

# Last Stop in Lwów: Janowska as a Hybrid Camp

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**The Janowska camp complex in Lwów, which was responsible for the murder of at least 80,000 Jews, has received relatively little academic treatment. The camp is of particular interest due to its hybrid nature as slave labor camp, transit camp, and dedicated killing site. Using a wide variety of source materials and approaches, this article details and analyzes these connected functions, arguing that this unique combination of activities reveals many new insights into our typology of camps as well as the role of Janowska in the Holocaust in Galicia.**

“Perhaps,” he said, “you are meant to be the only one of our family to survive. Perhaps you are meant to be the only one who will keep the family going.”

—Leon Wells’ uncle after Wells’ failed suicide attempt, 1942<sup>1</sup>

On March 2, 1942 Leon Weliczker (later Leon Wells) appeared at his assigned work detail in the eastern Polish city of Lwów (Lviv, Lemberg),<sup>2</sup> hoping to use his unblemished work record to persuade his supervisor to overlook his sick father’s absence. Instead, Wells was arrested. The police loaded him and others into a truck, which drove a short distance to the last stop on the city streetcar line. There the truck passed through a massive concrete entrance with large iron gates and deposited its prisoners in the outer yard of the Janowska concentration camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager Janowska*—ZAL-J). Wells entered the reception office—led by a Jewish prisoner named Dr. Rechter—on the ground floor of the three-story camp office building.<sup>3</sup> SS-men went about their business while several female Jewish secretaries assisted Rechter in registering incoming prisoners. Wells, a frightened sixteen-year old, approached the desk of a sympathetic Jewish woman who suggested that the “poor young fellow” say he was a skilled worker. In his interview with the thirty-one-year-old camp commandant SS-Untersturmführer (Second Lieutenant) Gustav Willhaus, a man with “small extraordinary black vicious eyes” and a “harsh gaze,”<sup>4</sup> Wells claimed to be a glassworker (he had previously worked in a glass factory, though he had no actual glassworking skills).

Afterwards Wells was led outside past a guard tower and through “a door that was covered with barbed wire.” Entering the inner portion of the camp, Wells recalled thinking: “This was the real Janowska.”<sup>5</sup> For several months he labored in the glass workshop, frequently leaving the camp to install windows in SS houses. However, he soon fell desperately sick with typhus. On June 8, 1942, feverish and wracked with muscle pain, Wells tried to follow his work brigade out of the camp, but, as he described it, “limbs and brain no longer coordinate. I cannot move.”<sup>6</sup> The SS set him aside, along with 180 other prisoners unable to work, in a space known as the “between wire,” literally a liminal space between life and death where those marked for murder waited. The SS then marched this group outside the camp and into “the Sands” (“Piaski” in Polish), a dedicated killing space. They forced them to undress and dig a pit. Wells felt his life “slip away piece by piece ... and with each piece [went] some of [his] pain.” When his turn to die arrived, however, a Ukrainian guard

suddenly told him to get dressed and follow him back to the camp to collect another corpse to bury.<sup>7</sup> Weakly, Wells dragged the dead man behind him as he followed the guard back to the killing site.

On the way back, Wells had an epiphany: “Suddenly, with lightning rapidity, all the impulses of life take hold of me again and the thought of escaping flashes through my mind and becomes a living reality. I have nothing, absolutely nothing, to lose, but everything to gain.”<sup>8</sup> He dropped the body and ran back into camp where he hid among the throngs of prisoners returning from work. The Ukrainian shouted for him, but eventually gave up.

Wells knew that if he were discovered missing, his parents, brothers, and sisters who still lived in Lwów would be shot in reprisal. Therefore, he hid in his workshop until the evening roll call where, fortunately, he was reported dead; the Ukrainian guard evidently had been afraid to reveal his mistake. Because he frequently worked outside the camp, Wells was able to walk inconspicuously out the front gate and escape to Stojanow, outside of Lwów.

Later, upon learning that his sisters and most of his family had been rounded up from their hiding places in the countryside, Wells returned to Lwów to find his brothers living in the ghetto. Unfortunately, the SS soon arrested Wells, his two brothers, and thousands of others, likely as part of the final liquidation of the ghetto in June 1943. Thus, almost a year after his first arrest, Wells found himself again in Janowska. During the selection, guards shot Wells’ brother Jacob trying to escape. His other brother Aaron was taken, along with 4,000 to 5,000 others, to be shot in the Sands.<sup>9</sup>

This time, Wells was assigned as an orderly for the infamous Sonderkommando 1005 (SK1005), a slave labor detail whose sole purpose was to excavate Nazi mass graves and burn the bodies, crush any remaining bones, and rebury the remnants. Sometimes this group found itself knee-deep in blood as it worked. One day, Wells marched out with the rest to excavate a grave. The SS knew to expect 182 bodies; yet, they found only 181 skulls. The kommando spent two full days searching, but without success.<sup>10</sup> The missing body was, of course, that of Leon Wells. He had literally stood in his own grave for the second time.

Even more extraordinarily, on November 19, 1943 the Sonderkommando killed an SS guard and approximately fifty prisoners escaped, including Wells, who was hidden with twenty-three other Jews by a Polish farmer until liberation in July 1944.<sup>11</sup> Wells went on to testify at the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961, write three books, earn two engineering degrees, and testify in Germany against the guards at Janowska.<sup>12</sup> When he died in 2010, he requested cremation, contrary to Jewish practice, because “his people had gone that way.”<sup>13</sup>

## **Why Janowska? The Significance of the Camp in the History of the Holocaust**

“I survived the hell of this camp as if by a miracle. Human understanding cannot encompass the vastness of these crimes.”

—Leopold Zimmerman, Janowska survivor, February 1, 1965<sup>14</sup>

Leon Wells’ story highlights the horrors of Janowska and the scale of mass murder that took place there, and also demonstrates the camp’s many roles in the Holocaust. An easy walk from downtown Lwów, Janowska defies simple categorization because of its hybrid nature as slave labor camp, transit camp, and dedicated killing site.<sup>15</sup> Notably and unusually, it functioned simultaneously in these roles.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, in these various capacities the camp at 134 Janowska Street

managed to involve itself in an astounding range of Holocaust-related activities, many of them characteristic of the particularity of the Holocaust in Galicia.

The ZAL-J was an urban concentration camp. Its location in a major city and resulting local prisoner population encouraged close connections with the ghetto, intertwining the camp's history with the history of the Holocaust in Lwów. Not including the initial pogroms following the German conquest, we can identify at least thirteen discrete killing/deportation actions that took place in Lwów.<sup>17</sup> The city (and thus Janowska) served as a hub for deportations to Bełżec, which peaked in August 1942 with the "Great Aktion" that claimed approximately 50,000 lives. In early 1943, the last remnants of the ghetto were designated a JULAG (Judenlager) with survivors housed in buildings according to their labor assignments. In May 1943, the JULAG was liquidated. The Janowska camp underwent several "liquidations," and a few survivors were evacuated by the Nazis shortly before the liberation of Lwów in July 1944.

In its capacity as a slave labor camp, Janowska's central location in Lwów meant that while some laborers worked within the camp, others worked outside during the day at German firms or for the military, and, later, workers who had been confined in factory camps were brought inside the walls.<sup>18</sup> Simon Wiesenthal, for example, worked for the German rails in a nearby subcamp. Janowska also served as a prison for non-Jewish prisoners, mostly petty criminals, who had run afoul of the German authorities. Theirs, however, was a short-term punishment; these prisoners had set sentences and separate accommodations.<sup>19</sup>

Janowska's centrality also facilitated its function as *the* transit camp for the deportations of Jews from Lwów and its environs to the Bełżec and Sobibor extermination centers, an unusual circumstance since permanent transit camps were less common in the East. Pioneering scholar of the Holocaust in Poland (and in Lwów) Philip Friedman estimated that 300,000 to 400,000 Jews passed through the camp; these numbers are likely too high, but an estimate of 200,000 is not implausible.<sup>20</sup> Wendy Lower has described the camp as "the biggest Jewish labor and transit camp in [present day] Ukraine."<sup>21</sup>

Finally, the Janowska camp operated as a dedicated killing site: tens of thousands of Jews were murdered in the Sands. Sometimes "peak" killings at Janowska were part of the actions against the Lwów ghetto, but Janowska also had routine killings, large and small. After Bełżec ceased operation in December 1942, Janowska became the primary Final Solution murder site for Lwów and its surrounding region. Records are incomplete, but Thomas Sandkühler has proposed that 80,000 victims were killed there.<sup>22</sup>

Scholar Martin Winstone has written that, "although there were no gas chambers in Janowska, it is likely that more people were murdered there, mostly by shooting, than at Majdanek."<sup>23</sup> This finding does not lessen Majdanek's importance, but rather raises Janowska to the position of at least a peer, underscoring the need for further detailed study. It also distinguishes Janowska from the more numerous single-purpose camps and their killing practices. Father Patrick Desbois has written that in present-day Ukraine "there were no extermination camps, no barbed wire to separate the condemned from their assassins."<sup>24</sup> He is, in a certain sense, wrong. While Janowska was not an extermination center like the Operation Reinhard camps, it *was* a dedicated, continuously operational killing site with a death toll high enough to merit its inclusion among the most deadly of Holocaust sites.

The ZAL-J also served as a makeshift training center for killers, sending its SS-men to manage and then liquidate nearby camps and ghettos, after which they would return "home." It offers

us the relatively rare opportunity to track the movements of very low-level SS officials. If we look at the ZAL-J as an accessory to many other killing operations in the region—by supplying the killers—it becomes responsible for even more deaths: perhaps the deadliest organization on the territory of present-day Ukraine after the Einsatzgruppen.

In January 1942, Paul Blobel (the former commander of Sonderkommando 4a) received orders to prepare and execute an operation to eliminate evidence of Nazi murders. Known as Sonderaktion 1005, this program began its operations at the extermination centers, but after completing its work there, Sonderkommando 1005 (SK1005) set up a major base of operations at the Janowska camp. The “Death Brigade” formed from Janowska prisoners also witnessed continuing mass executions at Janowska and another site in Lwów, behavior somewhat unusual for SK1005—elsewhere units typically arrived after the killings were complete.

A wealth of varied sources document the operations of Janowska at the regional, local, and micro levels: wartime German, Ukrainian, and Polish documents; statements taken by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission beginning in 1944; statements taken for postwar German trials; survivor memoirs, video testimony, art, Yizhkor books, and artifacts such as photographs and maps. There are several important survivor accounts of the camp.<sup>25</sup> Janowska hovered at the edges of some of the most famous postwar trials, including the Nuremberg and Eichmann trials.<sup>26</sup> It also appeared in its own spotlight: in 1966, Janowska formed a significant focus of the Lemberg trial in Stuttgart, the second longest in German history, lasting eighteen months with 214 witnesses and fifteen defendants.<sup>27</sup> Simon Wiesenthal accurately predicted in 1967 that “the scope of the forthcoming Galicia trial [of which Janowska was a part] will surpass the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt.”<sup>28</sup> This trial supplied a wealth of sources in Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian, giving us a multi-faceted perspective.<sup>29</sup>

Given this variety of sources and the camp’s importance, it is surprising that there is no single monograph on Janowska, though it has not been ignored. In 1945 Philip Friedman wrote a history of the Holocaust in Lwów (but naturally without the benefit of our contemporary accumulated knowledge).<sup>30</sup> No discussion of the Janowska camp would be complete without mention of the foundational work of Dieter Pohl, Thomas Sandkühler, Y.A. Hönigsman, and, more recently, Tarik Cyril Amar, Eliyahu Yones, and Christoph Mick.<sup>31</sup> However, they focus on the important topics of the larger unfolding of the Holocaust in Galicia (Pohl, Sandkühler), Lwów during the Holocaust (Hönigsman, Yones), or Lwów as a multiethnic, multinational city (Amar, Mick). Amar’s excellent study covers the history of the city from before WWII through the Soviet period.

What has not been attempted thus far is a detailed and integrated study of the unique characteristics of the Janowska camp and daily life there, as well as its relationship to local, regional, and national policy. The Janowska camp was, indeed, central to the Holocaust in Galicia and offers historians much as we continue to look toward microhistory as a way of understanding how the tensions between policy and environment played out on the ground. It also offers the chance to refine how we tie these microhistories to events on a larger scale.

Here I focus on exploring Janowska’s hybrid nature and the functions it served in the context of the Holocaust in Galicia. This article merely touches on some of the other many important themes: the Trawniki men, the overrepresentation of *Volksdeutsche* among the SS stationed there, local indigenous collaboration, networks of perpetrators, the role of women as perpetrators, resistance, and sexual violence. Such themes are certainly deserving of detailed study and will figure in my larger study of the camp.

## The Holocaust in Galicia

“Owing to the term ‘Galician Jew,’ Galicia probably was the spot on earth which was best known and most frequently mentioned in connection with Jewry.”

—Katzmann Report, 1943<sup>32</sup>

“If the dimensions of the unfolding tragedy in Galicia seem clear, the light that these events shed on the overall evolution of Nazi Jewish policy is less so.”

—Christopher R. Browning, *Origins of the Final Solution*<sup>33</sup>

To understand Janowska one must situate the camp in the larger context of the Holocaust in Galicia—a region Sandkühler rightly describes as “located at the intersection of differing paths to the Final Solution.” Sandkühler goes on to note that “although the region was part of the General Government, it represented, de facto, a mixed type between the original General Government and the neighboring occupation zones to the east.”<sup>34</sup> This meant that the Germans murdered the Jews of Galicia in two main ways: extermination camps (their preferred method of killing Jews in the General Government) and mass shootings (common in the eastern occupation zones).<sup>35</sup> Janowska’s organization, personnel, and operations reflected this hybridity. Indeed, while shooting was the only means used for systematic murder at Janowska, its role as a transit camp tied it to the gas chambers at Belzec.

Governor-General Hans Frank added Galicia (now western Ukraine) and its approximately 800,000 Jews to the General Government (GG) after the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union in summer 1941, at almost exactly the moment when the Final Solution—the total annihilation of the Jewish people—became official policy. Coming almost two years after the GG’s establishment, this had several important consequences for the Holocaust there. Nazi administrators who had “struggled” with the “Jewish Question” in the GG brought some relatively established policies to Galicia (forced labor, the yellow star, ghettoization). The processes of segregation, consolidation, selection for forced labor, deportation, and mass murder thus moved more rapidly in Galicia. The rushed tempo placed Nazi anti-Jewish policy in the hands of increasingly lower-ranking officials, and granted a certain degree of autonomy to them. There was insufficient time to enact the policies originally developed in occupied-Poland methodically or uniformly here. There were few purely transit camps, for example, because the ghettos themselves served this purpose.<sup>36</sup>

The newly-incorporated region became Distrikt Galizien, with Karl Lasch as Governor and Friedrich Katzmann as SS and Police Leader (SSPF). The major cities were Lwów, Tarnopol, Stanisławów, Kolomea, and Boryslav. Lwów had the third largest population of Jews in Poland, with around 160,000—more than the entire Jewish population of the Netherlands. The Einsatzgruppen followed the 1941 invasion, but—with the exception of a mass shooting in Stanisławów in October—most of Galicia initially experienced the more limited murders of communists, intelligentsia, and Jewish men of military age.<sup>37</sup> However, the killing there accelerated in 1942 as entire Jewish populations of towns and ghettos were liquidated or consolidated.

By September Heinrich Himmler increased the importance of Galicia by ordering the building of a massive military highway through Ukraine, Durchgangsstrasse IV (DG IV). This entailed the mobilization of labor throughout the district into a series of temporary camps along the route, all under SSPF Katzmann, who by the end of 1941, controlled thirteen DG IV camps with around 7,000–8,000 Jewish slave laborers.<sup>38</sup> The severe and abusive conditions of labor and in these camps meant that they required frequent replacements from the surrounding region, including from

Janowska. As elsewhere, there were disagreements within the SS as well as between civil authorities, the Wehrmacht, and the SS as to the purpose and nature of Jewish labor.

A rich body of literature addresses the question of “annihilation through labor,” in theory and practice. Christopher Browning distinguishes between “productionists” who were concerned with the extraction of the maximum amount of labor from Jews, and the “attritionists” who preferred to let them die from disease and hunger.<sup>39</sup> During the Wannsee Conference, Adolf Eichmann noted that, of the Jews building roads in Galicia, the “lion’s share would doubtless drop through a natural decline.”<sup>40</sup> By mid-1942, there was some relaxation in labor policy as Jewish workers were permitted to continue working while non-workers were to be “resettled.” It can be difficult to separate individual inclinations from systemic policy, however.

Regardless, some in the GG disagreed with the “attritionist” perspective. The military governor in the General Government, Kurt Freiherr von Gienanth, complained of the loss of Wehrmacht workers in September 1942 and was removed from command.<sup>41</sup> A memorandum from Alfred Rosenberg’s office regarding the treatment of Jewish laborers indicated that “in general, Jewish workers are to be used in hard bodily labor.”<sup>42</sup> After the major killing actions of 1942, the only Jews alive in Galicia were in concentration camps, a few select ghettos, or hiding. In 1943, Himmler, reacting in part to the Warsaw Ghetto and Sobibor/Treblinka uprisings, decided that even Jewish laborers should now be killed. So, Katzmann liquidated the DG IV camps on July 22–23, 1943. The Janowska camp remained in existence as a major camp until November 1943, and continued operation on a much smaller scale until just before the arrival of the Red Army in July 1944.

## A Tale of Two Camps: The Founding of Janowska

“SS-Brigadeführer Katzmann wishes that SS-Untersturmführer be transferred from the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerken and be commissioned with the construction of a Jewish camp. I support this. However, Willhaus must dispense with his intention to create his own camp workshops.

The Deutschen Ausrüstungswerke in Lwów was developed from an auto repair shop. Its position in the hills makes expansive planning impossible.... As a result of the factory inspection, I recommend that the envisioned investment there be reduced to a minimum and that a suitable, developable area with a railroad siding be sought.”

—Inspection Report from SS Dr. Kurt May, Director of DAW, June 1942<sup>43</sup>

The camp at 134 Janowska Street originated as a branch of the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (German Equipment Factory) or DAW, a conglomerate of SS economic enterprises controlled by SS-Obergruppenführer (Lieutenant General) Oswald Pohl, chief of the SS Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (Economic and Administration Main Office) or WVHA.<sup>44</sup> These operations were established in 1939 in Poland and expanded to the newly occupied Eastern territories after 1941. They focused mainly on woodworking, metalworking, and factory production, but later entered the war materials market.<sup>45</sup>

Sometime in late summer 1941, SS-Brigadeführer (Brigadier General) Odilo Globocnik, who was responsible for similar operations in Lublin, sent his deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Mohwinkel, to establish a DAW camp in Lwów. Six to ten members of the infamous Dirlwanger Brigade accompanied him as a guard force.<sup>46</sup> This was a temporary assignment for Mohwinkel—he was back in Lublin in command of the DAW operation there by December 1.<sup>47</sup> On August 1, 1941, SS-Obersturmführer (First Lieutenant) Fritz Gebauer arrived to take over the DAW

Lemberg (Lwów). The thirty-five-year-old son of a career janitor had been trained as a mechanic before joining the SS in 1932.<sup>48</sup> Emmi, his wife of nine years, accompanied him.

He inherited a modest facility that included a large hall and several workshops dedicated to fitting, turning, carpentry, plumbing, and electrical work. This enterprise was located on forty acres that backed up to hilly terrain cut with ravines and draws—the area that prisoners would come to call the Sands.<sup>49</sup> The site appears to have been the remnants of a factory for making milling machines formerly owned by a Jewish industrialist named Steinhaus, whose holdings had been nationalized during the Soviet occupation.<sup>50</sup> Gebauer had big plans. As one survivor recalled, “taking [Globocnik’s] example, Gebauer also strove for a rapid advancement” of the camp. He acquired adjoining lots 132–138 on Janowska Street.<sup>51</sup> Known as Weststrasse in the Nazi period, this street was the main westward artery out of town. The camp lay more or less within the city of Lwów, and had its own stop on a streetcar line (later used to deport Jews from the ghetto to the camp). In addition, the Kleparów freight train station sat immediately outside the front gates and a few kilometers from the grand Lwów Main Station. All of these geographic factors made the camp’s location ideal for mass deportation and murder, but as the Kurt May report quoted above indicates, the DAW’s location was poor from a manufacturing perspective.

Gebauer immediately populated his camp with Jewish slave labor (skilled and unskilled) from the nearby Lwów ghetto.<sup>52</sup> Many in the ghetto were desperate for work cards, including Bernhard Hirschorn, an engineer who volunteered and arrived at the DAW on August 31, 1941. Gebauer lacked adequate food for his prisoners and so he turned to the Jewish Council, which delivered food and supply packages for the prisoners until forbidden to do so.<sup>53</sup> Gebauer’s priority was construction of buildings and barracks. Yet he had no real construction materials. He complained, even in 1962, that on his arrival he “discovered no regulated conditions,” adding with a touch of pride that “there was really still no actual DAW in Lemberg.”<sup>54</sup> The new prisoners were likely surprised when Gebauer assigned them trucks and ordered them to drive into Lwów and loot former government buildings for supplies.<sup>55</sup> Until barracks were built, prisoners slept outside. Initially the operation was small, with only fifty to sixty Jewish slave laborers, but by the end of 1941 Gebauer had built a respectable slave labor operation. Jewish Council records indicate a total of 554 laborers (nine from outside Lwów) supplied to the camp in December 1941.<sup>56</sup>

He also received more staff: Ukrainian militia (Askaris) who replaced the Dirlwanger men, and additional SS personnel, many of whom were ethnic Germans from Hungary and Yugoslavia. The most important of the reinforcements was Gebauer’s putative deputy, thirty-one-year-old SS-Untersturmführer Gustav Willhaus, the son of a maître’d, trained as a mechanic, and known as a “street brawler.” Functionally illiterate, he was transferred from a position with the Waffen-SS and arrived in Lwów in November 1941. His wife Liesel and their three-year old daughter Heike would join him.<sup>57</sup>

The relationship between Gebauer and Willhaus seems to have become strained almost immediately. Willhaus had bigger ambitions than being a deputy of a small work camp, and he had the requisite connections via the patronage of SSPF Katzmann.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, Wells and other prisoners believed (erroneously) that Willhaus was Katzmann’s brother-in-law.<sup>59</sup> Theoretically subject to civilian control, in reality Katzmann as SSPF drove much of the policy in the city and the surrounding camps and ghettos. He and Willhaus had the shared goal of establishing of a proper concentration camp in Lwów, no doubt heightened by influence from Himmler. The lieutenant sensed an opportunity for career advancement and the general was building his own slave labor empire for

the construction of the Durchgangstrasse IV. The ZAL-J thus fit into a larger project of slave labor and construction at the regional level.

So, on March 1, 1942 Katzmann named Willhaus the commandant of a new concentration camp that came to be known as Zwangsarbeitslager-Janowska (ZAL-J).<sup>60</sup> One can imagine Gebauer's displeasure upon learning not only that his subordinate had been given command of a larger, more important operation, but that this new camp would be adjacent to—and in competition with—his DAW. Gebauer had seen this coming, as he related in a postwar testimony: “[Willhaus] was supposed to help me in the office but he didn't. He got in contact with Police Leader Katzmann immediately after his arrival.”<sup>61</sup>

Relationships deteriorated even more rapidly as Willhaus' star rose and his project seemed to receive priority. He quickly gained control of Gebauer's laborers, who would live in the ZAL-J and walk over to work in the DAW. As the hapless Gebauer noted, “I was supposed to supply him with the materials and no less than my craftsmen [to build this camp]. Because I desperately needed the material and craftsmen for my own production, I refused, even to Katzmann. As a result, there arose disagreements between Willhaus and me. I also had to put up with incivility from Katzmann.”<sup>62</sup> Even the prisoners were aware of the rivalry between the two SS men. Wells recalled, “Although we internees could not know all the details of their private lives or of their relationship, some of it was thrust upon us. We were constantly aware of the fact, for example that Willhaus would turn away purposely whenever he saw Gebauer approaching; and when they were together it was clear that they did not behave toward each other in the manner required by military decorum.”<sup>63</sup> The nature of their relationship is perhaps summed up best by the fact that Willhaus named his dachshund “Fritz” (after Gebauer) and took great pleasure in “berating his dog ... with the worst curse words.”<sup>64</sup>



Camp Orchestra at ZAL-J with SS officials, before 1943. Note Willhaus' dachshund at right. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park.

The proximity of the camps often proved fatal for prisoners. The two men incessantly battled over literal spaces of control and authority in the camp complex, often in the ZAL-J camp office in front of prisoners.<sup>65</sup> Each SS-officer took any opportunity to kill the other's workers. By spring 1942, Willhaus had gained the upper hand via his control over laborers and his friendly relations

with the SSPF. Indeed, Katzmann personally awarded him the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz* (War Merit Cross) Second Class on June 16, 1942 for the “construction of a large forced labor camp.”<sup>66</sup>

And so Willhaus’ ZAL-J and Gebauer’s DAW existed side by side, but as a house divided. The camp area now encompassed 60 acres with a perimeter of one and a quarter miles, which eventually included several watchtowers and searchlights. (By comparison, Treblinka was approximately 40 acres, Majdanek 667, and Auschwitz over 500.) The ZAL-J and the DAW were separated by a barbed wire fence with a single guarded door (each camp had its own main entrance). The DAW was a mass of workshops and administrative buildings overseen by SS men and civilian foremen. The ZAL-J comprised an outer section accessed by a grandiose concrete gate that also contained the “bunker” punishment cells. The stable, a series of workshops, and an eventual small women’s camp were located in this outer complex. Another gate controlled access into the inner camp, which housed the barracks, kitchen, and latrines. Finally, a back gate led directly into the Sands. In typically dissonant Nazi manner, a sizable housing area for ZAL-J SS men, including a villa for the Willhaus family complete with a garden and balcony sat in the middle of the complex. It seems DAW personnel lived in the DAW itself or just outside the camp. More than a few wives and families accompanied the SS men to both camps.<sup>67</sup> Willhaus’ wife, Elizabeth, particularly enjoyed shooting prisoners from the balcony of their villa, in the presence of her daughter, Heike.<sup>68</sup>



Janowska Complex, April 30, 1944, Luftwaffe photo. ZAL-J on left, DAW on right, cropped, annotation by author. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park.

## Janowska as Slave Labor Camp

“Inmates with longer experience therefore taught the newcomers that in work as well as in marching one should as much as possible keep to the old Latin principle of *festina lente*—‘hasten slowly.’ Working too eagerly and too quickly one could achieve an early death from exhaustion.”

—Dr. Samuel Drix, ZAL-J survivor<sup>69</sup>

Janowska was designed as a slave labor camp, based at least in part on Globocnik’s system in Lublin. The complex’s location in Lwów allowed Willhaus and Gebauer to replenish its labor supply from the nearby ghetto and the surrounding countryside. The first order of business in each

camp was the construction of barracks, latrines, workshops, and other necessities. Particularly after the founding of the ZAL-J in March 1942, “feverish” construction began.<sup>70</sup> The camp population continued to swell and the barracks—even with their four- to five-high bare “bunks” with twenty-three inches between—were insufficient for the camp population, especially at the beginning.<sup>71</sup> Wells recalled that new barracks had to be built in April 1942 as the camp could not accommodate its 2,000 prisoners.<sup>72</sup> Prisoners jockeyed for a place indoors, sometimes giving up “dinner” to do so; many ended up sleeping outside.<sup>73</sup> In the DAW, this kind of construction work was less frequent after Willhaus had all prisoners moved to his camp.

Gebauer strove to operate the DAW as a functioning factory camp. He produced mainly building materials such as wooden planks, as well as finished goods such as textiles for the military and administration. To this end, Gebauer’s staff consisted of both SS men and civilian technical and commercial officials, many of whom were just as sadistic as the SS.<sup>74</sup> For example, Kasimir Boni, a Pole, was placed at the DAW as a “purchasing agent” for industrial goods in May 1942, receiving 400 zloty per month. Gebauer warned him to stay away from the Jews.<sup>75</sup> However, Boni—despite denying to the Soviets that he had had any involvement with the Jews—was forced to explain (unconvincingly) how a search of his home uncovered thirteen gold teeth and Jewish religious items. The DAW also was involved in vehicle repair, particularly for the military, and worked closely with the Heereskraftfahrzeugpark 547 (Army Motorpool Unit); the latter had several locations in Lwów and possibly in the DAW itself, and received slave laborers first from Gebauer and then from Willhaus.<sup>76</sup>

After the war, Gebauer described the DAW as a “pure production factory,” and stated that all the goods made there “found uses in the Wehrmacht and civilian sector.”<sup>77</sup> One of his subordinates, SS-Unterscharführer (Corporal) Karl Melchior claimed so as well, stating that his department produced clothing, shoes, and personal items for the “fighting troops.”<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the preponderance of workshops and factory spaces in his camp suggest that he *was* producing goods.<sup>79</sup> However, the DAW was still a place of violence where prisoners were mistreated and killed: it was no benign factory.

Across the fence in the ZAL-J, labor took on a different complexion. Willhaus’ camp supplied slave labor to a multitude of concerns throughout Lwów, such as the Schwarz Textile Firm, the Reichsbahn, the Army, and salvage yards to name a few. Jewish foremen led separate brigades of slave laborers. Incessant construction and improvements to the camp meant that after an exhausting day working outside the camp, prisoners were forced to run to the nearby Kleparów station to unload beams (*belki*), bricks (*cegły*), and planks (*deski*) from freight cars—what they called “Vitamin Work,” for the first initials, “B,” “C,” and “D.” Ukrainian guards and SS men relentlessly drove the men on. One survivor recalled, “The attitude of these men to the Jews was the same as one reads in history about the way in which slave-drivers treated their slaves. Their only method was violence and intimidation.”<sup>80</sup> Conducted at a run, the work was psychologically and physically crushing, and often continued through the night. Survivor Moses Osterweil recalled that the supervision of “Vitamin Work” attracted those with a “fondness for violence” such as twenty-nine-year-old SS-Scharführer (Sergeant) Paul Fox, who beat the Jews “mercilessly on the head with his club,” abuse that detached Osterweil’s retina and left him blind in one eye. Fox shot between ten and twenty prisoners in Osterweil’s presence.<sup>81</sup>

Where did Janowska fit in the “annihilation through labor” debate? At the regional level, SSPF Katzmann clearly perceived that the internal debate within the SS had been won by the

attritionists: murder took precedence over labor, even if his nominal superior Hans Frank still fought this outcome.<sup>82</sup> At the local level, others, particularly in the Wehrmacht and related industries in Lwów fought this policy for purely utilitarian reasons. The Military Commander of the General Government complained to the General Staff in September 1942 that “the evacuation of the Jews without advance notice to most sections of the Wehrmacht has caused great difficulties in the replacement of labor and delay in correct production for military purposes.... It is requested that the evacuation of Jews employed in industrial enterprises be postponed until this has been done.”<sup>83</sup> Himmler grudgingly agreed to allow small numbers of vital Jewish workers to remain in specific camps, but reminded the general that “there, too, in accordance with the wish of the Führer, the Jews are some day to disappear.”<sup>84</sup> Regardless, in the General Government, the SS gained control of Jewish labor policy in summer 1942 and “in the course of the progressing genocide ... economic interests had far more difficulties in prevailing.”<sup>85</sup> All evidence suggests that the same disregard with which Katzmann viewed the lives of Jewish laborers on *Durchgangstrasse IV* applied to the ZAL-J.<sup>86</sup>

Katzmann’s apparent policy of “annihilation through labor” seems uniform, but the nature of the camp and ghetto system in Galicia still left much initiative to local commanders. Thus, it appears that both Gebauer and Willhaus also adopted the “attritionist” perspective. Whether they received explicit orders to that end from Katzmann or higher up is unclear. But, the general conditions, the intensity of the labor, and the perpetual and often indiscriminate murder of prisoners, seem to indicate a reckless disregard for the well-being of prisoners and (at best) an apathy toward the high death rate in the camps.

Some work was both exhausting and intentionally humiliating. Matok Tratner found himself assigned in August 1942 to a brigade tasked with emptying the camp’s latrine trenches. He labored standing in a slurry of excrement up to his knees. It was no coincidence that his fellow workers included “five or six doctors, four lawyers, four professors, and a well-known actor”—an attempt to humiliate prominent Jews.<sup>87</sup> Other labor was more clearly designed to destroy inmates. Wells writes of a “compulsion” brigade tasked with carrying stones that they were clearly incapable of lifting. They were then beaten as punishment.<sup>88</sup> Engineer Abraham Goldberg found himself assigned to a brigade for unskilled labor. He testified to having been made to throw tree stumps into a pit one day and then remove them the next. The goal, he assumed, was “apparently to weaken the people or something.”<sup>89</sup> Goldberg likely only survived the camp because he later was assigned to technical work befitting his skills.

Prisoners most likely could not distinguish between systematic killing through labor and the whims of local commanders and guards. However, their testimony, combined with the other evidence mentioned above, makes it clear that at least Willhaus oversaw a harsh program of both “productive” and punitive labor aimed at the deaths of inmates. It is instructive that the labor most likely to kill was that performed within the camp or under the supervision of camp staff.

As the ZAL-J grew (estimates range from 8,000 to 18,000 inmates at its height), Willhaus and the SS profited from outsourcing camp labor to local concerns.<sup>90</sup> Each morning, work brigades would make the short trip to the city to work for a variety of organizations: the Wehrmacht, the Luftwaffe, the SS housing quarter, multiple clothing manufacturers, the German railway (Wiesenthal, for example), as well as a cabal of firms tasked with collecting and recycling raw materials. Others simply walked through a small gate into the DAW to work. In general, external work sites proved safer for laborers.

Here again the camp's urban location played an important role: prisoners had access to a wide range of labor away from the sadistic eyes of camp administrators. The inhabitants of Lwów encountered the Jews of Janowska frequently. Most inmates were Lwów natives with relatives still in the ghetto—at least until the large *Aktions*—who could, as one survivor remembered, provide them with “clothing which they could trade for food.”<sup>91</sup> This was critical to survival. In addition, for a time, the delivery of packages from the Lwów Jewish Council ameliorated the horrible conditions somewhat. The Council spent 1,936.24 zloty on supplies for the Janowska camp (and also paid for more) in November and December of 1941 alone.<sup>92</sup> Prisoners in other camps were not often so fortunate.

### Janowska as Transit Camp

“The Schutzpolizei [in Tarnopol] themselves dragged out 600 victims—elderly, sick and children from the orphanage. They were thrown on freight cars like cargo and taken off to Janowska [March 25, 1942].”

—Tarnopol entry, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora*, 1955<sup>93</sup>

“The women and children were already on the same day as their arrest and after their separation from the men marched from Janowska to the immediately nearby Kleparów train station and here loaded into railway cars. As we later discovered, these transports went to Bełżec [August 1942].”

—Survivor Marian Rogowski, 1961<sup>94</sup>

The ZAL-J's location made it a central hub for a variety of population movements required by the Final Solution in *Distrikt Galizien*. Its function as a transit camp was intimately connected with its other roles as slave labor camp and dedicated killing site. First and foremost, the camp provided a secure site for prisoner selections. Those not selected for labor at Janowska were deported to Bełżec, fifty miles northwest on the Lublin-Lwów rail line, which passed through the Lwów Main Station and the Kleparów station across from the ZAL-J. Second, Janowska collected Jews from outlying areas, selecting some for labor and the rest for the extermination camps. It also redistributed fit workers throughout the local camp system and the DG IV camps. Third, it received, sorted, and redistributed the property of murdered Jews, including some in Bełżec. Finally, the Janowska camp served as a distribution and collection point for SS personnel as leaders and staff in the camp system.

At least forty-one deportations began in *Distrikt Galizien*, whence they would probably pass through or stop in Lwów. At least eight of these originated in Lwów itself.<sup>95</sup> The first major deportation of Lwów Jews was the so-called “*Asocial Aktion*” in March 1942, during which Ukrainian police confined unemployed, sick, elderly, and poor Jews in the Sobieski School before taking them by streetcar to Janowska and then to the Kleparów station. Most of the approximately 15,000 Jews deported from the ghetto were sent to Bełżec, but some, including Klara Szpilka, survived a second selection at Janowska and entered that camp.<sup>96</sup> During this *Aktion*, Jews from the surrounding region (namely *Żółkiew*) were also briefly assembled at Janowska before transport to Bełżec.<sup>97</sup>

From March 1942 until the cessation of gassing at Bełżec in December 1942, deportations from Lwów would stop at Janowska, where selections in the outer yard of the ZAL-J would identify potential workers. The rest were sent on, or murdered on site. Those chosen for death often languished overnight without food or water in several fenced, open areas of the camp. Many survivors

recall barbed-wire pens built for this purpose. The movement of ghetto Jews to a separate transit camp for selection was not a common practice elsewhere.

During the “Great Aktion” in August 1942 around 50,000 Jews from the Lwów ghetto passed through the camp and on to Belżec. Rudolf Reder, a rare survivor of the deportation trains, remembered the following experience in the ZAL-J: “Surrounded by armed beasts, we were sitting tightly squeezed, young and old, women and children of all ages. There were some shots, somebody got up, maybe he wanted to be killed. We sat during the whole night in deathly silence. Neither children nor women cried. At six o’clock in the morning, we were ordered to get up from the wet grass, and a long column of the doomed marched to the Kleparów railway station. We were surrounded by Gestapo men and Ukrainians. Nobody could escape.”<sup>98</sup> SS officer Kurt Gerstein famously witnessed this August transport’s arrival at Belżec, and observed the gassing of the first forty-five cars under the erratic hand of Christian Wirth. Gerstein noted, “the first train came in from Lemberg [Lvov]; 45 cars, containing 6,700 persons, 1,450 of whom were already dead on arrival. Behind the little barbed-wire openings were children, yellow, half scared to death, women, and men.”<sup>99</sup>

Janowska’s dual role as labor camp and transit camp could engender particular forms of cruelty. During a selection, Stanley Roger, who had valid work papers from a subcamp, bravely approached Willhaus begging for his family’s freedom. Willhaus said he could not save his family, beat Roger over the head with his whip, and then spared him. Roger and the other newest additions to the ZAL-J watched from a distance as their families sat, searchlights playing over them, guards shooting the occasional victim for moving. In the morning, all were loaded onto train cars at the Kleparów station, bound for Belżec.<sup>100</sup>

Throughout its operation, Janowska routinely received transports from outlying towns and villages.<sup>101</sup> Samuel Drix recounted the arrival of one from nearby Stryj in May 1943.<sup>102</sup> The “pale, exhausted, physically, and mentally broken” people were driven to the camp and selected. Drix described how “mute” they were as they sat in the enclosures: “This silence cried out a hundred times louder than if they had screamed and wailed. This silent scream ought to have shaken heaven and earth.”<sup>103</sup> Transports like these diversified the prisoner population by adding survivors of the liquidations of nearby towns such as Bóbrka, Boryslaw, Borszczów, Busk, Czortków, Gródek-Jagielloński, Horodenka, Jaworów, Lackie, Mościska, Ozerany, Peremshliany, Poltava, Proskurow, Przemysl, Sambor, Stanisławów, Stryj, Tarnopol, Tłumacz, Zbaraż, and Żółkiew.<sup>104</sup> Janowska’s central location at a rail hub and insatiable appetite for labor made it an ideal transit camp. Some of the new prisoners were likely sent to the DG IV camps.

Goods too transited Janowska. The property, especially the clothing of murdered Jews, arrived from a variety of places. A central laundry and tailor shop, run by SS-Sturmann (Private) Peter Blum, a Hungarian Volksdeutsche, received clothing to be washed and repaired. Often—as SS-Mann Martin Büttner recalled—they were brought down from the Sands, still bloody and with personal items still in the pockets.<sup>105</sup> During the August 1942 “Great Aktion” in Lwów, a survivor saw five two-story camp buildings filled with clothing.<sup>106</sup> Other clothes came from neighboring towns such as Gródek, where possessions of murdered Jews were sent on to Lwów and likely Janowska.<sup>107</sup> In late summer 1943, a group of political prisoners and “policemen” from Poltava were shot at Janowska and their clothes arrived shortly thereafter at the clothing warehouse.<sup>108</sup>

The ZAL-J also appears to have become a collection point for the clothing of Jews murdered at Belżec. Drix recalls that a shipment arrived in November 1942 “from the west European Jews

liquidated there,” which Janowska’s prisoners figured out from the French and Belgian clothing labels.<sup>109</sup> These trainloads of clothing from Bełżec appear not uncommon; as was SS practice elsewhere the poorest clothes were handed out to the prisoners, while the SS stole the highest quality items for themselves.<sup>110</sup> One survivor recalled Willhaus’ wife and daughter taking the “prettiest clothing with them back to Germany.”<sup>111</sup> Clothing predominated in the memory of survivors and perpetrators alike, but the camp was clearly the repository for all manner of goods. When the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission surveyed the camp in 1944, it found in a warehouse “an abundance of basic commodities ... children’s wagons, suitcases and various cookware such as teapots, cookpots, mugs, bowls, cups, canteens.” On the west side of the camp, another investigator found “a large storage area for men’s, women’s, and children’s shoes, with at least 11,000 pairs. On the floor were countless suitcases, purses, briefcases, and wallets as well as a large number of shoes.” Deeper into the camp, the commission discovered a barracks with more shoes and also “a large number of photographs and identity papers of camp inmates who were later shot.”<sup>112</sup>

### Janowska as the Center of a Perpetrator Network

“Various SS men of different ranks came and left from time to time. Rokita, for instance, I did not see after December 1942; I learned after the war that he became commander of his own labor camp in Tarnopol. Janowska camp was a training ground for SS officers.”

— Survivor Samuel Drix<sup>113</sup>

The Janowska complex lay at the center of a network of camps and ghettos to which it supplied leaders and killers, a circulation of personnel not unlike the recycling of T-4 personnel into the Operation Reinhard camps.<sup>114</sup> It is no coincidence that one survivor titled her book, *Szkoła okrucieństwa* or “School of Cruelty” and in testimony called Janowska an “Executioner’s University.”<sup>115</sup> As it grew, the ZAL-J began to send SS personnel to camps and ghettos in the surrounding region after they had spent time “training” at Janowska or received them after service elsewhere (see chart below). Many were quite low-ranking.

Name	Rank <sup>116</sup>	Camp or Ghetto/ Location	Dates (if known) <sup>117</sup>
Benke	n/a	Temp. camp near Polonica (staff)	Aug–Oct 1942 <sup>118</sup>
Dyga, Richard	SSG	Jezierna (staff)	1942–1943 <sup>119</sup>
Epple, Ernst	SGT	ZAL Kurowice (Lagerführer)	1942 <sup>120</sup>
Fox, Paul	SSG	Jaktorów (staff)	1942 <sup>121</sup>
Fox, Paul	SSG	Zamość (Lagerführer)	1940 <sup>122</sup>
Fox, Paul	SSG	Zborów (Lagerführer)	1941 <sup>123</sup>
Fox, Paul	SSG	Steinbruchlager Ławrykowce	n/a <sup>124</sup>
Kempka, Karl	CPL	Ławrykowce (staff)	1942 <sup>125</sup>
Kempka, Karl	SGT	Peremyshliany (staff)	1942 <sup>126</sup>
Kolonko, Adolf	SSG	ZAL Gródek-Jagielloński (Lagerführer)	Mar–Jun 1943 <sup>127</sup>
Kolonko, Adolf	SSG	ZAL Złoczów (staff)	n/a <sup>128</sup>
Kolonko, Adolf	SSG	Biała-Podlaska (staff)	1939 <sup>129</sup>
Lisson, Heinrich	n/a	Winniki (Lagerführer)	n/a <sup>130</sup>
Rokita, Richard	2LT	Tarnopol forced labor camp (Lagerführer)	Nov 1, 1942–43 <sup>131</sup>
Schönbach, Roman	SSG	ZAL Drohobych (staff)	Summer 1943 <sup>132</sup>
Schönbach, Roman	SSG	Boryslaw (staff)	1943 <sup>133</sup>
Schulz, Willi	1LT	Mosty Wielkie (staff)	1942–1943 <sup>134</sup>

(Continued)

(Continued)

Name	Rank <sup>116</sup>	Camp or Ghetto/ Location	Dates (if known) <sup>117</sup>
Siller, Anton	SGT	Rava-Ruska (staff)	n/a <sup>135</sup>
Siller, Anton	CPL	ZAL-Winniki (staff)	Fall 1941–Mar 1942 <sup>136</sup>
Sobotta, Hans	CPL	Zborów (Lagerführer)	Aug–Nov 42 <sup>137</sup>
Sobotta, Hans	CPL	Białobrzegi (Lagerführer)	n/a <sup>138</sup>
Warzok, Friedrich	CPT	Złoczów region camps (Kommandant)	1943 <sup>139</sup>
Warzok, Friedrich	CPT	Neuengamme	1945 <sup>140</sup>

The fact that these men spent time in Janowska before taking over as leaders of local camps and ghettos, and then returned to the ZAL-J, points perhaps to one explanation for the incredible cruelty that took place there on a daily basis. Their social networks clearly suggest that the kinds of extreme violence highlighted in the culture of Janowska spread with its former staff as they traveled throughout the camp system of Distrikt Galizien. The relatively low ranks of the SS men sent out to take up individual commands is also instructive, demonstrating how decentralized the Final Solution in Galicia became. Unlike other locations where positions of authority may have been filled by higher-ranking or more polished individuals, the lower ranks (and standing) of the Janowska men suggests an “all hands on deck” approach in the face of scarce resources.

The SS-men of the Janowska camp (along with local Gestapo and other SS personnel) also repeatedly left Lwów for short periods to assist in the liquidation of camps and ghettos elsewhere. In a 1960 letter to German authorities about the liquidation of the Jaworów subcamp in June or July 1943 (during which prisoners were herded into a barrack that was set on fire), Simon Wiesenthal named Janowska SS-man Adolf Kolonko as a prominent participant.<sup>141</sup> (Wiesenthal is likely referring to the murder of the remnant of Jews who survived the April 16, 1943 massacre in Jaworów.) The survivors of Kolonko’s action were transferred to the Janowska camp as slave laborers.<sup>142</sup> Kolonko presided over the liquidation of his own camp at Gródek-Jagielloński, where Jews were marched into a barrack one by one and shot by a group of SS men from Lwów, including Willhaus, Roman Schönbach, Hans Sobotta, and others there just for the day.<sup>143</sup> A hidden survivor who observed the proceedings stated that “Kolonko personally led the entire Aktion ... from my hiding place, I could see Kolonko, whom I recognized from the Janowska camp.”<sup>144</sup> Kolonko remained behind in Gródek per Willhaus’ orders to settle accounts with businesses that had been using his slave labor and then returned to Janowska.<sup>145</sup>

Similar actions took place in other nearby towns and villages under the leadership or with the participation of men from the Janowska camp. Szulim Mandel recalls a selection of workers in Rodatycze carried out by Kolonko, Richard Rokita and others from the Janowska camp.<sup>146</sup> Survivor and perpetrator testimony places Janowska SS men at executions or liquidations in Bubrika, Kamilonka, Kurowice, Zborów, and likely many others.<sup>147</sup> In Lwów, SSPF Katzmann, mentioned twenty-two camps in his infamous report of October 23, 1942.<sup>148</sup> In many cases, a small remainder of prisoners was transferred to Janowska together with the SS killers.

The first stationary Sonderkommando 1005 responsible for erasing the evidence of Nazi crimes was created in spring 1943 at Janowska after its work in the extermination centers ended. The killing site at Janowska then served as a training site for other SK1005 SS leaders from Lublin, Warsaw, Krakow, Hrodno and other cities.<sup>149</sup> They came to observe as the Janowska “Death Brigade” unearthed thousands of bodies in the camp and nearby forest where Polish intelligentsia and Soviet prisoners of war from Stalag 328, located in the castle in the city center, were buried. A

member of SK1005 at Janowska recalled that “10-day special courses” were held for SS officers and sergeants. There the Germans learned how to exhume and burn bodies, disguise grave sites, and bury evidence. He recalled that in five and a half months there were at least ten such courses.<sup>150</sup> Thus, here too, the ZAL-J was a hub of both knowledge and personnel.

The Janowska camp, therefore, functioned as a transit center in many ways. It facilitated both the deportation of Jews to the extermination centers of Belżec and Sobibor as well as to outlying work camps, some part of the DG IV road project. Janowska also functioned in a reverse fashion, pulling in able-bodied prisoners from camps and ghettos being liquidated in the third wave of mass killings in the East. Simultaneously, SS personnel—some only sergeants—left Janowska to run other labor camps or ghettos, creating a network of familiar faces throughout the region. Last, the camp took part in not only the physical extermination of the Jews, but the systematic theft of their property. Janowska received, repurposed, and exported Jewish clothing from the extermination centers as well as from those killed in the camp itself.

### Janowska as Dedicated Killing Site

“Then the Gestapo came and brought us here; my two children and I.’ A long pause. ‘This was a few days ago. Today they took us, together with you, to the ‘sands,’ and I was separated from my two daughters.’ Pause.

He went on: ‘I, as everyone else, went down to the ravine. After a long time, about fifteen people were selected and taken to the place where we left the women and children in the morning.’ Pause. ‘And there—there’ (in a terrible moaning voice) ‘all, and my two daughters among them, were lying dead... shot. What girls, beautiful, intelligent—what I wouldn’t have done for them.... They told us to make a fire, and we threw all the bodies into it, my children, too.’”

—Prisoner Brill to Leon Wells, ZAL-J<sup>151</sup>

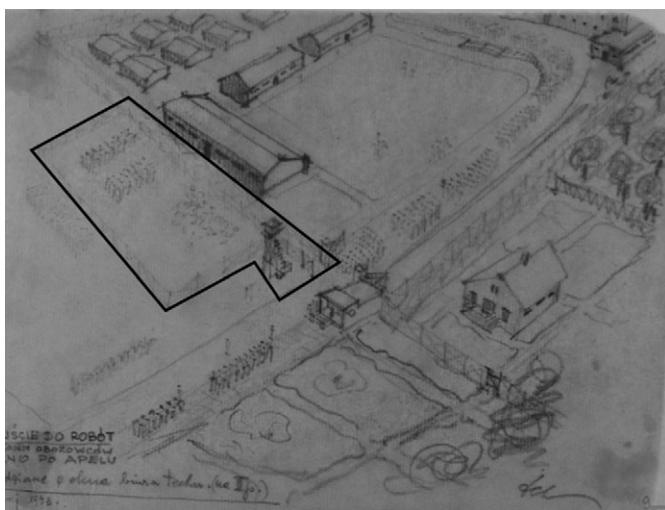
The hilly landscape around the camp that the director of the DAW condemned in his inspection tour may have been unsuitable for a large factory camp but it was ideal for a mass killing site. The ravines that cut through the hills served as ready-made trenches, and the soil was sandy and easily moved. During the war, the Jews of Lwów darkly told each other “you’ll end up in the dunes,” meaning the Sands.<sup>152</sup> In this area alone, Soviet investigators found fifty-nine pits up to six feet deep and full of ashes, and recorded the fact that “the soil in that gully at a considerable depth is impregnated with the body liquids and fats with the stench of rot and burning.”<sup>153</sup>

The killing process at Janowska differed from other camps in several important ways. Mass shootings were not connected solely with deportations, nor were they merely “routine” selections of non-workers. Rather, large groups of people were shot continuously during the camp’s existence. In addition, it served as a central location for the murder of Jews from surrounding towns and villages, a purpose distinct from other killings at Janowska. Finally, the camp’s personnel frequently conducted killings near the camp in Lwów as well as elsewhere in the region.

Estimates of the number of Jews murdered at Janowska vary. The Soviets produced an unreliably high number of 200,000, which exceeds the Jewish population of Lwów. Conversely, some place the number killed around 40,000.<sup>154</sup> Sandkühler puts the toll around 80,000.<sup>155</sup> Some evidence suggests the number may be higher than that.<sup>156</sup> With a broader, more holistic view that considers the camp’s central role in the deportation of Jews to the extermination centers, the role of its personnel in the murder of Jews in neighboring areas, and the shootings carried out by the Sonderkommando 1005 personnel, the Janowska camp becomes even deadlier.

The point is that, contrary to some historians' views, the ZAL-J did not *transform* into a dedicated killing site, but operated constantly as a central site of murder throughout the Nazi occupation.<sup>157</sup> In fact, the first mass killing took place before any camp even existed. Ella Fabjańska testified in 1944 that five hundred people (likely Jews) had been dragged from the prison on Polcinski street and that those who could not endure sadistic Gestapo games were then taken to the “Janowska sand trenches” and shot. This was three days after the Germans arrived (approximately July 2, 1941).<sup>158</sup>

Throughout the camp's existence, Gustav Willhaus and his men constantly conducted selections looking for sick prisoners like Wells. These took a variety of forms, from simple selection from the ranks to the so-called “Death Races”—SS men and Ukrainian guards would form a cordon, force prisoners to run through it, and beat them with rifle butts or clubs.<sup>159</sup> Those who stumbled, fell, or appeared weak were set aside. One survivor remembered these taking place every three days.<sup>160</sup> Similar selections took place in other camps. At Janowska, however, a special space was created, known as the “behindwire” or “betweenwire.”<sup>161</sup> This dedicated barbed-wire pen was located next to the watchtower at the inner gate to the barracks area and is even depicted in the contemporary drawings of camp draftsman Zeev Porath (see image). This area would fill with the sick, the weak, and, during deportations, with those chosen to die. Often, these people would be taken to the Sands and shot after the labor brigades had left for the day.<sup>162</sup> However, at other times, they would be left for several days “in freezing temperatures or heat”—those who did not starve were shot.<sup>163</sup> After Aktions in the ghetto, this space (as discussed above) and others at the camp were often used as holding pens for women and children who would be marched to the Kleparów Station.<sup>164</sup>



Janowska Camp with “Behindwire” area to left of guard tower. Drawing by Zeev Porath, May 1943; annotation by author. Courtesy Ghetto Fighters’ House Archive.

Even while one group of victims were being deported, others were being murdered in the Sands. During the August 1942 “Great Aktion,” a survivor recalled that “the elderly people were driven by the SS in the direction of the Piaski sandhills near the collection place and one heard shots from there. There people were undoubtedly immediately shot. However, also during these

days, transports to the Kleparów station took place.”<sup>165</sup> Thus, during the major *Aktionen* in the city, it appears that initial selections took place to kill people already destined for Bełżec, seemingly to avoid the nuisance of putting the sick and elderly on trains. Wells testified at the Eichmann Trial: “At the end of April [1942] an action started in East Galicia. From every city a few hundreds or thousands of people were brought to the concentration camps. The normal segregation of fitness in these concentration camps was to put the people up for three days without any food—most of them started to eat grass because they would sit on grass ... the unfit ones were taken right out to the back of the concentration camp on the site and were shot.”<sup>166</sup>

In December 1942, Bełżec ceased operations. Its main sources of victims (the Lublin and Krakow districts) had been more or less depleted. So, too, had the Lwów region, though to a lesser extent. At this point, Janowska became the default location for the Final Solution in Lwów and vicinity. Jews found in jails, villages, ghettos, and in hiding were confined briefly in the camp’s “bunker” and then murdered in the Sands.

The SS carried out a large culling of the Janowska camp population in late May 1943, perhaps in preparation for the upcoming ghetto liquidation in June and the new workers that might provide. According to Drix, on May 26, 1943, a large part of the camp was liquidated under the command of SS-Unterscharführer Schönbach.<sup>167</sup> Some labor brigades were murdered in their entirety, and others simply underwent selection. Drix estimated that over 5,500 prisoners were killed during this massacre,<sup>168</sup> an episode likely in keeping with Himmler’s increasing demands to reduce the number of Jews remaining in the General Government and to bring all surviving Jews under SS control as slave laborers.<sup>169</sup> Moreover, as SSPF Katzmann had already indicated his clear intention to murder Galician Jews through labor, Himmler’s initiative was not unwelcome.<sup>170</sup>

The Lwów ghetto liquidation *Aktion* began in early June 1943. It was during this *Aktion* that Wells and his two brothers were arrested again.<sup>171</sup> Survivor Zbigniew Bitsch estimated that 10,000 Jews were killed in the ghetto itself and another 30,000 transported directly to Janowska.<sup>172</sup> Leopold Zimmerman, who arrived in Janowska via streetcar, stated that after a selection 12,000 people were shot at the camp.<sup>173</sup> In very similar circumstances as those at other killing sites, victims had to surrender their valuables and remove their clothes, and were then escorted to the “Death Ravine”—as Zimmerman called the Sands—and shot. According to Zimmerman, this execution of Lwów Jews lasted two weeks and was directed personally by Willhaus and Schönbach.<sup>174</sup> The Soviet investigators discovered body parts (ribs, feet, skulls, women’s hair), and personal items such as combs and eyeglasses in the Sands after the liberation of Lwów.<sup>175</sup> The “Sanitation Brigade,” one of many different labor groups from the ZAL-J, was sent into the partially burned out ghetto to salvage furniture and clothing, and to search for secret hiding places of valuables, all of which were loaded onto trucks and taken to the camp for further sorting and disposition.<sup>176</sup> A reasonable estimate is that a minimum of several thousand Jews from the Lwów ghetto were murdered behind the camp in June 1943.

Janowska also served as the killing site for a variety of other victims. After the surrender of Germany’s erstwhile Italian allies in September 1943, for instance, Italian POWs were murdered at Janowska and in the Łyczaków forest. Zimmerman personally witnessed 2,000 of them arrive on trucks, be disarmed, and then marched into the “Death Ravine” behind the camp.<sup>177</sup> He also recalled a group of “political prisoners” from Poltava who were forced to move sand back and forth with wheelbarrows for three days before being executed.<sup>178</sup> Likewise, sometime in fall 1943, a group of mentally disabled Ukrainians and Poles from the psychiatric hospital on Pojarow Street

were brought to the camp and shot.<sup>179</sup> These victim groups are rarely mentioned in scholarly works. Some survivors also mention American, British, and “Palestinian” citizens in the camp.

Killing at Janowska continued until its closure in 1944. In 1943, even as the SK1005 prisoners exhumed and burned bodies at Janowska and in the Łyczaków Forest in Lwów, executions were still taking place. It was a relatively uncommon phenomenon for the SK1005 to be simultaneously carrying out mass killings *and* disposing of bodies. Victims from both the camp and from other locations in the region were taken to the two sites and murdered by ZAL-J and SK1005 SS personnel and then added to the body disposal operations already in progress. At the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961, Wells provided detailed testimony of these killings with dates and numbers based on his diary and his job as recorder. He stated that 30,000 people were murdered in the ravines while the SK1005 was in operation at Janowska.<sup>180</sup> The final mass killings took place in the early winter 1943 when the Janowska camp itself had more or less been completely liquidated, with only a few prisoners surviving. The SK1005 prisoners, themselves selected from the Janowska camp, watched through holes in their tent as 1,500 to 2,500 people whom they recognized as ZAL-J prisoners were killed at a burning site.<sup>181</sup>

## Conclusions

“Lviv is a city where bones, not unlike the wartime history that left them here, cannot seem to stay buried.”

—Andrew Kramer, *New York Times*, May 14, 2015<sup>182</sup>

Janowska camp deserves a central place in Holocaust scholarship, but up to now, it has received little scholarly attention. Beyond the numbers (and perhaps more importantly), Janowska represents a hybrid facility that does not easily fit into conventional camp categorizations. The Janowska camp complex, in conjunction with its transit and labor functions, also served as a dedicated and permanent killing site. In this, it demonstrated a hybrid nature that separates it from other sites of mass murder, such as Ponary or Babi Yar. Increasingly systematic killing occurred alongside slave labor and other economic activities.

A wealth of diverse sources in multiple languages challenges us to answer many questions: how did the connection between camp and ghetto impact the conditions of captivity? What is the significance of the perpetrator network with Janowska at its center? How do the meanings of the microspaces in the camp change for perpetrators and prisoners? At a larger scale, where does Janowska fit into the regional execution of the Final Solution in Galicia and in the General Government? The rich and mostly untold history of the ZAL-J and the DAW at 134 Janowska Street promises to unlock the answers to many such important questions.

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## Notes

I would like to thank Martin Dean, Tarik Cyril Amar, Thomas Sandkühler, and Dieter Pohl for their generous suggestions as I move forward with this Janowska project. I would also like to thank the two anonymous readers for their helpful critiques.

1. Leon Weliczker Wells, *The Janowska Road* (New York: MacMillan, 1963), 110.
2. Lwów was part of Poland before WWII, under Soviet occupation from September 1939 to June 1941, and part of the General Government after June 1941. Since the war it has been in Ukraine. For simplicity, I will use the Polish spelling of the name, and identify it as a Polish city in this article.
3. Zeev Porath statement, 6 June 1961, Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (StAL), EL 48-2, Bü 397, 1324.
4. Translation of *Szkola Okurcienstwa* by Stanisława Gogołowska (Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1964) in StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1720, 38.
5. Wells, *The Janowska Road*, 58.
6. *Ibid.*, 97–98.
7. *Ibid.*, in some of his testimonies, this is an SS man.
8. Wells, *The Janowska Road*, 98–99.
9. *Ibid.*, 129–30; Aaron Katz statement, 11 March 1961, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1523, 123.
10. Leon Weliczker Wells, interview # 23410, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, Visual History Archive, 2013; “Eichmann Court Hears of Nazi Effort to Hide Massacres,” *The Times*, 3 May 1961.
11. Wells, *The Janowska Road*, 250; Leon Weliczker Wells, interview # 23410. The Kalwiński family hid Wells and twenty-three other Jews under their barn and were recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1967 and 1988. “Righteous among the Nations: Kalwiński Family,” Yad Vashem: <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4039691> (accessed April 12, 2018).
12. Trial of Adolf Eichmann, session 22, 1 May 1961, Nizhkor Project: <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/e/eichmann-adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-022-03.html> (accessed April 12, 2018).
13. Marcy Oster, “Survivor Who Testified at Nuremberg, Eichmann Trials, Dies,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency: <http://www.jta.org/2010/01/24/life-religion/survivor-who-testified-at-nuremberg-eichmann-trials-dies> (accessed April 12, 2018).
14. Leopold Zimmerman statement, 1 February 1965, Bundesarchiv Zentralstelle (BA-ZS), B162/29309, 416.
15. With two organizations in the same area, survivors and historians alike have often failed to distinguish between the DAW and the ZAL-J, calling the whole complex the Janowska camp. I will distinguish between the two organizations when the distinction is relevant and refer to the Janowska camp more generally when it is not.
16. I am not the first to make this observation. Thomas Sandkühler has called the camp a “multi-functional camp” in Aktion Reinhard: “Das Zwangsarbeitslager Lemberg-Janowska, 1941–1944,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 615. I am seeking to build on this observation in my larger project to create an extensive and detailed study of the camp from a variety of perspectives, including mapping and social network analysis.
17. They are the: Trestle Aktion (Nov.–Dec. 1941), Elderly Aktion (Dec. 1941), Fur Aktion (Winter 1941/1942), Asocial Aktion (Mar. 1942), Blitz Aktion (May–June 1942), Hospital Aktion (July 1942), Great Aktion (Aug. 1942), W&R Aktion (Nov. 1942), December Aktion (Dec. 1942), January Aktion (Jan. 1943), March Aktion (Mar. 1943), Ghetto Liquidation (May–July 1943), November Aktion (Nov. 1943), and Janowska Aktion (Nov. 1943).

18. I use the term “slave labor” here because the Janowska prisoners were rented out by the SS, who were paid by the business owners by the head. The prisoners lived confined in the camp and received no compensation. They were, therefore, slaves.
19. Samuel Drix, “Tagebuch, 1942–1943,” StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1721, 17–18. This is a document written by Dr. Drix in 1945 at the urging of Philip Friedman.
20. Thomas Sandkühler, “*Endlösung*” in *Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz, 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), 190–91. The Jewish population of Lwów was approximately 160,000 or more. If we assume that many, if not most, of them *passed through* the camp, and then add groups of Jews arriving from nearby towns and villages, 200,000 does not seem unreasonable.
21. Wendy Lower, *Hitler’s Furies: German Women in the Nazi Killing Fields* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013), 133.
22. Sandkühler, “*Endlösung*” in *Galizien*, 190–91; “700,000 Reported Slain in 3 Camps: Americans and Britons among Gestapo Victims in Lwow, Poland, Says Russian Body,” *New York Times*, 24 December 1944, 10. Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Reports propose an unreasonably high estimate of between 130,000 and 200,000.
23. Martin Winstone, *The Dark Heart of Hitler’s Europe: Nazi Rule in Poland under the General Government* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 282.
24. Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest’s Journey to Uncover the Truth Behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 94.
25. See, for example, Samuel Drix, *Witness to Annihilation: Surviving the Holocaust. A Memoir* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1994); Adolf Folkmann and Stefan Szende, *The Promise Hitler Kept* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945); David Kahana, *Lvov Ghetto Diary* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990); Jacob Maltiel-Gerstenfeld, *My Private War: One Man’s Struggle to Survive the Soviets and the Nazis* (London: Mitchell, 1993); Leon Richman, *Why? Extermination Camp Lwów (Lemberg), 134 Janowska Street, Poland: A Documentary by an Inmate* (New York: Vantage Press, 1975); Wells, *The Janowska Road*.
26. Lawrence Fellows, “Germans Receive List,” *New York Times*, 7 June 1960.
27. “11 Ex-SS Men Jailed in War Crimes Trial,” *New York Times*, 30 April 1968. This trial generated thousands of documents, including a full transcript, a relative rarity in postwar German jurisprudence.
28. Simon Wiesenthal and Joseph Wechsberg, *The Murderers among Us: The Wiesenthal Memoirs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 272.
29. These sources were read in their certified translation into German, and were included largely in the Lemberg Prozess records.
30. See Philip Friedman, *Zagłada Żydów Lwowskich* (Łódź: Centralna Żyd. komisja historyczna w Polsce, 1945); Natalia Aleksium, “Philip Friedman and the Emergence of Holocaust Scholarship: A Reappraisal,” in *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook*, ed. Dan Diner (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012).
31. Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015); Y.A. Honigsman, *The Catastrophe of Jewry in Lvov* (Lvov: Solom-Aleichem Jewish Society of Culture, 1997); Sandkühler, “*Endlösung*” in *Galizien*; Eliyahu Yones, *Smoke in the Sand: The Jews of Lvov in the War Years, 1939–1944* (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 2004); Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L’viv, 1914–1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2016). Sandkühler has produced the only scholarly study, a book chapter in German. Elsewhere, it receives mention, but only cursory analysis. Sandkühler, “Das Zwangsarbeitslager Lemberg-Janowska, 1941–1944.” The latest book on Lwów by Christoph Mick covers 1914–1947 and barely mentions the camp in any detail.

32. Translation of document L 18: Katzmann Report, 30 June 1943 (HLS Nuremberg Trials Project, HLSL Document #4404, Harvard Law School Library), 2.
33. Christopher R. Browning and Jürgen Matthäus, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 700.
34. Thomas Sandkühler, “Anti-Jewish Policy and the Murder of the Jews in the District of Galicia, 1941–1942,” in *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies*, ed. Ulrich Herbert (New York: Bergahn Books, 2000), 105, 122.
35. *Ibid.*, 123.
36. Transit camps such as those seen in Western Europe were relatively rare in the East.
37. For a detailed discussion of the Stanisławów Aktion, see Elisabeth Freundlich, *Die Ermordung einer Stadt namens Stanislau: NS-Vernichtungspolitik in Polen, 1939–1945* (Vienna: Osterreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986).
38. Hermann Kaienburg, “Jüdische Arbeitslager an der ‘Strasse der SS,’” *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 11, no. 1 (1996): 38.
39. “Attritionists” is understood here to mean those who exploited labor as a means for the continual reduction of the Jewish population. Christopher R. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
40. Kaienburg, “Jüdische Arbeitslager an der ‘Strasse der SS,’” 13.
41. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, 78.
42. “Document 212-PS Unsigned, Undated Copy of Directives for Treatment of the Jewish Question (Final Solution),” in *Trials of the War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal: Documents and Other Material In Evidence, 185-L to 1216-RF* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), 305.
43. Kurt May Report re: travel on a duty status from 1 to 8 June 1942 to Butschowitz, Auschwitz, Lemberg, Lublin, and Posen, BA-ZS, B162/5725, 4.
44. LG Saarbrücken Urteil gg. Fritz Gebauer, 29 June 1971, BA-ZS, B162/14465, 12–13.
45. Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), 62.
46. LG Saarbrücken Urteil gg. Fritz Gebauer, 15.
47. Wolfgang Benz, Barbara Distel, and Angelika Königseder, *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der national-sozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 7 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2008), 224.
48. Fritz Gebauer statement, 2 April 1962, BA-ZS, B162/20041, 1037–38.
49. *Ibid.*, 1039.
50. See LG Saarbrücken Urteil gg. Fritz Gebauer, 15.
51. Benz, Distel, and Königseder, *Der Ort des Terrors*, 7, 224.
52. Although the Lwów ghetto was “officially” established in mid-November 1941, many of the city’s Jews had already been forced to relocate to the poorer, run-down northern area of Zamarstynów.
53. See Abraham Goldberg trial testimony, Band 77, 10 January 1967, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1578, 2457–58; and Bernard Hirschhorn statement, 9 November 1948, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1524, 4. Stanisława Gogółowska discusses the delivery of packages in her memoir: translation of *Szkola Okurcienstwa*.
54. Gebauer statement, 2 April 1962, 1037–38.

55. *Ibid.*, 1039.
56. “Rada Żydowska We Lwowie: Zbiór Dokumentów Dotyczących Getta Lwowskiego. (Teki Lwowska). 1941–1942,” (*Żydowski Instytut Historyczny*: 229/77), 7.
57. Lower, *Hitler’s Furies*, 67–69.
58. Katzmann survived the postwar in hiding, revealing his identity only on his deathbed in 1957.
59. Trial of Adolf Eichmann, Session 22, 1 May 1961.
60. Letter, StA Schule to Oberstaatsanwalt, München I, 31 July 1961, BA-ZS, B162/5725, 3. Willhaus is not documented as officially arriving in Lwów until June, but this is clearly an administrative error.
61. Gebauer statement, 2 April 1962, 1040.
62. *Ibid.* As more and more Jews were murdered, skilled workers became scarce, and thus, more valuable.
63. Wells, *The Janowska Road*, 87.
64. *Ibid.*; translation of *Szkola Okurcienstwa*, 73.
65. Goldberg trial testimony, 2453–54.
66. Letter, StA Sichtung to StA München I, 25 July 1960, BA-ZS, B162/5725, 4.
67. Karl Melchior statement, 18 March 1963, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1502, 2.
68. Almost all survivors recall this phenomenon. See also Lower, *Hitler’s Furies*, 134–35.
69. Drix, *Witness to Annihilation*, 63.
70. Translation of *Szkola Okurcienstwa*, 40.
71. Zeev Porath statement, 8 June 1961, StAL, EL 48-2, Bü 397, 1341.
72. Leon Wells (Welizcker) statement, 21 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 352.
73. Drix, *Witness to Annihilation*, 83.
74. LG Saarbrücken Urteil gg. Fritz Gebauer, 12–13.
75. Kasimir Boni statement, 20 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 156–58.
76. This relationship is another subject that I am currently researching. See StA Stuttgart memo to StA München, 22 March 1965, BA-ZS, B162/4358, 66–68; investigation of Fritz Manger, BA-ZS, B162/4357; B162/4358; B162/4359.
77. Fritz Gebauer statement, 24 July 1962, BA-ZS, B162/20039, 515.
78. Karl Melchior statement, 22 April 1960, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1505, 62.
79. Boni statement, 156.
80. Folkmann and Szende, *The Promise Hitler Kept*, 66.
81. Mozes Osterweil statement, 17 May 1963, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1516, 37–38.
82. For Frank’s objections see, for example, “Partial Translation of Document 2233-E-PS: Frank Diary, Conference Volume,” in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol IX (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 902.
83. Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 47–48.
84. *Ibid.*

85. Wolf Grüner, "Forced Labor in Nazi Anti-Jewish Policy, 1938–1945," in *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, ed. Jonathan C. Friedman (New York: Routledge, 2011), 173.
86. See Kaienburg, "Jüdische Arbeitslager an der 'Strasse der SS'"; Sandkühler, "Anti-Jewish Policy and the Murder of the Jews," 115.
87. Matok Tratner statement, 12 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 345–46. This kind of humiliation through labor was not unique to the camp but does highlight the varied uses of labor there.
88. Wells, *The Janowska Road*, 79.
89. Goldberg trial testimony, 2465.
90. Population estimates differ, but 8,000 to 10,000 seems a good minimum range. Wells remembers a plan in the camp office for an expansion to include 19,000. For estimates, see "Verzeichnis der Zwangsarbeitslager des SSPF im Distrikt Galizien, 1941–1943, Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart, 15 June 1967," USHMM: 1.2.7.8/82187532\_0\_1-82187628\_0\_1/ITS Digital Archive; Zeev Porath statement, 7 June 1961, StAL, EL 48-2, Bü 397, 1334–35; Max Frank statement, 15 January 1964, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1516, 119; Wells statement, 21 September 1944, 353.
91. Porath statement, 8 June 1961, 1341.
92. "Rada Żydowska We Lwowie," 3.
93. "Übersetzung aus dem Hebräisch—Aus dem Buch "Encyclopedia der jüdischen Diaspora," Serie Polen, Band Tarnopol," USHMM: 1.2.7.1/82291075\_0\_1-82291086\_0\_1/ITS Digital Archive, 232.
94. Marian Rogowski statement, 22 September 1961, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1502, 135.
95. See deportations to Reinhard camps listed in Sara Berger, *Experten der Vernichtung: Das T4-Reinhardt-Netzwerk in den Lagern Belzec, Sobibor und Treblinka* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013), 416–31.
96. Klara Szpilka statement, 21 January 1964, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1516, 135; Goldberg trial testimony, 2453.
97. Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 384.
98. *Ibid.*, 247.
99. "Partial Translation of Document 1553-PS: Extract from the Field Interrogation of Kurt Gerstein, 26 April 1945, Describing the Mass Gassing of Jews and Other 'Undesirables,'" in *Trials of the War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Vol. I: The Medical Case* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), 867, 870. For more on Gerstein and his visit to Belzec, see "Augenzeugenbericht zu den Massenvergasungen," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 1, no. 2 (1953): 177–94; Saul Friedländer, *Kurt Gerstein, the Ambiguity of Good*, 1st American ed. (New York: Knopf, 1969).
100. Stanley Roger statement, 24 June 1964, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1516, 268–69.
101. Tratner statement, 344; Porath statement, 8 June 1961, 1345.
102. These were likely the 1,000 ghetto inmates deported on May 23, 1943 as part of the ghetto liquidation. See Martin Dean and Geoffrey P. Megargee, eds., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos II: Ghettos in Occupied German-Occupied Eastern Europe*, vol. A (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 834.
103. Drix Tagebuch, 55.
104. See Dean and Megargee, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos II: Ghettos in Occupied German-Occupied Eastern Europe*, vols. A and B.

105. Martin Büttner statement, 27 March 1963, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1498, 35.
106. Rachel Weniger statement, 14 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 375–76.
107. Katzmann Bericht.
108. Zimmerman statement, 414–15.
109. Drix Tagebuch, 22.
110. Richman, *Why? Extermination Camp Lwów (Lemberg)*, 259.
111. Klara Winter statement, 24 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 393.
112. Record of Soviet Commission for the Discovery and Investigation of German-Fascist Crimes in the City of Lemberg, 1–6 November 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 25.
113. Drix, *Witness to Annihilation*, 129.
114. See, for example, Berger, *Experten der Vernichtung*.
115. Translation of *Szkola Okurcienstwa*; Stanisława Gogolowska statement, 31 January 1965, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 225–26.
116. 1LT is First Lieutenant or SS-Obersturmführer; 2LT is Second Lieutenant or SS-Untersturmführer; SSG is Staff Sergeant or SS-Oberscharführer; SGT is Sergeant or SS-Unterscharführer; CPL is Corporal or SS-Rottenführer.
117. Many of these dates remain approximations based on survivor and perpetrator memory and incomplete documentation. Often perpetrators and/or witnesses were in these locations for only short periods of time (months); it is difficult to narrow them down below a year.
118. Translation of *Szkola Okurcienstwa*, 74.
119. Dean and Megargee, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos II: Ghettos in Occupied German-Occupied Eastern Europe* vol A., 849.
120. Drix Statement, 780.
121. Paul Fox statement, 2 October 1961, StAL, EL 48/2, Bü 397, 1549; Wally Dück statement, 18 July 1961, *ibid.*, 1547.
122. Fox statement, 1549.
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Ibid.*
125. Wendy Lower, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Golfard and the Holocaust in Galicia* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press in association with United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2011), 166.
126. *Ibid.*
127. “Verzeichnis der Zwangsarbeitslager des SSPF im Distrikt Galizien.”
128. Record of the Soviet Commission for the Discovery and Investigation of German-Fascist Crimes in Zloczow, 24 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 57.
129. Adolf Kolonko statement, 14 June 1960, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1505, 111.
130. Katz statement, 119.
131. Samuel Drix statement, 24 June 1964, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1497, 780; Moische Korn statement, 13 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 266.

132. "Verzeichnis der Zwangsarbeitslager des SSPF im Distrikt Galizien."
133. Roman Schönbach statement, 21 February 1962, StAL, EL 48/2, Bü 397, 58.
134. Dean and Megargee, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos II: Ghettos in Occupied German-Occupied Eastern Europe* vol A., 809.
135. Tratner statement, 348.
136. "Verzeichnis der Zwangsarbeitslager des SSPF im Distrikt Galizien."
137. Dean and Megargee, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos II: Ghettos in Occupied German-Occupied Eastern Europe* vol A., 849.
138. Fox statement, 1550.
139. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien, 1941–1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1996), 422.
140. Ibid.
141. Simon Wiesenthal statement (letter), 6 June 1961, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1523, 197.
142. See Dean and Megargee, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos II: Ghettos in Occupied German-Occupied Eastern Europe* vol A., 785.
143. Adolf Kolonko statement, 10 January 1963, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1523, 5, 13–15; Anton Löhnert statement, 18 October 1960, *ibid.*, 37; Büttner statement, 36.
144. Ptachia Hochberg letter, 5 April 1961, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1505, 187.
145. Wiesenthal statement, 197.
146. Szulim Mandel statement, 12 October 1960, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1505, 409–411.
147. See Porath statement, 6 June 1961, 1326; Dean and Megargee, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos II: Ghettos in Occupied German-Occupied Eastern Europe* vol A., 849; Markus Ehrlich statement, 25 June 1964, StAL, EL 317 III, Bü 1497, 283; Porath statement, 7 June 1961, 1331.
148. Katzmann Bericht.
149. Manusevich statement, 299; Leon Wells (Welizcker) statement, 22 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 360.
150. Manusevich statement, 299.
151. Wells, *The Janowska Road*, 153.
152. Yones, *Smoke in the Sand*, 170.
153. "Information of the Extraordinary State Commission on Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders in the Territory of Lvov Region, December 23, 1944," in *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials*, ed. A.F. Vysotsky, et al. (Kiev: Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1987), 213.
154. See Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*. Pohl also relies on this number: *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, 338.
155. Sandkühler, "Endlösung" in Galizien, 190–91.
156. Sources for the numbers killed at Janowska from 1941 to 1944 are sparse, as are some of the records regarding numbers of Jews deported to Belzec and Sobibor from Lwów. Indeed, even the starting number of Jews in Lwów is less than certain, given the movements of refugees. In his well-known report, Katzmann counted 254,989 Jews "resettled" from Lwów and 434,329 from the District. See "Record of Soviet Military

Court of the Carpathian Military Region against Prichodjko et. al, 14 December 1966,” BA-ZS, B162/29309, 75–76. The *Judenrat* in Lwów reported 119,000 residents in October 1941, but historians have placed the number higher, perhaps 140,000 at the beginning of 1942. Both Nazi and Jewish sources are problematic in that they often leave out those Jews not registered or those hiding outside the ghetto. See “Information of the Extraordinary State Commission on Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders in the Territory of Lvov Region,” 213.

157. In his book, Eliyahu Yones argues that the mass killings began in 1943 after Belżec was closed. The evidence, however, shows that they had been taking place long before. *Smoke in the Sand*, 173.

158. Ella Fabjańska statement, 30 September 1944, BA-ZS: B162/29309, 203–204.

159. Drix, *Witness to Annihilation*, 144.

160. Heinrich Chamaidés statement, 13 September 1944, USHMM: 1.2.7.7/82183301\_0\_1-82183305\_0\_1/ITS Digital Archive. Another survivor testifying in 1944 thought the frequency was at least several times a month.

161. Survivors refer to this as a specific space in various ways: “hinter Draht,” “zwischen den Stacheldrahtzäune,” “Stacheldrahteinzäunung,” and “famous behindwire.”

162. Fabjańska statement, 203–204.

163. Markus Winter statement, 24 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 399.

164. Porath statement, 8 June 1961, 1345.

165. Rogowski statement, 139.

166. Trial of Adolf Eichmann, session 22, 1 May 1961.

167. Drix statement, 780.

168. Drix Tagebuch, 81.

169. See Peter Longerich, *Heinrich Himmler: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 665.

170. See Sandkühler, “Anti-Jewish Policy and the Murder of the Jews,” 115.

171. “Helped to Look for His Own Body—Man Who Escaped While Digging Grave,” *Guardian*, 3 May 1961, 17.

172. Zbigniew Bitsch statement, 12 September 1944, BA-ZS, B162/29309, 204.

173. Zimmerman statement, 412.

174. *Ibid.*, 421.

175. “Record of Soviet Commission for the Discovery and Investigation of German-Fascist Crimes in the City of Lemberg,” 30.

176. Drix Tagebuch, 97–98.

177. Zimmerman statement, 424.

178. *Ibid.*, 423.

179. *Ibid.*, 423–24.

180. “Eichmann Court Hears of Nazi Effort to Hide Massacres,” 10.

181. Zimmerman statement, 424.

182. Andrew E. Kramer, “Where Bones, and History, Won’t Stay Buried,” *New York Times*, May 14, 2015.