences were then promptly criticized as being too lenient, both at home and abroad. Under such conditions an independent dispensation of justice was hardly possible.

While the state of evidence for the alleged 200,000+ victims of Majdanek, the homicidal gassings in Majdanek, and the massacre of November 1943 has not improved even with the Düsseldorf Trial, those with a vested interest in preserving and maintaining the official version of history can claim, ever since this trial, that these mass crimes have been "judicially noted" as fact and therefore no longer need to be proved. As per their self-perception, the German historians, beginning with the fantastic "expert on contemporary history" Wolfgang Scheffler, will probably continue to take this as a dispensation from responsibility to conduct some serious academic and scientific research about this camp.

<sup>656</sup> C. Pilichowski, op. cit. (note 61), p. 435.

### Conclusion

The concentration camp Majdanek was a place of suffering.

The people imprisoned there suffered under catastrophic sanitary conditions, epidemics, at times completely insufficient rations, back-breaking heavy labor, harassment. More than 40,000 Majdanek inmates died, primarily from disease, debilitation and malnutrition; an unknown number was executed.

The real victims of Majdanek deserve our respect, just as all victims of war and oppression deserve our respect, regardless what nation they belong to. But we are not doing the dead any service by inflating their number for political and propagandistic reasons and by making utterly unfounded claims about the way they died.

The longer a time separates our present from World War Two, the less justification there is for supplementing the real suffering and the real deaths in the Lublin camp with inventions of gargantuan-scale slaughter committed in gas chambers and with mass executions—a slaughter for which there is no trace of proof and which numerous compelling arguments of historical as well as technical nature speak against.

The reduction in Majdanek's victim count which was introduced in Poland in the early 1990s was justified by saying that the unscientific considerations which in the past had required an inflation of the real numbers were now no longer valid. If that is truly so, then we may expect that the Polish historians—who, unlike their western counterparts, have at least tried to research the events in Majdanek—will throw off the dead weight of Stalinist historiography completely and not only in small portions, and that they will be open and honest about the consequences that will perforce follow from the state of documentation and from the physical nature of certain facilities on the grounds of the former camp Majdanek.

A real and lasting reconciliation between the German and the Polish people, which is exactly the hope of this book's two authors, who have ties of friendship to both peoples, can only flourish on a foundation of the complete truth!

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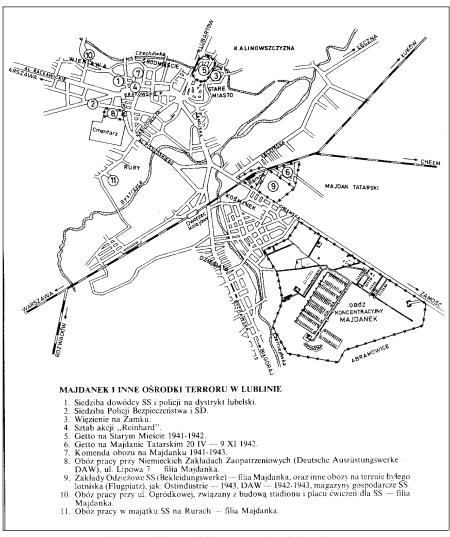
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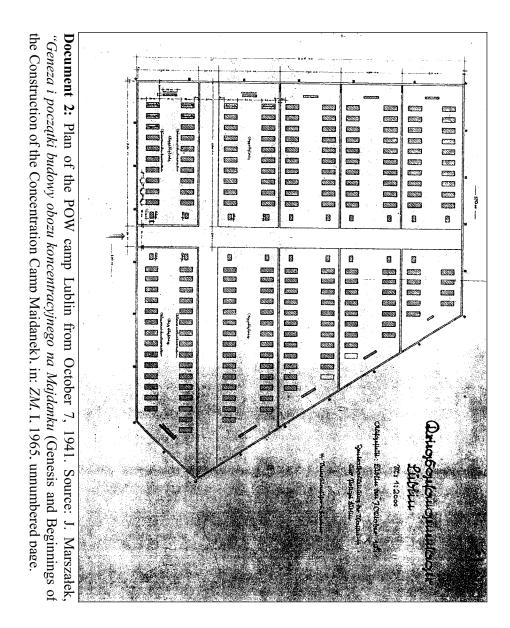
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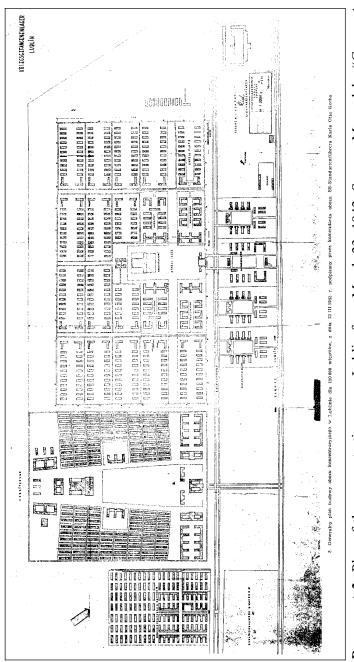
## **Documents**



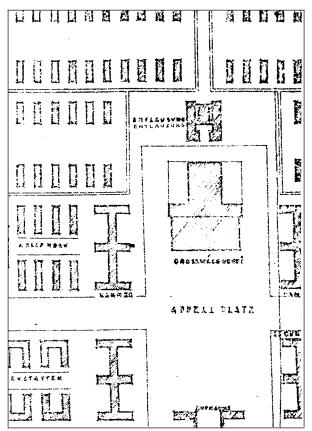
**Document 1:** Lublin and the Lublin camp (Majdanek). Source: T. Mencel (ed.), *Majdanek 1941-1944*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1991, unnumbered page.



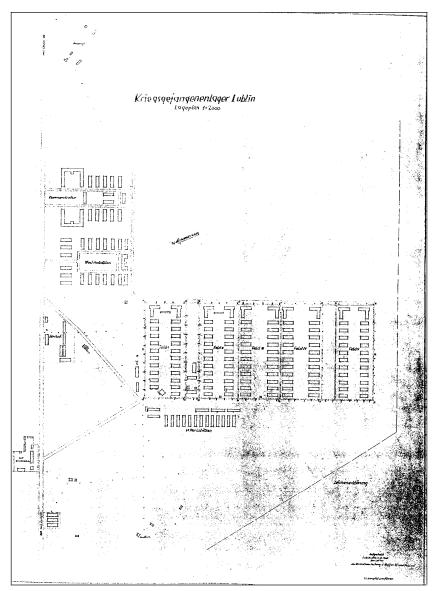
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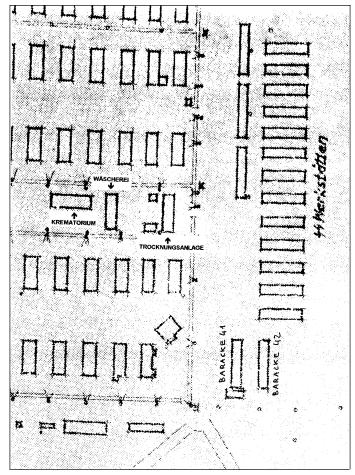
"Geneza ı **Document 3:** Plan of the concentration camp Lublin from March 23, 1942. Source: Marszałek, początki budowy obozu koncentracyjnego na Majdanku, in: ZM, I, 1965, unnumbered page.



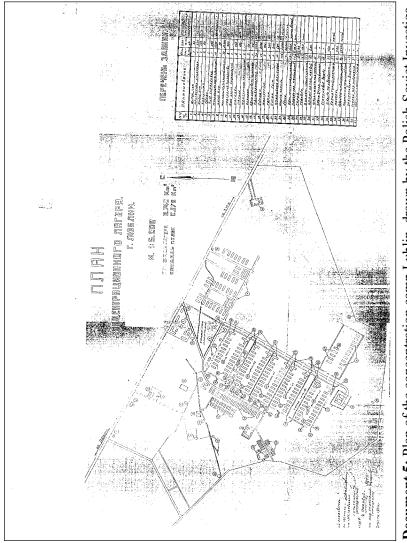
**Document 3a:** Enlargement from Document 3: location of the delousing facility.



**Document 4:** Plan of the POW camp Lublin from December 5, 1942. Source: Z. Murawska, *System strzezenia i sposoby isolacji wiezniow w obozie koncentracyjnym na Majdanku* (System of guarding and methods of isolating the inmates in the concentration camp Majdanek), in: *ZM*, I, 1965, unnumbered page.



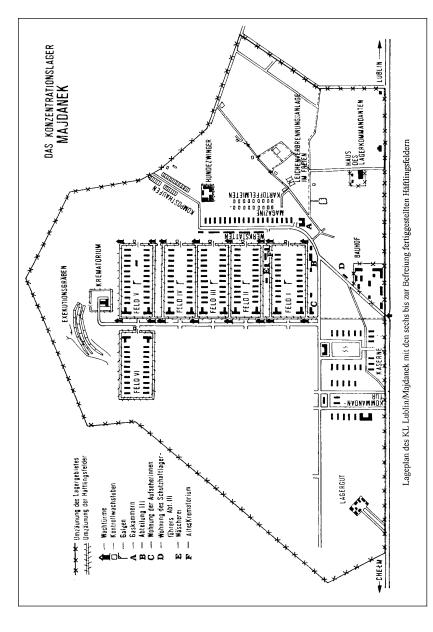
Document 4a: Detail from Document 4. Labels added.



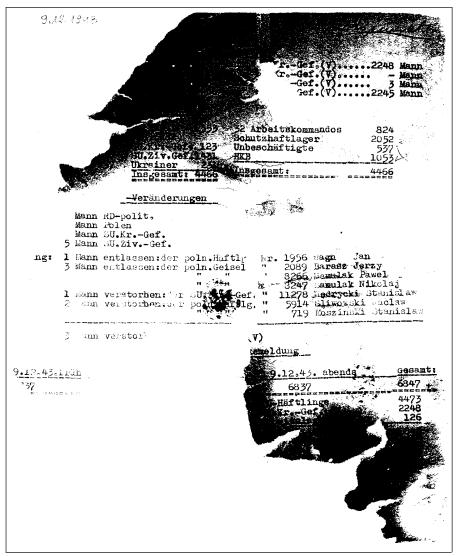
Document 5: Plan of the concentration camp Lublin, drawn by the Polish-Soviet Investigative Commission. Source: GARF, 7021-107-9, 5.

Polsce (Bulletin of the Commission to Investigate the German Crimes in Poland), v. 4, mination Camp Majdanek), in: Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Nimieckich w kiewicz in "Obóz koncentracyjni i zagłady Majdanek" Document 6: Plan of the concentrtion camp Lublin, published by Zdzisław Łukasz-(The Concentration and Exter-OBÓZ KONGENTBACYJNY
MAJDANEK LEGENDA

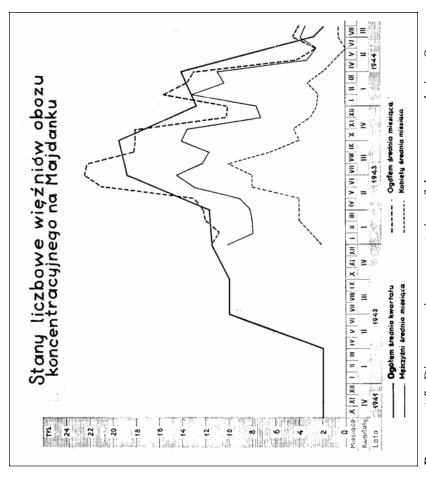
1948, unnumbered page.



Document 7: Plan of the concentration camp Lublin. Source: T. Kranz (ed.), Unser Schicksal—eine Mahnung für Euch... Berichte und Erinnerungen der Häftlinge von Majdanek. Lublin: Panstwowe Museum na Majdanku, 1994, unnumbered page.



**Document 8:** Camp population report of December 9, 1943. Source: APMM, sygn. I.c.2, v. 1.



**Document 9:** Diagrammatic representation of the camp population. Source: Z. Leszczyńska, "Stany liczbowe wiezniów obozu koncentracjynego na Maidanku" in 7M VII 1973 unnumbered nage

|           | Camp I | Population |        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|-----------|--------|------------|--------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|           |        | 1941       |        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | IV     | Quarter    | 2,000  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 1942   |            |        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | I      | Quarter    | 2,000  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | II     | Quarter    | 10,000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | III    | Quarter    | 10,000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | IV     | Quarter    | 11,500 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           |        | 1943       |        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Month     | Men    | Women      | total  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| January   | 7,900  | 3,000      | 10,900 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| February  | 8,000  | 4,000      | 12,000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| March     | 8,200  | 4,000      | 12,200 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| April     | 9,000  | 4,000      | 13,000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| May       | 13,000 | 8,000      | 21,000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| June      | 14,500 | 8,000      | 22,500 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| July      | 12,300 | 10,000     | 22,300 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| August    | 11,700 | 6,500      | 18,200 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| September | 14,100 | 4,000      | 18,100 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| October   | 13,600 | 4,500      | 18,100 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| November  | 7,260  | 3,000      | 10,260 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| December  | 7,640  | 2,500      | 10,140 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 1944   |            |        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Month     | Men    | Women      | total  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| January   | 13,240 | 2,400      | 15,640 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| February  | 10,460 | 3,200      | 13,660 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| March     | 11,000 | 2,000      | 13,000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           |        |            |        |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Document 10:** Population of the concentration camp Majdanek. From: Z. Leszczyńska, "*Stany liczbowe wiezniów obozu koncentracjynego na Majdanku*", in: *ZM*, VII, 1973.

| Amt D/ling         |       |                       | <u>urust</u> |                               |              | 91 1/            |
|--------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| EonzLager          |       | nschmittl.<br>gstarke | rodesfall    | Derly system<br>Edical<br>2 O | ونساسا سيبيع |                  |
| Dachau             | 17    | <b>500</b>            | - 40         | 0.23                          | 0.34         | - 0.             |
| Sachsenhausen      | 26    | 500                   | 194          | 0.73                          | 0.70         | <del>-</del> 0 . |
| buchenwald         | 17    | ပ်စစ                  | 118          | 0.67                          | 1.2.         |                  |
| Lauthausen/Gusen   | 21    | 100                   | 290          | 1.37                          | 1.65         | - o.             |
| PloBenburg         | 4     | 800                   | 155          | 3.23                          | 3.27         | - c.             |
| euongamme          | 9     | 800                   | 150          | 1.53                          | 2.14         | <b>-</b>         |
| Auschwitzunner     | 48    | 000                   | 1442         | 3                             | 0.96         | + C.             |
| Auschwitz-Frauen   | 20    | 000                   | 9 <b>3</b> 8 | 3.61                          | 5.15         | - 1.             |
| _rob=dosen         | 5     | 000                   | 76           | 1.52                          | 2.09         | - 1,             |
| atzweiler          | 2     | 200                   | 41           | 1.87                          | 1.65         | <b>+</b> 0.      |
| rergen-Belsen      | 3     | 500                   | 4            | 0.12                          | 0.39         | - 0.             |
| Stutthof-Lanner    | 3     | 800                   | 131          | 2.45                          | 5.6 <b>9</b> | - 2.             |
| Stuttnof-Frauen    |       | 500                   | 1            | 0.20                          | -            | + 0.             |
| Luplin-känner      | 11    | 500                   | 882          | 7.67                          | 4.62         | + 3.             |
| Lublin-Prauen      | 3     | 900                   | 172          | 4.41                          | 2.01         | + 2.             |
| kavensbrück-Lünner | 3     | 100                   | 26           | 0.84                          | 0.75         | + 0.             |
| Havensbruck-Frauen | 14    | 100                   | 38           | 0.27                          | 0.24         | + 0.             |
| Kiga               | . 3   | 000                   | 1            | 0.03                          | 0.33         | - L.             |
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**Document 11:** PS-1469, p. 4.

|              |       |           | Vorualle    |         | Gebeurtzort |         |     | ou prefein | Het h       | eners! |
|--------------|-------|-----------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|-----|------------|-------------|--------|
|              |       | Uge Low   |             |         | - ,,, ,     |         |     |            | <i>7</i> 2. |        |
| 9            | 869   | Klein do  |             |         | Karantokey  |         |     |            | 8           |        |
| 2            | 261   | Triuwal?  | Adalbert .  |         | Krawvie     |         |     |            | 8.          | `      |
| 1            | 10394 | Alein Ka  | us          | 7.3.03  | Berlin      | 30-6-42 | į   |            | D.          |        |
|              |       |           | -           | 14.90   | Wolling     | 306.42  |     |            | 7           |        |
| <b>3</b> 1 . | 8847  | veurath   | Georg.      | • .     | Wiew        | 1 1 1   |     |            | 1           | •      |
| 4. 11        | 634   | Tauber Fa | ul"         | 7.9.02  | Sprik       | 17.42   |     |            | 7           |        |
| 5            | 4014  | Berger 19 | uat         | 4.6.06  | Syriani     | 1.7.42  |     |            | 8           |        |
| 6: .         | 5284  | Hopis In  | reduct      | 63.77   | Coma        | 1.7.42  | !   |            | 8           |        |
|              |       | Lypolis   |             | ,       | Constein    |         |     | ,          | 8           |        |
| 8            | 4781  | Rugel &   | inhael      | 1.7.71  | Carritta    | 1.7.42. | -   | CA.        | .18         | ••     |
|              |       |           | r har -     |         |             |         |     | ٠, ١       | D -         | 4:1    |
| 90 3         | 5187  | Hause     | r Wilhelu   | 4.6.68  | jalobrek    | 1.7.42  | ₹.  | •, , , , , | 18:         | 1.     |
| 1 .          | 5748  | Riutel    | midos       | 10.5.81 | Sarlugher   | 1.7.42  | Ì   |            | 5           | ••     |
| 2 3          | 3201  | Touwer    | Jaiawou.    | 21.8.03 | Raab        | 7.7.42  |     | .0,5       | 8           |        |
| 9 3          | 4051  | Sild Vai  | oia ::      | 8.4.05  | Garsehau    | 1.7.42  |     | м          | 10          |        |
| 4            | 6906  | Bialoszt  | cky des     | 24.6.07 | Ruput       | 17.42   |     |            | P           |        |
|              |       |           | r Nikalaus  | 19.7.24 | Sp. M. Kes  | 1.7.42  |     |            | Si          | .` :   |
|              |       |           | of Leil .   |         | Warrela,    | 7-7-42  |     |            | P           |        |
|              |       |           | Yali        |         | Solivar     | 1.7.42  | 1   | ٠.         | 8           |        |
| 8            | 8547  | Glickly.  | the Shotecu |         | Bilgoray!   |         |     |            | P.          |        |
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|              |       | 8         | /           |         | 1           |         | . ' |            |             | 7.2    |

**Document 12:** Death Book, June 30 to July 1, 1942. Source: APMM, sygn. I.d.19, p. 37.

| 11.4               | U May            |            |  | Manue:  Walerij Ludwik Jan Jay Czesław Emil Geza Nikolaus Adolf Moschek Jan Jay Wincenty Jan Jay Manired Edmund Horst Ladislaus Alexander Eugenius Pinkas Egon Josef Kolomann Bolesiaw Mithlas Eugen Martin Custaw Mithlas Eugen Felix Jan S Julius Josef Fiotr Joz Hormann Tadeus Leser Wilter Moses | R retric      | ammer_   |                        |                   |
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|                    | <b>_</b> 16259√  | · Pole:    | √/Bryczek  | Walerin   | 22-           | 7.18.    | Bzeczica-Vo            | 020 20            |
| / L                | <u> 15</u> 968 - | "-         | Jaszkowskij  | Ludwik  | 10.           | 8.13.    | Wakiik                 |                   |
|                    | 15925            | ii - v     | Olesiejuk 📉  | Jan 305   | 23.           | 11.93.   | Perszezowka            |                   |
|                    | 77232            | "_ 1       | Krøeczkowsk:   | í Czeslaw   |               | 1901     | Szitanec               | Ωπ                |
| 100                | 4140             | Jude       | Korn   | Emil  | 31.           | 12.10.   | Cerwenice              |                   |
| *                  | 2176             | -11-       | Frater   | Geza  | 26.           | 3.00.    | Domaniky               | _n                |
|                    | 3578             | -"-        | Klein  | Nikolaus  | 21.           | 9.25.    | Vranov n/T.            | _0,               |
| 1.0                | 2266.*           | -"-        | Schwarz  | Adoli   | 6.            | 4.09.    | Vylok -                | _0.               |
| 1.5                | 12472            |            | Franker  | Moschek   | 15.           | 12.20.   | Moszczenow             | 9.                |
| L                  | 14313            | Lote       | ranczak  | Jan 32 -  |               | 1918.    | Majdan-Krasa           | aninski"          |
|                    | 14000 V          | -"- }      | rorogelczik  | Wincenty  | 13.           | 3.08.    | Vulec                  |                   |
| 1.3                | 71756            | 7          | / Buczek   | Jan 26  | 8.            | 1.03.    | Skryniczyn             |                   |
| 4.5                | 11303            | Jude       | Nassauer   | Manired   | 29,           | 11.12.   | Kriftel                | ·_n.              |
| -                  | 16781            | 1,30       | Mond   | Edmund  | 21.3          | 2. 00.   | Niederhochst           | adt"-             |
| ,                  | 16189            | Pole       | Micholoc   | Horst   | · 7•          | 1.28.    | Plauen                 | → <sup>11</sup> - |
| 4                  | 16061            | -11-       | Latos  | Alexander   | - 17          | 1925.    | Stelanowce             | واللها أ          |
| 7                  | 160291/          |            | / Litopor  | ALEXENDER   | -04.          | 4.05.    | Dzirzkowice            |                   |
| 4                  | 1514             | Tilde      | Solvimmenting  | . Ludwig  | 20.           | 1.23     | Budziska -             |                   |
|                    | 3561             | _!!_       | Kniik  | Pinkoe  | 26            | 0.12.    | sratislava             |                   |
|                    | 6165             | H          | Ohrenstein   | FIRRES  | 20.           | 2.09.    | Hizny Komarr           | tik -#-           |
|                    | 1436 V           | PALe       | Maz  | TORRE   | 70            | 2.00.    | Trakonitz -            | -"-               |
| T                  | 5201             | Jude       | Spitzer  | Kolomonn  |               | 0.24     | Araszenin              |                   |
|                    | 140742           | Pole       | /Krainowski  | Bologian  | . 4.          | 2.97.    | bratestava             | !!-               |
|                    | 2925             | Jude       | Weiss  | Arman   | . 27          | 12 00    | anila Osvrue           | (a - ''-          |
| - 1.               | 2074             | Pole       | Vaninski   | Martin  | 30 1          | 12.000 e | Medozany               | !}-               |
|                    | 9692 -           | Jude       | Reich  | Ghetow  | 24 4          | 10.17.   | Zacozsie .             | - 2-              |
|                    | 744              | -#-        | Goldstein  | Wikulas   | 9 1           | 12.00    | Viasim                 | !'-               |
|                    | 2231 -           | _Bar 1     | Braun B  | Bugen   | - 13          | 1 08     | Mamestovo              |                   |
|                    | 3000             | -!!-       | Kende  | Felix   | 13            | 3 25     | Tesary                 | !!-               |
|                    | 1380 🗸           | Pole -     | Woicik'  | Jan 5   | 17            | 6 22 .   | Drautstava             | ~~ !! ~           |
| · L                | 429              | Jude       | Friedmann  | Julius  | 77.           | 1 00     | Deligner Waker         | -!-               |
|                    | 750              | -11        | Roth   | Josef   | 8.1           | 2 15     | Boar Edward            | - "-              |
| L                  | 311              | Pole /     | Lubelski   | Piotr 150   | 20.           | 6.10     | Maga octar             | !-                |
| - 4                | 1265/            | Jude       | Wollitzer  | Hermann   | 13.           | 3.24     | Traction -             |                   |
| . 2                | 2347             | -11-       | Kleinert   | Tadeus.   | 25            | 8.07     | Derultones             | <br>              |
|                    | 12957            | -!!-       | Lehrmann   | Leser   | 1             | 5.99     | Polowi                 | TATOMSKE          |
| d II.              | 6750             | Todo       | Bonon :  | 3823 de   |               |          | T O TCOAT              | , <del>-</del>    |
| 13. 4              | 15292            | -11_       | Hallani  | Walteer<br>Toget  | 19.           | 4.86.    | Köslin                 | 11-               |
|                    | 18196            | -"-        | Frenerbich   | Monog   | 20.           | P•15•    | Warschau               | - n-              |
| . 1                | 1707 -           | -0-        | Sokolowicz   | (0) inless = 5  | 3 4.          | 2.18.    | Baranow                | -"-               |
| . 1                | 2645 - 1         | 11,        | Blumenthal   | Tion  |               | 2.04     | Blalystok.             | ,— ··-            |
| 1                  | 15084 -          | _"_        | Kleinert Lehrmann Fauer Haller Freuerlich Sokolowicz Blumenthal Lang Zernik Budnik Katz Finkelstein Hüller Hagnuschewsk Löwenstein Zuer Terespolski Kossel Malkesmann Scnwarz Terper Wysipka Halberstein Geisenberg Pick Kiszka  | Thein   | 40 · L        | 2.00     | bochaczew              | ,-"-              |
| 1                  | 4398             | -n         | Zernik   | 'Tandini o  | 30            | 7 05     | warschau               | <del>- !-</del> - |
| . 1                | 4535 -           | - "-       | Budnik   | Henryk  | 20.<br>20.    | 7.00.    | Derlin                 | , - <u>"</u> -    |
| i                  | 6680             | _11_       | Katz   | Schol   | 20.           | 1 03     | L'LOCK                 | !'-               |
| . 1                | 7375             | -#-        | Finkelstein  | Le ihuseh   | <u>4</u> ∪• . | .TO.:    | Dercive                | · -"-             |
| . 1                | 6739             | <u>-04</u> | Hüller   | Max   | 8             | 2 84     | nurov                  | !!-               |
| 1                  | 6695             | _#_        | Magnuschewsk   | iRubin  | . 0.          | 1805     | Decrision              | - !!-             |
| 1                  | 6790             | -!         | Löwenstein   | Hans  | 17            | 7.96     | Discrick               | - "-              |
| 1                  | 6721 -           | -!-        | Zuer   | Wolfmans  | 25.1          | 2.21     | Channita               | !                 |
| 2                  | 588              | - !!       | Terespolski  | Icek  | 30.           | 6.11     | Fannilson              | !'                |
| . 1                | 198              | - !!       | Kessel   | Lcek  | 12.1          | 1.05     | Zarazan                |                   |
| 1                  | 7573 -           | H          | Malkesmann'  | Pesach  | 30 - 1        | 0.13.    | Vongolnian             | !!                |
| . 1                | 1942             | - ü-       | Senwarz  | Adolf   | 12.           | 2.08.    | Hanneomoe              |                   |
| 7.                 | 2836             | -"-        | Terper   | Alter   | 30.1          | 1.98     | Vanachau               |                   |
| 1                  | 3341             | - "        | Wysipka .  | Schmul  | 20.1          | 2.96     | reistrau .<br>Valuesin | -"-               |
| 1                  | 8243             | -"-        | Halberstein  | Chaskel   | 23            | 7.02     | Alt Sandste            | ::-               |
| . 1                | 5208 -           | -"-        | Goldstein '  | Leiser  | 2 <b>6.</b> ' | 5.83.    | Tinzdoznie             |                   |
| ., 1               | 5422             | -"-        | Geisenberg   | Aron  | 21.           | 5.21.    | Litzmanatedt           |                   |
| 9                  | 167              | -11        | Pick   | Josef   | 11. 8         | 3.01.    | Ten Kastelee           |                   |
| 6                  | 791 -            | _ H        | Kiszka   | Rafael  | 24.           | 5.24.    | Tarblin "              | / 55              |
|                    |                  |            |  |   |               |          |                        |                   |

**Document 13:** Death Report for the Personal Effects Depot, dated October 23, 1942, refers to October 20. Source: GARF, 7021-107-3, p. 227.

| de<br>r. | · AAAA                                | Vornene   | teg            | Haf tur   | Todes-  |       | Todpaurs                              | ache K     |
|----------|---------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|---------|-------|---------------------------------------|------------|
|          | * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * | 2         |                |           |         | 4.4   | 1306                                  |            |
| -        | Silberberg                            | Herech ;  | 18.6.82        | poln.Jui  | 1012.42 | Herz  | achwache                              | bei Grippe |
| - 6      | <b>Yorstätter</b>                     | Mayor     | 6.4.04         | 4 4       | • •     |       |                                       | - > #      |
| 7        | Wurzeldorf                            | Lejb      | 1923           | 4 7       |         |       | ( <del>4</del>                        | н н        |
| 8        | Kas tl                                | Ludevit   | 9.9.19         | alon. "   |         |       | п                                     | н н        |
| 0        | Kochan                                | Abe       | 0.3.16         | poln."    |         |       | *                                     |            |
| L70      | Korn                                  |           | 6.8.22         |           |         | 7 70. | #                                     | :          |
| - 1      | Nussbaum                              |           | 5.7.1e         |           |         |       |                                       |            |
| 2        | Mandel                                |           |                | 1.46.41.4 |         |       | " bei                                 | Dormkatarr |
| 3        | Rothberg                              |           | 17.12.95       | в0юн. **  |         |       | er e                                  |            |
| - 1      |                                       | 1 1       | <b>46.2.21</b> | ാവ്മ,"    | "       |       |                                       | #          |
| 4        | Si tmann                              | 1         | 15•7•19        |           |         |       | т. н                                  | **         |
| 5        | Jechinowicz                           | Hersch    | 25.4.08        | #∵.#.     | " "     |       | <b>"</b>                              | . "        |
| 6        | Baum                                  | Moschek   | 20.7.19        | - N       | * .     |       | 7                                     | **         |
| 7.       | Biernzweig                            | Schloma   | 5.5.04         | " "       | - 1     |       |                                       | *          |
| 8        | Barenfeld                             | Schloma   | 17.3.09        | 7.7       | -       |       |                                       | **         |
| 9        | Friedmann                             | Josef     | 28.3.13        | " "       | -       |       | er e,                                 | "          |
| 90       | Führer                                | Schmul.   | 14.5.98        |           | -       |       |                                       |            |
| 1        | Goldberger                            | Siegfried | 9.6.07         | slow."    | .       |       |                                       | **         |
| 2        | Kwia thowski                          | Hersch    | 17.12.04       |           |         |       |                                       |            |
| 5        | Balin                                 | Dawid     |                | ]         | -       |       |                                       |            |
| -        |                                       |           | 15.2.2         | 1         |         |       | " "                                   |            |
| 4.       | lichtenberg                           | Fajwel    | 19.3.1         | " "       | -       |       | " #                                   | . 4        |
| 5        | Wollberg                              | Israel    | 26.5.0         | , m . n.  | -       |       | <b>et</b> 35                          | 4.         |
| 6        | Volf                                  | Jakob     | 18.5.10        |           |         |       | er 11                                 |            |
| -        |                                       |           |                |           |         |       | **                                    | ***        |
| 7        | ₩1 tonsk1                             | Berek     | 10.7.0         |           | "       |       | * "                                   | •          |
| 8        | Klođa                                 | Josef     | 5.1.2          | 4 "       |         |       | н н                                   | т,         |
| 9        | Hanok                                 | Alfred    | 4.5.8          | Prot."    | -       |       | 7 he4                                 | Lungonent- |
| 90       | Junemann                              | Heinrich  | }              |           |         |       | 067                                   | zünd.      |
| 1        | Selig                                 | Kalman    | 8.9.03         | n n       |         |       | · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | ""         |
| 2        | Sterenbuch                            | Sucher    | 10.5.1         | # #       |         |       | п п                                   | i samu     |
| 3        | Bogmann                               | Chil      |                |           |         | i.    |                                       |            |
| •        | - CRIMINI                             | CULL      | 4.10.1         | ۳ "       | 1 7     |       |                                       | • •        |
|          | : •/•                                 |           |                | 1         |         | •/•   | ,                                     |            |

**Document 14:** *List of the Deceased for the Majdanek Camp,* Nov. 30, 1942. Source: Archive of the Glowna Komisja Bdania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 626, z/OL 3, p. 52.

| 1             | Milanowski                         | Franciszek        | 24.11.97                              | Zakrzew                     | poln. Geleel   |
|---------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 5             | Albinger                           | Josef             | 15.6.11                               | Chomenczy ska               | n  |
| 6             | Czerjakow                          | Pawe1             | 1.7.02                                | Tarnowatka                  |  |
| 7             | Durak                              | Stanislaw         | 21.3.23                               | Dombini                     |  |
| 8             | Widynski                           | Stanislaw         | 24.12.13                              | Wola-Niemiecka              | H. A. A. €.<br>H. A. |
| 9             | Wróbel                             | Boleslaw          | 1.5.13                                | Dombie                      | <b>n</b>   |
| 3 <b>7</b> 00 | ratro                              | Adam              | 21.10.13                              | Ruzaniec                    | # - 1  |
| 1             | Skuplew <b>ski</b>                 | Tadeusz           | 5.10.08                               | Lublin                      | Arbeitsscheuer   |
| 2             | Krukows <b>k1</b>                  | Tadeusz           | 8.11.23                               | Krasowka                    | poln, Geisel   |
|               | Zakreślono                         |                   |                                       |                             |  |
|               | " Sas                              | Danylo            | 15.10.88                              | Lotow                       | poln.Geisel"   |
| 3             | Sadowsk <b>i</b>                   | Zenon             | 2.2.22                                | Wysokie                     | *  |
| 4             | Kerpowicz                          | Josef             | 1896                                  | Veglenka                    | **   |
| 5             | Krejevski                          | Franciszek        | 10,10,11                              | Sklarva                     | **   |
| 6             | Czuba                              | Jan               | 10,10,84                              | Malochvej                   | ••   |
| 7             | Bu <b>s</b>                        | Waclaw            | 20.9.19                               | Kondkownica                 |  |
| 8             | Bubrzawa                           | %ladysl <b>aw</b> | 19.1.03                               | Jadewniki-Mokre             | Ħ  |
| 9             | Gujko                              | Wildyslaw         | a.∘.on                                | Dorochuez                   | **   |
| 3710          | Grzechnik                          | Michal            | 1903                                  | Lypiny                      | . 11   |
| 1             | Popinski                           | antoni            | 29.5.24                               | <b>f</b> uczna              | Ħ  |
| 2             | Sowa                               | Boleslaw          | 1924                                  | Hosznia                     | u u  |
| 5.            | ) Zajone                           | Lukasz            | 10.8.92                               | Bialka                      | т  |
| M             | onat Dezember 1                    | 942               |                                       | letzte Numm <b>er</b>       | Nov.1942 13235   |
|               | fälle von Juder<br>se Schutzhäftli |                   | # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # | Dez.1942 13713<br>Tete Sch. |  |
|               | len,Griechen,Ci                    | T.                | ./ 478                                | ÷                           | 478  |
|               | insge                              | esant             | 2983                                  | Tate im Dezembe             | r 1942   |

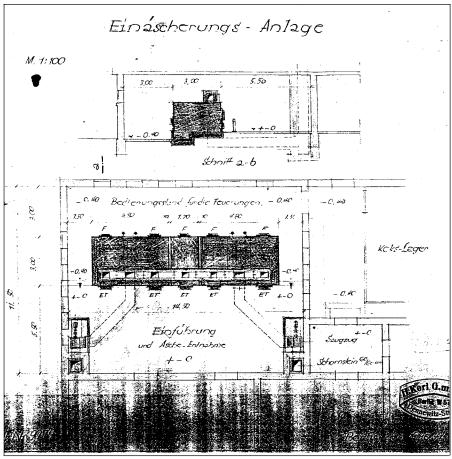
**Document 15:** Deaths in the concentration camp Lublin in December 1942. Source: as for Document 14, p. 59.

| t              | Verstork                       | lene Hiftinge | in sh | onat Marx | 1944 |    |                |
|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------|-------|-----------|------|----|----------------|
|                |                                |               |       |           |      |    | Über           |
|                | R. D. Sch . H. Mil.            |               |       |           |      |    | Gri            |
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|                | Colen tch. Ho Mann             | u 241/        | į     |           | **** |    | · JVW          |
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|                | · " · Frain                    | 19            | 309   | •         |      |    | Prote          |
|                | rus Evilor Name                | 265           |       |           |      |    | exore          |
|                | " " France                     | 12.           | 277   |           |      |    |                |
|                | russ. Kriegsgef.               | 21.           |       | •         |      |    | . Letter       |
|                | frande Shutsman                | 8             | 29    |           |      |    | Lettau         |
|                | Franzosen Sch. H. M.           | 1045          | 1     |           | -    |    | , suau         |
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|                | Belgier . M.                   | X             |       |           | :    |    | Lisch          |
| . :            | " • • Fr.                      | 1.            | 8     |           |      |    | Volko          |
|                | Hollander * • M.               | 100           |       |           |      |    | VOCAS          |
|                | " Fr.                          |               | 110   |           |      |    | 1 . 1          |
| :              | Albanier " " M.                | 6.            |       |           |      |    | Lld. 11        |
|                | Jugoslava e e M                | 33 √          |       |           |      |    | Q. J. J.       |
| Ì              | Fr.                            | 10            | 40    |           | i    | •  | 1              |
|                |                                | Abertrag:     |       |           |      |    |                |
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| lys";          |                                |               |       |           |      | ** | <b>K</b> thana |

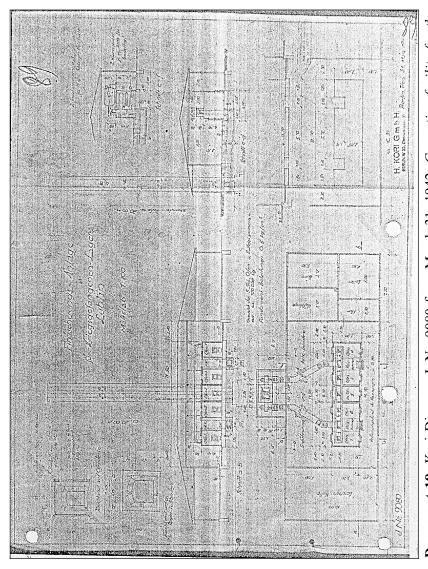
**Document 16:** Deaths in the concentration camp Lublin in March 1944. Source: GARF, 7021-107-9, pp. 211a-212.

|                                 |             |   | Marania<br>Marania | UVB                                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                                 |             |   | 124 85 8 HT        | 13                                    |
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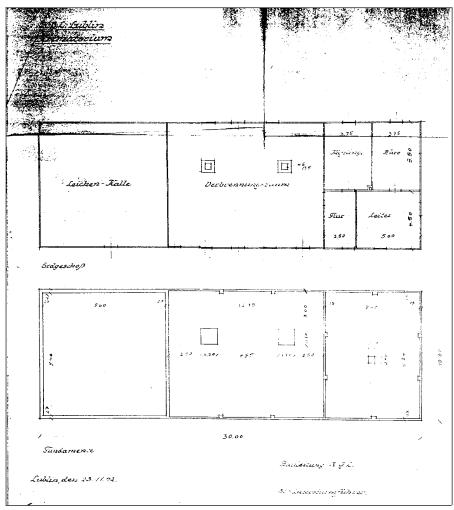
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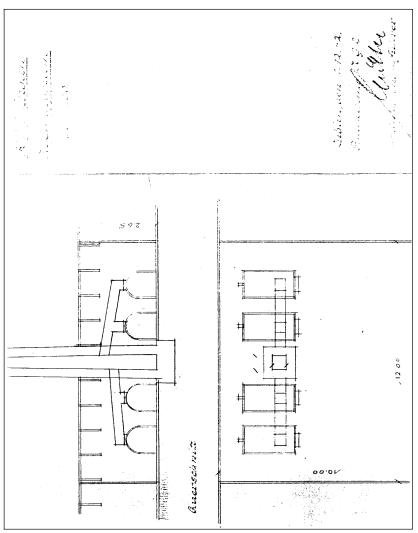
**Document 17:** Kori Diagram J.-Nr. 9079 from Oct. 16, 1941: *Cremation facility.* Source: APMM, sygn. VI-9a, v. 1, p. 11.



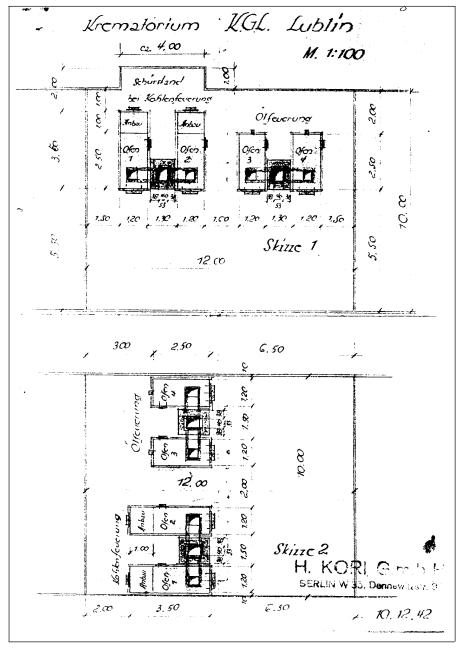
Document 18: Kori Diagram J.-Nr. 9080 from March 31, 1942: Cremation facility for the POW Camp Lublin. Source: GARF, 7445-2-125, p. 89a.



**Document 19:** Diagram by the Building Administration of the POW Camp Lublin, Nov. 23, 1942, *POW Camp Lublin Crematorium*. Source: APMM, sygn. VI-9a, v. 2.



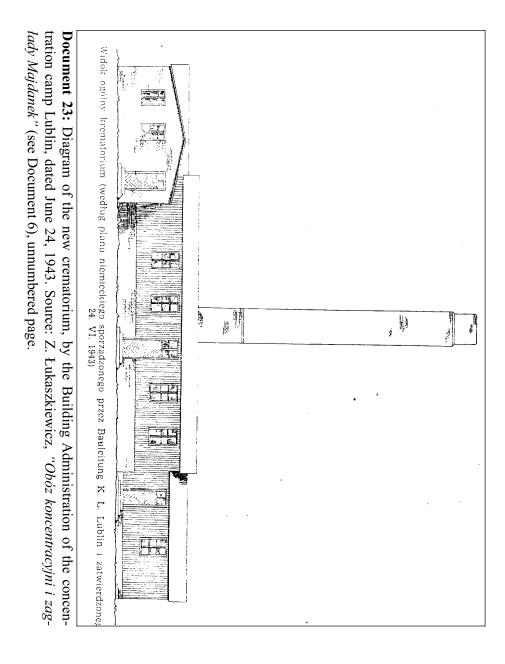
Document 20: Diagram by the Central Building Office of the POW Camp Lublin, Dec. 1, 1942, POW Camp Lublin Crematorium. Source: APMM, sygn. VI-9a, v. 2.

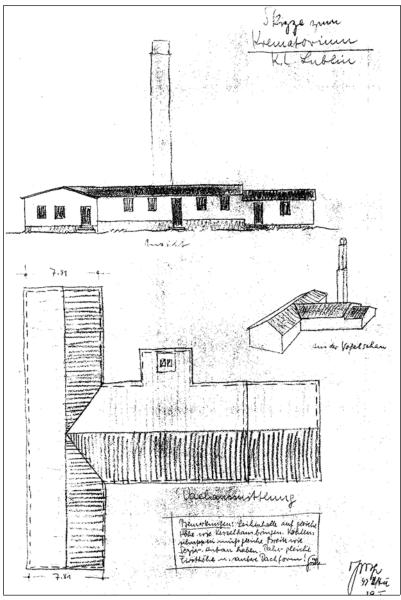


**Document 21:** Kori Diagram from Dec. 10, 1942: *POW Camp Lublin Crematorium*. Source: APMM, sygn. VI-9a, v. 2, p. 8.

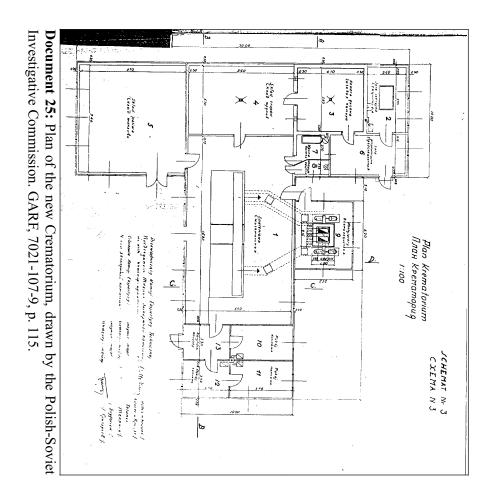
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| Cith-, Schmelz-, Muffel- und Wärmeöfen, sowie<br>Amtliche Feuerungsanlagen der Metallindustrie   | An das   |
| Einäscherungsöfen für Krematorien  | Hauptamt C III vom Reichsführer SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei        |
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| In obiger Angelegenheit unterb   | reiten wir Ihnen zunächst in der   |
| Anlage die Copie unseres Schre   | ibens an die Zentralbauleitung der                                       |
| Waffen SS und Polizei Lubl   | i n. Wir fügen gleichzeitig eine   |
| Abschrift unseres Angebotes von  | m 9.4.42 bēi, welches alle Einzel-                                       |
| heiten über den Umfang unserer   | Lieferungen und Leistungen für diese                                     |
| Komm. enthält. Zu diesem Schre   | iben gehört auch die beiliegende   |
| Zeichnung J.Nr. 9079 die eine  | Ergänzung durch die Zeichnung J.Nr.                                      |
| 9112 erhielt, wenigstens sowei   | t es sich um die Anordnung der   |
| Schornsteine handelt. Die beide  | en vor dem Schornstein angeordenten                                      |
| Saugzuganiagen brachten wir in   | Vorschlag, weil zwischen den Ein-  |
| ascherungsoren 1 u. 2 sowie 3 u  | a. 4 je ein Heizschlangensystem  |
| kostonlas in sussen Manara -   | gebaut werden soll, um heißes Wasser                                     |
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| Sommertagen - einen künstlicher  | a Auftrieb für die Rauchgase, den  |
| man nur mit den vorgesehenen Sa  | sugzuganlagen zu erreichen vermag.                                       |
| A  | serem Schreiben vom 25.9.42 unter  |
| Berufung auf Ihr Schreiben vom   | 2.12.42, daß die Armaturteile bis  |
| auf wenige Stücke hier an unse:  | rem Lager versandbereit liegen und                                       |
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| folgen und wir werden dann auch  | n bemüht bleiben das Chamottematerial                                    |
| von einem Oberschlesischen Werk  | c auf den Weg nach Lublin zu bringen.                                    |
| Vorsatz- und Hintermauerungsste  | eine sowie Mörtel und Zement be-   |
| schaffen wir uns durch die ört]  | liche Bauleitung in Lublin gegen Ver-                                    |
| rechnung.  | H. KORJE, m.b.H.   |
| Wir erwarten gern Ihre Stellung  | gnahme zu unserem Heutigehart  |
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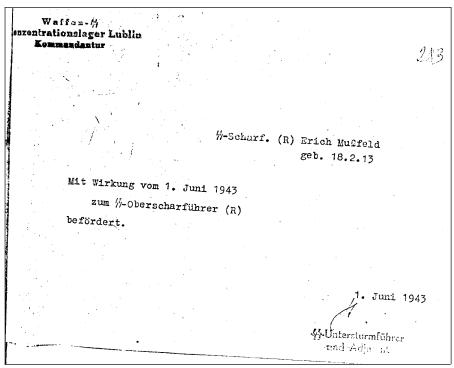
**Document 22:** Letter from the company Kori to *Hauptamt CIII* of the Economic-Administrative Main Office, dated January 8, 1943. Source: GARF, 7021-107-9, p. 250.



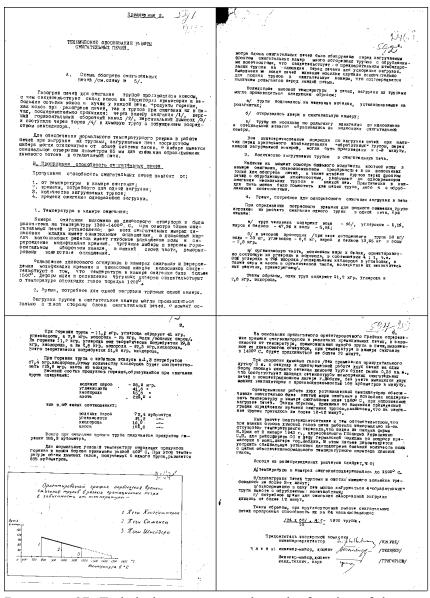


**Document 24:** Diagram of the new Crematorium, by the Central Building Office of the concentration camp Lublin, dated June 29, 1943. Source: WAPL, sygn. Central Construction Office, 70, p. 1.

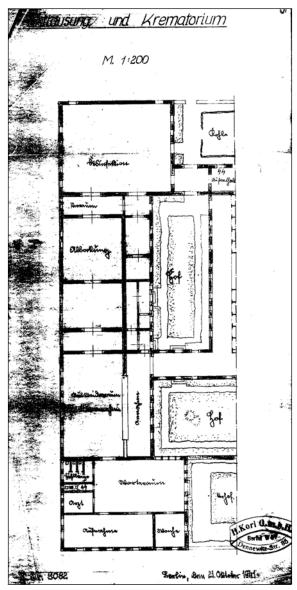




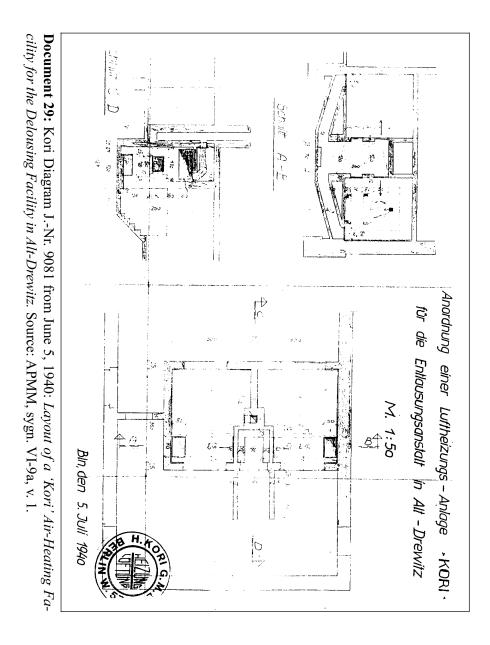
**Document 26:** Erich Mußfeldt's promotion from SS-*Scharführer* to SS-*Oberscharführer*, June 1, 1943. Source: GARF, 7021-107-5, p. 283.



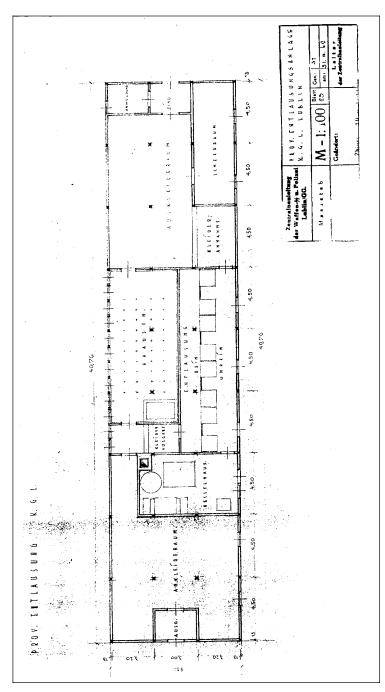
**Document 27:** Technical expert report about the function of the concentration camp Lublin's cremation furnaces, drawn up by a subcommittee of the Polish-Soviet Investigative Commission. Source: GARF, 7021-107-9, pp. 245-249.



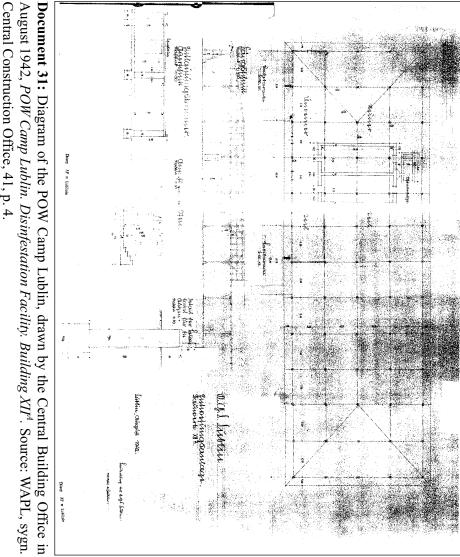
**Document 28:** Kori Diagram J.-Nr. 9082 from Oct. 23, 1941: Delousing and Crematorium. Source: APMM, sygn. VI-9a, v. 1.



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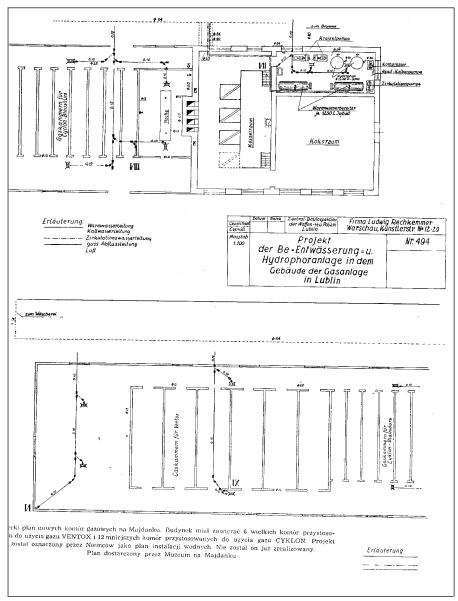
Document 30: Diagram by the POW Camp Lublin's Central Construction Office, March 31, 1942, Temp. Delousing POW Camp. Source: WAPL, sygn. Central Construction Office, 41, p. 5.



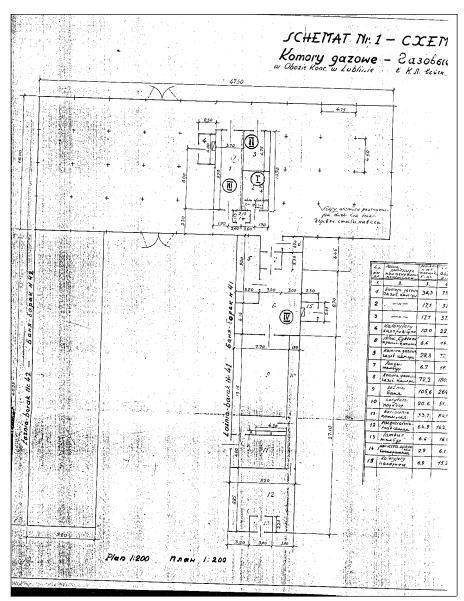
Central Construction Office, 41, p. 4.

MICHAEL OCHNIK BAUUNTERHEHMER Lublin, den 18. November 1942. Lublin, Sliskastrasse 6/3 remruf 35-40 Késterveranschlag für die Zentrolbewieitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei in Lublin euf Arteiten für oss felz- u.Bekleidungswerk. le ef chornotoine in der Gaskemmer aufmauern, stallerse C.75 x 0.75 x 3.70 mit Aushauen der Be= tomecowen. .ausonal zl 285.00 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* BAUUI. TERHEHMER Lublin, Sliskastrasse 6/3 Francis 35-40 AP w Lublinie Zbiory

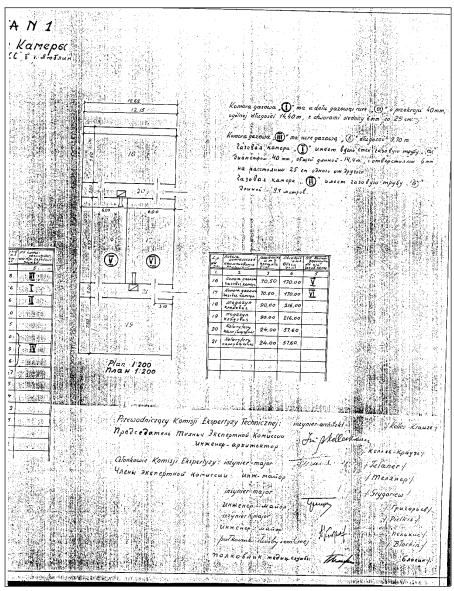
**Document 32:** Cost estimate from the company Ochnik, Nov. 18, 1942. Source: WAPL, sygn. Central Construction Office, 145, p. 13.



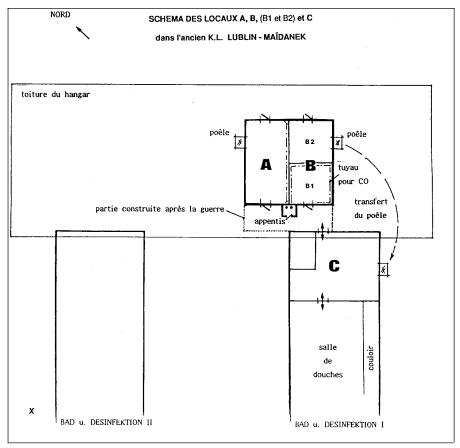
**Document 33:** "Project for the Irrigation, Drainage and Water Supply Installation in the Building of the Gas Facility in Lublin." Undated diagram by the company Ludwig Rechkemmer. Source: Z. Łukaszkiewicz, "Obóz koncentracyjni i zaglady Majdanek" (see Document 6), unnumbered page.



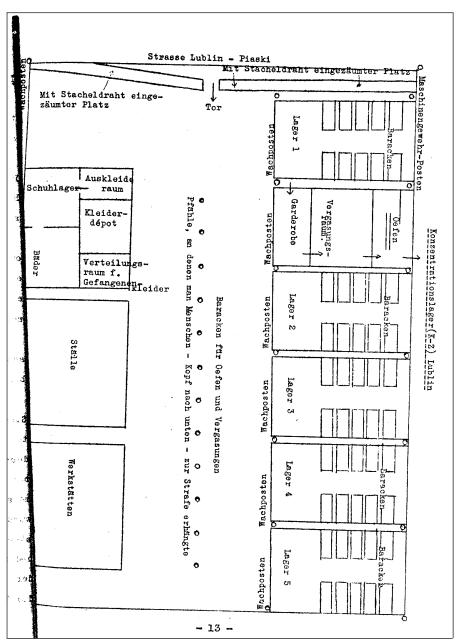
**Document 34:** Schematic of "gas chambers" I-IV, drawn by the Polish-Soviet Investigative Commission. Source: GARF, 7021-107-9, p. 251.



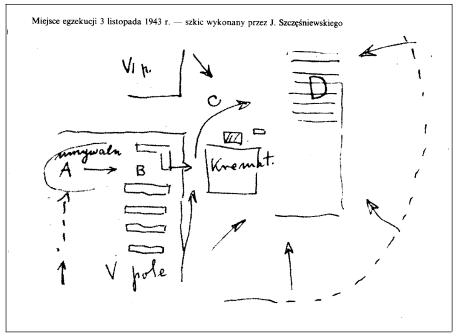
**Document 35:** Plan of "gas chambers" V-VI, drawn by the Polish-Soviet Investigative Commission. Source: GARF, 7021-107-9, p. 251.



**Document 36:** Schematic of "gas chambers" I-IV, drawn by J.-C. Pressac. Source: Jean-Claude Pressac, "Les carences et incohérences du rapport Leuchter", in: Journal J, December 1988, p. X.



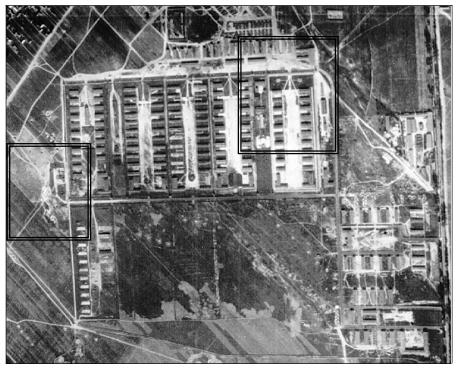
**Document 37:** Plan of the concentration camp Lublin. Source: Abraham Silberschein, *Die Judenausrottung in Polen*, Fifth series, Geneva, 1944, p. 13.



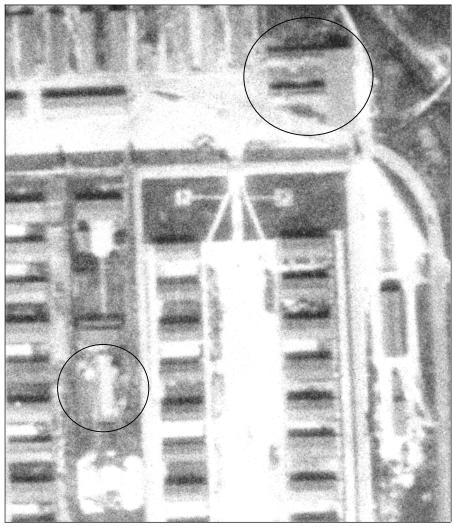
**Document 38:** Sketch by H. J. Szczesniewski, showing the sequence of the alleged mass execution of November 3, 1943. Source: T. Mencel (ed.), *Majdanek 1941-1944*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1991, unnumbered page.



**Photograph I:** Lublin suburbs and the concentration camp Majdanek (which was no longer in operation at that time). Air photo taken by the Luftwaffe on September 18, 1944. Source: National Archives, Washington D.C., Record Group no. 373, Gx 12375 SD, exp. 69.



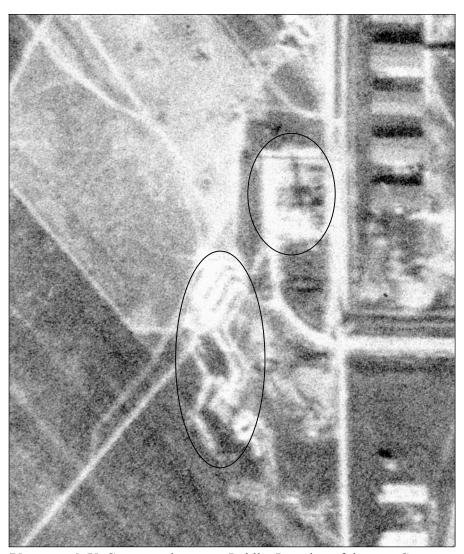
**Photograph II:** Concentration camp Lublin. Enlargement from Photograph I. Top right: detail shown enlarged on Photograph III; left: detail shown enlarged on Photograph V.



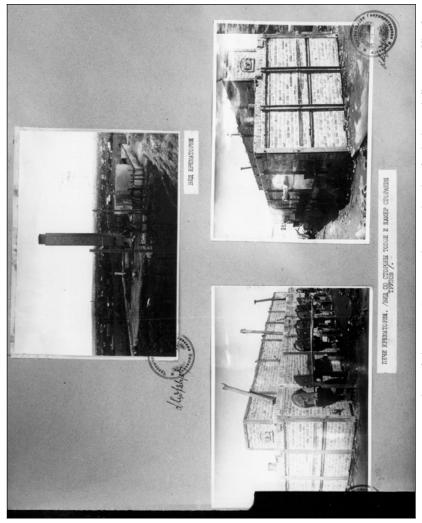
**Photograph III:** Concentration camp Lublin. Location of the old Crematorium (circle, bottom left) and of the Disinfestation Barracks 41 and 42 (circle, top right). Enlargement from Photograph I.



**Photograph IV:** Concentration camp Lublin. Location of the old Crematorium (ellipse). Source: Source: T. Mencel (ed.), *Majdanek 1941-1944*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1991, unnumbered page.



**Photograph V:** Concentration camp Lublin. Location of the new Crematorium (circle, top right) and of the "execution ditches" (circle, below left). Enlargement from Photograph I.



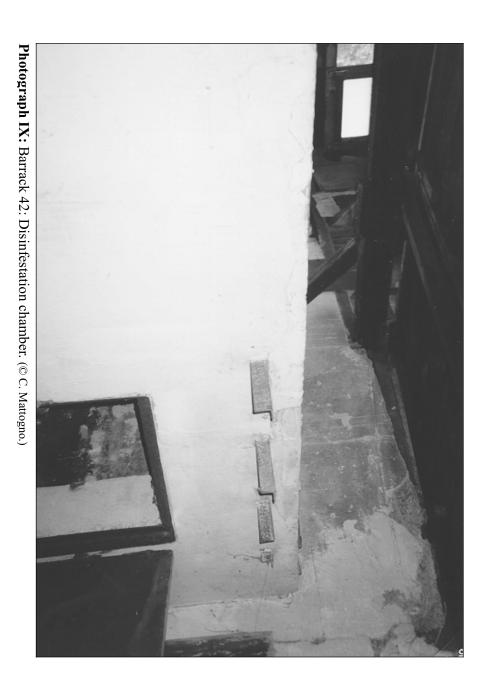
Photograph VI: Ruins of the new Crematorium and coke-fueled Kori five-muffle furnace in August 1945. Source: GARF, 7021-128-243.



Photograph VII: Mobile oil-fueled Kori cremation furnace. (© C. Mattogno.)



Photograph VIII: Barrack 42: Boiler house. (© C. Mattogno.)

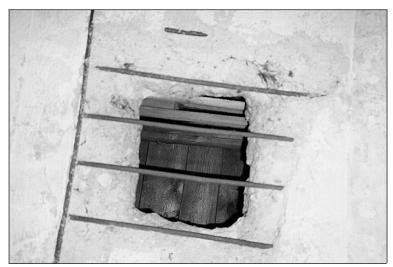




**Photograph X:** Soviet soldier on the roof of the Drying Facility. The caption at the bottom of the photo states: "Opening through which the substance 'Zyklon' was poured into the gas chamber." In fact it was one of the two ventilation shafts of the "Drying Facility". Source: GARF, 7021-128-243, p. 7.



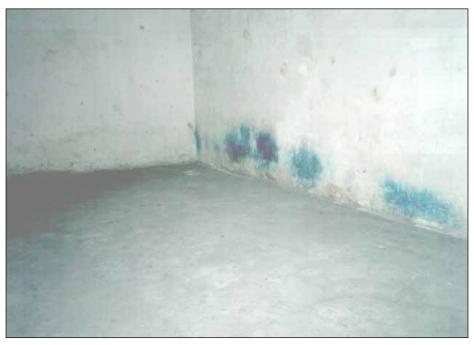
**Photograph XI:** Disinfestation facility, Barrack 41, Chamber I, opening in the ceiling. (© C. Mattogno.)



**Photograph XII:** Disinfestation facility, Barrack 41, Chamber II, opening in the ceiling. (© C. Mattogno.)



**Photograph XIII:** Disinfestation facility, Barrack 41, Chamber III, east wall. © Carlo Mattogno.

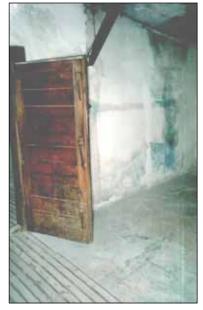


**Photograph XIV:** Disinfestation facility, Barrack 41, Chamber II, west wall. © Carlo Mattogno



**Photograph XV:** Disinfestation facility, Barrack 41, small window in wall of Chamber I. © Carlo Mattogno





**Photograph XVI, XVIa:** Barrack 41, gas chamber, south door. In the left part of the door there are three latches which are inserted into the three corresponding hooks on the door frame via handles operated from the other side of the door (Photograph XVIa). © Carlo Mattogno



**Photograph XVII:** Barrack 41, gas chamber, north door. The inside of the door is marked by the typical discolorations that are also visible on the outside of the south door (Photograph XVIa); hooks for the latches are missing from the door frame, unlike on the frame of the south door (Photograph XVI). © Carlo Mattogno



**Photograph XVIII:** Barrack 41, gas chamber, western opening in the ceiling. © Carlo Mattogno



Photograph XIX: Barrack 41, gas chamber, eastern opening in the ceiling.

© Carlo Mattogno

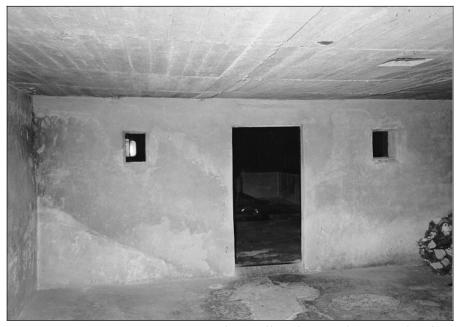


**Photograph XX:** Barrack 41, gas chamber, window in the east wall.

© Carlo Mattogno



**Photograph XXI:** New Crematorium, alleged execution gas chamber, opening in the ceiling. (© C. Mattogno.)



**Photograph XXII:** New Crematorium, alleged execution gas chamber. Door and window leading to the mortuary. (© C. Mattogno.)

#### **Abbreviations**

- APMM Archiwum Panstwowego Muzeum na Majdanku (Archive of the State Museum in Majdanek)
- APMO Archiwum Panstwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimiu (Archive of the Auschwitz State Museum)
- GARF Gosudarstvenni Archiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow)
- IMT International Military Tribunal (Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal: Nuremberg 14 November 1945—1 October 1946)
- TCIDK Tsentr Chranenija Istoriko-dokumental'nich Kollektsii (Storage Center, Historical-Documentary Collection, Moscow)
- WAPL Wojewódzkie Archiwum Panstwowe w Lublinie (State Archive of the Vojvodship in Lublin)
- ZM Zeszyty Majdanka

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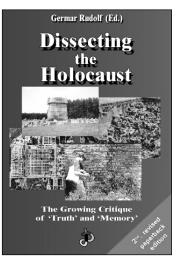
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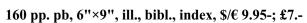
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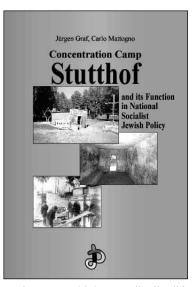
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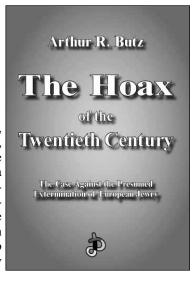
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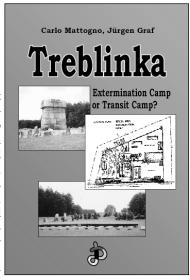
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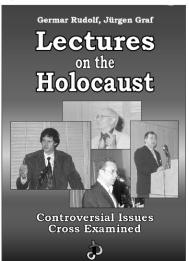


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