



## The chronicles of my Mother Adele Glaser: From Fürth to Belzec 1939 - 1942

### Part 3: Belzec

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**Holocaust:** Greek *holókauston* (holos = completely, kaustos = burnt)



**Overall view of the Belzec memorial site**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)

*When G”D created the world, and would have known about Belzec, G”D would have stopped right there.*

*Yidn, schreibt un farschreibt (Jews, write and record)*

### The experimental and prototype death camp Belzec

On August 24, 1941, prime minister Churchill gave a speech in London. At that time the word “genocide” was not coined yet. During his speech Churchill said the following about the atrocities committed by Germany in the areas occupied by them: “We are in the presence of a crime without a name.”

## **Introduction**

It is not my intention to write a long scholarly study about the Belzec extermination camp. Many renowned Holocaust historians have accomplished this task. However, I must present a summary of facts of a terrible and unforgivable crime as it was presented to me and as I have researched during my investigative trip to Belzec in July 2008.

On October 4, 1943 *Reichsführer* (Reich's leader) Heinrich Himmler gave a speech to a secret meeting of SS officers in Poznan, Poland, then the German occupied *Generalgouvernement*. He spoke frankly about the ongoing extermination of the Jewish people. He said: "I am talking about the 'Jewish evacuation,' the extermination of the Jewish people. It is one of those things that is easily said: 'The Jewish people are being exterminated.' Every party member will tell you, 'perfectly clear, it's part of our plans, we're eliminating the Jews, exterminating them, ha! A small matter.'"

## **The years of neglect of the campsite during the postwar period**

For nearly six decades the Belzec campsite was in horrible disrepair. Earlier visitors reported the site being littered with garbage. Local people took shortcuts across the site and soccer was played there. In the area of the mass graves small and large human bone fragments were brought to the surface by animal scavengers. Indeed, reports by early visitors to the campsite are very graphic.

Only in 1961 did the communist Polish government clean up the site and erect a monument to honor the victims. Over the years the monument and surrounding fence fell in disrepair and the site returned again to the previous terrible state.

Still under the communists, a monument was erected in 1989 dedicated to the "Victims of Fascism," no particular mention of the Jewish victims. Even after the communist regime fell the campsite suffered great neglect.

## **The world wakes up, Poland dedicates a new memorial at Belzec camp**

In 1995, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) and the Polish government agreed to build a new memorial on the Belzec campsite. In 2002, the USHMM was not able to carry this project to its completion and the American Jewish Committee (AJC) agreed to complete it. On June 3, 2004 the AJC and the Polish government dedicated the Belzec Memorial and Museum. The Memorial design was created by a team of gifted Polish artists.

My visit to Belzec was the continuation of my visit to Izbica, from where my family started their fateful destiny, which ended here. My search began on the campsite which is “one of the most emotional and powerful monuments to the Shoah ever built (Memorial book AJC).”



**Views of Belzec camp**  
(Photos: Willie Glaser)

### **My walk on the hallowed grounds of Belzec**

I started my journey into the past at the interstice, a straight narrow cobblestone path knifing through the hilly campsite, symbolizing the path to destruction. I was walking on the pathway,



the walls on both sides starting to rise gradually high above me following the hilly contours of the terrain.

I was aware that the creators of this memorial site, armed with data from a previous archaeological investigation, took great care to orient the path as not to disturb the mass graves to the left and right of the interstice.



**In the interstice with Dr. Kuwalek,  
my cousin Bernard and his son Witold**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**The memorial wall**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)

I was very conscience of the fact that I was on the same level as some of the mass graves containing ashes and remains just a few meters away. On this pathway I was walking the same walk as the victims, when they were herded to the undressing room and forcefully driven into the gas chambers. At its end stands a granite memorial wall, into which is carved in Hebrew, English and Polish: “Earth, do not cover my blood; let there be no resting place for my outcry (Job 16:18).”

Here I stood at the elevated point of the camp’s terrain, framed by a perimeter pathway on which cast iron town markers are fastened to the ground with the name of every town from which Jews were deported to Belzec.



**Perimeter path with town markers**  
(Photos: Willie Glaser)

The town markers are now bleeding red-brown rust. When I saw them, I could not help but think that these are the bloody tears of the *Kehillas* (communities) which disappeared. I heard the birds chirping in the close by stands of trees. They must be talking to the *Neshomot* (souls) of victims looking down on this sacred ground.

I stood by the Fürth town marker and gazed down on the campsite, which is relatively small, 275 x 265 meters covered with a layer of dark gray industrial slag (blast furnace residue). Below the slag cover, a high tech and very strong woven geotextile membrane was laid down to cover the whole camp area. The primary reason for the membrane is to prevent upwards movements of the ashes and bone fragments from the mass graves.



**Me pointing to Fürth marker**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**The town markers of Fürth, Bamberg, Nuremberg and Würzburg**  
(Photos: Willie Glaser)

I was looking down on a cemetery with no individual graves, there was no *Matzewah* (grave-stone) for my family. I gazed down with anguish and humility at a small, but for me a very holy place. I was trying to understand this assault on human dignity. To this very day I have no answer for the destruction of so many lives, which happened sixty-seven years ago.

I walked downhill to the walls of polished stones facing the campsite. Chiseled into the wall are twelve hundred first names of the victims. I stood, looked and searched the names, I found Adele my mother, Bertha and Frieda my sisters and Leo my brother.

I cried, I lit two *Yiskor* (memorial) candles, one for my family and the other for all the innocent victims who perished in Belzec. I recited *Kaddish* (Hebrew prayer for the dead) over the ashes and remains buried in this holy ground and consecrated to G"D.



**Adele, my mother's name**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Berta, my older sister's name**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Frieda, my younger sister's name**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Leo(n), my brother's name**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)





**Me with *Yiskor* (memorial) lights in Belzec**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)

Only after my return home and after sorting and compiling the data I had gathered in Belzec did I begin to fully understand the previous archaeological investigations of the Belzec camp-site and its tremendous consequences for me.

A few days before my visit to Belzec, I spent a full day in Auschwitz-Birkenau. I had to see where my father Ferdinand Glaser perished on December 8, 1943. With the sheer physical size of Auschwitz-Birkenau, I understood the numbers of 1,300,000 - 1,500,000 victims.



**Me in the only synagogue left in Oswiecim (Auschwitz)**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**My cousin Bernard in front of Block 11. His father, my uncle Henryk was imprisoned in this block. He was transferred on a death march to Dachau and perished there.**

(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Railway tracks inside Birkenau with unloading ramp (*Judenrampe*).  
I lit two *Yiskor* (memorial) lights, one for my father, one for all victims.  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)**

In Auschwitz-Birkenau I was able to associate size with numbers. It is almost illogical to associate the size of Belzec camp with the numbers of victims killed there. My mind did not understand how some 500,000 - 7000,000 Jews were killed in such a short time in a small place of some 300 square meters.

As the reader continues he will understand.

### **History and location of the extermination camp Belzec**

The extermination camp is located near the town of Belzec, in the southeastern part of Poland between the towns of Zamosz and Lvov (today in the Ukraine). The town is on the Lublin - Lvov railway line. The camp itself was situated some 500 meters from the Belzec railway station. Originally it was a labor camp, housing Jews from the Lublin area, who had to work on fortifications and antitank ditches. By the end of 1940 this camp was dismantled.

During October 1941, Heinrich Himmler instructed SS and Police Leader *SS-Brigadeführer* Odilo Globocnik to begin work on the actual extermination camp Belzec. Next to the railroad it was ideally located. The many antitank ditches, which had been dug in 1940 became parts of the camp and soon would serve as mass graves. The extermination camp was completed early in March 1942.



**Figure 4.0.2 - Belzec's Final Stage**



*Last modified: February 30, 2004*

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(Photo: <http://www.holocaust-history.org/belzec/overviews/index.shtml>)

### **Belzec camp**

The camp was small: Three sides measured 275 meters, the fourth 265 meters. There were five watchtowers, one at each corner of the camp and another near the gas chamber.

Belzec was divided in two sections: Camp I comprised the reception area, the administrative barracks and the railway ramp. Camp II was the extermination area.

The railway ramp could hold twenty freight cars. The call to increase the extermination rate demanded that a second ramp was added later, increasing the unloading capacity to forty wagons.

The processing of the victims was handled on a very large scale, requiring exact timing. While still in the reception area of Camp I, they were told to be going to the showers and were forced to undress and had their hair cut.

Two special barracks were located in Camp I, one each for undressing and haircutting and depositing clothing. The victims were informed this is a necessary step because they will be moved to a resettlement location.

### **Aktion Reinhardt (Operation Reinhardt)**

*Aktion Reinhardt* was the genesis of the extermination camp Belzec. It was a diabolical scheme to kill Jews brought to the three death camps under its umbrella, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka.

Only a few German documents refer to Operation Reinhardt because it was an absolute secret. With those exceptions, everything pointing to it was destroyed in 1943 and 1944.

With regards to Belzec, Operation Reinhardt succeeded completely in carrying out the task it was assigned to. From March 17, 1942 to spring 1943, in less than a year the count of Jews killed in Belzec stood at an estimated 500,000 - 700,000 victims, this number also includes some 10,000 to 20,000 gypsies (Roma / Sinti).

Belzec also served as an experimental death camp. Killing methods and techniques learned there were soon applied to Auschwitz and other camps.

### **The body count**

The number of victims who perished in Belzec is supported by a dramatic document released in 2000 by the Public Record Office in Kew, England. It concerns two coded German radio telegrams transmitted by *SS-Sturmbannführer* (major) Höfle, who was the deputy to the head of *Aktion Reinhardt* Odilo Globocnik. Both are dated January 11, 1943. They were transmitted only five minutes apart and partially intercepted by the British intelligence service, using a replica of the German Enigma code machine, which was manufactured by the Polish intelligence service. One was sent to *SS-Obersturmbannführer* (lieutenant colonel) Adolf Eichmann at the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* in Berlin, the other to SS lieutenant colonel Franz Heim, deputy commander of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (Security Police) for the *Generalgouvernement* in Krakow.

The radio message I am concerned with is the one to Adolf Eichmann. It covers the year end accounting for 1942, reporting the numbers of victims “processed” (killed). The text does not spell out the full names of the camps, only first letters were used:

Year ending December 31, 1942

L (Lublin)	24,733
B (Belzec)	434,508
S (Sobibor)	101,370
T (Treblinka)	713,555
(total)	1,274,166

The figure for Lublin, which stands for Majdanek concentration camp, located in the outskirts of Lublin, is listed as an additional item for other statistical reports given to Berlin. The *Aktion Reinhardt* extermination camps were Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka.

The number of victims perished in Belzec has been established as 500,000 plus. There is a discrepancy of some 39,000 victims between the accepted number of 500,000 and the number stated in the radio telegram. In my opinion this is due to the fact that the killings in Belzec continued until operations ended in December 1942, which would justify the difference. As a matter of fact, I do not believe the exact number of 434,508 as stated in the radio messages. This number is too exact, too accurate. The numbers provided by *Aktion Reinhardt* for the chief inspector of the statistical bureau of the SS, Dr. Richard Korherr are in my opinion *amtlicher* (bureaucratic) double talk, but they were accepted in Berlin. I just cannot imagine, that time was taken to count the victims when at the height of the extermination activities some 40 trains, full of Jewish humanity arrived daily in Belzec, the victims being rushed for processing, such as haircuts, undressing and driven to the gas chambers.

All the data available regarding the killing process in Belzec indicate that every step taken to process the victims was governed by speed, to shock them and not give them time to think about what was happening to them. Most elderly and sick people who were unable to proceed with established routine were taken to the antitank ditches and shot. This is why I maintain no body counts took place, at best estimates were made.

I do not hesitate to subscribe to the school of thought, which sets the number of Jews killed in Belzec at above half a million. During the trial of SS officers from the Belzec garrison, testimonies established the number of bodies cremated in Belzec as some 540.000 - 700.00.

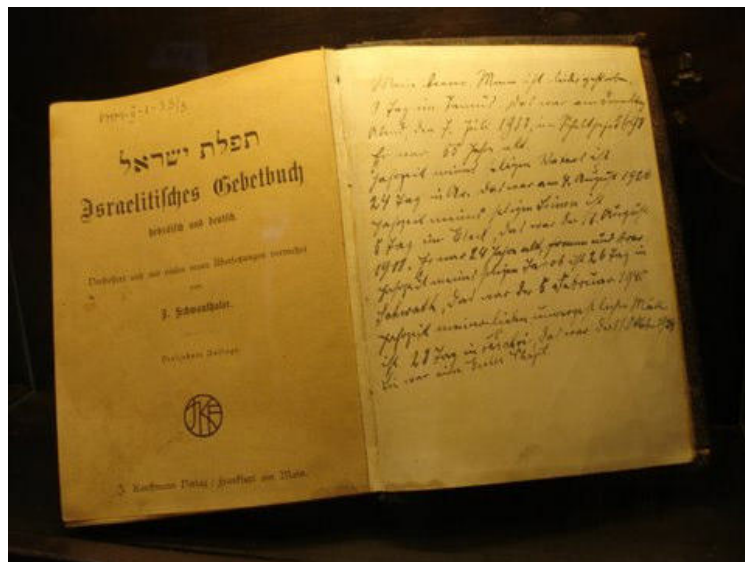


## The extermination

To write the next paragraph is difficult for me. I will not go into the details about the circumstances of the actual gassing procedure but only record the bare facts.

There are two reasons why I am compelled to write about my family's final moments: Firstly, I owe this to my beloved mother, sisters and brother. Secondly, the world knows most about Auschwitz, Treblinka and Sobibor, Dachau, Theresienstadt and many other extermination and concentration camps, but very little about Belzec, an almost forgotten camp.

According to Robin O'Neil's "Belzec: Stepping Stone to Genocide," over a period of less than a year Christian Wirth, the commandant of Belzec extermination camp build two gassing facilities. The first building was a wooden structure, containing three gas chambers. The double walls were filled with sand. The floors walls were covered with tar paper and lined with zinc sheeting. The doors were sealed tightly with rubber.



**Hebrew German prayer book of Rosa Klein from Würzburg at display in Belzec**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)

By June 1942 transports started to arrive more rapidly. Wirth realized the three gas chambers in use now could not cope with the large numbers of new arrivals. Operation Reinhardt head quarters in Lublin approved a temporary halt of deportations to Belzec.

A new brick and concrete structure building was erected with double the size of the old structure. It had a gassing capacity of 2000 victims a day.



**Camp commander Christian Wirth in the center with SS officers  
Johann Schwarzenbacher on the left and Lassmann on the right**  
(Photo: ARC [www.deathcamps.org](http://www.deathcamps.org))

### **The final act**

Men, women and children were now naked and separated into two groups. The victims started their last journey on this earth towards Camp II, the extermination area. It was separated with barbed wire fences from the other areas. The men and women were driven by the Ukrainian guards at a running pace into a 100 meter pathway bordered with high barbed wire fences, which were camouflaged with interwoven tree branches. The Nazis called this *der Schlauch* (“the tube”). The SS garrison maliciously named this path *der Himmelsweg* (the road to heaven). In fact, members of the SS garrisons in the death camps developed several other descriptions for the roads to the gas chambers. A favorite was the sarcastic euphemism: *Die Juden gehen auf ihre Himmelfahrt* (the Jews are on their way to heaven).

The bewildered and naked victims were in “the tube” and forced towards the entrance of an innocent looking building facing them. They saw a few steps leading to an entrance. Both sides of the entrance were decorated with flower plants. Over the entrance was a *Magen David* (Star of David) and a sign with large lettering, which spelled out *Stiftung Hackenholt* (Hackenholt Foundation). Lorenz Hackenholt was the SS officer who was in charge of the gas chambers.

No doubt this charade must have helped to soothe the panic in many victims. After all they were promised, that after the shower they would be on the way to be relocated, this place only being a temporary way station.

### **A vagary of the Holocaust**

When my mother saw the sign with the wording *Stiftung Hackenholt*, her mindset also must have relaxed a little, after all she knew of another *Stiftung* (foundation) located in Fürth. This was the *Nathanstift* (Nathan Foundation), an imposing building housing a birth hospital. The facility was donated in 1907 to the city of Fürth by Alfred Nathan, a Jewish lawyer. A few years ago it was converted to a high school. My sisters, brother and myself were born there, so were many thousands of the citizens of Fürth including the most prominent Nazis. Today it is a badge of honor for people to claim: *Ich bin im Nathanstift geboren* (I was born at the Nathan Foundation). This is an ironic vagary of the Holocaust: All of my mother's children were born in a life giving foundation. My mother and three of her children perished in a death giving *Stift*.

### **Their last minutes of life**

The victims came into the gas chambers with very low ceilings, permitting little air. They were pressed tight together and the iron air tight door with rubber seals was now closed.

*SS-Hauptscharführer* (master sergeant) Lorenz Hackenholt started the powerful motor engine and deadly carbon monoxide was flowing into pipes leading to the gas chambers and exiting there through perforated heads. Hackenholt took a look through the glass peep hole set in the iron door to make sure that all the victims have expired in the allotted time of 30 minutes.



**Door with peephole to gas chamber**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Peephole with glass cover**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)





**Outlet pipe for carbon monoxide gas into the gas chamber**

(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Engine producing carbon monoxide**

(Photo: Willie Glaser)

The next paragraph about my mother's and her three children last minutes of their precious lives is particularly difficult for me to compose.

I believe with all my heart that in the last minutes of her life she was thinking of the five beautiful children, two boys and three girls, she brought into this unforgiving world. She did not know what happened to her husband in France. She was happy knowing her oldest son and daughter were safe in England. She knew her prayers, when the time came, she recited:

*Sh'ma Israel Hashem Elokenu Hashem Echod.*

Hear, O Israel: Hashem is our G"D. Hashem, the One and Only.

### **The Jewish *Sonderkommandos* (special detachments)**

To achieve a speedy and efficient progress in the extermination process, the SS post headquarters selected 500 strong Jews to carry out several manual tasks assigned to them: One group had to clean the freight cars on arrival and remove the bodies of victims who died in the wagons on the way to Belzec. Another group was needed to cut the hair of the victims.

A large group had a special assignment: They were selected to remove the bodies from the gas chambers, clean and prepare them to be ready for the next victims. Still, another special group of workers, called "the dentists" had to remove all gold and precious metals used for dental applications and other valuables from the bodies.

On the side of the gas chamber were several doors through which the bodies were removed and loaded by the Jewish work crews on trolleys running in front of the doors on a narrow gauge rail spur. The loaded trolleys were pushed by the *Sonderkommando* workers to the burial trenches.

A mechanical excavator was used to dig these burial trenches. The bodies were placed in these mass graves, which on the average measured 50 to 25 meters and up to 10 meters in depth. The corpses were tightly placed in the graves and covered with a thin layer of earth.

Little did the Jewish *Sonderkommando* crews realize that they were literally living on borrowed time. After several “tours of duty” they were taken by the Ukrainian *Trawniki* guards to the edge of the burial trenches and shot. It had to be done this way, because the Jewish work details were witness, knew and understood exactly what was happening.

Because Belzec was designated as an experimental death camp the ‘management’ had to learn by trial and error and they learned fast. The first experimental gassings were carried out using bottled carbon monoxide, which proved to be not very efficient to apply to large numbers of victims. A more powerful motor engine was installed.

Very soon SS commandant Wirth had to face a big problem and it had to be solved fast: Nature interfered with Wirth’s well laid plans. After a mass grave was filled with bodies it was covered with a layer of earth. Soon nature took its course, the corpses started to swell in the heat, combined with putrefaction and the penetration by groundwater causing the bottom layer of bodies to push up against the layers above and consequently the top layers of bodies tumbled out of the grave. Because of the small size of the camp, Wirth was concerned this situation would become a serious health issue, not so much for the victims, but for his SS staff. He solved the problem by ordering a large amount of lime to be trucked into the camp. The lime was spread over the grave and after a short while the bodies settled back into the confinements of the pit.

I have devoted some extra space to this gruesome aspect of disposing of the bodies because the resolution of this problem is the key to the location of my mother’s grave, the details of which will be recorded in a subsequent chapter.

### ***Aktion T-4 Program***

The genesis of *Aktion T-4* program was an Euthanasia scheme which was authorized on September 1, 1939 by Hitler. The basic aim of *Aktion T-4* was to eliminate all severely mentally handicapped German citizens. This organization had its seat in a villa, previously Jewish owned, located at Tiergartenstraße 4 in Berlin, hence the code name *T-4*.

*Aktion T-4* killed some 70,000 German people. The killing method used to terminate the mental patients was bottled carbon monoxide. The exterminations took place in six facilities in Germany. The victims were cremated at once and the ashes shipped to the families.

The irony is that the successful method of using carbon monoxide as a killing agent against their own citizens was at first transplanted to the extermination camp Belzec.

If I could probe the mindset of the higher Nazi leadership, it would behoove me to state that the sanctity of human lives did not exist for these people.

### **The evil men of Belzec**

This chapter highlights the duties and the eventual fate of just a handful of men, SS officers which supervised and did the killing in the extermination camp Belzec. I selected some of the more prominent members of the Belzec SS garrison, rather than present a complete list (source: <http://death-camps.org/belzec/perpetrators>). Though the pieces of biographical information about them are not always totally consistent, they were fully responsible for the death of over 500,000 - 700,000 Jews and gypsies anyway.

All of them were graduates of the *T-4* program in Germany. Because of their expertise they were chosen by the highest Nazi leadership to implement *Aktion Reinhardt*.

The SS garrison stationed in Belzec was a body of twenty to thirty men at any given time. After Belzec was closed, many members of the garrison were transferred to Trieste, Italy.



**SS Staff members posing behind the *Kommandantur*: Camp Commander Christian Wirth resided in this house.**

(Photo: ARC [www.deathcamps.org](http://www.deathcamps.org))

### ***SS-Sturmbannführer* (major) Christian Wirth**

Wirth carried the wrong name, he was no Christian, his name should have been Lucifer. He was already 57 years old when he was commandant of Belzec. He was in charge of Belzec from January 1, 1942 - July 31, 1942. Because of his previous position as supervisor of *T-4* in Germany, he was ordered to join the headquarters of *Aktion Reinhardt* under the command of SS and police leader Odilo Globocnik. Later on, Wirth was appointed inspector of the *Aktion*



*Reinhardt* death camps Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka. The extermination system developed by Wirth resulted in death of untold hundreds of thousands of Jews in those places. In September 1943 Wirth was ordered to Trieste, Italy to take command of *Einsatzgruppe* (task force) *R*. On May 26, 1944 Wirth was killed by partisans near Trieste. His grave is marked with a cross in a German Military Cemetery near Verona, Italy.

***SS-Hauptsturmführer (captain) Gottlieb Hering***

Hering also carried the wrong name, Gottlieb means loved by G'D. His parents made a grave error, Hering cannot be loved by G'D. During August 1942 he replaced Wirth as camp commander in Belzec. He was posted to Italy again to replace Wirth as commander of *Einsatzgruppe R* in Trieste, Italy. Hering died on October 9, 1945 in Germany as the result of an illness.

***SS-Oberscharführer (technical sergeant) Werner Dubois***

From April 1942 to April 1943 Dubois was in command of the special Jewish work commando at the gas chambers. He also supervised the arrivals of the trains. During his postwar trial he gave evidence on how he personally killed six Jews. During the Belzec trial 1963 in Munich Dubois was acquitted. During the Sobibor trials in Hagen, Germany in 1966 he was sentenced to three years in prison for his participation in the killings there.

**Erwin Fichtner**

Camp quartermaster. Killed by Polish partisans March 23, 1943. Buried at the German Military Cemetery in Przemysl, Poland.

***SS-Untersturmführer (2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant) Kurt Hubert Franz***

From April to September 1942 trained Ukrainian guards. In September 1942 promoted to deputy camp commandant. He was posted to Trieste, Italy. He was imprisoned by U.S. forces but escaped. In 1959 he was caught again and imprisoned. On September 1965, he was sentenced by the district court Düsseldorf to life imprisonment. He died on July 1998.

***SS-Unterscharführer (sergeant) Erich Fuchs***

He installed the gassing system in Belzec and Treblinka and served in Belzec from January to May 1942 and in November and December 1942. After the war ended, he was employed by the British army as driver mechanic in Bergen-Belsen. He was tried by a jury and in 1966

sentenced to four years imprisonment for being an accessory to the murder of at least 79,000 Jews. He died in Koblenz, Germany.

***SS-Hauptscharführer* (master sergeant) Lorenz Hackenholt**

He was the expert for building gas chambers, helped to build the gas chambers in Treblinka and Sobibor and operated the gas chamber in Belzec. Hackenholt was transferred to Italy and later disappeared in Germany.

***SS-Unterscharführer* (sergeant) Karl Alfred Schluch**

Served in Belzec from June 1942 to August 1943. Schluch accompanied the naked victims through “the tube” to the gas chambers. Afterwards he was ordered to Italy. After the war he was arrested by U.S. troops, but released in July 1945 and worked in Germany.

***SS-Hauptscharführer* (master sergeant) Gottfried Schwarz**

Gottfried Schwarz name has a special meaning for me. He was born in Fürth, where I was born too and where my family lived. His parents must have made a mistake naming him Gottfried (divinely peaceful). He was deputy commander and head of the gassing squad in Belzec for some time. I can state with a great deal of certainty that Gottfried Schwarz was present at the deaths of my family. He also was ordered to Trieste, killed in Italy in 1944 and buried in a German Military Cemetery near Verona, Italy.

***SS-Oberscharführer* (technical sergeant) Friedrich Tauscher**

From October 1942 until March 1943 in charge of cremation of bodies and dismantling Belzec. In 1944 he served in Italy. In 1965 he committed suicide in prison.

**The exception: *SS-Untersturmführer* (second lieutenant) Dr. Kurt Gerstein, “the odd man out”**

In January 1942, he was appointed head of the Technical Disinfecting Department of the *Waffen-SS*. Because of the strangeness of his behavior and beliefs, he stood alone in the sinister world of the SS. He was one of a handful of external people, who as an official visitor actually witnessed the gassings in Belzec. Many details about Belzec known today were recorded by him. In his postwar confessions, he told how he contacted the Swedish diplomat Baron Göran von Otter and the papal nuncio in Berlin Father Cesare Orsenigo. Kurt Gerstein took

his life on July 25, 1945 in the Cherche-Midi military prison in Paris, France. For further information see:

<http://www.deathcamps.org/belzec/gerstein.html>

and

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurt\\_Gerstein](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurt_Gerstein)

### **The closing and dismantling of Belzec**

A famous line by Heinrich Heine from his play “Almansor” points unwittingly direct at the extermination camp Belzec:

*Dort, wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen.*

Where they burn books, they will ultimately also burn people.

When the German high command realized that the war was not going in their favor they understood at once that the evidence of their mass killings had to be removed or at least minimized. This applied to many death camps in the occupied areas, especially Belzec.

Already on April 30, 1942, while the gassing of Jewish victims in Belzec became a routine undertaking, the headquarters of *Aktion Reinhardt* were requested by the *RSHA* to submit details of mass graves in their camps. In February 1942 Auschwitz started to expand killing operations and building up to full capacity. Belzec as an experimental camp had served its purpose.

In December 1942 the transports to Belzec came to a halt. The decision was made to raze the campsite, exhume the bodies from the mass graves and burn them. The German command established a special task force *Sonderkommando 1005* to do the work in camps in the occupied areas.

*Sonderkommando 1005* was not permitted to enter Belzec, which was an *Aktion Reinhardt* camp. Camp commandant Hering handed this gruesome task to two minor non-commissioned members of the SS camp garrison. Their first task was to establish a work force of able bodied Jewish men, the “death brigade.” These men had to be physically capable of handling this heinous task.

According to testimonies given during the trial of Belzec by SS guards, it was suggested that a pyre system, which was constructed by the Jewish “death brigade” should be used. It was constructed from sections of railway tracks and formed into a grid by placing the tracks length and crossways to form a grill, upon which the bodies were placed to be burned.



I have looked carefully at a reproduction of such a grill pyre, which sits in the Belzec camp-site. This method was designed in camp Janowska, which ran special cremation instruction classes for the other camps. While this grid pyre was in use in Belzec, it is my belief that it was not the primary method of disposing of the bodies because it was too cumbersome and slow and would have impeded the goal to close Belzec quickly.

In any case the SS staff in Belzec was marching to their own drummer. The cremation method used in Belzec was simple and straight forward. A mechanical excavator was used to dig a ditch, not far from a mass grave. Crews of the “death brigade” removed the bodies from the grave and dragged them to the pyre ditch close by. The preparation of the pyre ditch and the placing of the exhumed bodies was important to allow as much as possible a complete cremation.

Many forms of exhalates were used to insure a proper ignition for the estimated 2000 bodies in a burning ditch. It is obvious to me that very little gasoline was used due to wartime conditions. Oil and wood were the favorite fuels. Wood was easily obtainable from the stands of trees close to the perimeter of the camp. Once the pyre was ignited, the body fats provided the additional exhilarate and fuel.

The ashes and bone remnants were shoveled back into the empty mass graves by the Jewish *Brandmeister* (cremating masters) and covered with a layer of sand or earth. The size of the final resting places of the ashes and bone remnants was much smaller than the mass graves filled with bodies.

### **The ashes from Belzec**

During my visit to Belzec in July 2008, I was able to obtain from such a grave an amount of ashes mixed with sand. A small amount of ashes was retrieved by the Belzec Museum and Archives from a mass grave before the camp became a memorial site and was completely covered with slag. The director of the Belzec Museum and Archives graciously gave me the ashes, which I brought back to Montreal.

On October 15, 2008, the ashes from a grave in Belzec were buried in a special ceremony at the foot of the Holocaust memorial in the cemetery of my synagogue Congregation Beth Ora in St. Laurent, Quebec:



**Holding the box with ashes before burial**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**The box with ashes in the little grave**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Throwing earth into little grave**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)



**Giving a speech to members of the congregation**  
(Photo: Willie Glaser)

Not all bone fragments burned completely, especially large bones. Belzec obtained a *Knochenmühle* (bone mill). This was a device much like a cement mixer. The bone mill was a large revolving drum with several iron balls in it, breaking up its contents into smaller sizes. There is pictorial evidence of this machine, e.g. in Robin O'Neil's book "Belzec: Stepping Stone to Genocide," chapter 10.

When it came to extract the bodies from the earliest mass graves, the crews of the "death brigade" ran into serious problems. The bodies were already in a state of decomposition, which made it very difficult to haul all the bodies to the pyres.

There was an unspoken understanding between the SS command and the cremation commandos. The orders were: Exhume as many bodies as you are able. Bodies which you are unable to extract leave in the mass graves. This is why during the archaeological investigations many graves were found containing unburned, partially mummified or decomposing bodies, mixed lime and bone remains, ashes and sand.

### **The identification of the grave of my family**

At this juncture I must tell the reader I have now reached the most important and far reaching phase of “The chronicles of my Mother Adele Glaser: From Fürth to Belzec”: I was able to locate the mass grave in the Belzec campsite where my mother, my two sisters and my brother are resting in eternal peace.

I have looked at and examined the results of researches carried out by many Holocaust historians. I have very closely examined the data of transports arriving from *Durchgangslager* (transit camp) Izbica, also transports arriving directly in Belzec from Germany, Austria and Bohemia. Most of the data are provided from Polish railway records and Polish and German railway workers’ testimonies. The following facts emerged from correspondence with Robin O’Neil, a participant in the archaeological investigations of Belzec campsite. He sent me this email on September 17, 2008:

“Re: Belzec

Willie, we know for certain that the early deportations from Germany were sent to Izbica. Sobibor and Treblinka were not built [yet]. We also know that when Belzec opened on 17 March, the transports began to move from Lublin, Lvov, Izbica and Piaski (Izbica and Piaski were transit ghettos just outside Lublin on a direct rail route to Belzec). We know that when Stangl [Franz Stangl, commandant of Sobibor] visited Wirth late March / early April 1942, at Belzec the graves were overflowing and causing much distress to the local inhabitants. The local authorities ordered many loads of lime which were spread over these early graves to stop the spread of disease. When we examined the site in 1998, we found certain graves contained lime. We strongly believe that Grave 14, the largest, contained the very first transports from Lublin, Lvov, Piaski and Izbica. With some certainty, your family were buried in this part of the camp (NW corner).

The finding of lime in the sample soil cores extracted from graves 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 24, 25, 29, 31, 32 and 33, located towards the top left corner (i.e. NW corner) may corroborate the description by Franz Stangl when the pits were overflowing with corpses. The unusually warm spring of 1942, necessitated lorry loads of lime being brought into the camp to avoid a possible epidemic.”

[...]

Best

Robin”

The mass grave where my family is resting can be seen clearly on the aerial picture of the Belzec campsite. It is the largest grave. The smaller graves contain mostly ashes and bone fragments.



**Aerial picture of the Belzec Memorial Site**

(Photo: KUMULUS agencja fotograficzna, Tomasz Stepień, [www.kumulus.pl](http://www.kumulus.pl))

In 1945, calculations made by the Polish commission for investigation of German war crimes arrived at the figure of 680,00 victims killed in a period of 133 days at Belzec. This is based on the daily arrival of forty wagons containing 4000 Jewish victims. The terminators reached their stride during August and September with up to sixty wagons, which indicates a daily figure of 12,000 victims. Some Holocaust historians arrive at a figure of 930,000 Jews killed in the nine months existence of Belzec extermination camp, this under the supervision of a SS garrison of some twenty men.

The flames from the pyres lit up the night sky and acrid smoke hung over the village of Belzec. Under certain atmospheric conditions, window panes in farmhouses and dwellings near the camp became coated with an oily film. It is obvious that the inhabitants of the area surrounding the camp were well aware that terrible events were happening; they were lacking details, but had a good idea that Jews were killed.

It did not take long for the Polish resistance to become aware of the tragic events in Belzec. The leaders of the Jewish resistance in the Warsaw ghetto were informed. They appealed to the Polish government in exile in London to send an emissary to Poland to help investigate the rumors about death camps. London dispatched Jan Karski.



I have written extensively about Jan Karski in the first part of my mother's story. I now believe his mission to Poland in 1942 was successful. While he did not reach Belzec as originally planned, it did raise the investigation of Belzec by the Polish Home Army (*Armia Krajowa* / A.K.) to a higher level. This was evident because in 1942 couriers of the A.K. brought to the Polish government in exile new facts and figures relating to camp Belzec.

My search in the Holocaust files of the National Archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress produced an article from a Canadian newspaper, dated January 9, 1943, writing about the deportation of Jews from the Lublin area on the nights of March 23-24, 1942 to the concentration camps Belzec and Trawniki (holding ZA 1943 11/111). It is logical that the source for this fact was the *Armia Krajowa* in their reports to the Polish government in exile in London. It is also obvious that the command staff of *Aktion Reinhardt* was not able to completely suppress and hide their actions in Belzec.

### **The postwar trials in Germany**

The trial of some members of the SS garrison in Belzec took place in Munich and lasted three days, from January 18 to 21 1963. Seven members of the garrison were acquitted. One, Josef Oberhauser was sentenced to four and a half years imprisonment. After serving half of his sentence, he was released and worked as a waiter in Munich. He died in 1979.

As a German born Jew, I fully understand the mindset of the German judges. With respect to the trial my radar is working and fully attuned to the postwar conditions and transitions facing West Germany. I did spend two years from 1945 to 1947 in Germany as a soldier of the First Polish Armoured Division, which was a unit of the British Army of the Rhine (BAOR). German judges at that time in most cases were Nazi trained. The trial took place only 18 years after war ended. It took a whole new generation to really get rid of the ingrained Nazi ideology. I know, I watched it, I was there.

### **The early archaeological investigations and the desecration of the Belzec campsite**

Four investigations took place in Belzec, starting with the Polish War Crimes Commission of the Zamosc District Court, headed by judge Czeslaw Godieszewski in October 1945. In addition to listening to oral testimonies, a team of investigators carried out an on site investigation. Nine burial pits were opened, confirming the existence of mass graves. The human remains found were reburied in a concrete crypt. Within hours after the reburial, local inhabitants were busy digging up the site looking for "Jewish gold." This desecration of what I consider to be a

holy site continued right through the years, even after the archaeological investigation of 1998.

Originally I had planned to spend two days in the area, one day to visit the Belzec campsite and another to interview local inhabitants of the village. A few days before going there I did some research about Belzec on my computer. What I learned about the desecration left me upset and disgusted. I dropped my plan to interview local inhabitants. I do not believe anyone would have admitted to these atrocities or even talked about. I would have faced a local amnesia.

In 2002, before the renovation of the Belzec campsite a young French Jewish filmmaker Guillaume Moscovitz made a film about Belzec. He interviewed several young people from the village of Belzec for the film. They freely admitted they were using the camp area for "recreational" purposes."

### **The second investigation in 1946**

The second investigation was a continuation of the previous one. The Investigation Commission was able to publish a report on April 11, 1946. The findings were that Belzec was the second camp built specifically for extermination of Jews. The first death camp was Chelmno, which functioned from December 1941 to the beginning of 1943.

The Investigation Commission based its findings on testimonies of eyewitnesses, who were employed by the Germans in the construction of camp Belzec, including locals who were able to see what was taking place there.

Chaim Herszman, besides Rudolf Reder probably the only survivor of Belzec testified before the Lublin court on March 19, 1946 and was to continue his testimony the following day, when he was murdered either by Polish anti-Semites or the Russian NKVD.

Rudolf Reder was the only known survivor of the extermination camp Belzec. It seems some tin sheeting was needed in Belzec. I have to presume, the tin sheeting was needed for cladding in the gas chamber. Reder and an Ukrainian guard were sent to Belzec to get the material. The guard got drunk, fell asleep and Reder escaped.

Rudolf Reder came to Canada in the 1950. At that time I became aware of Belzec, also many Holocaust survivors made it to Canada. It must have been around 1960 when I started the first search for the fate of my mother and I was able to make the Izbica - Belzec connection. Somebody gave me Rudolf Reder's phone number. I was able to phone him in Toronto. I found him to be a very upset person, disillusioned with life and bitter. He did not wish to speak with me.

### **The third investigation in 1961**

As mentioned before the Polish authorities declared death camp Belzec a memorial site. A monument was erected over the crypt containing the human remains found during the first investigation in 1945.

Four symbolic concrete tombs were erected over what was believed at that time to be mass graves. Six large urns were positioned in strategic positions, intended to be eternal flames. There is no evidence that these urns were ever lit. Also some landscaping was carried out.

In all the investigations by the Polish War Crimes Commission, the evidence came from many sources: The local population, Kurt Gerstein, Polish railway workers at Belzec station, Rudolf Gockel, the German station master at Belzec station, testimonies during the trials of the SS garrison in Belzec.

The Germans were able to destroy most of the paper trails leading to Belzec. Obviously a lot of documents and railway schedules were to be found in the Belzec station house. This evidence was taken care of by a Russian air raid, bombing an ammunition train standing in Belzec station and destroying the building including railway records housed there.

### **The fourth investigation**

The fourth and most recent archaeological investigations were carried out from 1997 until 2000. They were led by Prof. Andrzej Kola, director of the archaeological research at the University of Torun, Poland. The principal investigator on the campsite was Dr. Mieczyslaw Gora, Senior Curator of the Museum of Ethnology in Lodz. He was supported by Dr. Wojciech Szulta and Dr. Ryszard Kazmierczak. Their mandate was to investigate the area of the campsite with archaeological exploratory boreholes, which were sunk to a depth of six meters in order to obtain core samples of the geological strata in the camp area.

These archaeological investigations are a very large, complex and detailed file. I reprint the introduction to chapter 15 "Belzec: Stepping Stone to Genocide":

(source: <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/belzec1/belzec1.html>)

"Archaeological Investigations 1997-2000, Introduction

At the time, the investigation at Belzec by leading archaeologists was historically unique, as no similar investigations had been carried out at the other two designated pure death camps of Sobibór and Treblinka. The magnitude of what occurred in Belzec has never been fully described in the historical literature until now. According to previous studies, which have always been inhibited by lack of eye-witness evidence, several hundred thousand Jews perished

in Belzec. The archaeological investigations confirm by overwhelming evidence that mass murder was committed here on an unprecedented scale and that there was a determined attempt to conceal the enormity of the crime. The material unearthed at Belzec not only confirmed the crime but enabled the historians, by scientific analysis, to reconstruct for the first time the probable layout of the camp in the first and second phases.

Initially, the archaeological investigations at Belzec were handled under an agreement among the Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom (*Rada Ochrony Pamieci Walk I Mecenstwa - ROPWiM*) in Warsaw in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. The administration of the Belzec Memorial project was later taken over by The American Jewish Committee.

How Belzec was to be commemorated was the subject of a wide-ranging competition among artists who placed their suggestions before a selecting committee. The successful contributors was a team of architects and artists led by Marcin Roszczyk, who intended ‘to honor the earth that harbored the ashes of the victims.’ The Memorial site was finally completed and dedicated on June 3, 2004. It was within this definition that the archaeological investigations were started, the purpose being to examine the topography of the former camp and locate mass grave areas before the erection of a suitable memorial commemorating the victims murdered in Belzec.

As a result of the work carried out by the archaeological team from Torun University and an historical assessment of the findings by the author (Robin O’Neil), a clearer picture emerged of how the camp was constructed and organized and how it functioned.”

### **The world’s reaction**

*Shall we never forget those who perished while the world stood still.*

At this point it is essential to refer back to Jan Karski and his role as the heroic investigator of the conditions in the Warsaw ghetto and Izbica transit camp. There is no doubt in my mind that he was informed by the Polish resistance organizations, which were on the ground around Belzec of what was happening there. Following his return, Karski made his report to the Polish, British and American governments.

Quoting from the web site of the international “Raoul Wallenberg Foundation” (source: <http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/?en/saviors/polish/karski/jan-karski-silent-messenger.903.htm>):



“In London he [Jan Karski] had a meeting with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden, with Lord Cranbone, of the conservative party as well as with Hugh Dalton and Arthur Greenwood of the Labour party. They were all part of the British cabinet of war that in that moment was the political center of power in England. Eden answered that they could not do anything of what the Jewish leaders proposed because the allied strategy consisted in defeating Germany militarily, and that no ‘secondary issue’ had to interfere with the objective. Lord Cranbone, apparently a nice man, told him: ‘Mr. Karski, you are a very bright man. Do you realize that the message you are giving us is untenable?’

Arthur Koestler, Jewish, passionate anti-fascist and anti-Soviet whom Karski visited in London, is not favored in the messenger’s narration. He describes him as a man so tied down to his personal interests, to his vanity of man of arts. Another writer, H.G. Wells, when he received his chronicle answered: ‘there should be a study of what causes anti-Semitism to arise in every country where Jews live.’

The situation is not better in the USA. In the summer of 1943 he has a meeting with President Roosevelt, the Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, Cardinal Cicognani, Archbishop Spellman, the President of the Jewish-American Congress, Nahum Goldman, the Judge of the Supreme Court of Justice, Felix Frankfurter and with the director of the Herald Tribune, Ogden Reed. Roosevelt listened to him for four hours. He was especially interested in political issues and told him that Poland would receive a territorial compensation. Not a single comment about the Jews’ situation, not a single question that showed his worry about the ghetto chronicle and the extermination camps.

The dialogue with Felix Frankfurter, member of the Supreme Court, is equally clarifying. Frankfurter asked him: ‘Mr. Karski, do you know who I am? Do you know that I am Jewish?’ After Karski’s narration of the facts, Frankfurter walks a few steps, thinks for a while and answers him categorically: ‘A man like me has to be completely honest, so I tell you that I cannot believe what you are telling me.’ Other Jewish leaders did not believe him either.”

### **Options available for the Allies to bomb Auschwitz: My point of view**

I have pondered about several possibilities which could have been undertaken by the allied air forces to at least slow down the German extermination process, if the Allies were willing to do so. There were three options. I have determined two options could be applied: The first option was to bomb the general camp area. I have to dismiss this option. The casualty rate amongst Jewish inmates would have been horrific. We would have helped the German goal of exterminating Jews. This type of carpet bombing an area was used by the Allies in Normandy,

France with deadly results. I can vouch for that. While serving with the First Polish Armoured Division in Normandy, France in June 1944, we were mistakenly bombed by the USAAF. My regiment suffered heavy losses in life and equipment.

The second option was to specifically bomb the five crematoria in Auschwitz-Birkenau. If all or most crematoria would have been destroyed, it would have halted the killings in Auschwitz-Birkenau, at least for a good while. The Nazis would have had to stop all transport movements to Auschwitz-Birkenau. While pinpoint or precision bombing during WWII was not as advanced as we know it today, I am convinced the bombing of the crematoria was possible.

The third option was to bomb railway tracks and junctions and especially bridges carrying railway tracks leading to the camps, which were not protected by antiaircraft batteries, also it would have taken a much longer time to repair bridges. To destroy railway lines would have meant frequent bomb runs, because they could be easily repaired using local forced labor. Railway lines were not protected by German antiaircraft batteries.

The discussions about the question whether the Allies should have or not bombed the concentration camps is still ongoing today. This subject is too extensive to be included in this study. But in conclusion I must reiterate with some more detail my previously stated opinion: Yes, the crematoria and the crematoria only in Auschwitz-Birkenau should have been bombed. I cannot accept the statements issued by the governments of Great Britain and the USA that it was not feasible to bomb Auschwitz-Birkenau or any other concentration camp. Several low level air attacks by English and American bombers during 1943 - 1944 proved otherwise. They all were high value targets. Just to name a few: During spring of 1944 the U.S. Air Force made photo surveillance flights over Auschwitz-Birkenau, taking photos of the crematoria in preparation for bombing on August 20, 1944 of the *I.G. Farben* synthetic oil factory at Monowitz only some five miles from Birkenau. On that day some 120 Flying Fortresses dropped some 1,300 500-pound bombs on the factories.

This bombing by itself could be called fairly routine. As a reaction the German air defense headquarters complained to the German high command about the night cremations, whereby flames were shooting out from the chimneys of the crematoria and could be seen for miles during night time as witnessed by American flyers. If the Americans would have bombed into these "beacons of death," it would have saved thousands of lives.

On February 18, 1944 under the code name "Operation Jericho" 19 British Mosquito bombers made a successful low level bombing run on a prison in Amiens, France to facilitate the escape of French resistance fighters, who were about to be executed. It is my strong believe that

in using the same tactics, a bombing run on the crematoria would have been very successful, especially in the light of absence of anti-aircraft batteries in the actual camp areas. This is just one of several allied air raids on German installations, where the tactics used could have been applied to the crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Now, I am looking back sixty-six years since my father perished in the crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau. I am looking back sixty-seven years when my mother, two sisters and one brother perished in the gas chamber of Belzec. I am wondering: could they have been saved by some sort of bombing intervention?

After reviewing all the data and controversies regarding the bombing of Auschwitz-Birkenau and perhaps bombing of other concentration camps, I have come to the reluctant conclusion that there was no stopping the maniacal Nazis in their quest to complete the *Endlösung* or “final solution.” A successful bombing of the crematoria would have forced a temporary halt on the extermination process. Unfortunately, the Nazis had a killing tool, which they used successfully: On September 29 / 30, 1941, during two days, some 33,700 Jews from Kiev were killed in an orgy of mass shooting by a special team of SS units in the ravine Babi Yar. The Baby Yar massacre is considered to be the largest single mass killing in the history of the Holocaust, carried out within a two day time frame. This record matches numbers of gassed victims in the Belzec extermination camp, when in my estimate some 700,000 Jews perished. Belzec operated for about nine months.

In conclusion I can only repeat my deep conviction, if there were a strategic military intervention by the Allies including Russia, many lives would have been saved.

*“There may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice, but there must never be a time when we fail to protest.”*

Elie Wiesel

### Links to recommendable videos and audio files

- Himmler’s speech about the destruction of the Jews (**video\***)
- Himmler’s speech (**audio\***)
- The 60th anniversary **Auschwitz\*** commemoration
- The Belzec **memorial\*** dedication 2004

## Additional Sources

Notes from conversations with:

- Mr. Siegfried Bigeleisen (Bigel; Israel), émigré from Baiersdorf and researcher on the Jewish history of Baiersdorf, Fürth and Würzburg, 1997
- Ms. Erna Kaldor (Israel), émigré from Fürth, 1962
- Mr. Herbert Kolb (USA), survivor of the Shoah from Nuremberg, 1994, 1995, 1999
- Dr. Max Stern, lawyer and survivor of the Shoah in Fürth, 1962
- Bavarian State Archives in Würzburg (copy of the “Organizational instruction”)
- Website <http://www.bildungswerk-ks.de>
- Website <http://www.holocaust-history.org>
- Website <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/belzec1/bel000.html>

## Additional Literature

- Wolfgang Benz (ed.): Die Juden in Deutschland 1933 - 1945. Munich 1989.
- Gisela Blume: Zum Gedenken an die von den Nazis ermordeten Fürther Juden 1933 - 1945. Edited by the committee for the remembrance of Fürth's victims of the Shoah. Fürth 1997.
- Werner J. Heymann (ed.): Kleeblatt und Davidstern. Aus 400 Jahren jüdischer Vergangenheit in Fürth. Emskirchen 1991.
- Herbert Schultheis: Bilder und Akten der Gestapo Würzburg über die Judendeportationen 1941 - 1943. Bad Neustadt a.d. Saale 1988 (= Bad Neustädter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Heimatkunde Frankens vol. 5; see there the printed version of the original “Organizational instruction”).

Link to Part 1: **Fuerth\***

Link to Part 2: **Izbica\***

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