

Chapter Fourteen

Brünnlitz Camp



Figure 67: Oskar Schindler's office in Brünnlitz

The port to which “Schindler’s Ark” was to set sail became the village of Brünnlitz. The village in the Sudetenland near Schindler’s native Svitavy was to become the setting for the next chapter in the Schindler story.

The village of Brünnlitz in the Svitavy River Valley was predestined for industrial development. The first cloth mills have been documented to the 17th century and at the beginning of the 19th century the first cloth factory and paper factory were founded. The paper factory was bought in 1854 by Izák Löw Beer from Svitávka, who then converted it into a wool spinning factory that employed 1,600 workers at the height of its fame. Daubek’s steam mill near the wool factory also played a role in Schindler’s story. Having been taken over by the Nazis and under the administration of the Hoffmann brothers of Vienna since 1940, Löw Beer’s factory was turned into a branch of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp – the Brünnlitz labor camp, the destination for Schindler’s Jews in 1944.

The Brünnlitz camp, a sub-camp of Gross-Rosen, was now under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Josef Leipold, assisted by about 30 guards considered unfit by the Wehrmacht for front line duties. Leipold, a hairdresser before the war, was a stereotypical Nazi who tried to run the camp with a rod of steel, only to be frustrated at every turn by Schindler, who constantly challenged his authority. Commandant Leipold was becoming

exasperated with Schindler's apparent personal consideration of the welfare of his Jewish workers.

The construction of the Brünnlitz labor camp was likely launched in April 1944. At the beginning of 1944 the forced labor camps in the Sudetenland were annexed to the Gross-Rosen camp. Gross-Rosen oversaw 16 branch camps in northeastern Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The Nazi-controlled Löw Beer factory was leased out to three firms during the war – the munitions manufacturer MEWA (Metallwaren Fabrik), the truck assembling company SUDETIA, and Schindler's company. The actual grounds of Schindler's company were built to SS specifications. Watchtowers were built and the camp was surrounded by barbed wire. The commander of the camp and its 30 guards was Josef Leipold, with whom Schindler frequently came into conflict.

The Brünnlitz factory was far from being finished when Schindler's Jews arrived. The equipment and machines shipped from Krakow had not been installed and for three weeks after their arrival men were forced to sleep on straw on the floor. A washroom, clothes washing room and a disinfecting room had to be built. Prisoners began to come down with typhoid and scarlet fever. At the beginning the camp doctors Hilfstien and Biberstein were forced to treat patients without the required medication.

Schindler Is Arrested by the SS Corruption Squad

Unknown to the Schindler groups, Oskar had been arrested and was in the custody of the SS for conspiratorial crimes associated with Amon Goeth. The men, who were now in the comparative safety of Brünnlitz, were becoming anxious about their women. Already segregation had commenced: all the male children at Brünnlitz were to be transferred (with their fathers) to Auschwitz. Amongst them were Dr. Gross and his eight-year-old adopted son. Also transferred were Herman Rosner and his son Olek; Eugeniusz Ginter, age 14, (born February 8, 1929) and his father; Richard Horowitz, age 4, (born May 5, 1939) and his father; Richard Nussbaum, age 14 (born March 22, 1930) and his father; Roman Ferber, age 14 (born January 25, 1931) and his father; and Abraham Wisniak, born 1930 (69242) and his father. It seemed that without the authority of Schindler the breakup of this select company was imminent. The SS had decided that this was to be.

Again, Mrs. Schindler made telephone calls to the highest echelons of power in the Abwehr and Armaments Inspectorate. Whatever happened, it worked, as Schindler arrived at Brünnlitz a few days later, disheveled and shaken, but pleased to be back. The news of the boys' transport to Auschwitz shook him badly. This was corroborated by Maurice Finder (76291) in a statement after the war. "I was installing the new machines when Schindler came over to me and asked whether I had any children on the transport. I replied in the negative and he replied – thank God." Maurice Finder had good reason to be

thankful to Schindler. His wife had been taken for immediate transportation to the death camp at Belzec. Finder appealed to Schindler, who went directly to the train which was preparing to leave (just as in the Bankier episode). Schindler argued with the SS, stressing once again that this woman was an essential worker for the armaments factory. Schindler not only obtained the release of Mrs. Finder, but also that of her sister.¹

Mrs. Schindler recalls the early days at Brünnlitz:²

“A Miss Kronovsky worked at the factory as a secretary. She was in charge of the lists of workers which had to be presented to the Germans every eight days on the arrival of the food rations. These rations were calculated on the calories which our workers supposedly required.

Miss Kronovsky's work was hard, as the Germans had many deadlines and did not accept mistakes. They examined the lists thoroughly and any mistakes were punished rigorously and with monetary demands, too.

The munitions factory was under the supervision of the German army, which surrounded it with an electric fence and had 250 armed men at their disposal. They were beneath the command of the Obersturmführer Leopold, a short and fat Austrian who had previously commanded a concentration camp at Budzyn, Poland, which produced airplanes.

The Jews were untouchable (safe) while we were at Brünnlitz, but Oskar and I were also prisoners. If we tried to escape he would be sent to the front and my fate would be unimaginable.

The officer in charge was called Lange, the head of all German munitions factories. He was a total gentleman, and visited us in civilian clothing to show us his disapproval of the Nazi regime. He worked for his country, not for any particular government.

He was known for being straight and having a strong sense of justice, and his arrival caused fears that we would be unable to meet the criteria of his strict regime. When he arrived from Berlin, I invited him to lunch so that he could rest before the inspection. Luckily, all went well.

Despite Brünnlitz being milder than Plaszow, terror was still part of our daily lives. Soon after we arrived, a woman was hanged in the square, accused of having fallen in love with an English prisoner. She was brutally interrogated as if her love was an unpardonable crime. Her body remained hung up at the tree for eight days, as a warning to anyone considered an enemy of the Führer and the Third Reich.

We were constantly afraid of the S.S. finding out about how we helped and fed the Jews. Another fear was that of typhus, which was transmitted via lice. We boiled their clothing in the laundry at 120

degrees C to exterminate them, and the pest would have been enough of a reason for the Nazis to close down the camp.

We received a large consignment of irons, to be converted to shell casings. We had troughs of sulphuric acid, furnaces. But nothing was ever produced.

We were surrounded by high fences and alert guards at their posts, from which they could see the river and town, where there were the Skoda and Bota factories.

We slept in a room next to a hall where the machinery was, with only Rex and Karin, our sheepdogs, for company. (Rex had won three medals for his pedigree.) My business at Brünnlitz was to organize the food for the workers. We had our own electric generator, both carbon and gas, so we had heating and hot water for the winter.

As well as the members of the 'list' there were also some Czechs and Poles. Despite our efforts, the provided rations were not always sufficient. Jewish workers received a more substantial amount due to their challenging work. I ensured that they had more bread than regulations stated, and more nutritious soup. They were weighed every time they bathed. The few funerals were carried out in the Catholic cemetery to avoid cremation, and the grave-diggers were paid with an extra kilogram of bread. Despite all this, the sight of starvation made extreme measures necessary.

Near the factory was a mill which belonged to a lady from the aristocracy by the name of Von Doubeck. I had heard she was an open and polite woman, so I asked the director of the mill to arrange a meeting with the owner, and I found myself invited to tea the next day. This surprised me, and I considered the arguments necessary to convince her, but in the end I settled on the truth: the rations would not support our ever-weakening workers.

Oskar had gone to Krakow, so I was alone in my nervous state. Only the image of the starving workers made me walk the footpath to her mansion. Also the refusal to return with empty hands spurred me on, on this beautiful autumn afternoon, as I carried a bouquet of flowers as a gift.

She was awaiting me in an enormous living-room. She stood as I entered, and came to greet me. She was about 50, dressed in a modest fashion, whose manners showed an exquisite education. We served ourselves with each one of the delicacies and with tea (prepared in the English way), and then I explained my proposal. We needed grain from her mill to help feed our starving workers. She listened attentively and gave her consent, telling me to speak to the director of the mill, and with her authority take on whatever I needed. She then stood and excused herself cordially. I returned to the factory with a cargo of grain and semolina.

Oskar once brought back a thousand bottles of vodka and a large box of Polish cigarettes from Krakow to bribe S.S. officers. The night of my interview with Lady Von Dubreck, a Polish Jew called Obereck and I stole a few packets of cigarettes and a few bottles of vodka.

Another Jew called Bejski forged stamps out of rubber for passes so that we could go out looking for petrol, bread, flour, cloth or cigarettes. Oskar had exchanged some diamonds for 1,000 kilograms of bread and I went to the Black Market for similar exchanges. I realized that if I was caught, I would be executed, but God or Fate seemed to be on my side, and nothing went on.

I also had a duty to socialize and associate with the wives of the S.S. officers. I moved from one world to another, from the hunger and desperation of the Jews to the reality of these women, whose husbands took the war all over Europe. A lieutenant-major in command of armaments once sent his wife and child due to fear of the Berlin bombings. We travelled to Mährisch Ostrav, preceded by Viktorka, who prepared our old apartment for our stay. There, this woman and I had some slight disagreements. First of all she was an alcoholic and her 12-year-old son had taken a few of my belongings: a pen, a little silver vase (a present from my mother) and another thing, which I have forgotten.

Another incident involving the little thief was the theft of some money from the cash-box. A Polish worker at the factory was accused by the S.S. She was so insistent over her innocence that the Germans investigated further, and blamed a Jewish family, who were immediately executed. Finally, they found out that it was Commandant Hartweg's son who had taken the money. That was how Nazi justice worked.

These social duties were necessary for my security, and that of my husband. I was permanently nervous and I smoked incessantly as a result. I had no favorite brand, and I smoked whatever there was. There were some decent Polish cigarettes, but most seemed to be made of straw. Fifteen years ago the paralysis of my foot made me have to quit it. At the time, I was smoking 40 a day, as it was the only thing which could calm my nerves."

One interesting document that came to notice during the Schindler investigation was a legal contract between Schindler and the family Butchovsky to rent a piece of land for use as an allotment to produce food for his workers. The document refers to the rent of 3,000 square meters, to be surrounded by fencing. Rent would be 47 Reichmarks per year, beginning November 1, 1944, and continuing as long as the war lasted. The rent would be paid in advance or on signing. Both sides of the contract will confirm that they are Aryan.



Figure 68: Men's accommodation Brännlitz Camp

Chapter Fifteen

Schindler's Women



Figure 69: Mrs. Anna (Chana) Hofstatter née Laufer

In the autumn of 1944, the 300 Schindler women, together with the children Bronislaw Horowicz (76307), Celina Carp (76318), Ewa Ratz (76404), and Halina Horowicz (76308), left KL Plaszow in sealed wagons en route to Schindler's factory at Brünnlitz. To their dismay and horror, the transport arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau.³



Figure 70: Auschwitz-Birkenau 1944 where the Schindler women were received

Three Long Weeks of Fear

A transport with 2,000 women, 300 of whom were from Emalia, left Plaszow on October 22, 1944, in the direction of Auschwitz and Brünnlitz. The women did not leave for Gross-Rosen as the men did because every prisoner had to go through quarantine and an inspection and Gross-Rosen was not equipped to handle women for these purposes. After their arrival at Auschwitz the women were divided and quartered in camp B-IIc.

Dr. Josef Mengele selected 1,765 women from the transport (including Schindler's women). The remaining prisoners were sent to the gas chambers.

The 300 Schindler women were now to experience the terror of Auschwitz as depicted in Spielberg's film: the dramatic scenes in the showers when the women did not know whether poisonous gas was about to be released are based on the testimony of numerous survivors. The stressful life in the camp, Goldberg's manipulation of the transport list, uncertainty and fear all provoked the feeling that Schindler had abandoned the prisoners to their fate.



Figure 71: The main gate at Auschwitz-Birkenau as depicted in the film "Schindler's List"

Unbelievable drama occurred at this location. Immediately upon their arrival the unsuspecting prisoners were herded from the wagons and separated by SS guards into those capable of work and those who were sent straight to the gas chambers. This selection was one of the first things new prisoners encountered. Life frequently depended on the mood of the guards, their commanders and doctors who, with a mere wave of the hand, sent people to instant death or to a slow death by torturous work. The Schindler women were kept isolated as specialist munitions workers.



Figure 72: Women prisoners in Auschwitz-Birkenau being chosen for the gas chamber

Irma Griesse is supervising the selection process. The watercolor, entitled *Frauen-Selektion in Birkenau*, was painted by a former prisoner W. Siwek after 1945 and now hangs in the Auschwitz Museum.

Stella Muller (76372)

Today Stella Müller-Madej owes her life to Schindler's list. She was 14 but registered as being two years older and as a metal worker – all so she could survive as essential for the war industry. Both she and her parents would not have survived World War II without it. She captures her recollections of the wartime period in her book, *Through the Eyes of a Child*.⁴

“In '44 there were around 700 women who were transported from Plaszow, 300 of whom were on Schindler's list, and Schindler fought for us like a lion, because they didn't want to let us out of Auschwitz. He was offered better and healthier 'material' from new transports, unlike us, who had spent several years in the camp. But he got us out ... he saved us....”

On leaving Plaszow with her mother, Berta Müller (76371), and the other Schindler women, Stella was sick and when the Schindler transport arrived in Auschwitz-Birkenau she was sent to the Krankenstube (medical room) where she remained until rescued three weeks later by other “Schindler women” to join them on the last part of the journey to Schindler's factory.

Irena Scheck:

“We arrived at Auschwitz at night. The SS guards opened the cattle cars and ordered us to get out. We were separated into groups and walked in absolute silence. We saw chimneys and the dark smoke and fire they emitted. The guards stopped us and ordered us to remove all of our clothes. We were to go to the building with showers. We entered the building, but there were no showers there. The Jews that worked there told us that the next morning we would be sent to the gas chambers. The next morning we lined up outside. Dr. Mengele, the ‘Angel of Death,’ was there. We went through the first selection. He sent some people to the right, others to the left. I was lucky to end up in the right line. We went through many selections over the course of those three weeks. I was so thin I didn’t know which part of my body to show at the inspections.”

Irena Scheck

Estera Pinkas:

“We were lined up in silence as the capo began to read the list of names in alphabetical order. I waited impatiently to hear my name. The capo reading the list didn’t notice that several women that were not with us had slipped into our group. And when a name was read several hands went up. When my name was read one of the women that had joined the group said, ‘I am Ester Pinkas.’ There was great confusion. The line-up was cancelled and we were forced back into the barracks so that the list could be investigated. Only Schindler knew the real names, but he was far away. You can’t blame those desperate people. Luckily for me Schindler’s group was kept together. Within three days the list had been definitively verified.”

Estera Pinkas (Rechen)

After delousing, cold showers, and hair shaves, the Schindler group, who were barracked separately, remained uncertain of their future.⁵

On the following morning the women, all marked with red paint, were marched to the transport en route for KL Brännlitz. At the point of departure there was an unusual coincidence. Working on the other side of the wire were some of the Schindler men and boys who had been brought on the Brännlitz-Auschwitz transport. Mancie Rosner (76423) and Regina Horowitz (76309) with her daughter Nusia had seen their men-folk working in the men’s compound on the other side of the wire. There was a brief encounter between Mancie Rosner and Regina Horowitz and their sons.

The women’s ordeal was over. Only two women were missing: One of the two was the mother of Itzhak Stern.⁶

Richard Horowitz was later re-united with his mother when she returned to Krakow after the war. She only discovered that her son was still alive when she saw a newsreel of the survivors of Auschwitz on liberation.



Figure 73: Schindler's Women in Auschwitz (Josef Bau)

The delay in the arrival of the women to Brännlitz was now of great concern. Stern went to Schindler and begged him to do something. Too late to stop the transport of the boys to Auschwitz, he used all his influence to have the women released. Emilie Schindler takes up the story:

“Oskar and I were at the office. On the table, the inevitable bottle of cognac. My husband picked up the telephone and called in our engineer, Schoenborn. When he came in, Oskar looked sternly into his eyes, took a small bag out of his pocket, the contents of which were very familiar to me. Oskar said, ‘I must entrust you with an important mission. Without the women we cannot go on with the factory. We need their labor, and besides the men are getting very restless asking why their wives have not come yet. They fear something has gone seriously wrong. You are to go to Auschwitz immediately, speak to whomever you have to, pay whatever the price may be, but I want you to get the women here. I have full confidence in you: I know you are an honorable gentleman who can be trusted and will make good on your word.’ ‘It will be done as you say, Herr Direktor,’ Schoenborn answered, taking the bag of diamonds and pressing it to his chest. We have no answer whether Schoenborn completed his task but it was clear it hadn’t worked.”⁷

Again there were phone calls to friends in high places. A second emissary was sent to Auschwitz to accomplish this task. This was a young trusted

female associate of Emilie Schindler named Hilde, the daughter of a wealthy industrialist in Svitavy.⁸ In the Spielberg film, Schindler is shown making a personal visit to the Commandant and bribing him with diamonds. There is no evidence that Schindler was ever in Auschwitz.

Emilie:

“Desperate, Oskar drove to Zwittau to speak to an old childhood friend called Hilde, and he asked her to go to Auschwitz and deal with recovering the women personally. I don't know what high Nazi contacts Hilde had, but she succeeded. Days later, the 300 workers arrived at the platform.

She was the daughter of a rich German industrialist, who left one day, quite unexpectedly, for Mexico, never to return. She had an uncommon beauty, thin and svelte, with blonde hair which caught everyone's attention. She was an independent character, who loved freedom above all things. She never told me why or how she did it, but I'm sure her great beauty played a part.

Our long-standing relationship with Hilde came from the time when she was part of our summer group, and shone as an excellent swimmer. Oskar and her had been friends since childhood. I eventually found out that she worked for the Wehrmacht, and soon after freeing the women we lost all trace of her.”⁹

Whether Hilde was successful we do not know, but shortly after the women were en route for Brännlitz. The more acceptable explanation is that the orders and the paperwork had been completed many weeks earlier. It was a question of expediting the transfer orders of these women, who were considered important armament specialists, out of Auschwitz on a special transport to Arbeitslager Brännlitz.

The release was eventually accomplished with little difficulty but not without incident. The Schindler list of women taken by the courier to Auschwitz did not quite agree with the list (already filed) held in the administration office of Auschwitz. On the official camp list held at Auschwitz were two women with the same name, Helena Dortheimer (76229) and Helena Dortheimer (76230). One was the wife of Viktor Dortheimer (69124), now at Brännlitz, and the other was the wife of his brother, David Dortheimer, who had been shot by Goeth in KL Plaszow. (In November, 1943, 51 prisoners – 50 men and one woman – returning to the camp after work were searched. Potatoes were found in their possession. Goeth was called and ordered all the prisoners to be shot, one of them being David Dortheimer).¹⁰

The discrepancy on the lists was pointed out to the courier and she was asked which Helena Dortheimer was to be transferred. The quick-thinking courier asked for both and explained that it was an error by the Schindler Armament

Works in Brännlitz. Viktor Dortheimer's wife and sister-in-law were thus safe; either one could have perished in Auschwitz.



Figure 74: Helena Dortheimer (76230), wife of Viktor

Emilie Schindler:

“The arrival at Brännlitz of the train with the female workers caused a great commotion. In the celebration there were tears and laughter, while the German soldiers watched in silence, their sidelong glances still threatening. The women arrived from Auschwitz in a disastrous condition: fragile, emaciated, and weak. I took care myself of hand-feeding them semolina porridge and making them take their medications. They improved almost instantly, feeling protected and taken care of, safe at least as they stayed in Brännlitz.”¹¹

One of the most extraordinary occurrences at Auschwitz was that the Schindler women were the only known group of women who were brought into the camp for labor or for the gas chamber but who actually left the camp unmolested. Five abreast and all marked with red paint, they were marched to the transport en route to Brännlitz and Schindler's camp. The transport of women prisoners from Auschwitz to Brännlitz was to depart on November 10, 1944, but the transport document is stamped with the date November 12. The women had spent three weeks in Auschwitz.

Stella Muller en route to from Auschwitz to Brännlitz continues:

“On leaving Auschwitz, after a number of false starts when the train carrying the women broke down within the Auschwitz complex, they feared being returned and that their last chance of escaping the ‘gas’ had failed. But soon another locomotive was found and the train again began its journey to Brännlitz. Hunger and thirst now swept through the cars and some women feared they would starve to death. When the train stopped again, another voice from outside asked whether there was anyone in the cars. In unison, the women shouted, ‘We’re here. Why have we stopped?’ A person outside replied, ‘They want to take you back to Auschwitz.’ Stella said that everyone ‘went crazy. Anything except that! Let them kill us here.’ Despite their fears the train moved on and eventually arrived at Brännlitz. The arrival of the train caused great celebration, which the soldiers watched with silent menace. The women were in a terrible state; starved to the point of being skeletons. As the women paraded in line two men appeared: one dressed in an SS uniform, and the other, we later learned, was Oskar Schindler. The SS guards were offended by the women’s appearance, and one of them said, ‘O, wie die Frauen stinken.’ (Oh, how these women stink).

On arrival at the camp they were met by Schindler who spoke to them in a caring voice:

‘I know that you have been through hell on your way here. Your appearance says it all. Here also, for the time being, you will be forced to suffer many discomforts, but you are brave women. We did not have a great deal of hope that it would be possible to bring you here. That is in the past now. I am counting on your discipline and sense of order. I think that the worst has been overcome. The bunks should be here in a few days. Now you must put things in order yourselves. The doctors should report to the head physician and you should elect block supervisors. Dr. Hilfstein and Pemper will show you where you can wash. The sick and those who need bandaging should go with the doctors.’ ”



Figure 75: Women's accommodation at Brännlitz

The suffering of the women continued. Hunger and disease remained a serious problem. They had also been warned to be very careful of the commandant, Josef Leipold, who was dangerous and had to be watched.

Three women died in the camp at various times: Janka Feigenbaum, Elizabeth Chotimer, and Anna Hofstatter (Laufer). Leipold issued orders that the bodies were to be incinerated in the factory furnaces. Schindler openly defied this order and challenged Leipold, who conceded; and instead, the bodies of the three women were placed in wooden coffins and buried at various locations with full rites supervised by Rabbi Jacob Lewertow (68872).

Janka Feigenbaum (Janina), the sister of Lewis Feigenbaum, had been ill for some time before she arrived at Brännlitz. Mysteriously, she was given an injection by Dr. Hilfstein and died shortly after. After the war, her family exhumed Janka's body and reburied it in the New Jewish Cemetery in Prague.

Mrs. Hofstatter

One of the enduring mysteries of the Schindler story is the true identity of Mrs. Hofstatter. The evidence clearly shows that a Mrs. Hofstatter was part of the Schindler women in Brännlitz, that she died on Christmas Eve 1944, and that she was buried in a parcel of land purchased by Schindler in the Christian cemetery in the village of Nemecka Bela (now Bela nad Svitavu), a few kilometers from Schindler's Brännlitz camp. Mrs. Hofstatter clearly existed, as she is referred to by Keneally and Itzhak Stern.



Figure 76: Judge Bejski far left. Schindler third from right, “listening to Stern” at the Schindler reception

In a survivor’s reunion in 1962, at which Schindler was the honored guest, Stern addressed details of the Hofstadter incident directly to Schindler:

“You remember that Mrs. Hofstadter passed away. Commandant Leipold ordered the body to be cremated. I turned to you and asked you to intervene. You did not hesitate and arranged a Jewish burial. Despite it being a Sunday, you rode to a nearby village where you persuaded a priest to sell a parcel of ground adjacent to the Christian cemetery.”

Stern then turned to the guests:

“He fenced in this parcel of land and founded a Jewish cemetery for one Jewish woman who had died a natural death. That day, a Jewish burial service took place, and Rabbi Levertov [Lewertow] with ten Jews officiated with all the traditional prayers, and this was done specifically on the orders of Schindler. He ordered a coffin to be prepared from the most expensive wood, put a metal board inside it with all her details inscribed on it. Gentlemen, this was the only case in conquered Europe when a Jewish cemetery was formed. One of the SS sergeants from the camp took care of the cemetery, with flowers and plants, for a special fee from Schindler. It is necessary to emphasize that he endangered himself by all of this. And it was a very heroic deed.”

Some of the leading archivists, historians, and self-appointed experts on Schindler in the Czech Republic and elsewhere have failed to locate and

identify the real Mrs. Hofstatter – that is, until the author, with the help of her granddaughter, Chani Smith – solved this simple mystery.

First, let us look at the facts and background of this woman that have given rise to the ambiguity and mystery surrounding her. Anna (Chana) Hofstatter (née Laufer) was a lady of immense charm and beauty. She was born on December 12, 1878, in Sieniawa, Poland, but lived with her husband Meir in Krakow. Mrs. Hofstatter's husband owned a chemist shop in Krakow and was well-respected in the close-knit Jewish community. During the German occupation and times of the general violence and abuse against the Jewish population (described in these chapters), her husband, son, and daughter-in-law were shot in Plaszow. Because the name Hofstatter was a target for the Gestapo, Anna, fearing for her own life, reverted to her maiden name of Laufer. Anna Hofstatter (Laufer) had two daughters – Ala (Sara Rosenberg [Hofstatter]), born January 7, 1905, (76419) and Mala (Mala Mandelbaum [Hofstatter]), born, July 24, 1903, (76281), who went into hiding after the shootings.

It is a recurring fact that lists and personal details are not all how they appear. Changes of names, dates of birth, occupations, and all manner of personal identification were sometimes manipulated depending on circumstances at the time. This was all part of the survival instinct. On the transport list for October 1944 from KL Plaszow to Brännlitz via Auschwitz, all three women gave false dates of birth.

Ju.Po	Mandelbaum (Hofstatter)
76281	Mala July 24, 1917 (1903)
Ju.Po	Rosenberg (Hofstatter) Sara
76419	January 7, 1916 (1905)

139.	"	9	Laufer Anna	10. 8. 1903
140.	"	76340	Kusner-Lewkowicz Renata	6. 12. 1915
141.	"	1	Laufer Rosa	10. 10. 1924
142.	"	2	Dombitser Sara	17. 6. 1896
143.	"	3	Lampel Anita	26. 5. 1928
144.	"	4	Lampel Gelina	14. 3. 1907
145.	"	5	Landsberger Helene	12. 7. 1908
146.	"	6	Laufer Anna	12. 12. 1898
147.	"	7	Leder Paula	1. 2. 1921
148.	"	8	Lejzon Chana	15. 6. 1900
149.	"	9	Löffel Sabina	22. 2. 1913
150.	"	76350	Lejzer Pesscha	3. 5. 1926
151.	"	1	Lejzer Sussien Bala	3. 12. 1940

Figure 77: Certified copy of transport list (Anna Laufer)

This is why Anna Laufer (Hofstatter) does not appear on the so-called Schindler's list compiled in April 1945, which has, in my view, been grossly exaggerated as Oskar Schindler's personal "list for life."

The sisters survived the war and later immigrated to Israel. Immediately after the war they returned to Krakow, where they retrieved family treasures that had been buried under a tree just before their forced removal into the ghetto. Quite simply, Mrs. Hofstatter, in a moment of immediate danger, had changed her married name and reverted to her family name – Laufer.

Chapter Sixteen

The Golleschau Tragedy

“The box weighs 35 kg and I only weigh 32 kg. How can I carry the box?”

Konzentrationslager Brunnitz - Polen
- Arbeitslager Brunnitz -

Brunnitz, den 29.1.1945

Namenliste des Häftlingszuganges vom Al Golleschau (KL Auschwitz)
am 29. Januar 1945

Nr.	Häftl. Nr.	Abt.	Name und Vorname	Geburts- datum	Beruf
1	15052	Unk.	Bruck Siegfried	26. 8.22	Schneider
2	15110	Unk.	Burger Adolf	3. 5.01	Schneider (Hd.)
3	15713	Unk.	Blackerman Jack	29. 3.03	Schneider
4	12294	Unk.	Blackman Jack	22. 3.22	Schneider
5	10899	Unk.	Blackman Tibor	22. 7.18	Schneider
6	11127	Unk.	Borenstein Josef	1. 9.38	Schneider
7	11111	Unk.	Borger Michael	29.12.37	Schneider
8	11721	Unk.	Borger Stefan	6. 6.01	Schneider
9	11112	Unk.	Bork Robert	4. 9.16	Schneider
10	11121	Unk.	Buchhalter Fritz	9. 1.28	Schneider
11	11129	Holl.	Davidson Jakob	1. 9.17	Schneider
12	11722	Unk.	Devi Peter	13. 2.23	Schneider (Hd.)
13	11726	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	13. 3.30	Schneider
14	115476	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	20. 4.14	Schneider
15	11147	Holl.	Devi Louis	8. 7.15	Schneider
16	11725	Unk.	Devi Karl	23. 7.11	Schneider
17	11099	Unk.	Devi Sándor	14. 9.38	Schneider
18	11724	Unk.	Devi Bernard	10.11.35	Schneider
19	11725	Unk.	Devi Sándor	1. 6.27	Schneider
20	11724	Unk.	Devi Hermann	20.11.38	Schneider
21	115897	Unk.	Devi Adolf	22.12.13	Schneider
22	11101	Unk.	Devi Joseph	24. 4.36	Schneider
23	11589	Unk.	Devi Joseph	9.12.39	Schneider
24	11729	Unk.	Devi Rudolf	1.12.28	Schneider
25	11746	Unk.	Devi Arnold	29. 3.29	Schneider
26	11170	Holl.	Devi Henry	16. 3.27	Schneider
27	11179	Unk.	Devi Henry	22. 3.13	Schneider
28	11155	Unk.	Devi Alexander	16.12.03	Schneider
29	11757	Unk.	Devi Salomon	10. 9.12	Schneider
30	11108	Unk.	Devi Josef	1. 9.38	Schneider
31	11123	Unk.	Devi Josef	9. 7.34	Schneider
32	111201	Unk.	Devi Otto	4. 8.05	Schneider
33	111209	Unk.	Devi Fritz	23. 2.13	Schneider
34	111202	Unk.	Devi Paul	23. 2.10	Schneider
35	111202	Unk.	Devi Alfred	19. 5.35	Schneider
36	115922	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	4. 2.36	Schneider
37	11765	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	27.12.38	Schneider
38	115920	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	28. 4.01	Schneider
39	11771	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	22. 4.22	Schneider
40	11771	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	18.10.15	Schneider
41	11777	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	30. 1.29	Schneider
42	111226	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	19. 5.17	Schneider
43	11779	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	29. 1.23	Schneider
44	11778	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	13. 5.3	Schneider
45	115945	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	12. 8.38	Schneider
46	11789	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	6. 3.00	Schneider
47	11795	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	7.11.2	Schneider
48	11774	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	13. 5.35	Schneider
49	111249	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	5. 9.25	Schneider
50	111246	Unk.	Devi Ignaz	9. 2.38	Schneider

PANSTWOWE MUZEUM
Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu
(Dział Dokumentacji Archiwalnej)

Figure 78: The Golleschau Transport List January 19, 1945: (Namenliste des Häftlingszuganges vom Al Golleschau (KL Auschwitz) am 29. Januar 1945 (List of Names/Roll of the Prisoners from the Work Camp Golleschau on the January 29, 1945 list.

New Prisoners in Brunnitz

A sub-camp of the Auschwitz complex was located near Těšín in the village of Golleschau. The Red Army launched a great offensive on the Eastern Front on January 12, 1945; as a result, the concentration camps near the front were liquidated and prisoners were sent to the interior, including Golleschau.

The Golleschau camp was located on the Polish-Czech border. In July 1942, the SS-company the Ostdeutsche Baustoffwerke GmbH opened the

Golleschau Portland-Zement AG plant in Golleschau and used Jewish slave labor, about 1,000 Jewish workers. Prisoners at Golleschau worked in the cement factory or in the nearby quarries. They also built the railroad tracks and cable car lines in the plant. Conditions were harsh, and prisoners who tried to escape were shot or hanged in public. Prisoners who were exhausted were killed with a lethal injection of phenol.

On January 22, 1945, a transport left to take approximately 100 Jews to work at the company Barthel in Svitavy. However, the company refused to take these people; imprisoned in a sealed train wagon, the Jews faced death by freezing. Though Schindler was not in Brünnlitz at the time, he agreed to receive the new prisoners at the Brünnlitz camp. According to period testimony, the train on January 29, 1945, contained around 100 prisoners, of whom 16 died. However, these figures vary in different sources. The official list of accepted prisoners contains 81 names, 10 of which were crossed out in pencil due to death.

With the onslaught of the Russians who were approaching the Auschwitz district in January 1945, many of the sub-camps of Auschwitz were being disbanded. The Golleschau (January 29, 1945) and Landskrom (February 2, 1945) transports were no exception. In the middle of the month, 120 quarry workers from Golleschau were put into two cattle cars. They traveled for more than ten days without food or drink. The doors were not only locked but frozen shut, for it was bitterly cold. Eventually, the cars were uncoupled and abandoned in the rail yards of Svitavy. Schindler reported (in a letter preserved in the archives at Yad Vashem) that a friend of his called his wife Emilie from the depot and reported hearing moans from inside the cars.

When the critics and doubters of Schindler's motives articulate their views, I would refer them to his actions when dealing with the deaths that occurred in the camp (by natural causes) and in particular from the Golleschau transport. It is of some interest to explore the exact movements of the Golleschau transport and examine the documents that traveled with it: e.g., the Bill of Lading. This document was noticed well after the war when Moshe Bejski escorted Schindler to Yad Vashem. While checking the many files, they found the original Bill of Lading of the Golleschau transport,¹³ which carries all the names of those on the transport and the dates when they passed the railway stations. There is an erasure on the document of the station Svitavy, and in Schindler's handwriting Brünnlitz is substituted. I take this as vital corroboration of Schindler's recollections.

From the original of this document the following details are shown: The contents are described as "Merchandise: Jews." (In the Wundheiler documentation, she makes the following comment, "Despite all my frighteningly detailed knowledge of the Holocaust, the dehumanization expressed in those words appalled me more than anything else had terrified me.") "Prisoners with guards," the document was stamped and sealed with

goods of Waffen-SS. The weigh bill was dated Golleschau, January 22, 1945, but the first transport stamp was from Teschen, dated January 21, 1945, and the last stamp read Svitavy (crossed out by Schindler with Brünnlitz), January 29, 1945.



Figure 79: Bill of Lading. The emendations shown are in Schindler's handwriting. To the left: Rubber stamp forged by Moshe Bejski

The sender's address was Golleschau Portland Cement Works; the receiver was Bartels & Co., Svitavy. The document also showed that the journey had taken ten days. The weigh bill was post-dated to January 22. The transport had already reached Teschen on the 21st, as seen from the stamp on the back of the document. Also, the document had two stamps from Svitavy, both on the 29th, when Bartels refused to take the load. The wagons were being shunted to and fro until Schindler decided to take them and unload the contents of dead and suffering Jews in the early morning of January 30, 1945. Further examination of the document shows that the transport, after leaving Golleschau, headed west, away from the Russian advance. The first calling

point was at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where there was panic by the fleeing SS who were supervising the last forced marches of the prisoners. Refused refuge at Auschwitz, the transport continued on, calling at Cieszyn, Oderberg, Schonbrunn, Freudenthal, Svitavy, and finally, Brännlitz.

Mrs. Schindler wrote:

“On the night of a terrible storm, when the temperature was 30 degrees below zero, a man came to speak with me in the middle of the night, while Oskar was still at Krakow. The man was in charge of transporting 250 Jews from Golleschau, a Polish mine of terrible repute. They were crammed into four wagons to be moved to another business, which had heard of the Russians’ arrival, and had stranded them. If I refused them, they would have been shot.

I phoned Oskar, and asked for authorization to accept the Jews, which I received. I went out to find Shoneborn, and we went straight to the station. It was snowing, and nearly dawn. We tried to open the locks of the wagons with large iron bars, but they were frozen shut. Schoneborn went to find a welding machine, and with patience, we opened them up.

The German Commander warned me of the sights, but I ignored him. What I saw remained in my nightmares: the men and women were indistinguishable, due to their thinness; they were almost skeletons and most weighed about 30 kilos. Their eyes shone like coals in the darkness. Twelve were dead and they had spent their last minutes, apparently in communion with God, searching for answers.

The survivors were transferred to a sort of emergency hospital immediately, where they remained for two months. They needed special attention, and had not eaten for a long time, so they had to be fed slowly mouthful by mouthful, so that they did not choke.

As they improved they were given a place at our factory, and were fed from the mill and our Black Market dealings. Our factory had become a refuge from the horrors of the concentration camps.”¹⁴

It is almost impossible to describe what the Brännlitz prisoners saw when they finally succeeded in opening the doors of the two cars. Jewish engineers from the camp burnt off the locks in a massive effort to release those inside. “In each car, a pyramid of frozen corpses, their limbs madly contorted, occupied the center. The 50 or more still living were seared black by the cold and were skeletal.”¹⁵ The fight to save the lives of the survivors of this

transport was supervised personally by Mrs. Schindler. Moshe Bejski speaks of Mrs. Schindler's "special porridge" that was considered by many to have been the major factor in saving the lives of the survivors from Golleschau.¹⁶

Mrs. Schindler wrote:

"I assisted in the opening of this wagon. The sight was appalling. Dozens of shadows covered with filthy rags, half-frozen bodies were lying in frozen urine and excrement. The stench was unbelievable. We found about 12 dead and 74 just about alive. All of them were French, Dutch, Hungarian, Czech, and Polish Jews."¹⁷

Schindler's action, which is not shown in the film, is corroborated by Dan Granot (Adolf Grünhaut 69167) to the author:¹⁸

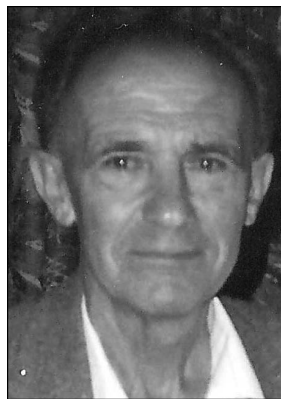


Figure 80: Dan Granot

**(Schindler list 69167 Dolek Gruenhaut, born February 29, 1924)
used a blow torch on the locks of the Golleschau transport to release
the Jewish prisoners. Many were frozen to death.**

Another witness was Moshe Pantirer (69040), who assisted in removing the dead and partially living Jews from the wagon:

"I tried to move one man but the skins of their behinds were frozen, and ripped. We worked slowly and made sure the water was not too hot or we would burn them; too little, and it did not help."¹⁹

Another nine Jewish prisoners, who were very close to death, survived, and only, according to Moshe Bejski, with the nutrition of Mrs. Schindler's famous porridge:

1. Ladislaus Adrian, b. August 26, 1923
2. Jeno Friedmann, b. December 2, 1899
3. Arthur Golner, b. May 1, 1895
4. Josef Hasa, b. July 9, 1904
5. Moses Howes, b. April 23, 1922
6. Istvan Kosatsch, b. May 19, 1890
7. Rudolf Lowry, b. December 13, 1921
8. Alexander Schwartz, b. December 19, 1919
9. Josef Torok, b. April 6, 1893

Among other survivors of this transport were six Polish Jews:

1. Salomon Piotrkowski (77160)
2. Max Piskosz (77161)
3. Moritz Reichgott (77164)
4. Zelman Szydlo (77177)
5. Josef Hitel
6. Josef Blackermann

On the Golleschau list of January 29, ten names had been crossed out as they had died en route. These unknown Jews were all buried in the local cemetery arranged by Schindler:

1. 77101 Ladislaus Aorias
2. Jenö Friedman
3. 77102 Artur Gellner
4. Josf Hase
5. Moses Ilowicz
6. Istewar Kowatsch
7. Rudolf Löwy
8. Alexander Schwarz
9. Bela Schwarz
10. Josef Törö

In total, later confirmed in my interview with Mietek Pemper, 87 Jews arrived on the fatal transport from Golleschau, minus 12 who had died.

One survivor²⁰ of the transport was Michael Klein, now living in Boston, Massachusetts, who was 15 years old at the time. He said, "The Schindlers saved my life, my children's lives, and future generations."

Only a few weeks after the Golleschau incident, one of the survivors, Idek Elsner (69283), was ordered by an SS guard to move a box. Elsner replied, "The box weighs 35 kilograms and I weigh only 32 kilograms. How can I carry the box?"²¹ Schindler put an immediate stop to this by banning all SS from his factory workshops, an order which was never challenged by Leipold.²²

The most distinguishing characteristic of this period was that Schindler engaged in rescue actions which were not suggested by some other individual or organization, but were actually conceived and initiated by him. To mention just a few more: he made a deal with the police in the Brännlitz area to the effect that they would send Jewish escapees to him rather than return them to the SS. Schindler also made it well-known in SS and police circles that he required carpenters and tool makers.

The dead from the Golleschau and Lanškroun trains were buried with Jewish services behind the cemetery wall in the village of Německá Bělá (today Bělá nad Svitavou) near Brännlitz. Rabbi Levertov conducted the funeral. The grave was exhumed in 1946 and piously reconstructed in 1994.

The SS Send Stragglers to Schindler

One of the forced marches from Auschwitz contained 10,000 people, who were taken in the direction of Gross-Rosen. Out of the 10,000, only 1,200 survived. Then there was a request for carpenters and 30 men stepped forward, Moshe Hinigmann (77009) being one of them. They were all taken to Schindler's camp. After the war, Hinigmann related his story to a packed audience in Israel: "I was welcomed by a person with a friendly face. He asked me how I was doing and told me not to do any work until I had recovered. Afterwards, I knew it was Schindler." Moshe Hinigmann was on the last transport to arrive at Brännlitz, on April 11, 1945.

Following are the other 27 who owe their lives to Schindler's rescue plan:

1. Hermann Blechmann (77001)
2. Moritz Ettinger (77002)
3. Jacob Ewensohn (77003),
4. Benjamin Feingersch (77004)
5. Leo Finkelstein (77005)
6. Selig Felsenstein (77006)

7. Meier Gartner (77007)
8. Idel Goldstein (77008)
9. Arthur Juttla (77010)
10. Leo Knobloch (77011)
11. Natan Krüger (77012)
12. Josef Kuchler (77013)
13. Berthold Hornitzer (77014)
14. Max Korzec (77015)
15. Abraham Matuschak (77016)
16. Roger Michaud (77017)
17. Josef Mozek (77018)
18. Hans Nebel (77019)
19. Ignaz Nussbaum (77020)
20. Julek Ordylans (77021)
21. Abraham Drzeboznik (77022)
22. Szaja Rosenblum (77023)
23. Chaim Salem (77024)
24. Willy Schlicting (77026)
25. Albert Stillmann (77028)
26. Aron Szczapa (77029)
27. Horst Wohlgemut (77030)

The consecutive numbering indicates that the prisoners arrived in Brünnlitz together and were registered as a batch.

Another escaped Jewish prisoner, Alfred Schoenfeld (77185), had been arrested by the Gestapo in the Brünnlitz district. After interrogation he was taken by the Gestapo to Schindler's factory.²³ On another occasion, two Jewish prisoners escaped from a transport which had just left from the Gliewitz camp: Benjamin Breslauer (77182) and Roman Wilner were detained by the Gestapo in Troppau. After two weeks they were taken to Schindler's factory and safety.²⁴ All these were actions that required initiative and careful planning, as Dr. Wundheiler remarks:

“Careful planning is not the mark of a person who acts from emotion and impulse alone, however compassionate that impulse might be. Rather, it is the mark of a person who has learned to rein in his impulses amid emotions so that they can serve a purpose.”

Wundheiler continues:

“To find ways to persuade one’s opponents – the police, Gestapo and SS – to cooperate with a factory owner rather than foil his plans and denounce him, takes the special kind of intelligence without which Schindler would have been just as impotent as many other.”

In a statement after the war, Schindler confided to Moshe Bejski that the Golleschau incident enacted in Brännlitz was the worst he had experienced.

Chapter Seventeen To the Final Hour



Figure 81: The team that escorted Schindler out of Brünnlitz to safety: left to right: R. Rechin, Estera Rechen, Oskar, Emilie, Schanz, Heuberger, Dagen, Wilek, Granhaut



Figure 82: Richard Rechen, Estera (Pinkas) Rechen Haifa 1995

The greatest threat that faced Schindler now was the imminent closure of the camp. Everyone knew that the front was near collapse and that the last weeks would be the most dangerous. A group of Budzyn prisoners together with a number of other prisoners formed a resistance group in readiness for possible resistance should the Germans decide to force march the entire camp out of Brännlitz. Worse still was the danger of entire liquidation, which was occupying Schindler's mind at this time. As it happened, Schindler was to face both scenarios. The first danger was the increased activity of Wlassove units²⁵ stationed in the surrounding area. Schindler had implemented his own defense measures. He went directly to SS-Obersturmführer Rausch, the SS and Police Chief of Moravia, and obtained arms on the pretext of defense against the Russians. For his cooperation, Rausch received one of Schindler's last remaining items of real value, the gift of a brilliant diamond ring for his wife. Schindler returned to the camp with hand grenades, carbines, machine guns, and pistols. These weapons were concealed by one of the Bejski brothers, Uri Bejski [69384], in a storeroom at the factory.

For the second time in Schindler's war he brought in uniforms to be used in the breakout of the camp. This time they were not uniforms of the Polish army, as they had been at Gliwitz, but uniforms of the SS and Ukrainian guard. Itzhak Stern took great care in issuing the appropriate sized uniforms to a select defense force.²⁶

The climax of fear came with a solitary soldier on horseback who arrived in the camp and went directly to the Commandant's office to deliver what turned out to be orders to liquidate the camp. Mietek Pemper, who was acting as clerk to the Commandant, was the first to reveal the contents of this secret communication. All the young, the ill, and the old were to be "resettled" (killed) immediately. Only ten percent of the workers were to remain to decommission the camp. Schindler had decided that the waiting was now over and the priority was to get rid of the SS Commandant, Leipold. With the help of Leib Salpeter (69282), the Zionist and chemist from Galicia, they got Leipold drunk, and then Schindler gave him lessons in throwing hand grenades on waste ground at the rear of the camp.²⁷ The explosions caused near panic to those in the vicinity.

Mrs. Schindler was horrified at what her husband was doing and begged him to calm down. Schindler's spontaneous action is another example of his well-thought out and executed ploy to defeat the Nazis at their own game. He had thrown caution to the wind and, in doing so, had proven his intuition was right. General Schoener, whose Wehrmacht headquarters were a short distance from the factory, came over to investigate the disturbance. General Schoener gave Leipold his marching orders and the following morning Leipold was seen leaving the camp, fully armed, being driven to the front at Moravska Ostrava by Schindler.²⁸

A new Commandant was sent to Brännlitz, a 68-year-old local reserve officer, by all accounts a very calm and civil individual. The threat to Schindler and his Jews had disappeared and it was now a matter of sitting out the war.

On the evening of May 8, 1945, Schindler spoke to the entire camp, including the SS guards and the Commandant. They listened together to a broadcast speech by Churchill about the surrender of Nazi Germany.²⁹ After Churchill's message had gotten through to those present, there was general euphoria. Schindler then gave a speech to thank everyone for their trust and help in the most difficult of circumstances. Schindler's words were taken down in shorthand by his secretary, Hilde Berger (76207).

Schindler's farewell speech:

"The non-conditional surrender of the German armed forces has just been announced. I appeal to all of you to strictly maintain order and discipline.

Once more I ask you to behave in a humane and just manner and to leave the prosecutions and revenge to those who have been assigned to these matters. If you have accusations to levy at anyone, do so with the proper authorities, because in the new Europe, there will be judges who will hear your pleas. Many of you know the persecutions, harassment and obstacles that I had to overcome in order to keep my workers during these terrible years. Although it was already difficult to protect the limited rights of a Polish worker, to help him keep his business, protect him from being deported into the Reich, protect his property and preserve his modest belongings and assets – the difficulties of protecting Jewish laborers often seemed insurmountable. Those of you who have worked with me from the beginning, through all these years, know how I made innumerable personal interventions after the closure of the ghetto, how I worked with the camp administration on your behalf in order to save you from deportation and liquidation, or how I managed to reverse orders that had already been given.

How many worries it caused me, how threatening the danger was, when you were kept away from the factory under various pretences. Very few of the workers who were sent to me actually had experience as skilled laborers before the war, the kind of workers that I was looking for to do this work. It is a miracle that we were able, thanks to your positive attitude, to overcome the greatest difficulties.

I have demanded some productive output from you, which must have seemed rather senseless to most of you, since you were shielded from seeing the overall situation, but it was always my will to demonstrate and defend humanity, to conduct my affairs humanely, the principle that guided all of my decisions. Continue to maintain your discipline and order.

When, after a few days spent here, the gates of freedom are opened to you, think about what many of the people who live around this factory have done for you in terms of providing additional food and clothing. I have tried and risked everything to acquire additional food for you in the past, and I pledge to continue putting everything on the line to protect you and provide you with your daily bread.

I will continue to work around the clock to do everything for you that is within my power. Do not go into the houses around here to forage and steal. Show yourselves to be worthy of the sacrifice of millions from your ranks, avoid every act of revenge and terrorism. I charge all of the capos and overseers to continue to uphold order and enforce good conduct. Tell this to all of your people, because it is in the interest of their security. Thank the Daubek Mill, whose energetic support improved your nutrition, often beyond the realm of the possible. I wish to express sincere thanks to the brave director of the mill, who personally did everything I requested in order to get food for you.

Do not thank me for your survival; thank your own people, who worked day and night to save you from annihilation. Thank the dauntless Stern, Pemper and those others who, in the course of their duty, above all in Krakow, looked death in the eye at every moment, thought of everyone and cared for everyone. This solemn hour reminds us of our obligation to remain alert and maintain order; as long as we remain here together, I ask you all, among yourselves, to decide upon courses of action that are humane and just. I thank my personal staff for their restless sacrifice for my work. To the SS guards and the marines who are assembled here, who were assigned to this duty without their consent, I thank you also. They have behaved in an extraordinarily humane and proper manner.

In conclusion, I ask all of you for three minutes of silence, to remember the innumerable victims who have fallen from your ranks in these terrible times.”

It is difficult to imagine the frantic activity in the camp at this time, with the sound of gunfire in the distance. Most of the SS had been disarmed and had fled the camp. Schindler organized a home defense of the entire camp and factory. All the weapons were issued and they prepared themselves for any situation.³⁰ Wehrmacht vehicles were passing on the road at the entrance to the factory. The whole camp was split into feverish activity. The Schindlers were preparing their escape to the West with the help of a select few Jews who would escort them. The Jewish prisoners who had come to Brännlitz from Budzyn were out to settle old scores. They selected the Jewish Kapo, Willi, the most hated Kapo in the camp, who had been with them in Budzyn. Willi had been responsible for the death of a number of Jewish prisoners in Budzyn. Willi was seized and strung up on a factory girder, where he died.³¹

The elderly Simon Jereth (69506) of the box factory (adjacent to Emalia), took out his false teeth and from the gold fillings Hersch Licht (68987) crafted a ring out of the gold. On the inner circle of the ring they inscribed a simple “thank you.”³² Richard Rechen volunteered to drive the lorry that was to escort the Schindlers towards the American lines. The Schindlers were to leave in their two-seater Hawk³³ taking Schindler’s woman friend Marta³⁴ with them.

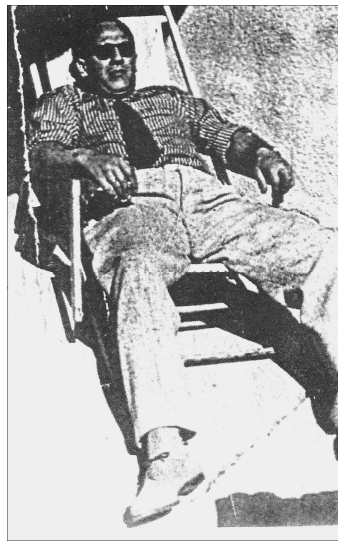


Figure 83: Oskar relaxing 1940

Above: The lone surviving photograph of Oskar Schindler in Brünnlitz. When Schindler was about to leave Brünnlitz in May 1945, he called Viktor Dortheimer to his office and told him to take something for himself from Schindler’s suitcase of valuables: Dortheimer took the photograph.

Finally, a small group of those closest workers approached Schindler and handed to him a sealed letter (in Hebrew) and reminded him, that if he ever needed to explain his conduct in the war he was to use this letter with their blessings:

Brünnlitz, May 8, 1945

“We, the undersigned Jews from Krakow, inmates of the Plaszow concentration camp, have worked in Oskar Schindler’s factory since 1940. Since Schindler took over management of the business, it was his exclusive goal to protect us from resettlement, which would have meant our ultimate liquidation. During the entire period in which we worked for Director Schindler he did everything possible to save the lives of the greatest possible number of Jews, in spite of the tremendous difficulties, especially

during a time when receiving Jewish workers caused great difficulties with the authorities. Director Schindler took care of our sustenance, and as a result, during the whole period of our employment by him there was not a single case of unnatural death. In total he employed more than 1,000 Jews in Krakow.

As the Russian frontline approached and it became necessary to transfer us to a different concentration camp, Director Schindler relocated his business to Brünnlitz near Svitavy. There were huge difficulties connected with the implementation of Director Schindler's business, and he took great pains to introduce this plan. The fact that he attained [sic] permission to create a camp, in which not only women and men, but also families could stay together, is unique within the territory of the Reich. Special mention must be given to the fact that our resettlement to Brünnlitz was carried out by way of a list of names, put together in Krakow and approved by the Central Administration of all concentration camps in Oranienburg (a unique case). After the men had been interned in Gross-Rosen concentration camp for no more than a couple of days and the women for three weeks in Auschwitz concentration camp, we may claim with assertiveness that with our arrival in Brünnlitz we owe our lives solely to the efforts of Director Schindler and his humane treatment of his workers. Director Schindler took care of the improvement of our living standards by providing us with extra food and clothing. No money was spared and his one and only goal was the humanistic ideal of saving our lives from inevitable death.

It is only thanks to the ceaseless efforts and interventions of Director Schindler with the authorities in question that we stayed in Brünnlitz, in spite of the existing danger, as with the approaching frontline we would all have been moved away by the leaders of the camp, which would have meant our ultimate end. This we declare today, on this day of the declaration of the end of the war, as we await our official liberation and the opportunity to return to our destroyed families and homes. Here we are, a gathering of 1,100 people, 800 men and 300 women. All Jewish workers that were inmates in the Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz concentration camps respectively declare wholeheartedly their gratitude towards Director Schindler, and we herewith state that it is exclusively due to his efforts that we were permitted to witness this moment, the end of the war.

Concerning Director Schindler's treatment of the Jews, one event that took place during our internment in Brünnlitz in January of this year which deserves special mention was coincidentally a transport of Jewish inmates that had been evacuated from the Auschwitz concentration camp, the Goleszow [Golleschau] sub-camp, and ended up near us.

This transport consisted exclusively of more than 100 sick people from a hospital which had been cleared during the liquidation of

the camp. These people reached us frozen and almost unable to carry on living after having wandered for weeks. No other camp was willing to accept this transport and it was Director Schindler alone who personally took care of these people, while giving them shelter on his factory premises; even though there was not the slightest chance of them ever being employed. He gave considerable sums out of his own private funds, to enable their recovery as quick as possible. He organized medical aid and established a special hospital room for those people who were bedridden. It was only because of his personal care that it was possible to save 80 of these people from their inevitable death and to restore them to life.”

Signed: Nathan and Itzhak Stern and Leon Salpeter

One of the last acts Schindler was to discharge and share with his Jewish workers was to issue each and every one a length of cloth from the spinning mill textile store.³⁵ Stern and Salpeter dished out vodka and cigarettes, considered by Schindler as first-aid packages. Last farewells were offered, and the Schindler group left in a convoy. Oskar was dressed as a Jewish prisoner and was in possession of his ring, reference documents written in Hebrew, and one large diamond which he concealed in the front seat of his car. Their journey took them through the panic of the retreating Germans and the partisans who were controlling the roads. Stopped by a Russian patrol, they were stripped of their watches. At a later check point where they stayed overnight, they lost all their property and their vehicles were damaged beyond repair. According to Emilie Schindler, in her recollections to the author, Oskar was now a mental wreck. The confrontation with the Russians had had a devastating effect on him, she says, from which he never really recovered.

Having lost their motor vehicles, they hid overnight and boarded a train the following morning heading west. According to Rechen they decided to leave the train and continue the rest of the journey on foot. It was on this last part of the journey that they became entangled with other refugees also seeking safety to the west and their meeting with Lieutenant Kurt Klein of the United States Intelligence unit with surprising results.

Brünnlitz was the turning point in the Schindler story

In the summer of 1944 Oskar Schindler had been faced with a key decision: the liquidation of the armament factory. The approaching Red Army, the uncertain future – all of these factors played an important role in his actual choice. After several visits to Berlin, telephone calls with representatives of the occupation administration and armament inspectorate, Schindler rejected an offer of Swiss asylum. His vast wealth would have guaranteed a decent

standard of living for years to come. But Schindler decided to invest his money in a different manner.

He knew well that the transfer of the factory to the interior was merely a temporary decision. He was aware that building and operating a new factory in the Sudetenland was an extremely difficult undertaking and he had doubts about the potential for success. But above all, there were people to consider – prisoners from the Plaszow camp, his workers. And, therefore, concepts such as humanity, compassion and protection entered into the equation. These were words that had completely disappeared from the Nazi lexicon of the “superior race.” Oskar Schindler – Herr Director Schindler – created his own vocabulary and transformed the words into tangible deeds.³⁶

A local doctor, Josef Lopour, from the village of Vitejevse, a few miles from Brünnlitz, kept a diary throughout the war period of the daily events in the area. From this diary, which is headed concentration camp Brünnlitz, he makes the following observations:

“This is a sad chapter. I am one of the few citizens who saw the camp before and after capitulation, and who spoke to the survivors. On May 15, 1945, as the doctor of those villages, I had the duty to transport all ill persons from the camp. Most of the prisoners were Jews from Poland. There were about a thousand men, women, and children. They had arrived at the camp in November, 1944, in a freezing winter, only dressed in trousers and shirts.

At night they slept crammed together sitting with their heads stooped over. For months they slept on straw on a concrete floor. They were covered with lice. Later on they got three tier bunks. With the sick, we tried to do our best using the chemist shop as a surgery.

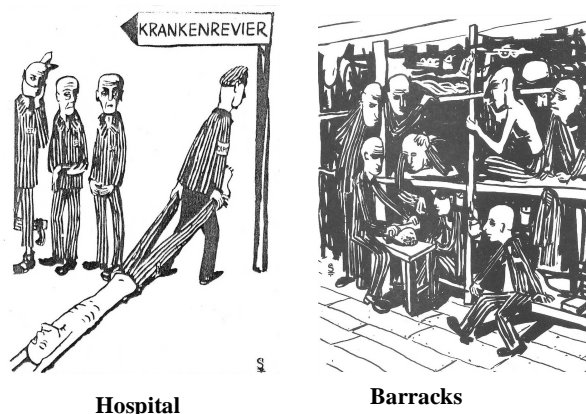


Figure 84: Drawings by Josef Bau

Other prisoners slept on dirty sacks beside the beds. In a room measuring 8m x 5m x 4m with no windows and bad air there were some 170 people. When you were passing around the beds, you had the impression that you were in a warehouse of living dried flesh.

On the ground floor was a hall with howling lathes. These machines used all the power. The prisoners worked 11 hours daily without interval. Breakfast was 15 grams of bread, a spoon of jam and a liquid which was called coffee. Dinner consisted of warm watery soup and pieces of dumplings.

These poor wretches were pleased to work outside the camp where they could pick herbs and grasses to eat. The Czech people gave them bread. In the main part of the factory was a corridor which was used as the first-aid room. There, on wooden tables, the Jewish prison doctors carried out operations. Two doctors from Krakow told me that they had made many operations. Women were not allowed to become pregnant. Pregnant women were shot. The doctors admitted having carried out a number of abortions in the camp.”

One of the many local inhabitants who remembers the end of the war and in particular the Jewish prisoners of the Brännlitz camp was Vilma Odyarkova-Pachovska.



**Figure 85: Vilma showing the author
around Brännlitz, 1991**

Vilma, then aged 17 years, was an assistant in the chemist shop in Brönnlitz and remembers the Jews from the camp being brought to the shop for medical treatment by Doctor Lopour at the end of the war.

Schindler's Chief, Admiral Canaris, Is Arrested

The attempt on the life of Hitler made by Colonel von Stauffenberg on July 20, 1944 brought Armageddon down upon the anti-Hitlerites and all those unfortunate people who were loosely connected to the assassination conspiracy. Himmler ordered that the Stauffenberg family was to be exterminated up to the last generation. The other main members of the plot were hanged on August 8, 1944 in Plötzensee, the Berlin prison, on hooks for meat that were borrowed from a close-by slaughterhouse, according to Hitler's order: "I want them to hang like cattle in the slaughterhouse." Altogether, there were 7,000 military men and civilians arrested, of which 5,000 were executed.

Despite the fact that neither Canaris nor his deputy, Hans Oster, participated actively in the plot, they knew about the plans but did not denounce the conspirators. Hitler realized that he was being deceived by Canaris and ordered his arrest. On February 7, 1945 Canaris was transported to the Flossenburg concentration camp where he was tortured and beaten. He maintained his ignorance of the Hitler plot and at no time did he betray his companions from the resistance movement.



Figure 86: Admiral Canaris, 1943... and death memorial plaque

Colonel Lunding, the former head of Dutch military intelligence, was imprisoned in the adjacent cell. Canaris had previously told Colonel Lunding:

“This is the end...a squandered opportunity. I have done nothing against my country. If you survive, please tell my wife...I am dying for my homeland. I am aware of what I have done. I have just fulfilled my duty trying to oppose Hitler’s plans.”

On April 9, 1945, just after 5.30 a.m., the SS guards put a noose made of piano wire round his neck and strangled him slowly to prolong his suffering. As he was not quite dead, they repeated the hanging and later, cut off his hands and feet. The body was burned.³⁷

Chapter Eighteen

Postwar years



Figure 87: A key figure in Schindler's escape to safety at the end of the war was Army Lt. Kurt Klein, himself a German-born Jew.

Rescued by the U.S. Army 1945³⁸

In Europe, as the war came to a close, hundreds of thousands of Germans began surrendering in the occupied areas. U.S. Army Intelligence Corps officer Lt. Kurt Klein was on patrol when he was notified that a strange group of camp survivors had been found nearby all dressed in prison uniforms. They presented themselves to him as refugees from a German labor camp in Czechoslovakia. Not only had he unknowingly come across the Schindler group, he also found his future wife. In early May 1945 the group, which included a young Gerda Weissmann, had been force marched with 2,000 other camp survivors toward Czechoslovakia when the escorting SS guards abandoned them in a booby-trapped warehouse. Of the 2,000 who started out on this journey, only 150 now survived. Gerda recalled:

“All of a sudden, I saw a strange car coming down the hill, no longer green, not bearing a swastika, but a white star. The driver of the vehicle was Lt. Kurt Klein.”

Klein asked the group if anyone spoke German or English. Gerda, replying in German, told Klein that they were Jewish. Klein responded with: “So am I.”

Klein then asked Gerda an incredible question: “May I see the other ladies?” It was a form of address Gerda hadn’t heard in six years. Gerda continued: “then he held the door for me and let me precede him and in that gesture restored me to humanity.” It didn’t end there...Lt. Klein and Gerda continued their relationship and were married shortly thereafter.³⁹

In addition to bringing his future wife to safety, Lieutenant Klein also helped arrange safe passage into American hands for a group of suspected German prisoners who turned out to be concentration camp escapees (the Schindler group) as Emilie Schindler confirms:

“By chance Oskar and I had been included in the group, and happily nobody bothered to contradict the words of the U.S officer. The commander, a pleasant-looking young man, said that his name was Klein and that he was also Jewish.” Emilie continues, “On one of my latest trips to the United States, I met Commander Klein again. In spite of the years gone by, he still had that special shine in his eyes and that he had given us the feeling we were home at last. He welcomed me again as he had done then, and added, “I have not forgotten you, Mrs. Schindler.”⁴⁰

Only in 1987, when one of the prisoners wrote him, did Kurt Klein learn that among the group he saved was a person who became famous decades later for his own heroics. His name was Oskar Schindler. Klein received a letter from an engineer living in Haifa, Richard Rechen, who identified himself as a member of the volunteer escort party who had undertaken to deliver their beloved Herr Direktor Schindler first to the American lines and ultimately to Switzerland. The group had been organized by Dr. Chaim Hilfstein, one of the most respected figures among the Schindler Jews. In his letter, Rechen said that for 41 years he had been trying to locate the American soldier who ensured Schindler’s safe passage. Rechen’s letter described the journey from Schindler’s factory to his meeting with Klein in the second week of May 1945. These facts were later corroborated to the author by the late Dan Granot (formerly Dolek Gruenhaut, who had help save the Jews on the Golleschau transport and who later escorted Schindler out of Brännlitz to safety) in a London Hotel in 1995.

The Wiesenthal Connection

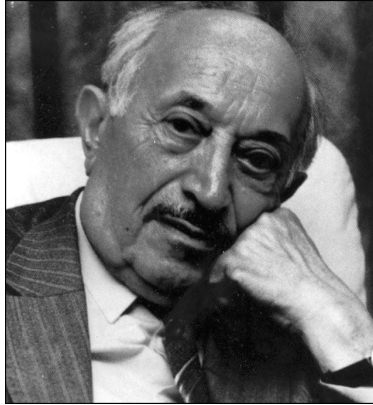


Figure 88: Simon Wiesenthal: photograph given to the author 1990

Simon Wiesenthal (1908-2005) devoted his postwar life to searching for Nazi war criminals and bringing these individuals to justice. Wiesenthal came from a family of Galician Jews. He studied architecture in Prague and worked in this profession until Galicia was taken over by the Soviet Union. He was persecuted by the NKVD (secret police) and later by the Nazis. He survived the war and was freed from the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria. After the war he became chairman of the Jewish Central Committee in Austria and the founder of the Jewish Documentation Centre in Linz and Vienna. Wiesenthal had Schindler on *his* list and by his investigations into his background was able to clear him of Nazi war crimes and SS association.

Simon Wiesenthal's letter to the Central Bavarian Committee in Munich from October 1, 1945:

“As director of the enamelware factory in Krakow and later in Brünnlitz Schindler saved a great number of Jews. The best that we can do now is to show our gratitude for the protection of 1,200 Jews. In the name of the Jewish Committee of Upper Austria I ask you kindly to do everything you can to help Director Schindler.”

1. OKT. 1945

An das
Zentrale-Bayerische Committee in München

Lieber Doktor Grünberg !

Herr Direktor Schindler hat in seiner Eigenschaft als Direktor der Emailfabrik in Krakau und später in Brünlitz sehr vielen Juden das Leben gerettet. Das Beste was wir nur tun können dürfen wir machen, um unseren Dank für die Rettung von über 1200 Juden zu beweisen. Ich bitte Sie sehr im Namen von Jewish Committee of Upper-Austria alles was nur in Ihrer Hand liegt zu machen, um Herrn Dir. Schindler Hilfe zu leisten.-

Sim. Wiesenthal
/-/ Ing. S. Wiesenthal.

Figure 89: Wiesenthal letter to the Jewish Committee, October 1, 1945

In November 1990, the author, who was investigating Nazi war crimes in Poland, was making his own investigation into Schindler's wartime activities. The author visited Simon Wiesenthal at his offices in Vienna where Wiesenthal reiterated his opinion (that he had set out in the October 1 letter to the Bavarian Committee above) regarding the ethics of Schindler which he had displayed in the rescue of his Jewish workers during the war years. This view by Wiesenthal was later confirmed by a letter to the author:

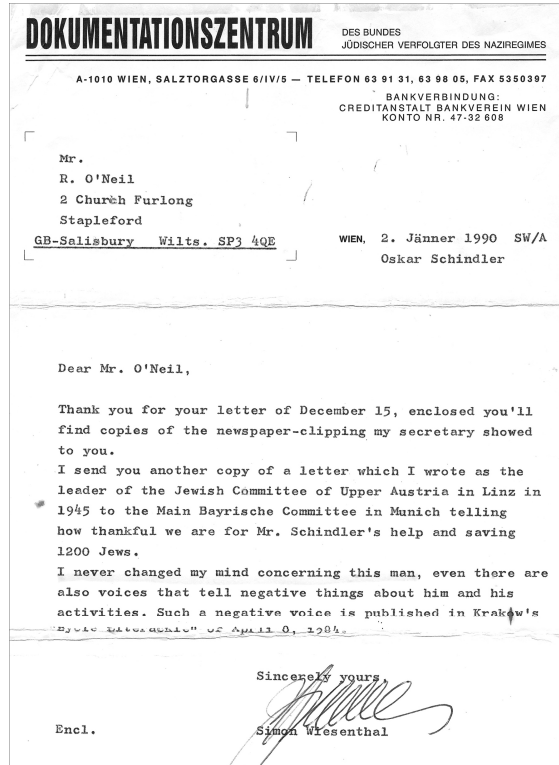


Figure 90: Wiesenthal letter to the author, December 2, 1990

There is more: In 1949 Schindler received the following reference letter from the American Joint Committee:

The American Joint Distribution Committee in New York hereby confirms that it possesses verified testimony on the active measures Mr. Oskar Schindler took to save Krakow Jews from extermination during the period of Nazi occupation. The Committee sincerely requests all organizations and individuals do all that is in their power to help Oskar Schindler on account of his important role in saving Jews in occupied Poland. Oskar Schindler saved women and men from death in concentration camps such as Auschwitz and others (Belzec in particular). Schindler's camp in Brünnlitz was a remarkable phenomenon – it was the only camp in Nazi-occupied Europe where Jews were not terrorized and no Jew was killed. On the contrary, Schindler always treated his Jews with great decency. Now, as Oskar Schindler is forced to begin a new life, please help him as he helped our sisters and brothers. With this written confirmation

by the Joint Committee from 1949 the entire case of Oskar Schindler is hereby concluded.

After his departure from Brännlitz and following his release from American detention, Schindler and his wife soon found themselves in a hopeless situation without any money. In liberated Czechoslovakia in the autumn of 1945, a security search was launched to arrest Schindler for his work with the Abwehr. A year later, Schindler was charged in his absence for capital offences committed against the State. In the meantime, the Schindlers had found a flat in Regensburg, Bavaria...and celebrations:



Figure 91: Josef and Rebecca Bau 1945

One last act of revenge was to be enacted in Regensburg: Hersch Licht (68987) and Ryszard Lax (69254) had spotted commandant Leipold in Regensburg. Schindler was informed and did not hesitate for a moment and went to the police station where Leipold had been placed on an identification parade. Schindler went directly to Leipold and said, “You are Leipold and do not continue to deny it. If you continue to do so, there are 300 Jews outside who will massacre you.” Leipold, faced with this direct action, admitted his guilt.⁴¹

The Schindlers Go to Argentina

Why the Schindlers chose Argentina to become their new home remains a mystery. However, Argentina in the 19th and 20th centuries was a country where many Jewish immigrants from Russia and Eastern Europe moved;

today the country has a Jewish population of over 230,000. The country also has over 400,000 German-speaking residents. The Schindlers decided to leave for Argentina in 1949 with the financial assistance of rescued Jews. Schindler set up a nutria farm in the town of San Vicente, but the venture was unsuccessful and led to bankruptcy. The marriage deteriorated and Oskar fled the country in turmoil leaving Emilie to fend for herself.

The unsuccessful stay in Argentina, the failure of his activities, debts and loans, all led Schindler to a desperate situation. The efforts of Jews themselves, their financial support and aid from the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee failed to produce the intended effect and Schindler, instead, lost the money in risky enterprises. Schindler again turned to alcohol to solve his problems. Still, his rescued Jews continued to financially support him and his wife. Schindler's attempt to seek compensation for wartime damages from the German government, assisted by Mieczyslaw Pemper, Moshe Bejski, and others, also failed. Schindler's marriage was in ruins and Oskar finally left his wife for good. On a trip to Germany in 1957 financed by Jewish organizations, Schindler met with several of the Jews he had saved and, in 1958, he moved to Frankfurt am Main.

Living in a small flat in a dirty street near the train station, he tried again to start a business. But all his efforts ended in fiasco and his health rapidly deteriorated. In 1964 he suffered a heart attack and had to seek treatment in a sanatorium. He sold his story of his life to a publishing company, but the money quickly disappeared in wild business ventures. Schindler received assistance again from Pemper and Bejski, but all to no avail.

Mietek Pemper on reflection to the author on Schindler:

I believe it is necessary to view Schindler in various phases of his life; this leaves us, then, with several different Schindlers – Schindler before the war, during the war, and after the war, when he had problems and when nothing worked out for him. For us, he was naturally a fearless knight, a benefactor, and an angel, and God knows what else. We didn't see his shortcomings, nor did we look for any. And even if he had loads of shortcomings, we still would have forgiven him. Schindler was an energetic brawler with a vibrant sense of humor. He wasn't a master who controlled our life and death, but he was our patron or sponsor. He played a very risky game, but maybe he wasn't even aware of it because he was caught up in some kind of sporting excitement. He made it clear to us that he was more cunning than were his explosive colleagues and he looked forward to manipulating them. He represented the most humane aspects of the German character. He had been given a large amount of good in his genes. This complicated and

difficult-to-understand man possessed a lot of courage and humanity.

Signed: Mietek Pemper

1961-1963: First International Recognition: Schindler's Olive Tree

The rescued Jews never forgot about Schindler and, therefore, on the occasion of his birthday, a celebratory reception was organized for April 28, 1962 in Tel Aviv. Three hundred of the Jews he had saved waited at the airport in Tel Aviv for Schindler's arrival. The reception became an extremely emotional affair, particularly when his wartime accomplishments were read aloud. Over 400 of Schindler's Jews and their families attended the reception. Each of the former prisoners was to stand and say a few words in honor of Schindler. Moshe Bejski wrote down all the speeches on napkins and small scraps of paper which he showed to the author on one of his many visits to his house.



Figure 92: Waiting for Schindler at Lod (Ben Gurion) Airport

Oskar Schindler was to plant an olive tree in the Garden of the Righteous at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem on May 2, 1962, Yom Hashoah – Holocaust Remembrance Day – but Schindler fell ill and could not attend. By May 8, he had recovered enough for the ceremony to take place with a circle of close friends.



Figure 93: Oskar planting his tree

Schindler received international honors in the mid-60s. Nevertheless, he battled deep depression and became increasingly dependent upon support from Jews in Israel and the U.S.A. The same was true for Emilie, who was still in Argentina. Schindler testified at the trials of former Nazis. President Heinrich Lübke of West Germany awarded Schindler the Cross of Merit, First Class, on November 5, 1965, and gave him, as well, an honorable pension. In 1967, he received the Martin Buber Peace Prize.

Pope Paul VI named Schindler a Knight of the Order of St. Sylvester in October 1968.



Figure 94: Reception in Israel May 1962⁴²

October 9, 1974 – Death and Burial

Schindler was a guest in Israel on 13 occasions. His financial difficulties continued to plague him. Serious health problems added to his troubles; he suffered another heart attack and, at the same time, was diagnosed with diabetes.

At the Beth Am Synagogue in Los Angeles in 1969, Schindler accepted an award for the protection of Jews and, with the support of Holocaust victims, a foundation bearing his name was established. Schindler was also involved in the creation of an exchange program between West Germany and Israeli students. In 1974, he suffered further heart problems brought about by smoking and heavy drinking. On October 9, 1974, he died in Hildesheim. His funeral was held in Frankfurt on October 16. At Schindler's request, he was laid to rest in the Catholic cemetery on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem on October 28.

Richard Rechen, who was the driver of the car in which Schindler escaped to the West after his flight from Brännlitz, was the person chosen to go to West Germany and claim Schindler's body. Rechen, interviewed by the author in Tel Aviv, summed up his feelings:

“When I heard from my friends that Oskar had died I was terribly sad. He was 66 years old. I felt awful – it was as if my brother had died. Oskar Schindler not only saved our bodies, he saved our souls. Thanks to him we didn't lose our faith in man. He proved that there were, and are, Christians who, like the Good Samaritan, poured healing oil and wine into our wounds. Oskar, you are our Samaritan! It was your wish to find your final resting place in the holy city of Jerusalem. We promise to do everything in our power to fulfill your wish.”



Figure 95: Viktor at Schindler's final resting place 1995

HE WHO SAVES ONE SOUL SAVES THE WORLD ENTIRE.



Figure 96: Viktor Dorthheimer and author 1995

“When Oskar Schindler arrived in Krakow love had been outlawed by the Germans and was met, instead, by derision. But this stopped and love, humanity and decency reappeared. What Oskar and Emilie began and continued to do until the end of the war is impossible to describe in words. They took 1,200 souls on their ark to a new world – to thousands of new worlds.”

Dr. Dieter Trautwein
at the requiem mass 28 October 1974, Jerusalem

Chapter Nineteen

Consequences and Just Punishment



Figure 97: The Nuremberg Trials

The horrifying number of victims of the Holocaust and the Final Solution produced by investigative commissions is merely an estimate.

Before the start of the war the greatest number of Jews – approximately three million – lived in the Soviet Union. Nearly one million of these Soviet Jews perished in the Holocaust. Of the three million or so Jews living in pre-war Poland, the main killing grounds of Jews during the war, only 300,000 survived. Approximately 3.5 million European Jews died at six death camps in Poland. But Polish anti-Semitism didn't subside even after the war and numerous pogroms broke out against Jews who returned to Polish cities.

In 1939 a total of 252,000 Jews lived in the Baltic States; 223,000 perished during the war. Of the 140,000 Dutch Jews deported, 106,000 never returned. In Hungary 560,000 of approximately 800,000 pre-war Jews did not survive. Prior to the start of the war around 720,000 Jews lived in France and its colonies; nearly 90,000 never returned home. Before the war Belgium had a Jewish population of 75,000; 29,000 did not survive deportation. Germany recorded over 170,000 Holocaust victims, Austria approximately 65,000. Romania with Bukovina and Bessarabia had 365,000 victims. Nearly 130,000 deported Jews came from Greece and Yugoslavia. In 1939 the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia had a Jewish population of over 118,000 Jews; 73,000 perished in the Final Solution. Over 80,000 Jews were deported and only 10,000 returned from the concentration camps.

Having miraculously survived Allied bombing, the Nuremberg Palace of Justice became the venue for the International Military Tribunal, established on the basis of the London Charter for the prosecution of war criminals. Defendants were the main representatives of the Third Reich and the trial lasted from November 20, 1945 until verdicts were returned on October 1, 1946. In addition to individuals, the Nazi organizations NSDAP, SS, the

Gestapo, and SD were declared criminal organizations. A total of 200 defendants were tried directly at Nuremberg on charges of crimes against humanity and peace and as war criminals. An additional 600 defendants were tried before traditional military tribunals.

A total of 177 Nazis were convicted of crimes; 12 were sentenced to death, 25 received life sentences, and the remaining convicted defendants received long unconditional sentences. Between 1945 and 1951 a total of 5,028 Nazis were convicted, 806 of whom were sentenced to death. A United Nations commission compiled a list of 36,529 war criminals, the majority of whom contributed to the genocide of Jews, Roma, and other ethnic minorities. A total of 3,470 individuals were tried in supplemental post-war trials, while 150,000 people were charged in other countries involved in the war. Over 100,000 defendants were convicted of crimes committed against Jews. Following the renewal of the judicial system in Germany, over 6,000 people were tried up to 1970, 12 of whom were sentenced to death and 98 to life imprisonment.

The Nuremberg Trials had a great influence on the development of post-war international law, including, for example, the Genocide Convention.

The Commandant of the Plaszow Camp on Trial



Figure 98: Amon Goeth on his way to Court, Krakow 1946

Even the former commander of the Plaszow camp, Amon Leopold Goeth, was brought before the Highest National Tribunal. Goeth was captured by the Allies in the SS sanatorium at Bad Tölz and brought to Dachau for interrogation, after which he was transferred back to Krakow. Goeth was the first defendant to stand trial in Poland on charges of direct involvement in mass murder. Plaszow Jews liberated from the Brünnlitz camp served as

witnesses against the accused. The key witnesses against Goeth were his former office worker Mieczyslaw (Mietek) Pemper, as well as Artur Biberstein and Helena Hirsch. Goeth was declared guilty on all counts on September 5, 1946 and sentenced to death. He was executed on September 13.

Other war criminals accused of mass murder in the Holocaust were hunted down and put on trial; on November 9, 1948 Josef Leipold, the commandant of Brünnlitz, was executed for crimes committed in concentration camps. Leipold had been apprehended in Regensburg, Germany with forged identification papers. Oskar Schindler was among those who provided testimony against Leipold.

Belzec: Final Resting Place of Many of the Krakow Jews

Many of Schindler's Jews succumbed to the racial treachery of the Nazi State by being transported to the Aktion Reinhardt death camps of Belzec (600,000 murders), Sobibor (250,000 murders) and Treblinka (900,000 murders). In June and October 1942, Schindler witnessed the deportation of many thousands of Jews to the extermination camp at Belzec.

Belzec was where mass murder was committed with military precision on an industrial scale, a human abattoir that operated on a conveyor-belt system.

Immediately after the end of war, Belzec was still just a rumor. A hint of its existence and the colossal numbers of people who were murdered there only started to emerge during post-war investigations. Judge Moshe Bejski's parents, sister, aunts and uncles were shipped to Belzec from the home-town of Dzialoszyce; Viktor Dortheimer's mother, who had sought the safety of Skarwina on the outskirts of Krakow, Bau's family, and many of the relatives mentioned before, suffered the same fate.

Oskar Schindler knew about Belzec and its function but was never able to penetrate the tight security that surrounded the camp. According to Mrs. Schindler, Oskar was turned away at Tomaszow-Lubelski, five kilometers from the camp.

Oskar Schindler's activities within the framework of the Holocaust are minimal when considering what was going on elsewhere. My recently published book, *Belzec: Stepping Stone to Genocide* (JewishGen Inc., 2008; see <http://www.pickmanmuseumshop.com/jewishgen.html>), sets out the background to Jewish genocide in Galicia. To assist and guide the reader when traversing this unique period in history, I will set out the background to our present understanding of these events, centering on the activities of Aktion Reinhardt and the Belzec death camp.

State of Current Research

The research that constitutes the basis of this study was undertaken on a number of different but related fronts. It includes critically important data derived from an archaeological survey of the mass graves at Belzec by forensic archaeologists from Torun University in Poland. By comparing this information with other data of the transports to Belzec from the Jewish communities of the Lublin district, Galicia, and elsewhere, we are able to envisage the scale of murder committed in the name of the “Final Solution” in a way that is independent of eyewitness testimony. Consequently, this evidence constitutes substantial proofs of Nazi war crimes against the Jewish people and an incontrovertible body of evidence to confront Holocaust denial.

In the context of a number of important and hotly debated studies of recent years which deal with the background, indoctrination and ideological commitment of those who carried out Nazi war crimes, the evidence of this study provides an important perspective. The detailed investigation of the German and Austrian personnel who ran the camp offers a number of insights into the way in which Aktion Reinhardt and its precursor, the euthanasia program, were staffed.

Belzec was commissioned by the highest authority of the Nazi state and acted outside the law of both civil and military conventions of the time. Under the code Aktion Reinhardt, the death camps were organized, staffed, and administered by a leadership of middle-ranking police officers and a specially selected civilian cadre who, in the first instance, had been initiated into the euthanasia program. Their expertise was then transferred to operational duties in the death camps. The hands-on extermination of European Jewry in the death camps of Reinhardt, the author suggests, was police-led, from start to finish.

While this was a top-secret operation, many of those involved were not committed Nazis or even members of the SS, but ordinary Germans engaged not so much in gratifying congenital murderous, anti-Semitic impulses, but either under personal threat from the leadership or as opportunists hoping to avoid combat duties and amass personal wealth looted from their victims. Aktion Reinhardt staff was protected by the highest authority from military and civilian discipline or regulation. They were, in effect – for the duration of the war – a band of brothers.

The principle of police leadership in the Reinhardt camps was unprecedented and was never extended or repeated in any other penal establishment in the areas of German occupation. The combination of police and civilians appears to have been a direct policy of the Nazi State. The majority of Reinhardt personnel operating in these camps became a maverick unit and were given the spurious cover of SS insignia to facilitate their objective. These men, operating under a Geheime Reichssache (Secret Reich Affair) became “the

untouchables.” All outside influences concerning rank, status and human decency meant absolutely nothing to this group. Within the Reinhardt establishment there was a complete negation of any recognized principles of law and order, discipline, or basic humanitarian considerations.

The men engaged in Reinhardt were practiced in institutional murder since 1940 and were psychologically conditioned to continue similar duties elsewhere. After all, if they could engage in the murder of their “own” through euthanasia, they could hardly be expected to have any inner moral conflict with murdering Jews. Even so, in practice, clinical institutionalized murder was a far cry from what these men were later faced with in Belzec – which called for an extra dimension of personal commitment. Among the Reinhardt personnel, the motivation for carrying out the base murder of men, women and children varied according to the individual. Fear predominated among the lower echelons of the leadership, but others were attracted by generous pay and conditions of service with extra leave, allowances and opportunities for further advancement. Others were motivated by the spoils of extermination: corruption, greed, and in some cases crude prejudices and sadistic self-gratification. Exemption from frontline duty was an added inducement. In due course all these men, even those who self-righteously proclaimed abhorrence of Belzec’s purpose, became corrupted when given the power of life and death over people whom they were encouraged to treat as sub-human.

In the lower ranks, Nazi ideology and anti-Semitism were not the prime driving forces behind the majority of the mass murderers. It is in the leadership that political indoctrination and rabid anti-Semitism were to be found. One man in particular, the Stuttgart police officer Christian Wirth, exemplifies this. He was the central cog in the destruction process, even more so than his immediate superior, the designated overlord of Reinhardt, SS-Brigadeführer Odilo Globocnik. Unlike Himmler and his immediate following, who were driven by a pseudo-religious ideology, or a “holy” mission, Wirth remained an enigma, a crude man with uncouth habits spurred on by an old-fashioned sense of “duty” and a hatred for Jews.

Recent Scholarship and Study

The destruction of European Jewry has been treated in a number of ways by specialists who are at the cutting edge of Holocaust research: Gerald Reitlinger’s *The Final Solution* (originally published in 1953) is thought-provoking but focused primarily on Jewish extermination and gives little indication of the inner power struggles within the General Government.⁴³ Reitlinger’s work has been superseded by Raul Hilberg’s magisterial three-volume *Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), which in my view remains the definitive work. It is breathtaking in scope and systematically deals with every aspect of the mechanics of destruction, including German material on

this tragedy. Hilberg also includes an excellent account of the administrative conflict in the General Government. Martin Gilbert's *Holocaust* (1987) considers Reinhardt from a broader perspective, while Daniel Goldhagen's widely-discussed, well-documented, and controversial *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1997) only refers to Belzec on three occasions within its references to Reinhardt. Only Yitzhak Arad's *Belzec, Sobibór, Treblinka - The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (1987), and the latest published research by Michael Tregenza in Lublin, *Belzec – Das Vergessene Lager des Holocaust* (2000) focus on Belzec in some depth within the context of Reinhardt. Christopher C. Browning's prolific scholarship – *Fateful Months* (1985); *Path to Genocide* (1992); *Essays on the Final Solution* (1995); *The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office* (1978); *Ordinary Men*; *The Reigner Telegramme Reconstructed*; *Nazi Policy, Jewish Questions, and Policies*; *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* – are major contributions. The SS training camp at Trawniki near Lublin was the most important element in providing manpower for Reinhardt. The interesting and most welcome research paper by David Rich et al enhances our understanding of this subject.

Among the Polish sources, of particular interest are the works of E. Szrojt, and T. Chrosciewicz. For the deportation operations from the Galician District see T. Berenstein. Other useful sources are *An Outline History of the Lwów Railways 1942-3*, which contains interesting facts regarding the deportation transports from Lvov to Belzec. See also Dr. Janusz Peter (Kordian), *W Belzcu podczas okupacji (In Belzec during the Occupation)*. When discussing the Generalplan Ost see Czesław Madajczyk's *Forschungsstelle für Ostunterkunft* (Research Center for Eastern Resettlement) and the European-wide Jewish extermination program. On the fate of the Christian Poles who were left to face the German and Russian onslaughts, there are thought-provoking personal recollections of this period in Tomasz Piesakowski's *The Fate of Poles in the USSR, 1939-1989* and the *Zygmunt Klukowski Diary 1939-44*. See also Zoë Zajderowa's *The Dark Side of the Moon*. For the fate of German Jews in Dresden, see the Victor Klemperer diaries.

From the German side see the diary of Alex Hohenstein, *Oberbürgermeister (Senior District Mayor) of Poniatowec in the Warthegau 1941/2*; *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen* (Hans Frank Diaries); *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels* (Goebbels Diaries); [Diensttagebuch Himmler] *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmler 1941/2*. These are rich sources indeed.

Dr Hans Frank's Diary, *Tagebuch des Herrn Generalgouverneurs für dies Besetzten Polnischen Gebiete, 25 Oktober 1939 bis 3. April 1945* is crucial for understanding the power struggle within the General Government between Himmler, Frank and Krüger. The original Frank Diaries can be

found in the archives of the former Archiwum Główniej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland), today the Izba Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Memory) in Warsaw, Poland. The Tagebuch is a detailed although not personal record of the civil administration divided into 38 volumes. The diary is compartmentalized according to subject matter – agriculture, labor, security, etc. There is an abridged English translation of this work (Hans Frank's Diary, *Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe*, Warsaw 1961). See also *International Military Tribunal, Trial of the Major German War Criminals* (42 volumes). Vol. XXIX, Document Number 2233-PS, 356-725 contains material from the Tagebuch.

For the purposes of this study I have been selective when quoting the Tagebuch, usually citing secondary sources as indicated, where appropriate. The main source of material used in this study is Larry V. Thompson, *Nazi Administrative Conflict: The Struggle for Executive Power in the General Government of Poland, 1939-1945* (unpublished thesis), University of Wisconsin, USA, 1967. Importance is attributed to this work because the central theme focuses on the personal and institutional conflict, or SS & Police v Gouverneur, General Government, Poland 1941-1943. See also Robert L. Koehl, *German Resettlement and Population Policy, 1939 – 1945*, Cambridge (HUP) 1957.

More recent material concerning the Frank Diaries can be seen at the Deutsches Historisches Institute (German Historical Institute) in London, under references SH 5/9030 and SH 2/149. Other recent publications deal with the subject or parts thereof from different viewpoints. When placed in context, Browning's *Ordinary Men* (1991), together with Goldhagen's *Willing Executioners*, deal controversially with events outside Reinhardt that have no direct bearing on events within the death camps. Browning's thesis suggests a mundane perspective of the Nazi decimation of the Jews, explaining how ordinary men, once engaged in unbridled mass killing, went about their task with diligence and efficiency. The Reinhardt personnel were no less ordinary and they, too, took on the role of executioners in T4; and then, in a far more deadly environment, became the principals in a brutal industrialized genocide. What we have, therefore, are "ordinary men" outside Reinhardt, committing mass murders with the protection of the Reich Security Main Office Executive, with the choice of being engaged or not in mass killings. Conversely, within Reinhardt, these "ordinary men" had no protection, right of appeal, or choice of withdrawing from the slaughter. They were ruthlessly driven in their terrible mission by an untouchable, heartless police leadership, which acted on orders from the highest authority, whose purpose was the complete extermination of Jewry. One particular aspect is the scholarly consensus that perpetrators had the choice of refusing to obey an order to kill. This contention is largely supported and underpinned by judicial pronouncements by SS courts and in subsequent

post-war criminal trials. I have argued that these conclusions do not hold with regard to Reinhardt.

Another important contribution to be assessed here is the only published account of the Belzec death camp by a Jewish survivor, Rudolf Reder's *Belzec*. Reder's account, recently translated, has been liberally used by historians simply because it is the only comprehensive record by one of two sole victims who escaped and survived the camp.

Oddly, no major German scholarship, although represented elsewhere, has emerged about Belzec per se.

Although the euthanasia program in general has been well documented, especially from the medical aspect (Klee, Burleigh, Friedlander, Platten-Hallermund, Mitscherlich and Mielke, et al.), it is worth bringing into perspective its relevance to Reinhardt. The mechanics and principles of euthanasia were to emerge finally as the answer to fulfilling the Nazi genocidal policies. Mass shootings had been ruled out due to the enormous numbers of victims involved, its impracticality, and the adverse psychological effects on the executioners. There was the additional factor that secrecy could not be guaranteed. The methods and technical advances of the euthanasia program as the precursor to genocide are noted.

The central issue discussed in this reappraisal is the focus on the middle and lower echelons of recruits to the euthanasia program and their subsequent transfer to Reinhardt. Henry Friedlander in *Origins of Nazi Genocide* pursues a similar line of inquiry but he restricts his research to the opening phase of T4, whereas this inquiry is a more robust and comprehensive analysis. More extensive treatment of the psychiatric institutions has been explored in Michael Burleigh's *Death and Deliverance: 'Euthanasia' in Germany 1900-1945*, Ernst Klee's *Euthanasie im NS-Staat: Die Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens*, and more recently in Patricia Heberer's *Targeting the Unfit and 'Exitus Heute' in Hadamar*. See also *Conference paper, Lublin, 8 November 2002: A Continuity in Killing Operations: T4 Perpetrators and Aktion Reinhard*.

A new generation of German scholars has emerged and continues to emerge – Götz Aly, Peter Chroust, Christian Pross, et al, who are penetrating and opening up past Nazi medical crimes and forcing a certain amount of soul-searching by the present day medical establishment in Germany. For a useful background to the psychiatric institutions during the Nazi period, see Bronwyn McFarland-Icke's *Nurses in Nazi Germany*. Gitta Sereny's *Into the Darkness: the Mind of a Mass Murderer* (personal interviews with Franz Stangl), is an extraordinary exposure of the Nazi system and genocidal policies in Reinhardt. Regarding archival material, the voluminous files relating to perpetrators prosecuted for the crimes committed during the euthanasia and Reinhardt operations are of the utmost importance.

Exploring the literature relating to events during and after the euthanasia (T4) period is vital for an understanding of Reinhardt. Attention has again focused on the new generation of German scholars – Dieter Pohl, Götz Aly, Thomas Sandkühler, Peter Longerich, Karen Orth, Ulrich Herbert, Peter Witte, and Bogdan Musial, to name but a few – who have directed their research in a wide-ranging re-assessment of the circumstances surrounding the Final Solution. The Nazi crimes committed in Galicia in particular have attracted a lively and wide divergence of opinion. Contributions by Christian Gerlach were of immense value when discussing the fate of European Jews, especially those from the Greater Reich.

Other scholars, whose significant contributions in the wider context, particularly in dating the decision-making process of the Final Solution, have also been helpful. When discussing the German Security Services I have very much depended on George Browder's *Hitler's Enforcers*.

One of the difficulties encountered during the course of this research was coming to terms with the actuality of events that occurred in Belzec. It is only now, after a joint initiative by the Polish government, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., and the American Jewish Committee to carry out an archaeological survey at the site of the Belzec death camp, that we have the first scholarly topographical report of the camp. I was both fortunate and privileged to have been present during the course of these investigations. This work resulted in the publication of a unique archaeological document by Andrzej Kola (Professor of the University of Toruń), *Belzec: the Nazi Camp for Jews in the Light of Archaeological Sources. Excavations 1997 - 1999* (English version), which, for the first time, exposes – without fear of contradiction – the purpose and enormity of this perhaps greatest and most brutal of crimes. In addition, a number of short histories of the Lublin ghetto and Lublin district are of interest.

A bibliography referring to Schindler's deeds can be found in the appendix.

“Shreibt un farschreibt!” (Yiddish: Write and record!)

Chapter Twenty

In Search of the Star of David



Figure 99: Museum Administrators: Mgr. Blanka Čuhelová (director of the town museum) and Mgr. Radoslav Fikejz (historian)

Svitavy Honors its Famous Son:

The Town Museum and gallery administer the large Oskar Schindler collection, which contains over 300 items including valuable manuscripts, photographs, and documentary films, many of which I donated.

The project of the permanent exhibition displayed in the Town Museum, called “In Search of David’s Star – Oskar Schindler – The Righteous Among Nations,” as well as the establishment of the plaque commemorating Oskar Schindler, were promoted by the Town Mayor Mgr. Jiří Brýdl and Václav Koukal, a senator of the Czech parliament.

Many of these items are on display in this exhibit. Thanks to cooperation with foreign institutions, the museum was able to obtain certain works that have not yet been published in the Czech Republic. The Schindler story enjoys great public interest, especially in Poland, Israel, the USA, Germany, United Kingdom, and Russia. Since 1994, in response to Spielberg’s film and the related Shoah project, which attempts to map the fate of as many Jews

from the Holocaust as possible, an inexhaustible number of journalistic articles have been published on the Schindler topic.

These works have tried to describe the Schindler story in various contexts, sometimes creating a halo around Oskar Schindler's head. Also available are a great number of memoirs, the diaries of the rescued, and Schindler's letters found in 1999 in the "Schindler suitcase." Materials and many valuable documents are stored today at the Yad Vashem Memorial in Jerusalem.

In 2000 a small lecture hall with a capacity of 30 visitors was set up in the temporary spaces of the museum. A total of 14 display panels present the life of Oskar Schindler, the Svitavy native who saved the lives of 1,200 Jews during the Holocaust. Exhibits include 90 photographs, maps, and documents, the majority of which come from the museum collection. Presented in Czech and German, the display captions describe Schindler's life in Svitavy, Krakow, and at the work camp in Brünnlitz. Also on display is a copy the famous Schindler's List and the postwar honors Schindler received. Czech, German, and English documentary films the museum was able to acquire for its archives are also available for viewing.

The Town Celebrates

The Town of Svitavy commemorated the deeds of Oskar Schindler with a memorial of two granite columns connected by a bronze plaque bearing the inscription, "To the unforgettable savior of the lives of 1,200 persecuted Jews." The plaque was unveiled in Jan Palach Park opposite Oskar Schindler's childhood home on March 9, 1994, the day of the advance premier of *Schindler's List* in Svitavy.

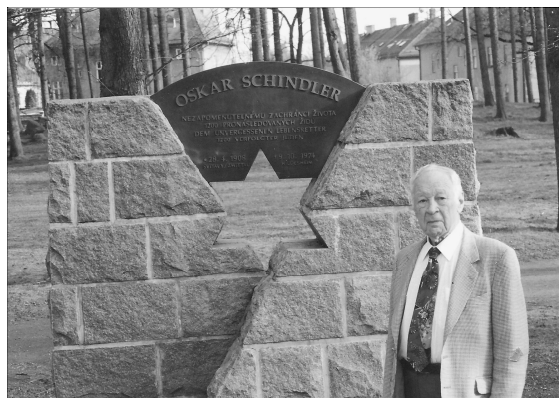


Figure 100: Viktor at the Schindler memorial Svitavy 1998

The ceremonial unveiling was attended by Chief Rabbi Karol Sidon, German Ambassador Rolf Hofstetter, Israeli Ambassador Moshe Yegar, and representatives from the American Embassy, and the author. The Czech Republic was represented by deputies from the Czech Parliament and ministry workers. Representatives from the Jewish communities and civic groups from the Czech Republic and Germany were also in attendance.

Memorial Event in 1998

The Town of Svitavy prepared a memorial event for April 26, 1998 to celebrate the 90th anniversary of Oskar Schindler's birth. The memorial event held in the Ottendorfer House was attended by the distinguished guests Chief Rabbi Karol Sidon, Israeli Ambassador Raphael Gvir, German Charge d'Affaires Werner Wrendt, representatives of Ackermann Gemeinde and the author. Over 150 Schindler Jews from around the world were invited. Numerous letters of apology have been kept in the museum archives, as advanced age and health problems prevented the trip to Svitavy. Nonetheless, they recalled that it was Oskar and Emilie who had liberated them from the hell of the Holocaust. In addition to political and cultural personalities, Viktor Dortheimer, one of the Schindler Jews, and I were invited to sign the Svitavy guest book.

The Svitavy memorial and commemorative plaque recalling the deeds of Oskar Schindler are meant to symbolize humanity and tolerance. It's as if a Czech and German being was connected by a Star of David and wanted to show that Svitavy was not the only place where people of different nationalities and faiths lived side by side in harmony. This moral appeal for reconciliation, relevant in 1994 in connection with the crisis in the Balkans and in connection with resolving ongoing Czech-German disagreements, was promoted by Spielberg's film and the lifelong tale of Oskar Schindler and his Jews. The Svitavy memorial was designed by Roman Svojanoský.

The unveiling of the commemorative plaque to Oskar Schindler, like the entire gala advance premiere of the film, received a great deal of media attention. All nationwide Czech television stations broadcast live coverage and dozens of reporters and photographers were present. The lives of Oskar and Emilie Schindler became a popular point of discussion in publications.



Figure 101: Chief Rabbi Karol Sidon (right) and then Svitavy Mayor Jiří Brýdl (left), unveiled the Commemorative plaque in the presence of many important guests.



Figure 102: The author with Viktor Dörtheimer at the Jewish Cemetery Svitavy 1998



Figure 103: Refurbished Jewish Cemetery Svitavy 2003

A Jewish cemetery with charnel house was founded in Olomoucká St. on the very edge of the town in 1892. The cemetery was surrounded by a brick wall, though only the foundation of this wall with the ground plan of the charnel house remains today. The cemetery was deserted after being vandalized for the first time in 1938. This neglected historical landmark with broken and relocated tombstones finally underwent reverent repairs in 2002-2003.

Emilie Re-surfaces After the Film *Schindler's List*



Figure 104: Emilie Schindler speaking with President Bill Clinton at the gala premiere of *Schindler's List* in New York in 1994



Figure 105: Her audience with Pope John Paul II at the Vatican was an unforgettable experience for Emilie.

Emilie Schindler came to Svitavy in 1999 with a German film company. The documentary film made here followed the footsteps of Emilie from Starý Maletín to Svitavy and Brünnlitz. The 92-year-old widow remembered a place she knew well as a young lady, the Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, where she married in 1928. Emilie spent nearly seven months at Brünnlitz helping her husband save the lives of Jews.

Following emigration to Argentina in 1949 it appeared that her marriage to Oskar was improving, but the idyllic moments soon ended. Oskar Schindler returned to his old way of life and Emilie felt deceived. In 1957 Emilie remained in Argentina, alone and without any means. She received assistance from Jewish organizations and associations. In her memoirs she recalls with bitterness that she lived in the shadow of Oskar Schindler, who was honored in the 1960s.

The Jews themselves realized this and at the celebratory banquet in Tel Aviv in 1962 the name of Emilie Schindler, Angel of Brünnlitz, was invoked a number of times. She finally gained satisfaction in 1993. Emilie received high honors from the Argentine government, and was paid royalties from Keneally's book, including Oskar's share. She died on October 5, 2001, in Strassberg near Berlin.



Figure 106: Emilie, left, and Erika Rosenberg in church in Svitavy

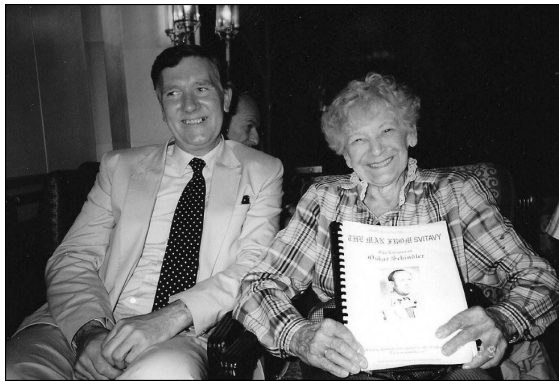


Figure 107: Emilie Schindler with the author at the King David Hotel, Jerusalem 1995
 Emilie is holding the author's unpublished manuscript *The Man from Svitavy*.

Chapter Twenty-One

Conclusions

So, who was this Righteous Gentile? Has Keneally told the whole story, and if he has, did he get it right?

Schindler was a naive optimist, a chronic alcoholic, a lover of women outside his marriage to Emily Pelzl. The Jews he saved used to say, "Thank God he was more faithful to us than to his wife." Will the enigma ever be solved? Schindler is not here to tell us, and the survivors are uncertain and differ in their opinions. The establishment and Schindler's business associates in Krakow had opposing views of his ethics and would have preferred to sit on the fence and hope the Schindler story would retreat into the archives.

Schindler's friends and enemies accept that he was a very unusual man. A few of the Jews that he saved maintain, after all these years, that they still consider him a Nazi and exploiter of Jewish slave labor. Others swear their love for the man. That he used Jewish slave labor to enrich himself is not questioned, nor are his endeavors to eventually save his Jewish laborers.

Schindler must have been aware of the penalties confronting him when dealing in the merchandise of corruption, and if that be so, then his courage is true, too. He may have considered his Nazi friends were too corrupt and greedy or simply too preoccupied with their own approaching doom to act against him. Even so, the calculated risk must have remained high. There is no doubt Schindler received protection from the Wehrmacht, the Abwehr, and the Armaments Inspectorate. He convinced the Wehrmacht and the Armaments Inspectorate that his works were indispensable to the German war effort. He was useful because of his infiltration into the closed and guarded culture of the SS. We must not forget that he was a high-ranking officer of the Abwehr, and, I believe, very loyal to Canaris and all that he represented.

By 1942, when the intended genocide of the Jews was apparent to him, he went on playing the game of bluff and counter-bluff with the likes of Goeth and Leipold. On a number of occasions, Goeth could have blown the whistle on Schindler, but he kept his own counsel. I believe that there was a true friendship between these two men and the gifts given by Schindler to Goeth were considered, by Goeth, to be the spoils of war.

The only possible conclusion seems that Oskar Schindler's exceptional deeds stemmed from just that elementary sense of decency and humanity that our sophisticated age seldom believes in. A repentant opportunist saw the light and rebelled against the sadism and vile criminality all around him. The inference may be disappointingly simple, especially for all amateur psychoanalysts who would prefer the deeper and more mysterious motive that may, it is true, still lie unprobed and unappreciated.⁴⁴

It is a strange coincidence that my very first interview with a Schindler survivor remains probably the most enlightening and lasting image of the man himself:



Figure 108: Mrs. Rosalia Kornhauser

“Schindler was a man of convincing honesty and outstanding charm. Tall and erect, with broad shoulders and a powerful trunk, he usually had a cheerful smile on his strong face. His frank grey-blue eyes smiled too, except when they tightened in distress as he talked of the past. Then his whole jaw would jut out belligerently and his great fists would clutch and pound in slow anger. When he laughed, it was a boyish and hearty laugh, one that all his listeners enjoyed to the fullest. It was the personality more than anything else that saved us.”

Rosalia Kornhauser

Was Oskar Schindler a righteous person? The criteria I adopted in formulating my conclusions were in the form of three questions: (1) Did he save life? (2) Did he have any pecuniary interest? (3) Did he put his own life in danger?

In answer to (1) is that there is abundant evidence that he did save life. The answer to (2) is more difficult. The evidence suggests that in the early days of the war, Schindler did take advantage of the situation and benefited personally, but this was just a blip when considering the extraordinary events that followed. There is evidence to suggest that he amassed great wealth and there is also evidence that this wealth was used to facilitate his program of saving lives. On count (2), I think a jury verdict would exonerate him on a

10-2 majority. The answer to (3) is that there is overwhelming evidence that Schindler's life was on the line on a number of occasions.

In conclusion, what of Tom Keneally's book? I have consciously avoided traveling the same road as Keneally, as my task was to independently research his conclusions. Although it was a road with many crossroads, much of the way forward had already been cleared by him, making my task that much easier. His research was exemplary. Whatever extras Keneally may have added or painted for the sake of the novel, the essential facts are true. It was never my intention to supplant *Schindler's List*, only to supplement it and perhaps add by my research as a basis for further study.

Robin O'Neil, Salisbury UK 2009

Mrs. Schindler's final statement after completing her book, *Where light and Shadow Meet*:

"A toast to all of you my fellow human beings. I hope that as you close this book, you will want to make a toast for my husband...And for me, too."

Who could disagree with her?

Appendix A: Part 1



Figure 109: Schindler Museum Office Montage

Schindler: Time Line

April 28, 1908 - Oskar Schindler is born in Svitavy (Zwittau), an industrial city in Moravia, a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moravia is nestled between Bohemia in the north and Slovakia in the south. The region is also known as the Sudetenland.

August 1, 1914 - World War I begins. Austria-Hungary joins with Germany to fight France, Britain, Italy, and (in 1917) the United States.

November 11, 1918 - World War I ends with collapse of three empires: Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. Moravia, which included Schindler's hometown of Svitavy, is detached from Austria and annexed by the new republic of Czechoslovakia. As a result of the war, several million Sudeten Germans find themselves a minority people in the new Czechoslovak state. Schindler is ten years old. Schindler attends German-language school – gymnasium – in Svitavy. Among his classmates and playmates are two Jewish boys, sons of the local rabbi.

1920's - Schindler works as salesman for his father's farm-machinery factory.

May, 1928 - Schindler races motorcycle, a Moto-Guzzi, in high class competition.

1928 - Schindler marries Emilie. His father disapproves of marriage, and apparently Schindler leaves his job working as a salesman as a result of a tiff. He becomes a salesman for Moravia Eklectric and travels to Poland on business.

January 30, 1933 - Hitler is appointed Reichs Chancellor in Germany.

1935 - Schindler family factory goes bankrupt. Oskar's parents separate. Schindler joins the pro-Nazi Henlein party in Czechoslovakia.

September 29, 1938 - Hitler meets British Prime Minister Chamberlain and French Premier Daladier in Munich, Germany. The western leaders step back before Hitler's threats of war and force the Czechoslovak government, an ally, to cede the Sudetenland to Nazi Germany. The Jews and Czechs of the Sudetenland were summarily expelled and their property confiscated. They fled to Prague and to the regions of the rump Czech state not yet occupied by the Nazis. That would come six months later.

Autumn 1938 - Schindler joins German military intelligence, Abwehr, under Admiral Canaris. As a salesman, Schindler travels to southern Poland and reports to Abwehr regarding points of military importance in Poland. His affiliation with Abwehr excuses Schindler from military service.

November 9, 1938 - Kristallnacht, The Night of Broken Glass: Throughout the Greater German Reich (Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland), Nazi storm troopers smash and burn Jewish shops and synagogues. The glass littering the street in the aftermath gave the event its name, The Night of Broken Glass. Tens of thousands of Jewish men are arrested and sent to the concentration camp, Buchenwald.

March 15, 1939 - German troops occupy the rump state of Czechoslovakia and enter Prague to the gloom of the populace. Slovakia becomes a cooperative satellite of the Nazis. The Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia are absorbed into the Reich and named the Reichs Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

September 1, 1939 -German troops attack Poland. Three and a half million Jews live in Poland. The southern Polish city of Krakow, the ancient seat of Polish kings, is occupied on September 6, 1939. Oskar Schindler arrives shortly thereafter.

October 12, 1939 - The Nazis establish Krakow as the seat of their General Government of occupied Poland. Hans Frank, Hitler's lawyer, is designated Reichsführer of Nazi-occupied Poland. He orders the "voluntary" departure of all but "work-essential" Jews from Krakow. After several months, the Germans take matters into their own hands and expel 32,000 Jews to

Warsaw, Lodz, other Polish cities, and the nearby countryside. Schindler makes initial contact with Stern.

December 3, 1939 - Schindler informs Stern of an impending SS raid in the Jewish ghetto of Kazimierz, a suburb of Krakow. "Tomorrow, it's going to start," he said. "Jozefa and Izaaka Streets are going to know all about it!"

December 4, 1939 - SS Einsatzgruppen descend on Jewish ghetto at Kazimierz, a suburb of Krakow. They terrorize Jews on Jozefa and Izaaka Streets, searching for diamonds and gold, and then set fire to the synagogue of Stara Boznica, the oldest in Poland.

January 1940 - Schindler opens Deutsche Emailwaren Fabrik factory at 4 Lipowa Street in Krakow neighborhood of Zablocie.

April - June 1940 - Hitler attacks and conquers Western Europe.

August 1, 1940 - Hans Frank issues deadline for all but "work-essential" Jews to depart Krakow voluntarily. There is a mad scramble as Jews search for "essential" jobs. Through the urging of Stern, Schindler accepts 150 Jews as employees at his factory.

October 1940 - Hans Frank, in a speech, says, "My dear comrades, I would not eliminate all lice and Jews in one year (public amused, he notes in his diary), but in the course of time, and if you help me, this end will be attained."

November 1, 1940 - By this date, 23,000 Jews have been expelled from Krakow.

November 10, 1940 - Nazis issue decree: "All Jews and Jewesses over the age of nine through the General-Government must wear a four-inch arm band in white, marked with 'the star of Zion' on the right sleeve of their inner and outer clothing."

February 1941 - Two Krakow rabbis, Kornitzer and Rappaport, are sent to Auschwitz and killed for having protested the expulsions from Krakow.

March 20, 1941 - Jewish ghetto established in Krakow in neighborhood of Podgorze. As historian Lucy Dawidowicz has written, "The Krakow ghetto was enclosed within walls in the form of Jewish tombstones, symbols of a terrifyingly literal character." The Jewish police in the ghetto, the OD (or Ordnungsdienst), is formed.

June 22, 1941 - Hitler attacks the Soviet Union.

End of 1941 - Schindler is arrested by Gestapo for black market activities. He manages to be released by way of his high-ranking friends and bribery.

December 1941 - In a speech Hans Frank says, "As far as the Jews are concerned, I want to tell you quite frankly that they must be done away with in one way or anotherGentleman, I must ask you to rid yourself of all feelings of pity. We must annihilate the Jews. Difficult to shoot or poison the

three and half million Jews in the General-Government, but we shall be able to take measures which will lead, somehow, to their annihilation.”

April 28, 1942 - Schindler's thirty-fourth birthday. He kisses a Jewish girl at his birthday party.

April 29, 1942 - Schindler arrested a second time, having been denounced as “a Jew kisser.” He again wins his release.

June 1, 1942 - Beginning of first Krakow deportation to Belzec.

June 3, 1942 - Schindler goes to Krakow train station to rescue his office manager, Abraham Bankier, and other workers from deportation to Belzec. (In the film, Itzhak Stern is given the role of the rescued.)

June 4, 1942 – 7,000 Jews are deported from Krakow ghetto. In the afternoon, Schindler rents two horses and he and his mistress watch the SS's liquidation of ghetto from a nearby hill. Schindler becomes fixated on a little Jewish girl dressed in red who stands out from the crowd of Jews being herded to the train.

October 28, 1942 – 2,000 Jewish children and 6,000 Jewish adults are deported to Belzec death camp.

End of October 1942 - Six Jews killed in forests near Krakow, having been betrayed by local peasants.

Autumn 1942 - Schindler travels to Budapest, Hungary, to inform Jewish leaders there of the extermination campaign going on in Poland. In general, Hungarian leaders do not believe him. It is, says one, “an insult to German dignity.”

Forced labor camps established at Plaszow, a suburb of Krakow. Amon Goeth is commandant.

December 22, 1942 - The Jewish Fighting Organization blows up several cafes in the heart of Krakow frequented by German officers. They are led by Jewish commander Adolf Liebeskind. “We are fighting for three lines in a history book,” he said.

By **February 1943** - All members of the Jewish Fighting Organization in Krakow are arrested or killed.

March 13, 1943 - Final liquidation of Krakow ghetto begins.

March 14, 1943 - Several hundred small children shot in entrance of house, and several hundred old people and sick are killed in street. 2,000 Jews sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Children and old people are slaughtered at Jewish hospital. Dr. Zygmunt Fischer is ordered to abandon his patients, but he refuses and is shot with his wife and child. The patients are killed in the wards. Schindler establishes a Jewish sub-camp (a Julag) at his Emalia factory.

Spring 1944 - At Chujowa Gorka forest, Nazis unearth and burn bodies of

Jews executed earlier. Jews await deportation to death camp, but Schindler goes to train station and arranges through Goeth for a fire brigade to spray the cattle cars with water.

July 20, 1944 - German officers attempt to assassinate Hitler. The effort fails.

Emalia factory ordered dismantled, the prisoners sent to Plaszow. Schindler plays a game of cards with Goeth for Helen Hirsch.

Autumn 1944 - Schindler prepares a "list" of Jews whom he argues are "essential" workers and are needed at his new factory in Czechoslovakia.

Schindler establishes factory at Brünnlitz, Czechoslovakia.

September 13, 1944 -Amon Goeth is arrested by the SS and charged with black market activities. 300 Schindlerjuden are sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau instead of to Brünnlitz.

November 1944 - Schindler women are transferred from Auschwitz-Birkenau to Brünnlitz. Schindler greets them, "You're safe now; you're with me."

April 28, 1945 - Schindler's thirty-seventh birthday. He gives a speech.

May 8, 1945 - Schindlerjuden give Schindler gold ring. The gold is extracted from the bridge in a prisoner's mouth and engraved with the inscription: "He who saves a single life saves the entire world." Schindler and his wife, Emilie, both dressed in prison uniforms, flee the Russians in a Mercedes. They are accompanied by eight Schindlerjuden who are there to protect them. A letter written by the Jews testifies to Schindler and Emilie's actions.

May 11, 1945 - Brünnlitz camp is liberated by lone Russian officer on a horse.

September 13, 1946 - After a trial, Amon Goeth is hanged in Krakow.

1949 - Schindler departs Germany for Argentina to try his hand at a nutria factory.

1957 - Schindler's nutria farm goes bankrupt. B'nai B'rith purchases the Schindlers a house in San Vicente, a southern suburb of Buenos Aires.

1958 - Schindler returns to West Germany, leaving his wife and mistress behind. With funding from Joint Distribution Committee and "loans" from a number of Schindler Jews, Schindler establishes a cement company.

1961 - Schindler's cement factory goes bankrupt. Schindlerjuden invite Schindler to Israel. Eichmann trial is underway.

April 28, 1962 - Schindler is awarded honor Righteous Gentile.

October 9, 1974 - Schindler dies in Frankfurt, West Germany. He is buried at the Latin cemetery on Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

Appendix A: Part 2

Schindler's Deeds and Legacy

1. At the beginning of December 1939 Schindler warned Itzhak Stern of the SS plan to pillage the Kazimierz quarter and appropriate valuables and money.
2. In mid-December 1939 Schindler protected Leon Bosak from arrest by the Gestapo due to the fact that his business had been taken over by administrator Karol Gomola, an acquaintance of Schindler's from Moravská Ostrava.
3. Schindler saved many young Poles from being shipped to Germany to perform forced labor by employing many more people at Emalia than he actually needed.
4. Schindler provided his workers food, clothing, and enamelware they could sell for money. Workers could buy food in a well-stocked factory canteen.
5. Schindler managed to secure the release of Kessler from Auschwitz. The former director of the Commercial Bank in Krakow had Jewish ancestors.
6. When Jozef Adam Skapski fell ill, his mother asked Schindler, who rented a flat from her, to take the sick boy to the clinic in Kopernikova St. Schindler obliged, saving his life.
7. Schindler secured release from Auschwitz of Mianowski, the director of the Krakow electric plant who had provided Schindler with a wagon of coke for firing enamel when the factory was launching operations. Schindler protected him until the end of the war.
8. On October 27, 1942 Schindler warned his workers on the night shift of the planned SS raid on the ghetto. Schindler allowed the workers to spend the night on factory grounds, saving them from deportation to Belzec.
9. Schindler gave his workers the same warning in March 1943 before the liquidation of the ghetto.
10. Schindler saved several Polish workers from arrest by the Gestapo.
11. He warned the Jews ahead of time of visits by Amon Goeth and informed Jews of planned inspections by SS officers at the camp. Schindler used alcohol and small gifts as bribes to prevent more thorough inspections by Nazi officials, thus eliminating the danger threatening his camp and prisoners.
12. The Jewish assistance organizations JSS and JUS (1942-1943) functioned well at the camp. With Schindler's approval these groups provided condensed milk for the sick, health supplies, surgical tools, children's food, and disinfection agents.

13. Schindler allowed the Zegota Jewish organization to deliver food and shoes to the sub-camp in Lipová St. (and later to Brünnlitz).
14. Poles employed at Emalia helped Jews maintain contact with the city and exchange trade.
15. Schindler gained approval to set up a sub-camp at Emalia. The sub-camp housed Jews from Schindler's factory and several surrounding businesses. Schindler spent 300,000 zloty of his own money to build an infirmary and camp facilities.
16. Jewish workers at Emalia sent food to other sub-camps in Plaszow.
17. Prisoners were not watched by guards during their work at Emalia. Schindler frequently intervened to help prisoners terrorized by the camp commander or guards.
18. Not a single execution was recorded at the Emalia camp.
19. Prisoners at Schindler's camp were not bullied as prisoners at the main camp were; Jews were able to maintain community life. Schindler permitted cultural performances on Sundays.
20. Schindler had Jewish prisoner Feliks Kamiński, who had lost an eye at a previous camp, taken to the hospital, where a German doctor gave him a glass eye. This saved the prisoner's life during selections and Feliks Kamiński survived to gain his freedom upon the liberation of Brünnlitz.
21. At the request of his workers Schindler brought infirm prisoners – relatives of his workers – from the Plaszow camp to his sub-camp in Lipová St. At the request of Stern he employed Rabbi Jakob Lewertow. Schindler arranged meetings between Jews at Emalia and the caretakers of their children.
22. Schindler saved his prisoners who had been sent to their death – Romek Wohlfeiler, the Danziger brothers, Lamus, Jan Dresne, and the five members of the Wohlfeiler family.
23. Schindler saved 14 of his employees from transport wagons at the Prokocim station, including Abraham Bankier, Jerzy Reich, and Jakob Leser.
24. According to Chairman Michal Weichert, Oskar Schindler was one of the German informers who provided news of planned Nazi measures against Jews.
25. Personally or through the use of couriers Schindler sent the Jewish Defense Committee in Budapest information about the tragic fate of Jews in the General Government. Schindler distributed secret Hebrew letters concerning the situation and conditions in the Plaszow camp, deportations, and Nazi terror.
26. Schindler funnelled financial support that arrived in 1942-1944 from Budapest.
27. He informed the Jewish Center in Istanbul about the situation of Jews.

28. Schindler cooperated with so-called “decent Germans” – Major von Kohrab (representative of the head of the Abwehr in occupied Poland and a secret collaborator with the Budapest central office), Julius Madritsch, Raymond Titsch, and Rudolf Sedlacek from Vienna.

29. Schindler was taken into custody by the Gestapo three times, including on charges of “fraternization” with Jews and for accounting inconsistencies at his factory in 1942-1944.

30. He ordered train wagons holdings prisoners from his factory to be hosed down as they stood sealed at the Plaszow station on a steamy summer day.

31. At Brünnlitz Schindler housed prisoners directly in the factory building above the production hall, thus preventing them from being subjected to bullying by SS guards.

32. Schindler gained the release of 300 women on the list and ensured their safe passage to Brünnlitz.

33. Schindler obtained food for the Brünnlitz camp in cooperation with the neighboring Daubek Mill, whose director Schindler had known before the start of the war. Schindler brought weapons, clothes, and boots to the camp and organized the defense of the camp against potential SS aggression.

34. Schindler accepted refugees from other camps at Brünnlitz. He gave them food and clothing, saving them from death.

35. Prior to the liberation of Krakow in 1945 he gave away money to his workers and clerks from Emalia, which was still in operation, to purchase food.

36. On January 29, 1945 the stationmaster at the Svitavy train station informed Schindler that a sealed wagon with prisoners from Golleschau was standing at the station. Schindler arranged for the train to be taken to Brünnlitz. After being unsealed, 86 freezing Jews were carried out, 12 of whom had already perished. The remaining prisoners were treated at a provisional infirmary at Brünnlitz. Part of the small rations for the other prisoners was taken and Emilie Schindler gave the seriously ill Jews porridge and milk. Leipold, the commander of Brünnlitz, ordered the prisoners to begin work immediately, but Schindler argued that he paid large sums to the SS treasury – even for the sick. And despite the fact that there were no medications, clothes, beds, and food in the camp for another 74 people, Schindler took them in, took care of them, and saved their lives.

37. Camp commander Leipold tried to liquidate the Brünnlitz camp, but Schindler managed to stop his plans and instead gave prisoners weapons for their defense.

38. In April 1945 Schindler managed to have Leipold sent to fight at the front.

39. Prior to fleeing the camp on May 8, 1945, Schindler gave each prisoner several meters of wool cloth and vodka. The prisoners were able to survive their first days of freedom by selling these goods.

40. Schindler fled the camp on the night of May 8-9 accompanied by a group of his former prisoners. Before leaving he was given a letter testifying to the fact that he had saved the lives of many Jews at Brännlitz.

Appendix A: Part 3

Minor Recollections

During World War II, millions of Jews died in the Nazi death camps, but Oscar Schindler's Jews miraculously survived Hitler's genocide. The boy **Moshe Rosenberg** was one of them.

In his book *The Boys - Triumph Over Adversity*, Sir Martin Gilbert tells how Moshe Rosenberg, then 16 years old, was being whipped one day at the KZ camp Plaszow by Nazi guards for daring to take a rest while road-building. After 25 lashes the whipping unexpectedly stopped. The boy looked up – and he saw Oscar Schindler. “I’ll take care of this one,” Schindler told the guards, and proceeded to drag the boy to a nearby stable.

Moshe Rosenberg later recalled: “Loud enough for the Germans to hear, he shouted, ‘What’s this shit?’ Then he threw some food wrapped in paper and walked out. It was his way of smuggling food to the Jews. Without him stepping in, the guards would have beaten me until I was dead.”

A few months later, while he was working in Schindler's factory DEF, Moshe Rosenberg sat down for a moment. At that very moment Schindler came in to the factory, followed by the SS Commandant Amon Goeth. Rosenberg later recalled how Schindler “raced ahead of Goeth, grabbed my jacket and slapped my face, shouting, ‘Get back to work!’ It was an act. Schindler never hit anyone or raised his voice. If Goeth had found me sitting down he would have shot me on the spot.”

On another occasion a young Schindler-worker **Isak Pila** had made the mistake of falling asleep under a table at the factory the same day that Amon Goeth came by for an inspection. When Goeth saw the sleeping young man, he told Oscar Schindler to kill him instantly. Schindler desperately tried to find a way out and hit the boy on one side of the face, then the other. Finally he said to Goeth, “He’s had enough. I need him. We’ve got a war to win. This can always be settled later.”

Schindler's usual technique, but Amon Goeth complied – and Isak Pila survived.

In his book *Schindler's Ark* Keneally tells the story of the **Danziger brothers**, who cracked a metal press one Friday. Oscar Schindler was away on a business trip and someone denounced the brothers to Amon Goeth. They were immediately arrested and their hanging advertised in the next morning’s roll call in Plaszow.

Oscar returned at three o’clock on Saturday afternoon, three hours before the execution. News of the sentence was waiting on his desk. He drove to the SS headquarters at once, taking cognac with him and some fine kielbasa sausage. He found Goeth in his office and no one knows the extent of the deal that

was struck that afternoon. It is hard to believe that the SS Commandant was satisfied simply with cognac and sausage. In any case, he was soothed by Schindler, and at six o'clock, the hour of their execution, the Danziger brothers returned to Schindler's factory in the back seat of Oscar's plush limousine.

Poldek Pfefferberg was instrumental in publicizing the story of Oscar Schindler. He and his wife Ludmilla were saved by Schindler. The rest of his family was not as lucky; almost 100 perished, including his parents, sister, and brother-in-law.

One day, in November 1939, a man knocked on the door, and Pfefferberg thought it was the Gestapo. It wasn't. It was Oscar Schindler, a German businessman who had purchased an enamelware factory that had been confiscated from Jews. Schindler had come to ask Pfefferberg's mother, an interior designer, to redecorate his new apartment.

"I was hiding in the next room," Pfefferberg later said, "but listening to Schindler, I knew he wasn't Gestapo. Even then I could tell he was a good man. I began to talk to him and we became friends."

He began to work a little for Schindler, procuring rare commodities for him on the black market. In 1940, he met Ludmila Lewinson, and the two were married in the Krakow ghetto, where Jews were confined. They subsequently worked for Oscar Schindler in his factory.

Schindler promised the Jews who worked for him that they would never starve, that he would protect them as best he could. And he did, building his own workers barracks on the factory grounds to help alleviate the sufferings of life in the nearby Plaszow labor camp. He gave safe haven to as many Jewish workers as possible, insisting to the occupying Nazi officials that they were "essential" workers, a status that kept many from certain death.

"Oscar Schindler was a modern Noah," Pfefferberg said, "He saved individuals, husbands and wives and their children, families. It was like the saying: 'To save one life is to save the whole world.' Schindler called us his children. In 1944, he was a very wealthy man, a multimillionaire. He could have taken the money and gone to Switzerland He could have bought Beverly Hills. But instead, he gambled his life and all of his money to save us."

After the Liberation in May 1945, Poldek and Ludmila went first to Budapest and eventually to Munich where Poldek – a physical education instructor before the war – organized a school for displaced children. Oscar Schindler, too, had settled in Munich where his best friends, the people he regarded as "his children," were the Jews he had helped survive.

It was there, in the midst of a card game, that Poldek Pfefferberg made his promise, vowing he would tell the world what had happened, how even on the days when the air was black with the ashes from bodies on fire, there was hope in Krakow because Oscar Schindler was there. "You protect us, you

save us, you feed us – we survived the Holocaust, the tragedy, the hardship, the sickness, the beatings, the killings! We must tell your story.” Poldek Pfefferberg spent 40 years trying to drum up interest in the Schindler story – and the story was told so the whole world knew it by heart.

Mejzesz Puntierer – today Murray Pantirer – was the only one of his family to survive. He lost both his parents, two sisters, and four brothers during the war, all murdered by the Nazis.

He himself was saved because Oscar Schindler gave him work at his factory, provided him with food, and protected him from the Nazi reign of terror. Murray Pantirer later recalled the time a prisoner stole some potatoes. “An SS man put a potato in his mouth. He had to stand outside like that in the cold weather, and it was written on him, ‘I’m a potato thief.’ When Schindler saw it, he took the potato out of his mouth, and said to the guy, “Go back to your work.” And he told the SS man, “In my camp you don’t do those things.”

During World War II **Abraham Zuckerman** spent his teenage years in Nazi concentration camps, never hearing about Oscar Schindler until he was sent as a worker to his factory, known as Emalia, at Plaszow in 1943.

“The moment that I arrived, I knew that my life had changed,” Abraham Zuckerman later recalls. “There was food and mountains of potatoes. One never went hungry. The movie showed one thing, but there were other things that he did in camp, little things,” says Zuckerman. “He was a chain smoker, so he used to take a puff and throw it away. For the survivors, the people who were smoking, it meant a lot to them to pick it up and have a puff. He would do it on purpose, knowing that people would pick it up.”

He couldn’t just give them cigarettes or extra food because there were Nazi guards in the factory who might squeal if they witnessed behavior deemed too humane; indeed, says Zuckerman, Schindler was arrested a couple of times because somebody reported him.

Despite the conditions, Oscar Schindler was always a perfect gentleman to the inmates, he says. “He bowed to you, and he said good morning to you,” Zuckerman says, which may not sound like much of a favor, but to those beaten-down Jews, that small acknowledgement of their dignity gave them enormous hope.

Abraham Zuckerman has devoted himself to memorializing Oscar Schindler. Zuckerman published his memoirs in 1991. His *A Voice in the Chorus* is a moving and powerful addition to the library of works on the Holocaust.

Bronia Gunz spent World War II largely under Schindler’s protection: first at Plaszow and later at the factory in Brünnlitz, Czechoslovakia.

She later recalled how Schindler told the prisoners to dig graves to deceive the Nazis. But he assured them he could save them and then he disappeared for days. “We were digging the graves and thinking, ‘This is the end,’” Gunz

said. Then Schindler returned. "One day this beautiful, gorgeous man shows up with a piece of paper, and he says, 'Saved, no digging anymore.'"

By 1944, when the workers on Schindler's list were transferred to Brännlitz, their feelings of security were unshakeable. "Doubts? No, never!" insisted Bronia Gunz. "He was for us like God."

Rena Ferber, today Rena Finder, was only ten years old when the Nazis invaded Poland. Her father was killed at Auschwitz and she and her mother were sent to KZ Plaszow.

They began working at Emalia, Schindler's enamel and ammunition factory. The conditions in Schindler's factory were more humane than Rena and her mother would have encountered in any other circumstance during the war. She later recalled that Schindler "treated us with kindness and respect ... Schindler bribed Goeth and others to get food and better treatment for the Jews during a time when all Germans were killing the Jews."

She later told how a Nazi guard was about to shoot her for mistakenly breaking a factory machine, and Oscar Schindler intervened. "He said, 'You idiots, this little girl could not break that machine.'"

"He was wonderful," Rena said of Schindler: "He was tall and he was handsome and he had a twinkle in his eye. He was our hero and our God. How can you say thank you for someone who saved your life? I wish he were here today so I could hug him and kiss him."

She added, "I would not be alive today if it wasn't for Oscar Schindler, my mother survived and so did my grandfather. It's a tragedy that Oscar Schindler died young before the world could acknowledge his heroism. His countrymen considered him a traitor; to us he was our God, our Father, our protector.

In his book, *Witness The Making Of Schindler's List*, Franciszek Palowski tells about **Janina Olszewska**, who had worked for Oscar Schindler at his office and had known him well during World War II. She later told that Schindler not only saved Jews but also helped many Polish people.

When her husband was arrested and sentenced to death for his work with the Polish underground, Schindler miraculously got him out of the prison and thus saved his life.

Janina recalled once when a friend came to her in tears: the Nazis were taking her son to slave labor in Germany. She asked Schindler for help and he arranged the boy's release, employing him in his factory until the end of the war.

On another occasion an escaped Polish prisoner from Auschwitz showed up at Janina's. When Schindler was asked for help, he hired the man as his chauffeur.

Helen Beck, then Hela Brzeska, No. 18 on Schindler's List, was torn from her family as a teenager and was 15 when she was thrown into KZ Plaszow as a kitchen helper. She later recalled the SS Commandant Amon Goeth as being "incredible[sic] bloodthirsty – he would walk the line with his dogs and order them to rip people apart. And after a few minutes of torture, Goeth would shoot them in front of everyone."

At an evening line-up in Plaszow the Nazi guard smacked Helen so hard that the girl collapsed and the guard ordered her death. But she was spared, saved by Oscar Schindler as she suddenly was enlisted in his work forces. Today, she still doesn't know how Schindler did it. But the next morning in Schindler's factory, the tall man with soft blue eyes and a Nazi lapel pin walked by her and said, "Just keep working, keep working."

Helen later recalled when she worked in the kitchen at one of Schindler's parties. At the end of the party, in front of some of the top Nazis, Schindler asked the Jewish servants to come out and take a round of applause for their hard work and good service. Scared, they came out and to their surprise, the drunken Nazis applauded them.

Only after the war, as Helen searched for her family, did she learn that she had lost six of her nine siblings, along with her parents. Helen Beck later said, "We gave up many times, but he always lifted our spirits ... Schindler tried to help people however he could. That is what we remember."

Anna Duklauer Perl had her name on Oscar Schindler's List – No. 76235, Anna Duklauer, Metallarbeiterin or metalworker, it says in German next to her name.

Long before Steven Spielberg ever heard of him and decided to make his movie, Oscar Schindler's name was kept nearly as close to Anna Duklauer Perl's heart as the names of her own children and grandchildren. For almost five decades, she never said much about the Holocaust or the salvation of becoming one of Schindler's Jews. She later said, "I just told them that without a man named Oscar Schindler, I wouldn't be here." But she didn't tell them the whole story until Spielberg's movie was made.

In 1942 Anna, barely 20 years old, was sent to the forced labor camp of Plaszow. Here the conditions of life were made dreadful by the SS Commandant Amon Goeth. She didn't think she would survive very long; she was beaten regularly and her life was almost unbearable.

Then one day in the laundry, in the spring of 1943, she was approached by a small Jewish man who told her he needed women to work in Oscar Schindler's factory. "I don't know why I was chosen that day," she later said. "It's a question I've asked myself hundreds and hundreds of times. Why me? Why was I chosen to live?" At first, Anna did not want to go and leave her sister Erna. "But she begged me. 'Go. With Schindler, there is life. You must go,'" Anna later said.

At Schindler's enamelware factory DEF Anna worked 12 hours a day, alternating her time between making pots and pans and working in the kitchen preparing meals. But she was away from harassment and the killings. At Schindler's factory, nobody was hit, nobody murdered, nobody sent to death camps. Anna Duklauer worked at Schindler's factory until the Liberation. "Schindler was a good man. You could tell that... Schindler and us grew together. And in the end, he gave away all his money," Anna later commented.

Over the years Anna heard bits of news about Oscar Schindler from others on "The List." Unloved and unrecognized at home, he reached for the bottle. He had become an alcoholic during the war and struggled to wean himself off the habit. "He was like in the movie," Anne said, "very handsome. A lady's man. And he had this huge ring. We used to say you could see him coming from the light of his ring."

She didn't remember the exact day, but it was sometime in 1974 when she heard that Oscar Schindler had died. "I think a little bit of us all died, too," she said. "If it weren't for Oscar Schindler, we wouldn't be here."

Another time at Schindler's factory, during an inspection by Amon Goeth and his SS officers, the attention of the visitors was caught by the sight of the old Jew, **Lamus**, who was pushing a barrow too slowly across the factory courtyard, apparently utterly depressed. Goeth asked why the man was so sad, and it was explained to him that Lamus had lost his wife and only child a few weeks earlier during the liquidation of the ghetto. Goeth ordered his adjutant Grün to execute the Jew "so that he might be reunited with his family in Heaven." Then he guffawed and the SS officers moved on.

Someone from the metal hall rushed up to Oscar Schindler's office and alerted him. Oscar came roaring down the stairs and reached the yard just as the SS man ordered Lamus, "Slip your pants down to your ankles and start walking." Dazed, the old man did as he was told.

Schindler called out desperately, "You can't do that. You are interfering with all my discipline." The SS officer just sneered. Schindler continued, blurting out the words, "The morale of my workers will suffer. Production for der Vaterland will be affected." The SS adjutant took out his pistol, ready to shoot.

"A bottle of schnapps if you don't shoot him," Schindler almost screamed, no longer thinking rationally. "Stimmt!" To Schindler's astonishment, the SS man complied. Grinning, the officer put the gun away and strolled arm in arm with the shaken Schindler to the office to collect his bottle of schnapps. And old Lamus, trailing his pants along the ground, continued shuffling across the yard, waiting sickeningly for the bullet in his back that never came.

On another occasion, three SS men walked onto the factory floor without warning, arguing among themselves. "I tell you, the Jew is even lower than

an animal,” one was saying. Then, taking out his pistol, he ordered the nearest Jewish worker to leave his machine and pick up some sweepings from the floor. “Eat it,” he barked, waving his gun. The shivering man choked down the mess. “You see what I mean,” the SS man explained to his friends as they walked away. “They eat anything at all. Even an animal would never do that.”

Appendix A: Part 4

More Recollections

Abraham Zuckerman spent five of his teenage years in Nazi KZ camps. He recalls Oscar Schindler this way. “There were SS guards but he would say ‘Good morning’ to you. He was a chain smoker and he’d throw the cigarette on the floor after only two puffs, because he knew the workers would pick it up after him. To me he was an angel. Because of him I was treated like a human being. And because of him I survived.”

Sol Urbach was 15 years old when he was taken to the Plaszow concentration camp. He was one of the fortunate saved by being on Oscar Schindler’s list. For Sol Urbach, the Holocaust meant the death of almost his entire family. After the war he emigrated to the United States.

William Schanz, then **Zew Schanz**, was saved by Oscar Schindler. At the war’s close Schanz was selected to accompany Schindler and his wife on a journey west, protecting them from Russian troops. Later Schanz moved first to France, then in 1949 to the United States, where he successfully entered the travel business, becoming chairman of Regency Cruises.

Three hundred women, all Schindler Jews, were deported in cattle cars to certain death in Auschwitz; among them Marianne, now **Manci Rosner**. Oscar Schindler got them released: the only shipment out of Auschwitz. When the women returned, Schindler met them in the courtyard. Surrounded by SS guards he gave them an unforgettable guarantee: “Now you are finally with me, you are safe now. Don’t be afraid of anything.” Manci Rosner said, “I am so thankful to Oscar Schindler. We never would have survived it.”

Murray Pantirer lost both his parents, two sisters, and four brothers during the Holocaust. After the war he built up a great fortune as a magnate in the United States. He honored Schindler in his own special way. Every time a new town was planned and built, at least one street was named after Schindler. In New Jersey alone there are 21 Schindler Streets, and even a Schindler Plaza.

Edith Wertheim, then **Etka Liebgold**, recalls how 300 Schindler women were interned at Auschwitz. “One night they took us to the gas chamber. We were waiting the whole night. In the morning we found out: Schindler is here!” He had come to rescue them, bribing the Nazis to retrieve the women on his list and bring them back. Years later Oscar Schindler attended her wedding.

Ignacy Liebermann and his family were deported to the Krakow ghetto; upon the liquidation of the ghetto he was transferred to the Plaszow camp. He worked as a tailor in the uniform factory of the Righteous Gentile, Julius Madritsch, and was chosen by Oscar Schindler to be his personal tailor. He passed away in 1969.

Wiktor Lezerkiewicz, now Victor Lewis, was put on Schindler's List on page 2, No. 108. He considers it a miracle. He was electrician in Oscar Schindler's factory, though he knew absolutely nothing about the trade. He emigrated to the United States in 1949.

Leib Lejzon, today Leon Leyson, says he was "just a skinny kid" during World War II. But Oscar Schindler developed a fondness for him, nicknaming him "Little Leyson" and showing him many kindnesses, such as extra soup and bread. And when his vision began to blur from the factory work, he was excused from the night shift. The most important act was putting him on the final list. His two eldest brothers did not survive the war, but he, his parents, and brother and sister were saved by Oscar Schindler.

Amon Goeth's maid **Helena Hirsch** was saved by Oscar Schindler from a life of terror and humiliation and certain death in the Auschwitz death camp. He outwitted the commandant of Plaszow, Goeth, and "won" her in a card game. Today she lives in Israel.

Hela Brzeska, today Helen Beck, was 15 when she was thrown into Goeth's camp a kitchen help. She describes Goeth as being "incredible bloodthirsty - he would walk the line with his dogs and order them to rip people apart. And after a few minutes of torture, Goeth would shoot them in front of everyone ..."

Kuba and Helen Beck, No. 18 and No. 611 on Schindler's List – both were torn from their families as teenagers and sent to the Plaszow concentration camp. In 1944, Helen was among 300 women routed to Auschwitz. She miraculously was rescued by Schindler. Only after the war, as she searched for her family, did she learn that she had lost six of her nine siblings, along with her parents.

Appendix B

The Davar List

The first authentic Schindler's List was compiled by Director Oskar Schindler on September 5, 1944, in Krakow: the Davar List. This list contains 202 names selected by Schindler for transfer to the Neue Kuhler Fabrik – NKF, a factory where refrigerators and aircraft parts were manufactured.

The original list, written in Hebrew, was taken by Schindler on a clandestine visit to Hungary where he met influential Zionist sympathizers. Schindler acquainted the world with what was going on in Poland at that time. This is a unique document.

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
1	ABRAHAMER	Yacov	1918
2	ANFANG	Perec	1923
3	ASPITZ	Josef	1908
4	BADER	Chaim	1921
5	BADER	Siga	1902
6	BAND	Eduard	1919
7	BAUMANN	Jacov	1897
8	BERGER	Alter	1924
9	BERGLEISEN	Mendel	1922
10	BLAWAT	Eliezer	1895
11	BLINDERMAN	Wolf	1912
12	BRANDSTATER	Asher	1925
13	BIRNBAUM	Aron	1914
14	BIRNBAUM	Izak	1921
15	BUKIET	Alter Simon	1918
16	CELNIK	Markus	1913
17	CUCKIER	Mordechai	1919
18	CUCKIER	Naftali	1903

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
19	DEBINSKI	Marek	1925
20	DORNSTEIN	Leo	1919
21	DREIER	Serel	1925
22	DRESNER	Meir	1918
23	EINTIN	Josef	1916
24	EISENBERG	Abraham	1905
25	ENGLARD	Chanoch	1915
26	EPSTEIN	Abraham	1921
27	EPSTEIN	Shebs	1905
28	FALK	Norbert	1906
29	FAURER	Chaim	1921
30	FAUST	Josef	1896
31	FEIGENBAUM	Milech	1923
32	FEIGENBLATT	Izak	1903
33	FEIGENBLATT	Kalman	1905
34	FELDSTEIN	Josef	1894
35	FELER	Lipa	1912
36	FERBER	Mieczyslaw	1925
37	FEULDICZ	Alter	1900
38	FORSTER	David	1914
39	FRANCUZ	Fishel	1923
40	FRAUMAN	Josef	1912
41	FRENKEL	Mozes	1911
42	FRENKEL	Osiasz	1905
43	FRAUNDLICH	Izak	1923
44	FRIEDNER	Yoachim	1924
45	GARTNER	Jonas	1927
46	GEMEINER	Efraim	1898

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
47	GESUNDHEIT	Leib	1919
48	GLASS	Josef	1890
49	GLEITMANN	Asher	1905
50	GOLDBERG	Joszua	1903
51	GOTTLEIB	Naftali	1927
52	GRUNER	Hirsch David	1905
53	GRUNER	Yacov	1928
54	GUTENBERG	Mendel	1925
55	GUTMAN	Abraham	1896
56	GUTMAN	Mozes	1922
57	GUTMAN	Natan	1925
58	HAFTER	Yeshayahu	1926
59	HAUBESTOCK	Nechemia	1898
60	HAUSTOCK	Beniamin	1922
61	HELLER	Salomon	1899
62	HERNDORF	Eliza	1911
63	HERZOG	Gershon Chaim	1912
64	HILFSTEIN	Yoel	1907
65	HIRSCHPRUNG	Adolf	1928
66	HIRSCHPRUNG	Izak	1909
67	HIRSCHPRUNG	Moritz	1924
68	JASKIEL	Abrahan	1908
69	JUDA	Abraham	1905
70	JUNGWIRTH	Israel	1910
71	JUNGWIRTH	Natan	1906
72	KAHN	Sasha	1914
73	KATZ	Abraham	1906
74	KIRSCHNER	Arthur	1915

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
75	KLASBRUN	?	1918
76	KLEIN	Hillel	1923
77	KLEINER	Chaim	1907
78	KLEINER	Natan	1924
79	KLESSNER	Josef	1928
80	KOHN	Joachim	1907
81	KOHN	Moniek	1906
82	KORBER	Leizer Lew	1907
83	KRAUSS	Jakov	1904
84	KRONFELD	Nuta	1912
85	KUHN	Moritz	1904
86	LAUFER	Sol	1920
87	LEHRFELD	Shimon	1922
88	LEHRFELD	Wilhelm	1925
89	LERNER	Mieczyslaw	1905
90	LEWIT	Mordachai	1920
91	LEWIT	Mozes	1914
92	LICHTENSOHN	Henryk	1921
93	LICHTENSOHN	Gershon	1905
94	LITMANOWICZ	Salomon	1915
95	LOFFELHOLZ	Chezel	1912
96	LUSTGARTEN	Karol	1897
97	LUSTGARTEN	Rishard	1924
98	MANDELBAUM	Meir	1920
99	MANDELBAUM	Mendel	1924
100	MARKOWICZ	Israel	1909
101	MEER	Jakov	1916
102	MEITLIS	Israel	1897

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
103	MILLER	Lipman	1918
104	MOLLER	Shaul	1926
105	MONDSCHIN	Binem	1918
106	MOTLECZ	Izak	1922
107	NADEL	Leon	1889
108	NESSEL	Salomon	1924
109	NEUMAN	Yeshayahu	1894
110	NIEBELSKI	Rubin	1917
111	PARNASS	Israel	1916
112	PECHNER	Susman	1897
113	PECHNER	Wolf	1928
114	PERELKA	Szulin	1898
115	PERLMANN	Naftali	1891
116	PERLMUTER	Leon	1910
117	PERLROTH	Abraham	1927
118	PILLER	Melech	1925
119	PILLER	Salomon	1914
120	PILLER	Samuel	1920
121	PINELES	Maksymilian	1921
122	PINKASOWICKI	Jacov	1912
123	PIRLOCZ	Aron	1926
124	PRZECZADZKI	Israel	1914
125	RABER	Pinkas	1913
126	RATZ	Chaim	1923
127	RATZ	Fiewel	1920
128	REISMAN	Jacov	1915
129	RIGER	Mendel	1927
130	RILS	Natan	1925

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
131	RITTER	Izydor	1911
132	RITTER	Simcha	1907
133	ROSENBAUM	Dawid	1926
134	ROSENBAUM	Hersch	1925
135	ROSENBERG	Motek	1921
136	ROSENFELD	Moris	1924
137	ROSENHAHN	Samuel	1925
138	ROZENWIEG	Naftali	1923
139	ROTTBERG	Moris	1908
140	SARNA	Yonka	1921
141	SCHEINER	Shmul	1897
142	SCHELLER	Abraham	1920
143	SCHENIRER	Tolo	1927
144	SCHIMEL	Aleksander	1927
145	SCHIPPER	Salomon	1912
146	SCHLOSSEL	Abraham	1914
147	SCHMALZ	Aron Josef	1897
148	SCHNUPFTABAK	Leon	1902
149	SCHNUR	Moris	1907
150	SCHONWETTER	Dawid	1912
151	SCHUMACHER	Kalman	1912
152	SCHWARZBAUM	Dawid	1910
153	SCHWARZMEER	Leib	1921
154	SILBERSTEIN	Abraham	1909
155	SILBIGER	Gerad	1923
156	SINGER	Henryk	1903
157	SKAMSKI	Jacov	1921
158	SPIEGEL	Melech	1912

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
159	SPIEGEL	Yechiel	1913
160	SPINNER	Chaim	1890
161	STEPLER	Jacov	1912
162	STILL	Eliasz	1912
163	STOPNICKI	Salomon	1923
164	SWASCHKENTIL	Dawid	1909
165	SZAWSZOWSKI	Israel	1921
166	TEITELBAUM	Abraham	1916
167	TEITELBAUM	Dawid	1913
168	TEITELBAUM	Dawid	1917
169	TEITELBAUM	Josef	1920
170	TEITELBAUM	Menachem	1918
171	TUSS	Hirsch	1911
172	UNGER	Meir	1898
173	UNGER	Mozes	1928
174	UNTERMANN	Abraham	1933
175	WASSERMAN	Baruch	1925
176	WASSERMAN	Jacov	1905
177	WEIGEL	Maksymilian	1914
178	WEINER	Yechiel	1919
179	WEINREB	Ada	1926
180	WEINSTEIN	Hersch	1919
181	WEINSTEIN	Yechiel	1895
182	WEISS	Aron	1918
183	WEISS	Chaim	1915
184	WEISS	Jozua	1908
185	WENZELBERG	Moris	1919

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Year Born
186	WERDIGER	Dawid	1920
187	WERTHAL	Bernard	1922
188	WERTHAL	Josef	1927
189	WERTHEIMER	Henryk	1906
190	WIENER	Natan	1903
191	WOLFMAN	Adolf	1921
192	WOLFMAN	Jacov	1913
193	WOLFMAN	Salomon	1935
194	WORTMANN	Leon	1894
195	WORTMANN	Moris	1926
196	WURZEL	Anselm	1924
197	WURZEL	Moris	1926
198	WURZEL	Stefan	1927
199	ZAHN	Asher	1917
200	ZOLLMAN	Max	1923
201	ZOLLMAN	Mozes	1911
202	ZUCKER	Israel	1906

Appendix C

Julius Madritsch List

The exact lettering details may vary due to smudging by the typewriter keys on the original document. Prisoner number was allocated within the Madritsch factory complex. There were approximately 10,000 prisoners.

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Prisoner No.
1	BERENHAUT	Josef	6950
2	FEIGENBAUM	Jakub	7414
3	FEIGENBAUM	Ludwik	7415
4	HUDES	Leib	7105
5	KARP	Izaak-Szyja	7114
6	LEWI	Dawid	7168
7	OBERFELD	Adolf	7122
8	STERN	Natan	240
9	WOHLFEILER	Ignacy	7365
10	HUDAS	Naftali	7106
11	HUDE	Isak	4119
12	KINSTLINGER	Moses	3600
13	GRUSS	Abraham	7416
14	GOLDSTEIN	Bernard	7068
15	SALPETER	Leib	3940
16	TAUBE	Maksymilian	7341
17	TAUBE	Emanuel	7340
18	SEGAL	Chaim	7295

19	KINSTLINGER	Joachim	7149
20	LIEBERMANN	Ignacy	7174
21	LIEBERMANN	Maurycy	7175
22	LAMENDS DORF	Leib	7151
23	WINSTOCK	Josef	11290
24	WEINSTOCK	Manek	11292
25	WEINSTEIN	Barel	7379
26	TILLES	Jakub	7350
27	WACHTEL	Chaim	4216
28	KISEN	Kiwa	7013
29	STERNBERG	Jakub	7325
30	STERNBERG	Jerzy	7326
31	GOLDSTEIN	Adolf	7067
32	KLINGENHOLE	Aron	7128
33	GRUN	Abraham	7073
34	GOLDSMIED	Aron	7066
35	HERZ	Ludwik	7095
36	ZIMET	Dawid	3520
37	SPERBAR	Chaim	7315
38	SCHLESINGER	Moses	7280
39	SCHLESINGER	Chaskel	77274
40	KRIEGER	Chaskel	7143

Appendix D

Julius Madritsch Women's List

Serial No.	Surname	First Name	Prisoner No.
1	FEIGENBAUM	Necha	8044
2	FEIGENBAUM	Janina	8045
3	HUDES	Estera	2256
4	KARP	Fajga-Raca	8088
5	KARP	Celina	8087
6	LEWI	Adela	8105
7	LIEBERMANN	Salomea	1022
8	STERN	Leontyn	2589
9	WOHLFEILER	Rosa	8022
10	WOHLFEILER	Halina	8020
11	WOHLFEILER	Rena	8021
12	REICHAR	Bluma	8126
13	KINSTLINGER	Chana	2289
14	LAWINSKA	Natalia	8107
15	ZWETSCHKENSTIL	Jenta	8076
16	WEINSTOCK	Balka	11211
17	GAMS	Genia	2453
18	TILLES	Tanba	367
19	STERNBERG	Klara	685
20	SCHLESINGER	Maria	8450

Appendix E

Men's Brännlitz List

Alphabetized by Surname: * indicates the person is referred to in the text
Gross-Rosen KL Brännlitz/Liste D. Mannl. Haftlinge-18.4.45

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
226	Ju.Po.	69061	Abramoczyk	Szyja	15.09.17
271	Ju.Po.	69109	Abusch	Jos	28.10.12
264	Ju.Po.	69102	Abzug	Emanuel	10.06.04
269	Ju.Po.	69107	Adler	Alexander	25.08.23
241	Ju.Po.	69077	Allerhand	Salo	15.06.28
244	Ju.Po.	69081	Altmann	Dawid	09.05.17
182	Ju.Po.	69016	Ameizen	Josef	16.08.06
209	Ju.Po.	69044	Anglister	Mojzecz	25.01.21
219	Ju.Po.	69054	Ankier	Chaskiel	03.02.16
232	Ju.Po.	69068	Apfel	Moses	17.08.08
216	Ju.Po.	69051	Appel	Fryderyk	15.01.17
596	Ju.Po.	69453	Armer	Jakob	18.09.25
230	Ju.Po.	69066	Auerbach	Abraham	11.10.14
255	Ju.Po.	69093	Ausubel	Dawid	31.03.09
272	Ju.Po.	69110	Baldinger	Izak	11.11.22
222	Ju.Po.	69057	Balicki	Abraham	15.06.03
251	Ju.Po.	69089	Balsam	Salomon	04.04.03
227	Ju.Po.	69062	Bankier	Abraham	03.04.10
421	Ju.Po.	69268	Bankier	Abraham	09.05.95
41	Ju.Po.	68865	Baral	Samuel	26.10.04
228	Ju.Po.	69063	Barth	Elias	04.10.06
236	Ju.Po.	69072	Barth	Nysen	17.11.04
718	Ju.Dt	77102	Barush	Siegfried	03.05.01
247	Ju.Po.	69084	Bau	Josef	18.06.20
523	Ju.Po.	69379	Bauer	Josef	12.12.09
253	Ju.Po.	69091	Baum	Juliusz	17.10.07
268	Ju.Po.	69106	Baum	Naftali	11.09.13
256	Ju.Dt	69094	Beck	Friedrich	25.06.86
611	Ju.Po.	69468	Beck	Kuba	31.08.22
242	Ju.Po.	69078	Beckmann	Samuel	12.07.21
258	Ju.Po.	69096	Beder	Fischel	15.06.14

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
246	Ju.Po.	69083	Beer	Alter	11.11.11
238	Ju.Po.	69074	Beer	Chaim	15.06.13
235	Ju.Po.	69071	Beer	Hirsch	28.02.21
617	Ju.Po.	69474	Begleiter	Stefan	06.04.25
301	Ju.Po.	69142	Behrenhaut	Josef	06.06.99
529	Ju.Po.	69385	Bejski	Izrael Berek	02.03.18
531	Ju.Po.	69387	Bejski	Moszek	01.01.21
528	Ju.Po.	69384	Bejski	Urysz	14.06.24
719	Ju.Ung	77103	Berger	Adolf	29.03.09
262	Ju.Po.	69100	Berger	Chaim	01.03.10
565	Ju.Po.	69422	Berger	Josek	15.07.25
183	Ju.Po.	69017	Berger	Majer	19.07.07
458	Ju.Po.	69307	Berger	Wladyslaw	17.05.26
266	Ju.Po.	69104	Berlinerblau	Lewi	25.12.99
270	Ju.Po.	69108	Bialywlos	Alexander	04.06.23
83	Ju.Po.	68913	Bieberstein	Alexander	01.08.95
3	Ju.Po.	68823	Biedermann	Hirsch	07.09.25
606	Ju.Po.	69463	Biedermann	Max	18.01.13
229	Ju.Po.	69065	Bierer	Jakob	17.02.08
252	Ju.Po.	69090	Binder	Alter	21.03.06
208	Ju.Po.	69043	Birnbaum	Juda	22.11.09
192	Ju.Po.	69026	Birnfeld	Markus	24.01.04
20	Ju.Po.	68841	Birnhack	Ignazy	17.02.17
233	Ju.Po.	69069	Birnzweig	Simche	10.06.15
190	Ju.Po.	69024	Bittersfeld	Leon	12.03.28
6	Ju.Po.	68826	Blammer	Jakob	04.05.15
223	Ju.Po.	69058	Blasenstein	Henryk	29.10.25
220	Ju.Po.	69055	Blatt	Aczer	09.09.20
276	Ju.Po.	69114	Blatt	Henryk	31.50.22
275	Ju.Po.	69113	Blaufeder	Jakob	12.08.09
261	Ju.Po.	69099	Blecheisen	Mendel	01.06.06
688	Ju.Po.	77001	Blechmann	Hermann	12.12.26
44	Ju.Po.	68868	Bleiweib	Efroim	23.12.06
201	Ju.Po.	69035	Blum	Icek	12.02.04
199	Ju.Po.	69033	Blum	Markus	20.10.20
188	Ju.Po.	69022	Blum	Mozes	14.08.96

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
534	Ju.Po.	69390	Blumenfrucht	Hersz	17.04.17
196	Ju.Po.	69030	Blumenkranz	Adolf	12.12.97
720	Ju.Ung	77105	Bolaczy	Tibor	25.07.18
721	Ju.Po.	77106	Borenstein	Josef Hilel	01.09.98
360	Ju.Po.	69207	Borger	Adolf	02.08.96
722	Ju.Dt	77107	Borger	Michael	25.12.97
605	Ju.Po.	69462	Borger	Viktor	04.01.01
200	Ju.Po.	69034	Bossak	Mark	21.05.12
248	Ju.Po.	69085	Bottner	Mojzesz	02.05.18
331	Ju.Po.	69176	Brambrot	Szmul	12.05.25
265	Ju.Po.	69103	Bramm	Rafael	09.06.25
159	Ju.Po.	68992	Brandeis	Josef	19.07.01
254	Ju.Po.	69092	Bratkiewicz	Natan	08.07.11
723	Ju.Ung	77108	Brauer	Natan	06.06.01
218	Ju.Ung	69053	Braun	Moritz	24.06.03
259	Ju.Po.	69097	Brauner	Jerzy	23.07.26
661	Ju.Po.	69520	Brautmann	Henryk	20.10.00
795	Ju.Fr	77190	Brayntich	Josef	24.03.04
496	Ju.Po.	69350	Brechner	Rudolf	06.11.01
239	Ju.Po.	69075	Brenner	Adolf	6.05.25
195	Ju.Po.	69029	Bres	Moszek	15.08.13
789	Ju.Po.	77182	Breslauer	Benjamin	07.02.20
724	Ju.Tsc	77109	Brock	Robert	04.09.16
224	Ju.Po.	69059	Brodor	Markus	08.02.21
240	Ju.Po.	69076	Bronner	Leopold	16.02.00
225	Ju.Po.	69060	Brotmann	Chaim	27.01.11
499	Ju.Po.	69353	Buchen	Moses	25.11.06
725	Ju.Dt	77100	Buchhalter	Fritz	09.00.28
257	Ju.Po.	69095	Buchsbaum	Jakob	03.04.21
380	Ju.Po.	69227	Butfuhrer	Norbert	12.06.22
70	Ju.Po.	68896	Cajg	Szmul	13.08.20
194	Ju.Po.	69028	Chajkin	Chaskiel	15.11.10
798	Ju.Po.	77193	Chewel	Hirsch	26.08.14
170	Ju.Po.	69003	Chiel	Pinkas	12.05.22
800	Ju.Po.	77195	Chlebowiski	Josef	05.12.22
614	Ju.Po.	69471	Chojna	Moniek	01.01.22

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
622	Ju.Po.	69479	Danzig	Hirsch	29.12.09
245	Ju.Po.	69082	Danziger	Eduard	16.02.09
658	Ju.Dt.	69517	Davidowitsch	Erwin	15.07.97
726	Ju.Hol	77101	Davidson	Jakob	01.09.17
577	Ju.Po.	69434	Degen	Leopold	19.02.25
352	Ju.Po.	69199	Dembitzer	Teodor	04.10.97
727	Ju.Ung	77102	Desci	Peter	13.02.23
340	Ju.Po.	69185	Deutelbaum	Samuel	25.04.2
629	Ju.Po.	69486	Dienstag	Markus	23.02.15
635	Ju.Po.	69493	Diktorczyk	David	25.02.09
393	Ju.Po.	69240	Domb	Izrael'	23.01.08
285	Ju.Po.	69124	Dortheimer	Wigdor	16.09.18
263	Ju.Po.	69101	Dreiblatt	Majer	21.05.09
297	Ju.Po.	69136	Dresner	Jonas	04.09.23
300	Ju.Po.	69141	Dresner	Juda	26.03.93
211	Ju.Po.	69046	Dressler	Joachim	14.07.95
597	Ju.Po.	69454	Dressler	Keinz	22.10.19
277	Ju.Po.	69115	Dringer	Dawid	18.10.21
592	Ju.Rus	69449	Drisin	Chaim	22.70.22
709	Ju.Po.	77022	Drzeboznik	Abraham	01.04.20
207	Ju.Rus	69042	Dubnikow	Eli	28.07.23
76	Ju.Po.	68903	Eckstein	Chaskel	14.12.08
728	Ju.Ung	77103	Eckstein	Jgnaz	12.03.00
543	Ju.Po.	69400	Ehrlich	Hirsch	07.03.17
191	Ju.Po.	69025	Ehrlich	Samuel	01.09.04
206	Ju.Po.	69041	Eichenholz	Szyja	20.01.25
588	Ju.Po.	69445	Eichental	Meier	12.05.21
398	Ju.Po.	69245	Eidner	Pinkus	20.12.14
552	Ju.Po.	69409	Eilberg	Bernard	27.07.11
92	Ju.Po.	68923	Eintrecht	Alexander	02.03.06
486	Ju.Po.	69340	Eisen	Kiwa	02.05.93
234	Ju.Po.	69070	Eisenberg	Georg	06.06.06
729	Ju.Ung	77104	Eisenstein	Aron	20.04.14
630	Ju.Po.	69487	Eisland	Jakob	10.09.09
212	Ju.Po.	69047	Ejbuczyc	Fiszel	08.11.20
197	Ju.Po.	69031	Elefant	Wolf	18.08.08

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
434	Ju.Po.	69283	Elsner	Adolf	30.01.02
450	Ju.Po.	69299	Elsner	Ludwig	30.05.21
730	Ju.Hol	77105	Emden	Louis van	06.07.15
731	Ju.Ung	77106	Emmerien	Karol	23.07.11
217	Ju.Po.	69052	Essig	Michal	23.11.13
214	Ju.Po.	69049	Essig	Mojzesz	02.08.17
181	Ju.Po.	69015	Ettinger	Henryk	02.12.22
180	Ju.Po.	69014	Ettinger	Michal	10.07.13
689	Ju.Po.	77002	Ettinger	Moritz	29.11.12
653	Ju.Po.	69512	Eule	Isidor	14.01.12
690	Ju.Po.	77003	Ewenschn	Jakob	07.04.19
193	Ju.Po.	69027	Faber	Hirsch	05.06.07
594	Ju.Po.	69451	Falk	Israel	03.04.04
559	Ju.Po.	69416	Federgrun	Moses	10.04.12
550	Ju.Po.	69407	Feeitag	Leizon	25.11.04
305	Ju.Po.	69146	Feigenbaum	Jakob	08.12.00
298	Ju.Po.	69137	Feigenbaum	Ludwig	28.11.24
639	Ju.Po.	69497	Feil	Oskar	29.10.01
618	Ju.Po.	69475	Feiler	Abraham	23.01.21
620	Ju.Po.	69477	Feiler	Salomon	09.03.23
358	Ju.Po.	69205	Feilgut	Aron	28.06.06
575	Ju.Po.	69432	Feinberg	Chaim	05.01.25
400	Ju.Po.	69247	Feiner	Josef	16.05.15
401	Ju.Po.	69248	Feiner	Wilhelm	21.10.17
691	Ju.Dt.	77004	Feingersch	Benjamin	17.12.25
626	Ju.Po.	69483	Feit	Lazar	25.04.13
146	Ju.Po.	68979	Feldmann	Herman	02.11.16
80	Ju.Po.	68908	Feldstein	Wolf	08.12.23
693	Ju.Po.	77006	Felsenstein	Selig	14.04.06
316	Ju.Po.	69160	Ferber	Arje	15.07.81
641	Ju.Po.	69499	Ferber	Israel	13.07.99
598	Ju.Po.	69455	Fertig	Chaim	17.02.24
733	Ju.Ung	77108	Feuermann	Bernard	10.11.93
734	Ju.Ung	77109	Feuermann	Sandor	01.06.27
556	Ju.Po.	69413	Figowicz	Pejsach	21.06.13
670	Ju.Po.	69655	Filzmacher	Mendel	29.10.14

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
601	Ju.Po.	69458	Finder	Maurycy	23.06.07
692	Ju.Po.	77005	Finkelstein	Leo	11.03.22
625	Ju.Po.	69482	Fischer	Ismar	12.11.05
580	Ju.Po.	69437	Fischgrund	Leopold	26.12.01
647	Ju.Po.	69505	Fleischmann	Chaim	15.11.06
636	Ju.Po.	69494	Flint	David	22.01.06
637	Ju.Po.	69495	Flint	Hersz	30.12.04
507	Ju.Po.	69362	Florenz	Benzion	13.04.14
509	Ju.Po.	69364	Fluss	Izak	14.01.01
732	Ju.Ung	77107	Foldesz	Sander	14.09.98
735	Ju.Ung	77120	Forkos	Hermann	28.11.99
736	Ju.Ung	77121	Frankel	Adolf	22.12.13
623	Ju.Po.	69480	Frankel	Salomon	03.04.22
789	Ju.Hol	77183	Franken	Fritz	10.08.06
631	Ju.Po.	69488	Frei	Moses	18.01.25
581	Ju.Po.	69438	Freihof	Fischel	04.12.02
584	Ju.Po.	69441	Freimann	Anschel	06.10.23
249	Ju.Po.	69086	Freimann	Leib	01.07.05
571	Ju.Po.	69428	Freinof	Josek	05.05.24
564	Ju.Po.	69421	Freitag	Hersz	07.01.20
569	Ju.Po.	69426	Freitag	Mendel	01.10.22
624	Ju.Po.	69481	Friad	Fiszel	13.07.02
595	Ju.Po.	69452	Friemann	Bronislaw	23.10.17
737	Ju.Ung	77122	Fried	Josef	24.04.98
287	Ju.Po.	69126	Friedmann	Leon	27.04.09
608	Ju.Po.	69465	Friedmann	Pinkus	16.02.16
738	Ju.Ung	77124	Friedmann	Rudolf	01.12.28
633	Ju.Po.	69491	Friedner	Lobl	12.01.97
638	Ju.Po.	69496	Frisch	Samuel	21.04.01
81	Ju.Po.	68911	Frunnel	Leon	21.08.05
187	Ju.Po.	69021	Fuchs	Dawid	21.08.24
560	Ju.Po.	69417	Fuhrmann	Efroim	20.12.17
787	Ju.Dt	77181	Galinzki	Erich	17.04.22
615	Ju.Po.	69472	Gangel	Maurycy	17.07.09
656	Ju.Po.	69515	Garde	Adam	24.09.13
336	Ju.Po.	69181	Garde	Dawid	22.12.01

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
649	Ju.Po.	69508	Garde	Mieczyslaw	14.01.21
165	Ju.Po.	68998	Garfunkiel	Majlech	23.02.22
694	Ju.Po.	77007	Gartner	Meier	14.06.22
329	Ju.Po.	69174	Geiger	Lemel	27.06.05
685	Ju.Po.	74684	Gelbwerth	Aron	06.06.02
296	Ju.Po.	69135	Geller	Motio	16.12.08
417	Ju.Po.	69264	Gerstner	Leib	16.10.12
366	Ju.Po.	69213	Gewelbe	Jakob	22.09.97
121	Ju.Po.	68953	Glassner	Henryk	06.01.10
315	Ju.Po.	69159	Gleitmann	Mojzesz	04.08.23
291	Ju.Po.	69130	Glicenstein	Abram	16.04.16
346	Ju.Po.	69193	Gluckmann	Gedalie	01.09.02
654	Ju.Po.	69513	Gluckmann	Naftali	10.02.98
250	Ju.Po.	69087	Gluckmann	Siegfried	30.12.06
303	Ju.Po.	69144	Gold	Stefan	18.11.04
399	Ju.Po.	69246	Goldberg	Berisch	17.05.13
416	Ju.Po.	69263	Goldberg	Bernard	10.10.16
279	Ju.Po.	69117	Goldberg	Efraim	03.04.17
343	Ju.Po.	69189	Goldberg	Kalman	25.05.23
651	Ju.Po.	69510	Goldberg	Marcel	11.04.15
311	Ju.Po.	69152	Goldberg	Moses	25.12.24
321	Ju.Po.	69166	Goldberg	Otto	12.03.13
739	Ju.Ung	77125	Goldberger	Arnold	29.03.29
323	Ju.Po.	69168	Goldberger	Chaskel	15.05.99
548	Ju.Po.	69405	Goldberger	Roman	10.08.22
542	Ju.Po.	69399	Goldberger	Salomon	28.07.20
341	Ju.Po.	69186	Goldblatt	Salomon	03.07.15
203	Ju.Po.	69037	Goldfarb	Izrael	15.12.08
210	Ju.Po.	69045	Goldkern	Hersch	03.10.24
643	Ju.Slo	69501	Goldmann	Alexander	06.06.15
309	Ju.Po.	69150	Goldmann	Moses	09.12.08
53	Ju.Po.	68877	Goldschmied	Aron	02.02.23
673	Ju.Po.	69690	Goldstein	Adolf	23.01.12
586	Ju.Po.	69443	Goldstein	Aron	10.10.14
295	Ju.Po.	69134	Goldstein	Bernard	05.01.03
695	Ju.Po.	77008	Goldstein	Idel	11.05.06

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
345	Ju.Po.	69192	Goldstein	Stefan	25.07.21
678	Ju.Po.	69833	Goldwasser	Alex	23.11.88
677	Ju.Po.	69832	Goldwasser	Marcel	15.01.20
330	Ju.Rus	99175	Gorywocki	Szulim	15.08.08
445	Ju.Po.	69294	Gotinger	Moses	04.04.97
17	Ju.Po.	68838	Gottselig	Dawid	06.05.20
213	Ju.Po.	69048	Gottselig	Hermann	22.02.25
740	Ju.Hol	77126	Goudstikker	Henryk	16.09.27
741	Ju.Dt.	77127	Grabowski	Markus	22.03.93
280	Ju.Po.	69118	Grauer	Wilhelm	03.12.11
215	Ju.Ung	69050	Grob	Josef	10.06.14
281	Ju.Po.	69119	Grob	Oskar	23.04.14
334	Ju.Po.	69179	Grobler	Leon	02.02.12
335	Ju.Po.	69180	Grobler	Samuel	14.07.99
318	Ju.Po.	69162	Gross	Abraham	24.12.97
314	Ju.Po.	69158	Gross	Benjamin	12.05.93
359	Ju.Po.	69206	Gross	Daniel	02.08.96
319	Ju.Po.	69163	Gross	Jakob	21.06.26
328	Ju.Po.	69173	Gross	Jerzy	16.11.28
317	Ju.Po.	69161	Gross	Josef	29.05.04
333	Ju.Po.	69178	Gross	Karol	11.11.00
325	Ju.Po.	69170	Gross	Otto	30.10.26
591	Ju.Po.	69448	Grossmann	Abraham	15.07.20
642	Ju.Po.	69500	Grossmann	Moszek	15.05.24
590	Ju.Po.	69447	Grossmann	Szymon	15.05.01
260	Ju.Po.	69098	Grubner	Chaim	04.05.97
62	Ju.Po.	68888	Grun	Abraham	14.05.05
521	Ju.Po.	69377	Grunberg	Abraham	02.01.06
189	Ju.Po.	69023	Grunblum	Jakob	19.12.08
307	Ju.Po.	69148	Gruner	Emil	21.07.30
357	Ju.Po.	69204	Gruner	Salomon	01.05.10
310	Ju.Po.	69151	Gruner	Saul	27.04.00
742	Ju.Ung	77128	Grunfeld	Alexander	16.12.03
312	Ju.Po.	69153	Grunfeld	Jgnacy	03.06.04
743	Ju.Slo	77129	Grunfeld	Salomon	10.09.12
354	Ju.Po.	69201	Grungras	Chaim	01.05.10

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
322	Ju.Po.	69167	Grunhaut	Adolf	29.02.24
662	Ju.Po.	69521	Grunwald	Dawid	12.05.10
34	Ju.Po.	68857	Gruss	Abraham	06.09.06
339	Ju.Po.	69184	Gruss	Leopold	02.03.07
516	Ju.Po.	69372	Grycman	Leib	14.06.14
274	Ju.Po.	69112	Gurewicz	Meilech	22.08.12
304	Ju.Po.	69145	Gurfinkel	Natan	15.05.27
657	Ju.Po.	69516	Gutherz	Adolar	22.11.15
349	Ju.Po.	69196	Gutherz	Henryk	02.03.26
348	Ju.Po.	69195	Gutherz	Josef	05.11.22
513	Ju.Po.	69369	Guttmann	Adolf	18.08.19
51	Ju.Po.	68875	Haar	David	20.12.12
71	Ju.Po.	68897	Haar	Felwel	01.07.10
284	Ju.Po.	69123	Haber	Ignacy	11.05.15
361	Ju.Po.	69208	Hahn	Dawid	20.10.97
184	Ju.Po.	69018	Haliczer	Josef	18.09.95
85	Ju.Po.	68916	Haller	Jacob	15.08.21
446	Ju.Po.	69295	Handler	Szaja	17.12.06
745	Ju.Dt	77132	Hansel	Otto	04.08.05
87	Ju.Po.	68918	Hartmann	Ferdinand	11.08.17
61	Ju.Po.	68886	Hartmann	Salomon	05.02.20
744	Ju.Dt	77133	Hartog	Fritz	23.05.13
666	Ju.Po.	69592	Hauben	Iszak	10.05.98
561	Ju.Po.	69418	Haubensstock	Jakob	29.01.16
671	Ju.Po.	69658	Hecht	Isak	15.05.12
292	Ju.Po.	69131	Hecht	Zygmunt	24.10.26
746	Ju.Ung	77134	Heller	Paul	23.07.10
627	Ju.Po.	69484	Hellmann	Henryk	03.03.08
45	Ju.Po.	68869	Hellmann	Michal L	08.05.22
747	Ju.Tsc	77135	Herrmann	Alfred	19.05.93
49	Ju.Po.	68873	Herschlag	Abraham	02.03.20
50	Ju.Po.	68874	Herschlag	Salomon	15.08.22
186	Ju.Po.	69020	Herszkowicz	Jakob	12.01.12
748	Ju.Ung	77136	Herszkowits	Ingnaz	04.02.96
273	Ju.Po.	69111	Herz	Dawid	24.06.23
628	Ju.Po.	69485	Herz	Isak	15.09.24

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
42	Ju.Po.	68866	Herz	Ludwig	19.09.25
676	Ju.Po.	69789	Herzberg	Henoch	27.07.99
431	Ju.Po.	69280	Heuberger	Edward	04.01.14
69	Ju.Po.	68895	Hilfstein	Chaim	14.11.86
243	Ju.Po.	69080	Hilfstein	Edward	17.09.24
390	Ju.Po.	69237	Hillmann	Bernard	24.12.15
696	Ju.Po.	77009	Hinigmann	Moisze	10.12.19
86	Ju.Po.	68917	Hirsch	Abraham	28.05.12
449	Ju.Po.	69298	Hirsch	Leon	06.11.09
35	Ju.Po.	68858	Hirschberg	Herz	16.05.27
415	Ju.Po.	69262	Hirschberg	Szymon	23.07.08
749	Ju.Ung	77137	Hirschel	Julius	27.12.00
23	Ju.Po.	68844	Hirschfeld	Samuel	27.02.19
144	Ju.Po.	68977	Hirschhorn	Israel	08.11.26
675	Ju.Po.	69743	Hoffmann	Zdenek	20.03.14
750	Ju.Ung	77138	Holasz	Gabor	28.04.01
237	Ju.Po.	69077	Hollander	Szulim	08.02.06
30	Ju.Po.	68851	Horn	Elias	29.09.07
7	Ju.Po.	68827	Horn	Josef	04.02.14
701	Ju.Dt.	77014	Hornitzer	Berthold	07.05.08
19	Ju.Po.	68840	Hornung	Dawid	25.02.19
18	Ju.Po.	68839	Hornung	Josef	06.09.11
73	Ju.Po.	68899	Horowitz	Bernard	28.05.97
409	Ju.Po.	69256	Horowitz	Izydor	25.09.98
436	Ju.Po.	69285	Horowitz	Moses	18.04.04
381	Ju.Po.	69228	Horowitz	Schachne	31.12.88
124	Ju.Po.	68956	Horowitz	Wolf	02.09.98
43	Ju.Po.	68867	Hudes	Izak	26.01.16
313	Ju.Po.	69157	Hudes	Leib	04.06.09
418	Ju.Po.	69265	Hudes	Naftali	10.07.99
578	Ju.Po.	69435	Ickowicz	Josef	08.05.14
370	Ju.Po.	69217	Immergluck	Mendel	24.09.03
362	Ju.Po.	69209	Immergluck	Zygmunt	13.06.24
350	Ju.Po.	69197	Ingber	Bernard	06.04.17
63	Ju.Po.	68889	Inglicht	Emil	02.09.08
202	Ju.Po.	69036	Izraelowicz	Izak	11.12.23

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
451	Ju.Po.	69300	Jachzel	Abraham	27.11.23
442	Ju.Po.	69291	Jachzel	Salomon	23.06.99
392	Ju.Po.	69239	Jakobowicz	Chaim	10.01.19
383	Ju.Po.	69230	Jakobowicz	Dawid	15.04.26
13	Ju.Po.	68834	Jakubowicz	Jakob	13.11.27
77	Ju.sti	68905	Jakubowicz	Kurt	27.07.20
672	Ju.Po.	69666	Jakubowski	Hersz	22.12.03
679	Ju.Po.	69886	Jasse	Ascher	25.02.07
327	Ju.Po.	69172	Jazowski	Zalel	02.02.14
648	Ju.Po.	69506	Jerethh	Simon	11.01.88
412	Ju.Po.	69259	Joachimsman	Abr.	19.12.95
344	Ju.Po.	69190	Jonas	Josef	03.11.23
751	Ju.Dt	77140	Jospe	Heinz	18.10.15
697	Ju.Dt.	77010	Juttla	Artur	24.01.07
796	Ju.Ung	77191	Kahan	Desider	13.01.24
439	Ju.Po.	69288	Kahane	Wladyslaw	06.09.09
640	Ju.Po.	69498	Kaminski	Felix	15.09.12
471	Ju.Po.	69323	Kammer-Mann	Hen.	14.02.03
356	Ju.Po.	69203	Karp	Izak Szyja	02.01.03
155	Ju.Po.	68988	Katz	Hermann	02.07.93
363	Ju.Po.	69210	Katz	Isak Josef	03.12.08
308	Ju.Po.	69149	Katz	Juda	14.07.14
426	Ju.Po.	69273	Kaufmann	Leon	06.08.20
526	Ju.Po.	69382	Kaufmann	Szaja	02.04.02
128	Ju.Po.	68960	Keil	Josef	12.09.12
171	Ju.Po.	69004	Keller	Zacharjasz	20.08.14
752	Ju.Tsc	77142	Kellner	Eugen	19.06.17
753	Ju.Ung	77143	Kellner	Josef	29.01.28
754	Ju.Ung	77144	Kellner	Soltan	13.05.03
589	Ju.Po.	69446	Kern	Szyja	05.11.06
84	Ju.Po.	68915	Kerner	Majer	23.06.04
650	Ju.Po.	69509	Kessler	Jerzy	24.04.21
660	Ju.Po.	69519	Kessler	Maximilian	06.01.95
684	Ju.Po.	74558	Kestenberg	Szya	25.08.12
801	Ju.Po.	77196	Kief	Jarum	02.12.17
38	Ju.Po.	68861	Kinstlinger	Joachim	11.11.15

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
167	Ju.Po.	69000	Kirschen-Baum	H.	16.04.22
166	Ju.Po.	68999	Kirschen- Baum	Izak	22.12.21
168	Ju.Po.	69001	Kirschen-Baum	J.	27.11.11
204	Ju.Po.	69038	Klassner	Samuel	08.09.17
755	Ju.Ung	77145	Klein	Eugen	12.08.98
388	Ju.Po.	69235	Kleinberg	Szaja	01.04.20
116	Ju.Po.	68948	Kleiner	Bernard	08.05.14
632	Ju.Po.	69490	Kleiner	Meier	14.10.24
302	Ju.Po.	69143	Kleinmann	Adolf	07.11.20
669	Ju.Po.	69645	Kleinmann	Feiwei	26.12.26
172	Ju.Po.	69005	Kleinmann	Jakob	10.01.12
394	Ju.Po.	69241	Klinburt	Abram	01.11.13
54	Ju.Po.	68878	Klingenholz	Aron	18.06.22
47	Ju.Po.	68871	Klinghofer	Ignacy	30.01.25
8	Ju.Po.	68828	Klinghofer	Simon	25.03.97
60	Ju.Po.	68885	Klinstlinger	Moses	21.07.06
158	Ju.Po.	68991	Klipstein	Izak Dawid	14.04.95
163	Ju.Po.	68996	Klugmann	Henryk	12.12.25
549	Ju.Po.	69406	Knobler	Moszek	27.05.20
698	BV/RD	77011	Knobloch	Leo	06.06.10
377	Ju.Po.	69224	Kohane	Chiel	15.09.25
757	Ju.Ung	77147	Kohn	Markus	07.11.02
185	Ju.Po.	69019	Kollender	Awadie	07.03.09
756	Ju.Slo	77146	Kollmann	Natan	06.03.00
294	Ju.Po.	69133	Konig	Jakob	14.09.16
391	Ju.Po.	69238	Konigl	Marek	02.11.11
797	Ju.Jgs	77192	Koniowitsch	Mirko	27.05.99
609	Ju.Po.	69466	Kopec	Samuel	12.01.11
221	Ju.Po.	69056	Kopec	Selig	01.05.06
33	Ju.Po.	68856	Kopyto	Moses	14.03.98
440	Ju.Po.	69289	Korber	Chaim	14.12.05
411	Ju.Po.	69258	Kormann	Abraham	15.01.19
367	Ju.Po.	69214	Korn	Edmund	07.04.12
278	Ju.Po.	69116	Kornblau	Jakob	29.03.08
604	Ju.Po.	69461	Kornfeld	Henryk	14.10.19
612	Ju.Po.	69469	Kornfeld	Ludwig	05.06.13

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
438	Ju.Po.	69287	Kornhauser	Bernard	07.06.09
453	Ju.Po.	69302	Kornhauser	Hermann	14.11.04
702	Ju.Po.	77015	Korzec	Max	15.01.15
283	Ju.Po.	69122	Koscher	Szaja	06.02.18
82	Ju.Po.	68912	Kranz	Wilhelm	06.03.05
758	Ju.Ung	77149	Kraus	Kosef	05.09.25
444	Ju.Po.	69293	Krebs	Moses	27.04.02
179	Ju.Po.	69013	Kremsdorf	Jakob	26.11.20
75	Ju.Po.	68902	Krieger	Chaskel	08.06.00
454	Ju.Po.	69303	Krieger	Szymon	12.10.04
1	Ju.Po.	68821	Krischer	Hirsch	15.08.97
25	Ju.Po.	68846	Krug	Samuel	15.12.11
699	Ju.Po.	77012	Kroger	Natan	21.02.17
700	Ju.Po.	77013	Kochler	Josef	08.09.22
437	Ju.Po.	69286	Kujawski	Jankiel	13.02.98
282	Ju.Po.	69120	Kukurutz	Roman	06.08.17
64	Ju.Po.	68890	Kukurutz	Salo	24.10.13
379	Ju.Po.	69226	Kupferberg	Izrael	04.09.98
157	Ju.Po.	68990	Kurz	Ignacy	02.11.00
32	Ju.Po.	68855	Lamensdorf	Leib	14.12.90
759	Ju.Tsc	77150	Lampel	Heinrich	09.02.98
286	Ju.Po.	69125	Landesdor-Fer	Izak	07.04.23
372	Ju.Po.	69219	Landschaft	Aron	07.07.09
760	Ju.Ung	77151	Lang	Max	28.05.95
518	Ju.Po.	69374	Langsam	Jakob	28.11.23
149	Ju.Po.	68982	Lasser	Szaja	04.04.11
566	Ju.Po.	69423	Laus	Jakob	02.12.16
407	Ju.Po.	69254	Lax	Ryszard	09.07.24
153	Ju.Po.	68986	Lebenstein	Izak	11.02.06
337	Ju.Po.	69182	Lederberger	Mojzesz	11.01.23
147	Ju.Po.	68980	Lederer	Dawid	25.06.07
152	Ju.Po.	68985	Lederer	Mendel	25.08.01
67	Ju.Po.	68893	Leibermann	Ignacy	16.07.08
68	Ju.Po.	68894	Leibermann	Mauryoy	27.08.10
143	Ju.Po.	68976	Leibler	Leon	06.09.08
10	Ju.Po.	68830	Leichter	Josef	25.11.17

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
465	Ju.Po.	69316	Leinkram	Elias	06.05.07
288	Ju.Po.	69127	Lejzon	Dawid	01.08.27
289	Ju.Po.	69128	Lejzon	Leib	15.09.29
290	Ju.Po.	69129	Lejzon	Moses	15.12.98
515	Ju.Po.	69371	Lermer	Abraham	31.07.24
105	Ju.Po.	68937	Leser	Jakob	25.02.13
106	Ju.Po.	68938	Leser	Szulim	05.05.16
48	Ju.Po.	68872	Lewertow	Jakob	10.11.08
306	Ju.Po.	69147	Lewi	Dawid	02.06.07
645	Ju.Po.	69503	Lewi	Salomon	26.06.16
567	Ju.Po.	69424	Lewin	Josek	20.11.24
406	Ju.Po.	69253	Lewkowicz	Ferdynand	12.03.09
113	Ju.Po.	68945	Lewkowicz	Hermann	29.04.09
151	Ju.Po.	68984	Lewkowicz	Icek	18.01.17
125	Ju.Po.	68957	Lewkowicz	Moses	20.03.94
110	Ju.Po.	68942	Lewkowicz	Natan	29.04.09
108	Ju.Po.	68940	Lezerklewicz	Wiktor	25.08.19
376	Ju.Po.	69223	Liban	Jan	29.04.24
154	Ju.Po.	68987	Licht	Hersch	31.01.06
78	Ju.Po.	68906	Lichtig	Samuel	20.03.98
117	Ju.Po.	68949	Lieser	Markus	12.03.04
164	Ju.Po.	68997	Lindenber-Ger	Leon	05.01.21
293	Ju.Po.	69132	Linkowski	Maurycy	23.06.05
342	Ju.Po.	69187	Lipschutz	Josef	01.11.18
150	Ju.Po.	68983	Loffler	Hermann	17.12.14
403	Ju.Po.	69250	Low	Jakob	03.03.00
402	Ju.Po.	69249	Low	Zysze	28.06.97
178	Ju.Po.	69011	Luftig	Elias	17.12.95
176	Ju.Po.	69009	Luftig	Leopold	07.03.26
175	Ju.Po.	69008	Luftig	Stefan	17.02.29
9	Ju.Po.	68829	Mahler	Abraham	07.04.02
160	Ju.Po.	68993	Makowski	Israel	25.11.06
299	Ju.Po.	69140	Malawer	Chaim	28.12.05
133	Ju.Po.	68965	Mandel	Hersch	17.10.04
46	Ju.Po.	68870	Manskleid	Anatol	15.05.25
142	Ju.Po.	68975	Markheim	Maurycy	14.02.23

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
174	Ju.Po.	69007	Marlakow	Nuchym	12.03.90
761	Ju.Tsc	77153	Massaryk	Ferdinand	09.10.16
703	Ju.Dt.	77016	Matuschak	Abraham	20.02.15
198	Ju.Po.	69032	Meisels	Kalman	05.11.20
410	Ju.Po.	69257	Meisels	Szlama	02.02.16
111	Ju.Po.	68943	Melzer	Josef	07.07.11
762	Ju.Tsc	77154	Melzer	Leo	14.06.03
169	Ju.Po.	69002	Merkrebs	Juda	28.11.21
562	Ju.Ung	69419	Mernelstein	Alex	17.04.21
57	Ju.Po.	68881	Metzendorf	Majer	01.12.14
704	Sch.Fr	77017	Michaud	Roger	22.03.22
389	Ju.Po.	69236	Miedziuch	Michael	03.11.16
456	Ju.Po.	69305	Milgrom	Josef	25.10.13
102	Ju.Po.	68934	Mindelgrun	Menasche	04.05.17
430	Ju.Po.	69279	Mingelgrun	Max	03.02.06
583	Ju.Po.	69440	Minz	Iser	08.03.18
148	Ju.Po.	68981	Mond	Dawid	16.04.91
582	Ju.Po.	69439	Monderer	Nachum	10.11.23
56	Ju.Po.	68880	Morgenbesser	Adam	05.09.27
55	Ju.Po.	68879	Morgenbesser	Kafal	09.10.00
600	Ju.Po.	69457	Mowscho-Witz	Szymon	17.09.14
705	Ju.Po.	77018	Mozek	Josef	01.10.14
103	Ju.Po.	68935	Muhlrad	Alecksander	09.09.17
479	Ju.Po.	69332	Muller	Idam	30.03.26
107	Ju.Po.	68939	Muller	Moses	23.05.10
480	Ju.Po.	69334	Muller	Zygmunt	15.12.02
112	Ju.Po.	68944	Mutzenmacher	Rubin	14.11.98
98	Ju.Po.	68930	Mutzner	Jeremiasz	15.10.10
429	Ju.Po.	69276	Nachhauser	Wilhelm	26.12.20
120	Ju.Po.	68952	Nadel	Dawid	05.06.13
161	Ju.Po.	68994	Nadel	Szymon	05.08.08
763	Ju.Ung	77155	Nadler	Miklosz	26.06.14
706	Ju.Dt	77019	Nebel	Hans	25.09.15
338	Ju.Po.	69183	Neiger	Dawid	19.03.06
123	Ju.Po.	68955	Neufeld	Henryk	14.08.20
764	Ju.Ung	77156	Neumann	Dezso	14.05.96

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
621	Ju.Po.	69478	Neumann	Siegmund	21.06.98
99	Ju.Po.	68931	Nichthauser	Alfred	16.07.98
353	Ju.Po.	69200	Niemiec	Josek	07.03.25
707	Ju.Po.	77020	Nusbaum	Ignaz	06.02.12
568	Ju.Po.	69425	Nussbaum	Henoch	11.09.09
95	Ju.Po.	68927	Nussbaum	Richard	22.03.30
94	Ju.Po.	68926	Nussbaum	Wilhelm	01.08.10
39	Ju.Po.	68862	Oberfeld	Adolf	24.09.11
766	Ju.Ung	77158	Obstler	Kalman	09.04.03
267	Ju.Po.	69105	Oestreicher	Jakob	07.05.17
765	Ju.Dt	77157	Offner	Erich	15.02.26
145	Ju.Po.	68978	Opoczynski	Henryk	25.07.24
91	Ju.Po.	68922	Oppenheim	Saal	04.06.98
708	Ju.Po.	77021	Ordynans	Julek	22.12.08
88	Ju.Po.	68919	Panzer	Henryk	28.01.19
109	Ju.Po.	68941	Pechner	Simon	18.07.21
135	Ju.Po.	68967	Pelzmann	Hersch	02.10.99
137	Ju.Po.	68969	Pelzmann	Natan	20.05.13
655	Ju.Po.	69514	Pemper	Mieczyslaw	24.03.20
495	Ju.Po.	69349	Pemper	Alfred	17.02.12
104	Ju.Po.	68936	Pemper	Jakob	30.08.98
96	Ju.Po.	68928	Pemper	Stefan	05.09.24
368	Ju.Po.	69215	Penner	Jonas	02.02.15
351	Ju.Po.	69198	Penner	Mieczyslaw	29.02.20
97	Ju.Po.	68929	Perl	Salomon	02.03.07
435	Ju.Po.	69284	Perlberger	Teodor	08.01.97
130	Ju.Po.	68962	Perlmann	Chaim	10.08.01
461	Ju.Po.	69312	Perlmann	Izrael	03.04.07
129	Ju.Po.	68961	Perlmann	Jakob	31.05.08
139	Ju.Po.	68972	Perlmann	Jakob	21.02.09
134	Ju.Po.	68966	Perlmann	Moses	09.10.26
767	Ju.Ung	77159	Perlmutter	Farkcas	18.08.02
173	Ju.Po.	69006	Pfefferberg	Leopold	20.03.20
768	Ju.Po.	77160	Piotrkowski	Salomon	03.07.12
769	Ju.Po.	77161	Piskorz	Max	26.11.96
136	Ju.Po.	68968	Planzer	Chaim	28.09.01

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
770	Ju.Dt	77162	Pollak	Robert	20.07.13
527	Ju.Po.	69383	Pomeranz	Hersz	24.03.25
799	Ju.Po.	77194	Pomerauz	Baruch	25.04.20
100	Ju.Po.	68932	Posner	Baruch	17.09.18
404	Ju.Po.	69251	Pozniak	Szloma	15.09.16
424	Ju.Po.	69271	Preiss	Isak	18.12.99
447	Ju.Po.	69296	Presser	Bernard	16.09.14
681	Ju.Po.	69931	Ptasznik	Abe	03.09.14
680	Ju.Po.	69928	Ptasznik	Chaim	11.10.09
530	Ju.Po.	69386	Pudlowski	Jacob	03.05.21
419	Ju.Po.	69266	Pufeles	Maurycy	05.10.12
205	Ju.Po.	69040	Puntirer	Mejzesz	18.06.25
473	Ju.Po.	69326	Putter	Abraham	11.04.04
469	Ju.Po.	69321	Putter	Ezriel	15.09.03
156	Ju.Po.	68989	Rabner	Artur	19.09.18
771	Ju.Ung	77163	Rade	Siegmund	02.03.16
422	Ju.Po.	69269	Radziwiller	Adolf	31.03.11
231	Ju.Po.	69067	Rath	Wladyslaw	21.03.24
405	Ju.Po.	69252	Ratz	Wolf	20.06.09
793	Ju.Po.	77188	Rawot	Abe	03.07.07
425	Ju.Po.	69272	Reben	Natan	25.07.05
386	Ju.Po.	69233	Rechin	Ryszard	30.05.21
126	Ju.Po.	68958	Rechtschafer	Moses	03.03.06
460	Ju.Po.	69311	Reich	Emil	11.05.94
177	Ju.Po.	69010	Reich	Jerzy	28.02.24
476	Ju.Po.	69329	Reich	Kalman	22.03.09
497	Ju.Po.	69351	Reich	Kalman	26.01.12
448	Ju.Po.	69297	Reich	Mendel	25.05.13
772	Ju.Po.	77164	Reichgott	Moritz	11.12.02
119	Ju.Po.	68951	Reif	Viktor	24.10.06
664	Ju.Po.	69566	Reisfeld	Baruch	24.05.20
663	Ju.Po.	69565	Reisfeld	Salomon	26.01.95
794	Ju.Po.	77189	Reismann	Aron	01.03.08
90	Ju.Po.	68921	Reismann	Leon	31.12.16
423	Ju.Po.	69270	Reiss	Abraham	03.01.23
504	Ju.Po.	69358	Richter	Juda	07.07.03

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
505	Ju.Po.	69360	Rimmmler	Moses	05.05.07
644	Ju.Tsc	69502	Ring	Leopold	08.02.94
347	Ju.Po.	69194	Ringelblum	Arnold	27.06.20
427	Ju.Po.	69274	Rittermann	Zygmunt	18.04.06
652	Ju.Po.	69511	Rosen	Szymon	17.07.00
537	Ju.Po.	69393	Rosenberg	Juliysz	10.12.00
472	Ju.Po.	69325	Rosenblatt	Majer	15.01.10
710	Ju.Po.	77023	Rosenblum	Szaja	08.02.16
118	Ju.Po.	68950	Rosenfried	Albert	24.06.16
122	Ju.Po.	68954	Rosenkranz	Max	25.02.06
374	Ju.Po.	69221	Rosenthal	Israel	24.10.09
114	Ju.Po.	68946	Rosenzweig	Maks	13.04.98
365	Ju.Po.	69212	Rosner	Leopold	26.06.18
414	Ju.Po.	69261	Rosner	Wilhelm	14.09.25
610	Ju.Po.	69467	Roter	Siegmund	19.03.20
140	Ju.Po.	68973	Roth	Fischel	00.00.12
489	Ju.Po.	69343	Roth	Wigdor	08.03.15
12	Ju.Po.	68833	Rottenberg	Beer	09.08.20
616	Ju.Po.	69473	Rottman	Jakub	14.02.10
101	Ju.Po.	68933	Rozer	Franciszok	31.10.19
517	Ju.Po.	69373	Rubin	Osias	13.07.14
132	Ju.Po.	68964	Rumpler	Josef	01.04.98
498	Ju.Po.	69352	Ryba	Josef	09.01.19
512	Ju.Po.	69368	Ryba	Szaja	14.07.14
773	Ju.Dt	77165	Sabarsky	Siegfried	27.09.03
711	Ju.Po.	77024	Salem	Chaim	13.01.14
433	Ju.Po.	69282	Salpeter	Leib	20.12.97
503	Ju.Po.	69357	Salzberg	Jankiel	27.05.17
587	Ju.Po.	69444	Salzberg	Szmul	30.11.23
574	Ju.Po.	69431	Sauerbrunn	Dawid	15.01.10
413	Ju.Po.	69260	Sawicki	Samuel	09.04.17
326	Ju.Po.	69171	Schanz	Zew	06.01.23
573	Ju.Po.	69430	Scharf	Josef	03.11.16
15	Ju.Po.	68836	Scheck	Jerzy	25.12.17
29	Ju.Po.	68850	Scheidlinger	Markus	19.08.18
487	Ju.Po.	69341	Schein	Szymon	05.01.12

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
508	Ju.Po.	69363	Scheinok	Szulim	13.11.06
511	Ju.Po.	69367	Scher	Dawid	11.02.08
474	Ju.Po.	69327	Schide	Rubin	10.04.88
355	Ju.Po.	69202	Schimmel	Mojzesz	13.01.08
790	Ju.Po.	77184	Schimmel	Oskar	18.05.09
619	Ju.Po.	69476	Schindel	Samuel	11.01.05
40	Ju.Po.	68863	Schlang	Dawid	08.07.05
37	Ju.Po.	68860	Schlesinger	Abraham	02.09.10
774	Ju.Ung	77166	Schlesinger	Leopold	12.06.04
26	Ju.Po.	68847	Schlesinger	Moses	05.07.96
712	PSV/RD7702	5	Schlichting	Willy	02.06.01
776	Ju.Dt	77168	Schnapp	Harry	03.06.01
93	Ju.Po.	68925	Schneider	Israel	30.04.12
791	Ju.Po.	77185	Schoenfeld	Alfred	26.03.22
775	Ju.Stl	77167	Schonfeld	Otto	23.10.07
576	Ju.Po.	69433	Schonherz	Siegmund	20.06.14
602	Ju.Po.	69459	Schreiber	Isak	05.07.06
396	Ju.Po.	69243	Schreiber	Leopold	15.10.25
463	Ju.Po.	69314	Schreier	Roman	28.06.04
603	Ju.Dt.	69460	Schubert	Alexander	05.03.94
713	Ju.Po.	77026	Schuhma-Cher	Abra.	15.03.20
141	Ju.Po.	68974	Schuldiener	Moses	26.05.06
502	Ju.Po.	69356	Schulkind	Kopel	18.09.05
777	Ju.Ung	77169	Schwarz	Alexander	19.12.19
482	Ju.Po.	69336	Schwarz	Paul	03.12.03
457	Ju.Po.	69306	Schweber	Jzak	27.09.97
464	Ju.Po.	69315	Schweber	Mendel	10.10.02
466	Ju.Po.	69317	Schwelb	Georg	06.01.07
553	Ju.Po.	69410	Seewald	Leib	31.01.10
532	Ju.Po.	69388	Seftel	Jakob	05.11.10
36	Ju.Po.	68859	Segal	Chaim	30.03.07
382	Ju.Po.	69229	Segal	Richard	09.11.23
563	Ju.Po.	69420	Seidenfeuer	Rachmiel	10.04.04
778	Ju.Dt	77171	Seif	Siegmarm	09.03.13
467	Ju.Po.	69319	Seifmann	Markus	18.01.16
127	Ju.Po.	68959	Selinger	Chaim	17.07.95

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
572	Ju.Po.	69429	Selinger	Lazar	04.07.24
452	Ju.Po.	69301	Selinger	Peretz	28.06.14
579	Ju.Po.	69436	Selinger	Szymon	02.09.91
408	Ju.Po.	69255	Semmel	Berek	05.01.05
541	Ju.Po.	69398	Senft	Wolf	03.07.09
378	Ju.Po.	69225	Senftmann	Dawid	06.09.09
714	Ju.Fr	77027	Silber	Isak	10.01.24
375	Ju.Po.	69222	Silber-Schlag	Hersch	07.04.12
481	Ju.Po.	69335	Silberspitz	Izak	08.07.10
599	Ju.Po.	69456	Silberstein	Hirsch	27.07.02
397	Ju.Po.	69244	Silberstein	Jakob	01.01.00
79	Ju.Po	68907	Silberstein	Max	21.07.00
613	Ju.Po.	69470	Silberstein	Max	30.04.24
779	Ju.Dt	77172	Singer	Gunther	14.01.22
522	Ju.Po.	69378	Sloma	Lankiel	01.09.08
385	Ju.Po.	69232	Smolarz	Szymon	15.05.04
547	Ju.Po.	69404	Sommer	Abraham	22.12.07
384	Ju.Po.	69231	Sommer	Josef	21.12.14
646	Ju.Po.	69504	Spatz	Natan	13.01.15
28	Ju.Po.	68849	Sperber	Chaim	07.07.03
491	Ju.Po.	69345	Sperling	Bernard	27.01.12
539	Ju.Po.	69395	Sperling	Efroim	28.10.05
475	Ju.Po.	69328	Sperling	Moritz	21.04.97
780	Ju.Sl	77173	Spiegel	Markus	30.04.11
524	Ju.Po.	69380	Spira	Aszer Edward	02.09.02
525	Ju.Po.	69381	Spira	Jerzy	12.03.30
781	Ju.Bt	77174	Stagel	Paul	15.12.12
493	Ju.Po.	69347	Stanger	Abraham	14.09.10
782	Ju.Ung	77175	Stark	Jaros	20.05.16
459	Ju.Po.	69308	Starzycki	Szymon	08.05.01
470	Ju.Po.	69322	Stein	Aron	30.12.20
510	Ju.Po.	69365	Stein	Josef	10.05.10
783	Ju.Dt	77176	Stein	Leon	06.07.98
519	Ju.Po.	69375	Steininger	Rafael	05.06.04
432	Ju.Po.	69281	Stejman	Nysel	15.07.10
546	Ju.Po.	69403	Stelzer	Alfred	17.01.07

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
488	Ju.Po.	69342	Stemmer	Max	06.12.12
538	Ju.Po.	69394	Stern	Aszer	29.01.08
115	Ju.Po.	68947	Stern	Henryk	19.11.96
659	Ju.Po.	69518	Stern	Isak	25.01.01
428	Ju.Po.	69275	Stern	Natan	21.04.06
58	Ju.Po.	68882	Sternberg	Jakob	16.12.99
59	Ju.Po.	68883	Sternberg	Jerzy	09.06.26
540	Ju.Po.	69397	Sterngast	Josef	27.08.13
715	Ju.Dt.	77028	Stillmann	Albert	08.10.12
501	Ju.Po.	69355	Stimmmler	Samuel	13.09.23
455	Ju.Po.	69304	Strenger	Szymon	06.01.22
494	Ju.Po.	69348	Sussermann	Moses	04.01.95
535	Ju.Po.	69391	Susskind	Moniek	09.07.22
536	Ju.Po.	69392	Susskind	Salomon	27.12.24
554	Ju.Po.	69411	Sussmann	Adolf	12.12.24
462	Ju.Po.	69313	Sussmann	Jakob	22.07.10
716	Ju.Fr	77029	Szczapa	Aron	23.02.10
162	Ju.Po.	68995	Szenwic	Zenon	10.06.05
387	Ju.Po.	69234	Szlamowicz	Chaim	16.05.24
324	Ju.Po.	69169	Szlamowicz	Naftali	15.10.23
320	Ju.Po.	69165	Szlamowicz	Szulam	01.01.18
784	Ju.Po.	77177	Szydlo	Selman	22.06.12
24	Ju.Po.	68845	Taube	Emanuel	16.01.02
22	Ju.Po.	68843	Taube	Maksymilian	17.06.27
500	Ju.Po.	69354	Taubler	Wilhelm	24.12.12
687	Ju.Po.	74695	Teitelbaum	Elias	22.05.08
607	Ju.Po.	69464	Teitelbaum	Leib	12.08.13
27	Ju.Po.	68848	Tennenbaum	Izydor	01.10.20
665	Ju.Po.	69573	Tennenbaum	Szymon	13.10.18
65	Ju.Po.	68891	Tilles	Jakob	20.10.11
490	Ju.Po.	69344	Trauring	Ferdynand	15.01.92
558	Ju.Po.	69415	Turner	Henryk	20.10.20
551	Ju.Po.	69408	Turner	Moses	25.06.24
31	Ju.Po.	68853	Urbach	Dawid	18.02.96
560	Ju.Po.	69427	Urbach	Salomon	25.10.25
2	Ju.Po.	68822	Vogel	Gedale	05.07.01

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
492	Ju.Po.	69346	Vogelhut	Max	20.04.03
332	Ju.Ita	69177	Vogelmann	Szulim	28.04.03
66	Ju.Po.	68892	Wachholder	Baruch	29.11.08
72	Ju.Po.	68898	Wachholder	Schulim	15.04.03
634	Ju.Po.	69492	Wachsberg	Lejbusz	01.05.08
369	Ju.Po.	69216	Wachtel	Roman	05.11.05
683	Ju.Po.	69944	Wahrhaft	Moses	08.11.05
785	Ju	77179	Waldapfel	Erwin	11.03.01
786	Ju.Ung	77180	Walz	Julius	30.08.97
373	Ju.Po.	69220	Wandersmann	Markus	14.09.06
520	Ju.Po.	69376	Wasserlauf	Nachim	16.05.25
514	Ju.Po.	69370	Wasserteil	Moses	26.09.98
16	Ju.Po.	68837	Weil	Naftali	10.09.14
5	Ju.Po.	68825	Wein	Wolf	09.06.00
131	Ju.Po.	68963	Weinberger	Adolf	06.06.10
4	Ju.Po.	68824	Weinberger	Hachum	16.05.21
89	Ju.Po.	68920	Weinberger	Markus	02.03.09
686	Ju.Po.	69741	Weingarten	Jakob	18.01.18
674	Ju.Po.	69742	Weingarten	Jechiel	13.02.16
483	Ju.Po.	69337	Weingarten	Szymon	18.10.21
11	Ju.Po.	68832	Weinschel-Baum	Dawid	14.02.24
14	Ju.Po.	68835	Weinschel-Baum	Pinkus	24.09.19
667	Ju.Po.	69606	Weinstein	Berl	20.09.04
74	Ju.Po.	68901	Weinstock	Josef	06.01.17
544	Ju.Po.	69401	Weinstock	Josef	04.10.00
545	Ju.Po.	69402	Weinstock	Moniek	19.11.27
533	Ju.Po.	69389	Weinzier	Srul	25.05.02
668	Ju.Po.	69608	Weiser	Osias	10.06.06
792	Ju.Fr	77186	Weismann	Baruch	11.03.04
468	Ju.Po.	69320	Weiss	Chaim	10.10.17
485	Ju.Po.	69339	Weiss	Menachem	27.08.25
484	Ju.Po.	69338	Weiss	Symche	10.11.98
478	Ju.Po.	69331	Wendum	Salomon	16.07.09
371	Ju.Po.	69218	Wichter	Feiwei	25.07.26
443	Ju.Po.	69292	Wiener	Israel	12.01.21
441	Ju.Po.	69290	Wiener	Juliusz	09.05.04

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
364	Ju.Po.	69211	Wiener	Samuel	11.05.07
138	Ju.Po.	68971	Wilk	Sadek	11.11.18
555	Ju.Po.	69412	Wilostein	Hermann	21.08.16
395	Ju.Po.	69242	Wisniak	Abram	00.00.30
477	Ju.Po.	69330	Wohlfeiler	Henryk	09.01.99
21	Ju.Po.	68842	Wohlfeiler	Ignazy	01.11.99
557	Ju.Po.	69414	Wohlfeiler	Roman	15.02.18
717	Ju.Dt	77030	Wohlgemut	Horst	27.08.22
420	Ju.Po.	69267	Wulkan	Markus	30.10.10
506	Ju.Po.	69361	Zalcberg	Dawid	07.12.15
682	Ju.Po.	69937	Zimmermann	Max	07.07.17
52	Ju.Po.	68876	Zimmet	Dawid	01.06.14
593	Ju.Po.	69450	Zuckermann	Chaim	26.03.11
585	Ju.Po.	69442	Zuckermann	Isak	26.08.16

Appendix F

Women's Brünnlitz List

Alphabetized by Surname
Gross-Rosen L.Brünnlitz/Liste D. Weibl. Haftlinge-18.4.45. Blatt 2
* indicates that the person is referred to in the text

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
1	Ju.Po	76201 *	Aftergood	Bertha	20.02.16
2	Ju.Po	76202	Appel	Gisela	28.07.21
3	Ju.Po	76203	Ast	Rachela	28.08.20
4	Ju.Po	76204	Banach	Lol	03.07.08
5	Ju.Po	76205	Barth	Helena	25.12.10
6	Ju.Po	76206	Begleiter	Valeria	18.06.21
7	Ju.Po	76207 *	Berger	Hilde	13.06.14
8	Ju.Po	76208	Berhang	Elka	07.04.15
9	Ju.Po	76209	Bernstein	Golda	10.11.21
12	Ju.Po	76212	Bernstein	Henja Malka	29.08.19
10	Ju.Po	76210	Bielfeld	Frania	31.03.22
11	Ju.Po	76211	Blawat	Felicia	25.12.24
14	Ju.Po	76214	Blumenkranz	Karola	19.01.14
20	Ju.Po	76220	Borenstein	Basia	20.04.26
13	Ju.Po	76213	Borger	Anna	08.03.15
21	Ju.Po	76221	Brandsilber	Charlotte	05.04.09
22	Ju.Po	76222	Brechner	Nelli	14.05.08
23	Ju.Po	76223	Breit	Giza	11.06.11
15	Ju.Po	76215	Bronner	Jetti	27.08.13
16	Ju.Po	76216	Brunnengraber	Halina	12.03.26
17	Ju.Po	76217	Brzeska	Cecilia	24.12.26
18	Ju.Po	76218	Brzeska	Hela	10.05.25
19	Ju.Po	76219	Buchsbaum	Sofia	11.03.13
24	Ju.Po	76224	Bugajer	Rachela	03.02.18
25	Ju.Po	76225	Burstiner	Hela	27.01.09
26	Ju.Po	76227	Danzig	Sara	26.07.07
27	Ju.Dt	76228	Dawidowitz	Ida	06.02.99
140	Ju.Po	76342	Dembitzer	Sara	17.06.96
28	Ju.Po	76229 *	Dortheimer	Helena	19.05.22
29	Ju.Po	76230 *	Dortheimer	Helena	08.07.20

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
33	Ju.Po	76234	Dresner	Danuta	24.08.27
30	Ju.Po	76231	Dressler	Marta	13.06.96
31	Ju.Po	76232	Dressler	Susi	01.10.14
32	Ju.Po	76233	Dressner	Chaja	08.04.06
34	Ju.Po	76235	Duklauer	Anna	20.12.22
35	Ju.Po	76236	Durst	Szyfra	03.04.14
36	Ju.Po	76237	Eisen	Erna	27.02.19
37	Ju.Po	76239	Feigenbaum	Necha	16.01.02
38	Ju.Po	76240	Feingold	Mina	27.07.10
39	Ju.Po	76241	Feldmann	Lola	01.08.22
40	Ju.Po	76242	Feldmann	Rosa	04.09.26
41	Ju.Po	76243	Feldstein	Felicia	10.04.24
42	Ju.Po	76244	Ferber	Rena	24.02.28
43	Ju.Po	76245	Ferber	Rosa	14.09.05
44	Ju.Po	76246	Fertig	Gustawa	21.12.22
45	Ju.Po	76247	Feuereisen	Eleonora	12.06.24
89	Ju.Po	76291 *	Finder	Eugenia	13.07.15
46	Ju.Po	76248	Flinder	Fela	15.08.09
49	Ju.Po	76251	Frankel	Frieda	14.04.24
48	Ju.Po	76250	Freilich	Rosa	01.03.15
47	Ju.Po	76249	Frey	Cecilia	11.11.21
51	Ju.Po	76253	Friedmann	Estera	01.12.20
50	Ju.Po	76252	Friedmann	Eugenia	18.06.23
52	Ju.Po	76254	Friedmann	Felicia	02.01.23
53	Ju.Po	76255	Friedmann	Helena	03.09.04
55	Ju.Po	76257	Friedner	Ada	16.01.21
54	Ju.Po	76256	Friedner	Franciszka	05.07.06
57	Ju.Po	76259	Frisch	Ella	04.03.01
56	Ju.Po	76258	Frisch	Stefania	20.04.27
58	Ju.Po	76260	Gams	Genia	01.09.14
60	Ju.Po	76262	Garde	Irena	02.04.18
59	Ju.Po	76261	Garde	Mira	07.08.99
61	Ju.Po	76263	Geller	Anna	08.09.12
62	Ju.Po	76264	Geminder	Fela	18.07.14
63	Ju.Po	76265	Geminder	Helene	16.05.10
64	Ju.Po	76266	Geminder	Lore	05.01.23

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
65	Ju.Po	76267	Gerner	Eidla	22.11.96
66	Ju.Po	76268	Gerner	Pola	17.01.21
67	Ju.Po	76269 *	Getzler	Syda	15.05.13
68	Ju.Po	76270	Ginter	Ernestine	16.03.10
69	Ju.Po	76271	Glockenberg	Rosa	04.01.20
70	Ju.Po	76272	Goldberg	Salomea	18.12.18
71	Ju.Po	76273	Goldberg	Syda	08.03.22
72	Ju.Po	76274	Goldmann	Hinde	06.07.92
73	Ju.Po	76275	Goldstein	Cypera	15.01.99
74	Ju.Po	76276	Grajower	Sara	30.07.23
81	Ju.Po	76283	Gronner	Gustawa	22.10.08
82	Ju.Po	76284	Gross	Cypora	26.03.16
83	Ju.Po	76285	Gross	Selma	26.06.12
84	Ju.Po	76286	Grossbard	Paulina	03.08.25
75	Ju.Po	76277	Grunberg	Leonie	23.10.19
171	Ju.Po	76374	Grunberg	Miriam	01.12.20
76	Ju.Po	76278	Gruner	Hanka	03.11.05
77	Ju.Po	76279	Gruner	Helena	20.12.27
78	Ju.Po	76280	Grunspan	Sabina	24.01.18
80	Ju.Po	76282	Grunwald	Sabina	26.11.11
86	Ju.Po	76288	Guntherz	Augusta	18.09.97
85	Ju.Po	76287	Gunz-Sperling	Bronia	21.05.16
88	Ju.Po	76290	Haubenstock	Maria	12.04.17
87	Ju.Po	76289	Haubenstock	Sofia	14.05.21
90	Ju.Po	76292	Heilmann	Sara	20.11.10
91	Ju.Po	76293	Hendler	Lea	10.05.08
92	Ju.Po	76294	Henig	Chana	06.06.02
94	Ju.Po	76296	Herzog	Estera	15.06.99
93	Ju.Po	76295	Herzog	Lea	12.12.22
95	Ju.Po	76297	Heublum	Nina	11.01.97
96	Ju.Po	76298	Hilfstein	Miriam	25.01.97
98	Ju.Po	76300	Hirsch	Anna	29.03.15
97	Ju.Po	76299 *	Hirsch	Helena	03.09.11
99	Ju.Po	76301	Hirsch	Helga	01.07.23
100	Ju.Po	76302	Hirschberg	Sali	18.05.03
101	Ju.Po	76303	Hirschfeld	Polda	21.04.21

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
102	Ju.Po	76304	Hollander	Rachela	23.03.17
103	Ju.Po	76305	Holzmann	Perl	14.03.10
109	Ju.Po	76311	Horowitz	Bella	10.03.20
105	Ju.Po	76307 *	Horowitz	Bronislawa	22.04.30
106	Ju.Po	76308 *	Horowitz	Halina	13.03.29
107	Ju.Po	76309 *	Horowitz	Roma	15.05.12
108	Ju.Po	76310	Horowitz	Ruchel	14.12.06
110	Ju.Po	76312	Horowitz	Sara	24.06.88
111	Ju.Po	76313	Hudes	Estera	10.03.10
112	Ju.Po	76314	Ickowicz	Pola	21.02.18
113	Ju.Po	76315	Israeli	Stella	04.03.10
114	Ju.Po	76316	Jerethh	Chaja	12.07.92
115	Ju.Po	76317	Karmel-Poss	Adela	05.04.21
116	Ju.Po	76318 *	Karp	Celina	28.05.29
117	Ju.Po	76319	Karp	Feiga Raza	15.09.05
118	Ju.Po	76320	Katolik	Cyla	14.05.14
119	Ju.Po	76321	Katz	Cecilia	12.08.22
121	Ju.Po	76323	Katz	Gabriela	17.03.19
120	Ju.Po	76322	Katz	Ruth	25.08.20
122	Ju.Po	76324	Kaufmann	Regina	23.12.20
125	Ju.Po	76327	Kerner	Estera	20.08.05
126	Ju.Po	76328 *	Kinstlinger	Chana	15.08.13
127	Ju.Po	76329	Kiwetz	Fradel	06.05.21
128	Ju.Po	76330	Kleinmann	Paula	18.02.27
129	Ju.Po	76331	Klinger	Sara	03.04.14
130	Ju.Po	76332	Klipstein	Rosalie	17.10.99
131	Ju.Po	76333	Kohn	Ruth	10.02.26
123	Ju.Po	76325	Konigsberg	Anna	26.11.90
104	Ju.Po	76306	Korn	Estera	24.11.18
132	Ju.Po	76334 *	Korn	Rachela	08.04.00
133	Ju.Po	76335 *	Kornhauser	Rosalia	24.07.14
134	Ju.Po	76336	Kraus	Czeslawa	17.08.23
135	Ju.Po	76337 *	Krumholz	Lola	10.01.17
124	Ju.Po	76326	Kuhn	Helena	06.02.22
136	Ju.Po	76338	Kupferberg	Ala	18.10.18
137	Ju.Po	76339	Kurz	Tauba	18.06.03

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
138	Ju.Po	76340	Kuzmer-Lewkowicz	R	06.12.15
141	Ju.Po	76343	Lampel	Anita	26.05.28
142	Ju.Po	76344	Lampel	Celina	14.03.07
143	Ju.Po	76345	Landsberger	Helene	12.07.08
139	Ju.Po	76341	Laufer	Rosa	16.10.24
144	Ju.Po	76347	Leder	Paula	01.01.21
148	Ju.Po	76351	Lehrer-Handler	Bella	08.12.19
145	Ju.Po	76348	Lejzon	Chana	15.06.00
147	Ju.Po	76350	Lejzon	Pesia	03.05.26
149	Ju.Po	76352	Lermer	Anna	10.01.13
150	Ju.Po	76353	Leser	Perla	13.07.11
155	Ju.Po	76358	Lewinska	Natalia	22.04.14
156	Ju.Po	76359	Lewkowicz	Ital	22.11.06
159	Ju.Po	76362	Lichtig	Anna	20.10.04
157	Ju.Po	76360	Liebermann	Salomea	06.03.98
158	Ju.Po	76361 *	Liebgold	Etka	04.09.14
160	Ju.Po	76363	Linzer	Lusia	08.09.27
161	Ju.Po	76364	Lipschutz	Debora	08.04.17
162	Ju.Po	76365	Lis	Eda	15.05.00
163	Ju.Po	76366	Lis	Henryka	22.07.20
146	Ju.Po	76349	Loffel	Sabina	22.02.13
151	Ju.Po	76354 *	Low	Dr.Matilde	06.01.99
152	Ju.Po	76355	Lowenstein	Ruth	18.07.18
153	Ju.Po	76356	Lowi	Adela	29.11.10
154	Ju.Po	76357	Lowi	Maria	28.05.95
166	Ju.Po	76369	Mandel	Perla	06.02.12
79	Ju.Po	76281	Mandelbaum	Mala	24.07.17
164	Ju.Po	76367	Manne	Tauba	13.10.88
165	Ju.Po	76368	Markia	Maria	05.01.12
167	Ju.Po	76370	Markin	Tilla	06.06.08
170	Ju.Po	76373	Mischel	Maria	07.07.17
168	Ju.Po	76371	Muller	Berta	06.03.07
169	Ju.Po	76372	Muller	Stella	05.02.28
172	Ju.Po	76375	Nadel	Doba	27.02.93
173	Ju.Po	76376	Nadel	Felicia	26.06.17
174	Ju.Po	76377	Nass	Roma	09.01.06

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
175	Ju.Po	76378	Nessel	Gisela	20.07.28
176	Ju.Po	76379	Nessel	Paulina	09.07.22
177	Ju.Sl.	76380	Neumann	Irena	29.11.12
178	Ju.Po	76381	Neumann	Mina	04.12.14
179	Ju.Po	76382	Nussbaum	Herta	28.07.22
180	Ju.Po	76383	Nussbaum	Rosalia	14.11.12
181	Ju.Po	76384	Offmann	Henryka	01.05.27
182	Ju.Po	76385	Offmann	Hermine	15.05.27
183	Ju.Po	76386	Offmann	Steffa	16.06.08
184	Ju.Po	76387	Opoczynska	Olga	17.09.98
185	Ju.Po	76388	Orbach	Sara	22.12.19
186	Ju.Po	76389	Pariser	Cecilia	14.04.15
187	Ju.Po	76390	Peller	Rega	15.01.20
188	Ju.Po	76391	Peller	Sara	06.12.18
189	Ju.Po	76392 *	Pelzmann	Gusta	21.02.02
190	Ju.Po	76393	Penner	Fanny Debora	27.09.15
192	Ju.Po	76395	Penner	Franciszka	27.01.24
191	Ju.Po	76394	Penner	Maria	03.12.96
193	Ju.Po	76396	Perlberger	Dora	14.11.07
194	Ju.Po	76397	Perlmann	Ewa	16.06.98
195	Ju.Po	76398 *	Pfefferberg	Ludmila	15.07.20
196	Ju.Po	76399 *	Pinkas	Estera	06.02.24
197	Ju.Po	76400	Presser	Bronislawa	09.03.23
198	Ju.Po	76401	Presser	Frania	12.11.01
199	Ju.Po	76402	Presser	Rosa	22.04.19
200	Ju.Po	76403	Rath	Dora	05.09.19
201	Ju.Po	76404 *	Ratz	Ewa	05.03.30
202	Ju.Po	76405	Ratz	Fela	29.04.12
203	Ju.Po	76406	Redlich	Irena	08.12.21
204	Ju.Po	76407	Reich	Anna	14.09.20
205	Ju.Po	76408	Reicher	Bluma	07.12.22
206	Ju.Po	76409	Reismann	Lola	26.06.17
209	Ju.Po	76412	Ring	Hanka	16.01.28
208	Ju.Bo.	76411	Ring	Rena	12.01.05
210	Ju.Po	76413	Ringelblum	Eugenia	25.10.18
211	Ju.Po	76414	Rittermann	Elzbieta	05.07.10

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
212	Ju.Po	76415	Rittermann	Jadwiga	18.04.16
213	Ju.Po	76416	Rosen	Estera	18.03.05
214	Ju.Po	76417	Rosen	Mira	05.11.25
215	Ju.Po	76418	Rosenberg	Hanka	20.12.18
216	Ju.Po	76419	Rosenberg	Sara	07.01.16
217	Ju.Po	76420	Rosenbluth	Felicia	22.07.19
218	Ju.Po	76421	Rosner	Helena	14.08.09
219	Ju.Po	76422	Rosner	Helena	31.07.22
220	Ju.Po	76423 *	Rosner	Marianne	21.10.10
221	Ju.Po	76424	Rothberg	Erna	31.12.15
222	Ju.Po	76425	Rottenberg	Ratael	21.04.16
207	Ju.Po	76410	Ruckel	Gustawa	06.06.25
223	Ju.Po	76426	Safier	Rita	26.06.26
224	Ju.Po	76427	Sauerbrunn	Sulamith	31.12.15
228	Ju.Po	76431 *	Scheck	Irena	20.02.21
225	Ju.Po	76428	Schein	Meta	02.09.21
226	Ju.Po	76429	Schenierer	Hella	15.08.06
227	Ju.Po	76430	Schenker	Ryfka	08.01.88
231	Ju.Po	76434	Schiffer	Ruth	02.07.20
232	Ju.Po	76435	Schlafstein	Malwina	25.01.16
233	Ju.Po	76436	Schlesinger	Hania	24.07.18
234	Ju.Po	76437	Schmidt	Hanka	12.07.26
235	Ju.Po	76438	Schmidt	Toni	16.01.23
236	Ju.Po	76439	Schneeweiss	Anna	25.08.10
237	Ju.Po	76440	Schonherz	Erna	18.06.25
238	Ju.Po	76441	Schonherz	Helena	13.09.99
239	Ju.Po	76442	Schonherz	Stefania	01.03.16
229	Ju.Po	76432	Schonthal	Bella	06.10.00
230	Ju.Po	76433	Schonthal	Regina	27.10.25
240	Ju.Po	76443	Schwarzmann	Bella	24.09.04
241	Ju.Po	76444	Schwarzmann	Salomea	27.05.28
242	Ju.Po	76445	Schwed	Dora	24.07.21
243	Ju.Po	76446	Schweizer	Estera	15.06.25
245	Ju.Po	76448	Seelenfreund	Feiga	18.01.09
246	Ju.Po	76449	Selinger	Syda	22.04.22
247	Ju.Po	76450	Semmel	Regina	17.03.22

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
248	Ju.Po	76451	Sichermann	Blima	20.05.02
250	Ju.Po	76453	Spira	Franciszka	04.01.09
251	Ju.Po	76454	Srebrna	Gisela	25.12.18
252	Ju.Po	76455	Steinhardt	Ruth	31.11.23
253	Ju.Po	76456	Steinhaus	Rescha	29.12.10
254	Ju.Po	76457	Stern	Leontyna	06.08.11
255	Ju.Po	76458	Stern	Sala	10.02.07
256	Ju.Po	76459 *	Sternberg	Klara	23.03.00
257	Ju.Po	76460	Sterngast	Adela	02.03.11
260	Ju.Po	76463	Sternlicht	Bronislawa	03.05.22
261	Ju.Po	76464	Sternlicht	Helena	25.04.25
262	Ju.Po	76465	Sternlicht	Sydonia	24.02.20
258	Ju.Po	76461	Stiel	Laura	28.06.12
259	Ju.Po	76462	Stiel	Syda	08.08.20
263	Ju.Po	76466	Strom	Adela	26.11.27
249	Ju.Dt.	76452	Susskind	Ewa	06.11.16
244	Ju.Po	76447	Szypiacka	Frajda	12.01.20
267	Ju.Po	76479	Tanzer	Anna	28.10.08
268	Ju.Po	76471	Tanzer	Berta	07.09.10
264	Ju.Po	76467	Tauss	Teofila	03.03.12
265	Ju.Po	76468	Teitelbaum	Toni	15.09.18
266	Ju.Po	76469	Tennenbaum	Salka	25.08.98
269	Ju.Po	76472	Tilles	Tauba	17.01.17
272	Ju.Po	76475	Trauring	Stefania	14.12.08
270	Ju.Po	76473	Turk	Lola	15.07.15
271	Ju.Po	76474	Turk	Rosalia	11.01.09
273	Ju.Po	76476	Urbach	Salomea	25.06.07
274	Ju.Po	76477	Wachsberger	Chana	06.08.13
275	Ju.Po	76478	Wadler	Ester	10.10.10
276	Ju.Po	76479	Wahl	Sara Estera	22.10.16
277	Ju.Po	76480	Wasserteil	Cecilia	28.05.21
278	Ju.Po	76481	Weinstock	Balka	17.12.05
279	Ju.Po	76482	Weitmann	Carmen	15.01.15
280	Ju.Po	76483	Wiener	Maria	28.12.21
281	Ju.Po	76484	Wohlfeiler	Chaja	04.06.97
282	Ju.Po	76485	Wohlfeiler	Eugenia	18.05.26

Ldf Nr.	H.Art. U.Nat.	H.No.	Vorname	Name	Geburts Datum
283	Ju.Po	76486	Wohlfeiler	Halina	03.01.26
285	Ju.Po	76488	Wohlfeiler	Krystyna	09.05.28
284	Ju.Po	76487	Wohlfeiler	Rena	29.01.27
286	Ju.Po	76489	Wohlfeiler	Rosa	07.07.03
287	Ju.Dt.	76490	Wolf	Hannelore	16.10.23
288	Ju.Po	76491	Wortszmann	Sara	20.03.97
289	Ju.Po	76492	Wulkan	Chaja	16.12.13
290	Ju.Po	76493	Zimmerspitz	Elsa	18.12.13
291	Ju.Po	76494	Zimmerspitz	Jetti	16.07.08
292	Ju.Po	76495	Zoldan	Cecilia	29.01.18
293	Ju.Po	76496	Zucker	Fela	20.11.18
295	Ju.Po	76498	Zuckermann	Estera	10.11.20
294	Ju.Po	76497	Zuckermann	Jetti	10.11.20
296	Ju.Po	76499	Zweig	Bronislawa	28.03.06
297	Ju.Po	76500	Zwetschen-Stiel	Junta	08.07.08

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Biography of the Author



**Figure 110: Robin O'Neil, Author and publisher
Investigator of Nazi War Crimes in Poland**

Author, publisher and investigator of Nazi war crimes in Poland, Dr. Robin O'Neil is a former police major crimes investigator who worked at the cutting edge of major criminal investigations in the United Kingdom and Central Europe. Formerly of Scotland Yard, the Metropolitan and Home Counties Police service, he then took up the challenge of academia. After obtaining his Master's and Doctorate with the Hebrew and Jewish Department, University College London, he now specializes in Nazi war crimes and the destruction of the European Jewish communities (1933-1945).

A Russian speaker, he has pursued his work to the Baltic States and former USSR. He has launched a number of major investigations into the perpetrators of the Holocaust, particularly those individuals who carried out and engineered the destruction of European Jewry in Lithuania and Poland. His past police service and rank enable him to look closely into the characters of the SS and death camp commandants of Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka.

Dr. O'Neil is universally acknowledged as the central research source for the Schindler story. A historical consultant to several TV documentaries and radio broadcasts in the UK and abroad, he is an honored guest of Schindler's home town, Svitavy in the Czech Republic, and is a regular lecturer at universities in the United Kingdom, United States, Israel and Eastern Europe. In his spare time and to counteract the intensity of Holocaust research he diversifies his interests into the Habsburg dynasty of nineteenth century Vienna and Shakespeare's England. He is currently engaged in researching the Paston family correspondence from Norfolk 1420-1510 and associated English texts of that time.



Figure 111: Montage: The Schindler Journey

Notes

¹ Statement of Maurice Finder (76291) can be seen in Yad Vashem.

² Mrs Emilie Schindler's memoirs sent to the author.

Chapter 15

³ It was only in the last stages of the war that the railway spur entered the well-known archway. The usual procedure was for transports to terminate before the archway and the prisoners would walk under guard into the camp.

⁴ Stella Müller-Madej, *A Girl from Schindler's List*, London, 1997.

⁵ The author interviewed a number of the women survivors, who gave vivid recollections of what happened in Birkenau: Irena Schek (76431), Ludmilla Pfefferberg (76398), Bertha Aftergood (76201), Rachel Korn (76334), Mancie Rosner (76423), Regina Horowitz (76309), Klara (76459), and others.

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- ⁶ In the Spielberg film, Stern is shown waiting with the other men as the women marched into the camp. As the last woman passed Stern realized that his mother had not returned. This scene was vividly displayed.
- ⁷ Emilie Schindler, 66.
- ⁸ Ibid, 68.
- ⁹ Emilie Schindler, 90- 91.
- ¹⁰ The woman was Hela Goldfinger, the sister of Gena Turgel (née Goldfinger), whom the author interviewed in London, 1993.
- ¹¹ Emilie, 69.

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- ¹² See David Crowe, Schindler biography, 423.
- ¹³ Recollections of Moshe Bejski – interview with the author.
- ¹⁴ Emilie, 101-103.
- ¹⁵ Keneally, 355, cited in the Wundheiler documentation. Mrs. Schindler gives a full graphic account of the Golleschau tragedy in her film interview with Jon Blair, 1982.
- ¹⁶ Moshe Bejski interviewed by the author.
- ¹⁷ Alexander Biberstein recollections in archive at Yad Vashem.
- ¹⁸ Interviewed in London by the author, 1995.
- ¹⁹ Moshe Pantirer interviewed by the author..
- ²⁰ Information source – Ball-Kaduri documentation.
- ²¹ Recollection by Moshe Bejski in interview with the author.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ I am in correspondence with Schoenfeld, who now lives in Paris. He gives a graphic and interesting account of his rescue by Schindler.
- ²⁴ Statements by Breslauer and Wilner can be seen in the archives of Yad Vashem.

Chapter 17

- ²⁵ The Germans had set up a new army, a million strong, comprised of Russians, Ukrainians, and Russian prisoners of war. A Soviet general, Wlassove, who was captured by the Germans at Stalingrad, had been designated the commander of the new army.
- ²⁶ Ball-Kaduri documentation. Recollections by Moshe Bejski, Mietek Pemper, and Richard Rechen in interviews with the author. Schindler's own defense team was apart from other defense activity in the camp. He was unable to control some of the Budzyn prisoners who were starting to act independently.
- ²⁷ I found this recollection by some of the survivors incredible. I double checked the archive material and translation documents of Ball-Kaduri and it appears from the evidence that there is much substance in it.
- ²⁸ Witnesses to Leipold's departure were given by Eduard Heuberger (69820) to the French Military Authorities after the war. See also the Ball-Kaduri documents. The witness Bronia Guns-Sperling (76287) refers to the prisoners digging their own graves in the camp and the confrontation with Leipold. This episode is well documented in Yad Vashem.
- ²⁹ The Jews Arthur Rabner (68989) and Selman Szydlo (77177), both radio technicians, had been receiving news from the front for some time. Schindler had supplied the radio, and the information received was used on a large scale map showing the front coming nearer and nearer. On a visit to the factory in 1995/6 I noticed that radio speakers were still in situ. The present director of the factory told me that they had been there since the war.
- ³⁰ Dr. Alexander Biberstein, *Extermination of the Cracow Jews*, 1955 (Polish; translated by Leo Aftergood).
- ³¹ Moshe Bejski recollects this incident and says that he never agreed with hanging Willi. See also Dr. Alexander Biberstein (note 6) 154.
- ³² I met Hirsch Licht and his daughter in Jerusalem where Hirsch gave me his personal account of that day.
- ³³ Mrs. Schindler states that this vehicle had been custom-built for the Shah of Persia, but the war impeded delivery. The vehicle was originally light blue but had since been re-sprayed grey. See Mrs. Schindler's memoir.
Schindler bought the vehicle in Berlin soon after he took over the Rekord factory (Emalia). He took one of his Polish (non-Jewish) secretaries to Berlin and paid cash for the vehicle. The money had been given to him by the Abwehr. Statement of Eva Kiza, Jon Blair film, 1982.
- ³⁴ Marta-Eva Scheuer remained with the Schindlers throughout the peace.
- ³⁵ Moshe Bejski with his length of cloth went to Prague where he exchanged it for his first suit of clothes. He had last worn a suit in 1939.
- ³⁶ Refer: *Star of David*.
- ³⁷ Aleksander Skotnicki, *Schindler*, 47 (edited).

Chapter 18

³⁸ Acknowledgement to the Jerusalem Report 2 June, 1994.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Emilie Schindler, 110.

⁴¹ Hersch Licht in conversation with the author 1995.

⁴² The Jerusalem Report June 2 1994, photograph attributed to David Rubinger/ASAP.

Chapter 19

⁴³ A German Government was established in Krakow under Dr. Hans Frank (the Governor) who was legally entitled, based upon a law of the Führer from 12 October 1939, to fulfill the civil authority of those parts of Poland that at first did not belong to the Soviet Union or were not attached to the German Reich. The entire area was called the General Government.

Chapter 21

⁴⁴ This assessment was taken in conjunction with the findings of Dr. Wundheiler and Rosalia Kornhauser (76335), now Pechthold and living in Raanana, Israel, interviewed by the author 1992.