



○ Riga

**RIGA**  
DEPORTATIONS  
CRIME SITES  
CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE

Companion booklet to the **RIGA COMMITTEE** exhibition

## Imprint

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## FOREWORD

BY FEDERAL PRESIDENT FRANK-WALTER STEINMEIER



Bikernieki – it is likely that only very few Germans are familiar with this place or have ever heard of it. But anyone from Germany who makes their way to the Bikernieki forest will discover the names of many German cities, engraved in black granite: Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Hanover and Hamburg. These were the home cities of German Jews. In these cities, they were forced to board trains that took them away from their homes. The sprawling network of the Deutsche Reichsbahn led them here, via Riga to Bikernieki, to their deaths.

People living in German cities who want to find out more about the history of this place in Latvia can start on their own doorstep. In Berlin, for example, poet, children's author and widow of the scholar of German studies and theatre critic Arthur Eloesser, Margarete Eloesser, boarded a train in January 1942 that she hoped was going to take her to Theresienstadt. The Berlin authorities listed her final worldly possessions as 90 books, five handkerchiefs and two towels.

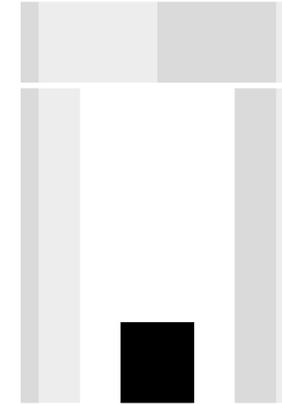
Margarete Eloesser was mistaken. Her life ended in the Bikernieki forest. After the occupation of Latvia

by the Wehrmacht on 1 July 1941, German and Latvian perpetrators shot more than 30,000 people in those woods over the course of three years: Jews from the German Reich, Jewish and non-Jewish Latvians and Soviet prisoners of war. More people were murdered here than in any other place in occupied Latvia.

The Riga Committee, the German War Graves Commission and their supporters in Latvia deserve our thanks for the fact that the dead have not been forgotten, and that anyone who visits Bikernieki today will come across traces and testimonies of the people who were murdered here. They have investigated the traces left by both the victims and the perpetrators.

The exhibition thus enables us to examine our own history as well as the history we share. Together, we hope that the knowledge we gain from this work will prevent us from relapsing into barbarism. And we place our trust in the connections that have been built up, under new auspices, as part of the joint work that has been conducted here.

## INTRODUCTION



### RIGA-KOMITEE

STÄDTEBÜNDNIS  
FÜR DAS ERINNERN UND GEDENKEN  
AN DIE DEPORTATION VON JÜDINNEN UND JUDEN

Since 2000, the Riga Committee has been bringing together the cities of origin of the Jews who were deported to Riga.

Approximately 25,000 German, Austrian and Czech Jews - children, women and men - were deported to Riga, which was occupied by National Socialist Germany, from the end of 1941 and over the course of 1942.

The Cities' Alliance has made it its task to keep alive the memory of the citizens who were deported and murdered. The Riga Committee called for the creation of a memorial that was been erected in the Bikernieki forest in 2001 and which commemorates the 35,000 or so

people who were killed on this site by the German occupiers and their helpers.

In the meantime, more than 60 cities are linked together in the Riga Committee - it is a unique association within the international landscape of remembrance.

This booklet, which accompanies the travelling exhibition "Riga - deportations, crime scenes, culture of remembrance" is dedicated to the deportations of Jewish neighbours, the crime scenes and perpetrators in Riga as well as the cultures of remembrance in the member cities of the Riga Committee.



## EXCLUSION - PERSECUTION - ANNIHILATION

***"The Führer wishes that as soon as possible the Old Reich and the Protectorate be made empty and free of Jews, from west to east."***

From a letter by Heinrich Himmler (Reichsführer-SS) to the Gauleiter in Wartheland (Posen), Arthur Greiser, of 18 September 1941.

After 1933, National Socialist hostility to the Jews - anti-Semitism - became the guiding principle of politics in Germany. Numerous legal regulations and decrees led to Jews being defamed, marginalised and gradually losing their civil rights. This included, for example, having to give up their jobs and no longer being allowed to marry so-called "Aryans". Politics and everyday repression drove them to emigration or financial ruin. The November pogroms of 1938 helped those in power to force Jews to emigrate and to expropriate and "Aryanise" the last Jewish businesses.



Fabric panel with "Judenstern" imprint, after 1941. The Berlin flag factory Geitel & Co. received an order to produce almost one million stars. The identification and registration of the Jews was a prerequisite for their later deportation.



"Judenstern" on a bolt of cloth, after 1941. The Police Order on the Identification of Jews of 1 September 1941 forbade Jews to change their place of residence. Jewish organisations had to distribute the stars, and those so marked must pay 10 pfennigs for each star.

The beginning of the Second World War made the situation for the Jewish community dramatically worse. Emigration was severely restricted, and then banned in autumn 1941. From then on, Jews were officially considered "enemies of the Reich" and forced to wear a yellow star on their clothes from October 1941.

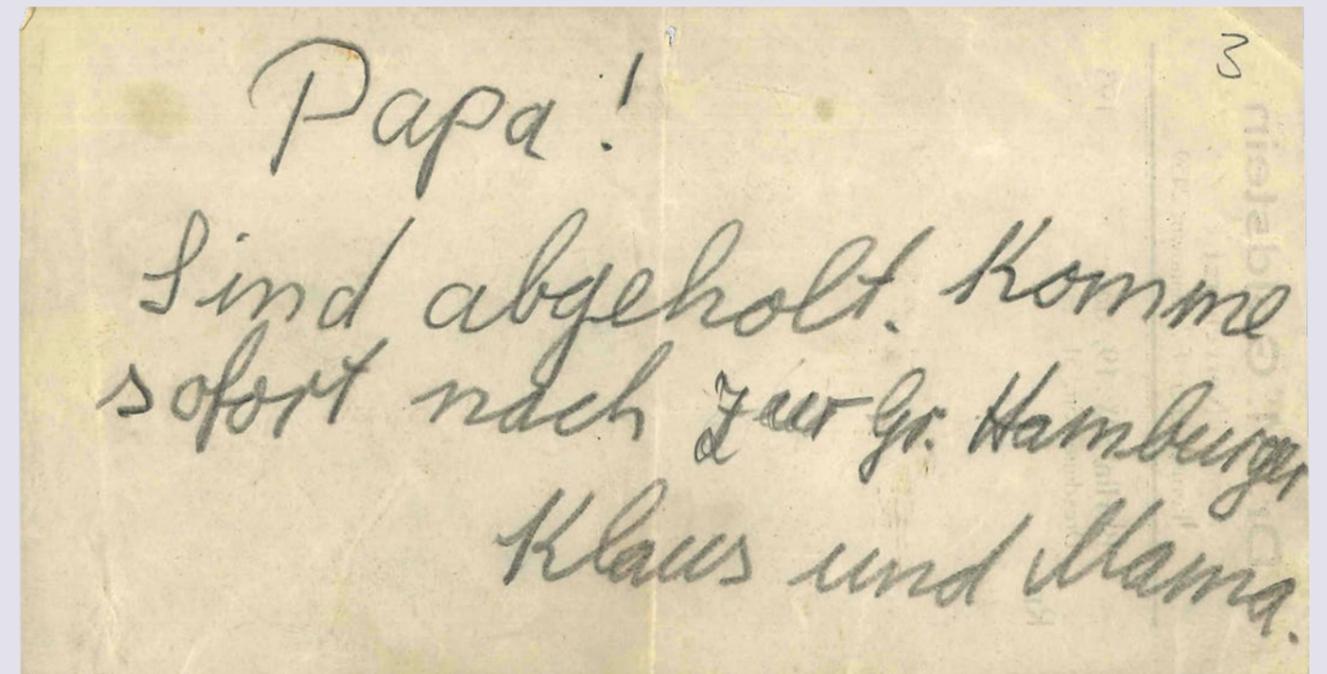
In autumn 1941, a few months after the attack on the Soviet Union, the National Socialists organised deportations of Jews – alongside mass shootings in occupied Eastern Europe. They covered up the deportations with euphemisms such as "evacuation" or "labour deployment in the East".

In fact, people were being murdered in ghettos and, from the end of 1941, in concentration and extermination camps.

## THE TRANSIT CAMPS

***"Two days we were held in that synagogue: time enough to turn a cultured man into a primitive."***

Berthold Rudner on the conditions in the Levetzowstraße synagogue (Berlin-Moabit), which functioned as a transit camp, 1942.



"Dad! Have been picked up. Come immediately to the Gr. Hamburger Klaus and Mama." Klaus Scheurenberg's note on the back of a prescription, 1942. As in other cities, the National Socialists set up an office in the Große Hamburger Straße in Berlin

The Jews who were to be deported were sent to a transit camp. From there they were taken to the railway stations and deported to the concentration and extermination camps. Klaus Scheurenberg's father was employed as a steward at the transit centre in Große Hamburger Straße. He succeeded, several times, in having his family's deportation deferred. Finally, however, the Scheurenberg family was deported to Theresienstadt in May 1943. They survived the ghetto and returned to their home town after 1945.

## THE ORGANISATION OF THE DEPORTATIONS

**"Rumour has it, albeit very credibly and from various sources, that evacuated Jews were lined up and shot near Riga as they left the train"**

Diary entry by Victor Klemperer dated 13 January 1942.

**"In an endless column we moved along in the middle of the road at dusk. Not a soul was to be seen. But the curtains of the windows moved, so we knew that the people living there saw what was happening."**

Hilde Sherman-Zander, deported from Düsseldorf to Riga.

The deportations were organised by special departments within the "Secret State Police" (Gestapo), the so-called Judenreferate, which were units dedicated to this work, set up at the Reich level and in individual cities. On the day of the deportation, criminal investigators help with searches of the deportees, and protective police officers guard the transports. From improvised collection points, the Jews are taken to the local railway station.

### Plundering and robbery

The plunder was organised by state agencies and financial administrators, with the help of laws which were enacted specially for the purpose. Local courts and banks

took part, but so did neighbours. The belongings of the deported Jews are auctioned off by the financial authorities and bought cheaply by the local population. Victims of bombings and opportunists moved into the abandoned flats. The Reichsbahn ran the special deportation trains and billed the Reich Security Main Office for the travel costs. The SS made use of the forced labour of the Jewish population, making them pay for their own deportation to the extermination sites.

The Gestapo could not keep the deportations secret. There were many eyewitnesses. Rumours about the fate of the abductees did the rounds.

Geschlechtsgliederung:

Männer: 416

Frauen: 591

Altersgliederung:

41	1 - 6 Jahre:	1007
62	6 - 14 Jahre:	573
62	14 - 18 Jahre:	434
	18 - 50 Jahre:	
	über 50 Jahre:	
464		

Berufsgliederung:

30	selbstständiger Kaufmann:	30
22	Angestellter:	22
137	Handwerker:	
247	Arbeiter:	
40	Hausangestellte:	
7	landwirtschaftliche Berufe:	
529	ohne Beruf:	
3		

The captain of the Schutzpolizei, Paul Salitter, was the transport leader of the deportation on 11 December 1941 from Düsseldorf to Riga. That train took 1,007 deported Jews to the Riga Ghetto. The carriages of the trains were very crowded and poorly heated. After several days of travel in extremely bad conditions, police escort teams conducted the people to their destination. After his return, Transportführer Salitter submitted a report of that transport. Part of the report was a tally sheet, a record of the Jews who were deported. They came from 40 parishes in the Rhineland, and among them there were 76 children under the age of ten. 98 people from this transport survived. Only a few of these transport reports, which were written for each deportation, have been preserved.

Düsseldorf, den 26. Dezember 1942

Vertraulich!  
Bericht  
über die Evakuierung von Juden nach Riga.  
Transportbegleitung in Stärke von 1/15  
vom 11.12. - 17.12. 1941.

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1.) Transportverlauf.  
Der für den 11.12. 1941 vorgesehene Judentransport umfasste 1007 Juden aus den Städten Duisburg, Krefeld, mehreren kleineren Städten und Landgemeinden des rhein-westf. Industriegebietes. Düsseldorf war nur mit 19 Juden vertreten. Der Transport setzte sich aus Juden beiderlei Geschlechts und verschiedenen Alters, vom Säugling bis zum Alter von 65 Jahren, zusammen. Die Ablassung des Transportes war für 9,30 Uhr vorgesehen, weshalb die Juden bereits ab 4 Uhr an der Verladerrampe zur Verladung bereitgestellt waren. Die Reichsbahn konnte jedoch den Sonderzug, angeblich wegen Personalmangels, nicht so früh zusammenstellen, so dass mit der Einladung der Juden erst gegen 9 Uhr begonnen werden konnte. Das Einladen wurde, da die Reichsbahn auf eine möglichst fahrplanmäßige Ablassung des Zuges drängte, mit der grössten Hast vorgenommen. Es war daher nicht verwunderlich, dass einzelne Wagen überladen waren (60 - 65 Personen), während andere nur mit 35 - 40 Personen besetzt waren. Dieser Umstand hat sich während des ganzen Transportes bis Riga nachteilig ausgewirkt, da einzelne Juden immer wieder versuchten, in weniger stark besetzte Wagen zu gelangen. Soweit Zeit zur Verfügung stand, habe ich dann auch in einigen Fällen, weil auch Mütter von ihren Kindern getrennt worden waren, Umbelegungen vorgenommen. Auf dem Wege vom Schlachthof zur Verladerrampe hatte ein männlicher Jude versucht, Selbstmord durch Überfahren mittels der Strassenbahn zu verüben. Er wurde jedoch von der Auffangvorrichtung der Strassenbahn erfasst und nur leichter verletzt. Er stellte sich anfänglich sterbend, wurde aber während der Fahrt bald sehr munter, als er merkte, dass er dem Schicksal der Evakuierung nicht entgehen konnte. Ebenfalls hatte sich eine ältere Jüdin unbemerkt von der Verladerrampe, es regnete und war sehr dunkel, entfernt, sich in ein nahe liegendes Haus geflüchtet, entkleidet und auf ein Klosett gesetzt. Eine Putzfrau hatte sie jedoch bemerkt, so dass auch sie dem Transport wieder zugeführt werden konnte. Die Verladung der Juden war gegen 10,15 Uhr beendet. Nach mehrmaligem Rangieren verließ der Zug dann gegen 10,30 Uhr den Güterbahnhof Düsseldorf-Derendorf in Richtung Wuppertal, also schon

-2-

Excerpt from the transport report by Captain Salitter, Schutzpolizei.

Salitter first describes the beginning of the "transport" and that "the Jews were ready for loading at the loading ramp as early as 4 o'clock". He reports on an unsuccessful attempt suicide by a man and an failed escape bid made by an elderly woman whom "[...] it was possible to return to the transport".

- 5 -

bereitgestellten Wagen umgeladen wurden. Um 1,50 Uhr ging es weiter nach Tilsit. Auf dieser Station nahe der ostpr. litauischen Grenze wurde auf meine erneute Bitte in Insterburg hin der Wagen des Begleitkdo. nach vorn rangiert und erhielt endlich Heizung. Die Wärme wurde von der Begleitmannschaft sehr wohlthuend empfunden, da die Uniformen der Posten infolge des auf der ganzen Fahrt fast ununterbrochen anhaltenden Regens völlig durchnässt und nunmehr getrocknet werden konnten. Um 5,15 Uhr wurde die Grenzstation Laugszergen und nach 15 Minuten die litauische Station Tauroggen erreicht. Von hier aus sollte die Fahrt bis Riga normal nur noch 14 Stunden betragen. Infolge des eingleisigen Bahngeländes und der Zweitrangigkeit des Zuges in der Abfertigung gab es auf den Bahnhöfen oft lange Verzögerungen in der Weiterfahrt. Auf dem Bahnhof Schaulen (1,12 Uhr) wurde die Begleitmannschaft von Schwestern des Roten Kreuzes ausreichend und gut gepflegt. Es wurde Graupensuppe mit Rindfleisch verabfolgt. In Schaulen wurde in allen Judenwagen durch litauisches Eisenbahnpersonal die Lichtzufuhr abgestellt. Auf dem nächsten Bahnhof hatte ich Gelegenheit, die Juden letztmalig aus einem in der Nähe liegenden Brunnen Wasser fassen zu lassen. Das Wasser auf litauischen und lettischen Bahnhöfen ist durchweg ungekocht genießbar, nur schwierig erreichbar, da Brunnen nicht immer in der Nähe des Bahnkörpers liegen und Zapfstellen nach deutschen Muster nicht vorhanden sind.

Um 19,30 Uhr wurde Mitau (Lettland) erreicht. Hier machte sich schon eine erheblich kühlere Temperatur bemerkbar. Es setzte Schneetreiben mit anschliessendem Frost ein. Die Ankunft in Riga erfolgte um 21,50 Uhr, wo der Zug auf dem Bahnhof 1 1/2 Stunden festgehalten wurde. Hier stellte ich fest, dass die Juden nicht für das Rigaer Ghetto bestimmt waren, sondern in Ghetto Stirotawa, 8 km nordostwärts von Riga, untergebracht werden sollten.

Am 13.12., um 23,35 Uhr, erreichte der Zug nach vielen Hin- und Herrangieren die Militärrampe auf dem Bahnhof Skirotawa. Der Zug blieb ungeheizt stehen. Die Aussentemperatur betrug bereits 12° unter Null. Da ein Übernahmekdo. der Stapo nicht zur Stelle war, wurde die Bewachung des Zuges vorläufig von meinen Männern weiter durchgeführt. Die Übergabe des Zuges erfolgte alsdann um 1,45 Uhr, gleichzeitig wurde die Bewachung von 6 lettischen Polizeimännern übernommen. Da es bereits nach Mitternacht war, Dunkelheit herrschte und die Verladerrampe stark vereist war, sollte die Ausladung und die Überführung der Juden in das noch 2 km entfernt

-6-

Excerpts from the transport report by Captain Salitter, Schutzpolizei.

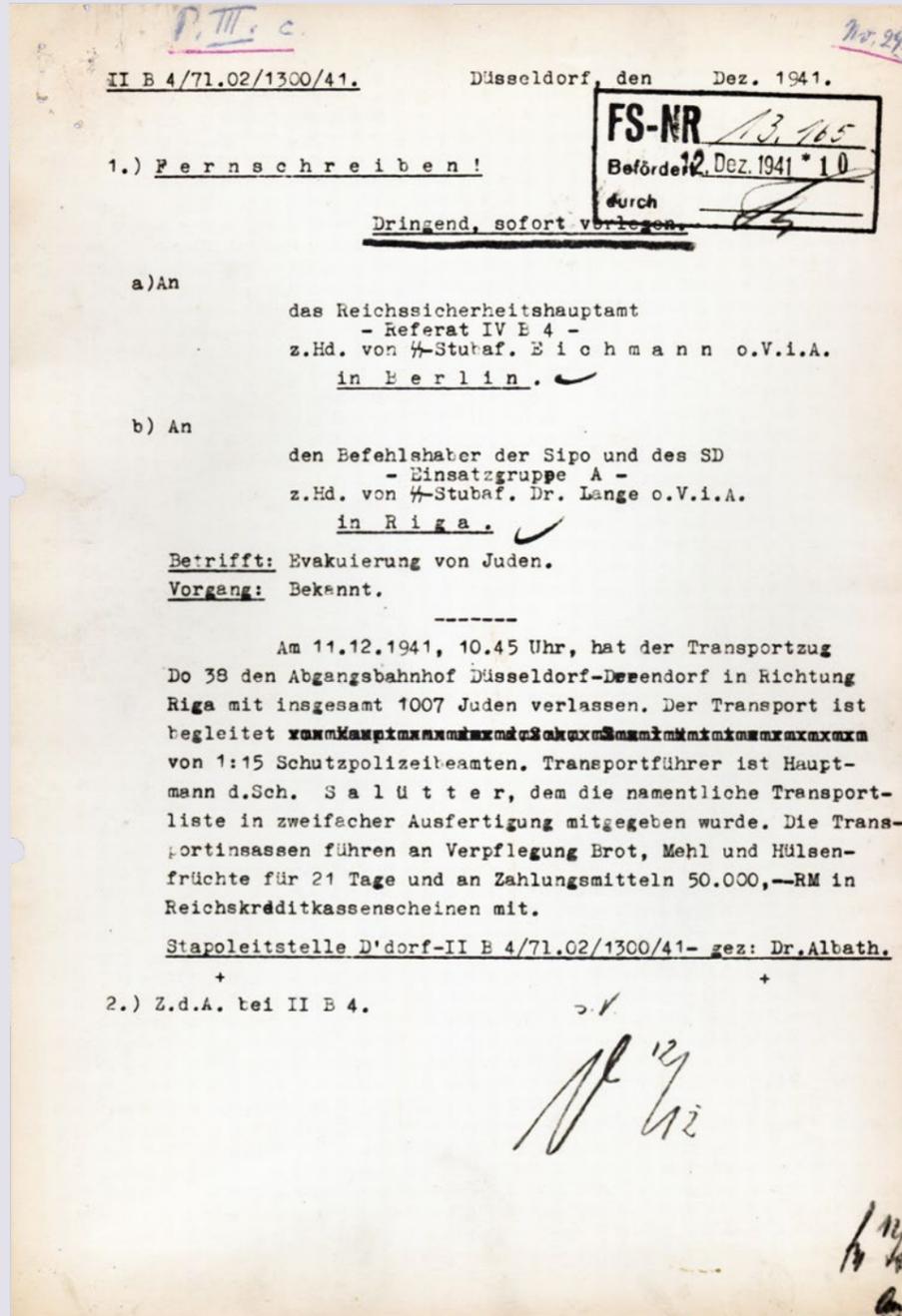
Here Salitter describes, among other things, that "in Insterburg ... the escort commandos' wagon [was] shunted to the front and... finally [received] heating" because "the guards' uniforms [were] completely soaked as a result of the... incessant rain." In stark contrast to this, on arrival in the night of 13.12 in "Skirotawa... the train... stood unheated".

Finally, he evaluates the "men of the escort commando [who] ... gave no cause for complaint worth mentioning [...] Apart from the fact that I had to urge individuals among them to take harsher action against Jews ...".

- 9 -

5.) Die gestellten Männer des Begleitkommandos haben zu nennenswerten Klagen keinen Anlass gegeben. Abgesehen davon, dass ich einzelne von ihnen zu schärferen Vorgehen gegen Juden, die meine erlassenen Verbote zu übertreten glaubten, anhalten musste, haben sich alle sehr gut geführt und ihren Dienst einwandfrei versehen. Krankmeldungen oder Zwischenfälle sind nicht vorgekommen.

gez.: Salitter  
Hauptmann der Schutzpolizei.



Letter from the Gestapo Head Office in Düsseldorf to the Reich Security Main Office dated 12 December 1941 concerning "Evacuation of Jews to Riga". In this telex, Dr. Walter Albatth, head of the Düsseldorf Gestapo since November 1941, informs the Reich Security Main Office as well as the Security Police and the SD (Sicherheitsdienst, or Security Service, an SS intelligence division) in Riga about the "transport" of 1,007 Jews from Düsseldorf.

**"Each individual was strip-searched and all items of value, spare sets of underwear and luggage were taken from them, as were all their papers. The children were lying in the snow and crying. Finally, our special train left for Riga. We were on the road for 3 days in an unheated train without water and food."**

Erna Valk, deported from Düsseldorf to Riga.

## LÖRRACH

**"Like a debauched herd, the people of Lörrach fought over the things."**

Report of an eyewitness of the auctions, 1949.

By a decree of the end of November 1941, Jews who had their "habitual residence abroad" (in the words of the law) lost their German citizenship. The homes of the deported Jews were sealed, their inventory sold or auctioned off, and later confiscated for the benefit of the German Reich.



Lörrach, in the winter of 1940/1941: The household effects of Jewish neighbours are sold at public auction. A uniformed officer of the Lörrach police is on hand to oversee the sale.

Scarcely any photographic record remains of one of the biggest acts of theft in German history - the plundering of the belongings of the deported Jews. One exception is a photo series from Lörrach in Baden. The photographer is presumably Gustav Kühnert, a Lörrach criminal police officer.

On 22 October 1940, the Jews of Lörrach were deported, in full view of the public, to the Gurs camp in southern France, and, from there, onward to the concentration and extermination camp at Auschwitz. With the active participation of the population, their property was



On the right of the picture is the Jewish property that is being auctioned off. On the left, behind a barrier, the willing buyers crowd in. In addition to the policeman, other people involved in conducting the auction can be seen.

## LAUPHEIM

In 1941, many Jews were forced to live in larger cities, crammed together into so-called Jewish houses (Judenhäuser). The Jews still living in the countryside, in villages and smaller communities, were now being moved from their home communities and into larger cities. There, the authorities set up makeshift transit camps, from where the Jews were transported to local railway stations and then deported in the direction of Riga.

A series of photos document this process as it happened in the small town of Laupheim in Württemberg. The photographer of this series is unknown, but presumably he was commissioned by the Gestapo or another government agency to record the deportation process. 23 Jews were brought from Laupheim on 28 November 1941 to Stuttgart, where they were interned in the transit camp on the Killesberg. On 1 December 1941, 1,013 people were deported to Riga via Stuttgart Nordbahnhof.



Arriving at Laupheim's Westbahnhof station, Jews wait for their deportation, guarded by policemen.



A policeman appears to be checking that a list is correct. The victims of the transport are wearing warm winter clothes, some of which are pulled over one another. From Laupheim they were taken to Stuttgart, where the deportees from Württemberg and Hohenzollern were concentrated in a transit camp. After a journey lasting three days and three nights, the train arrived in Riga on 4 December 1941. SS men greeted them with beatings and they were taken to the Jungfernhof camp.



A group of Jews from Laupheim, accompanied by a policeman, was led to the Westbahnhof, just three kilometres outside the city.

## STUTT GART

*"Killesberg! That night of madness and horror remains unforgettable to me."*

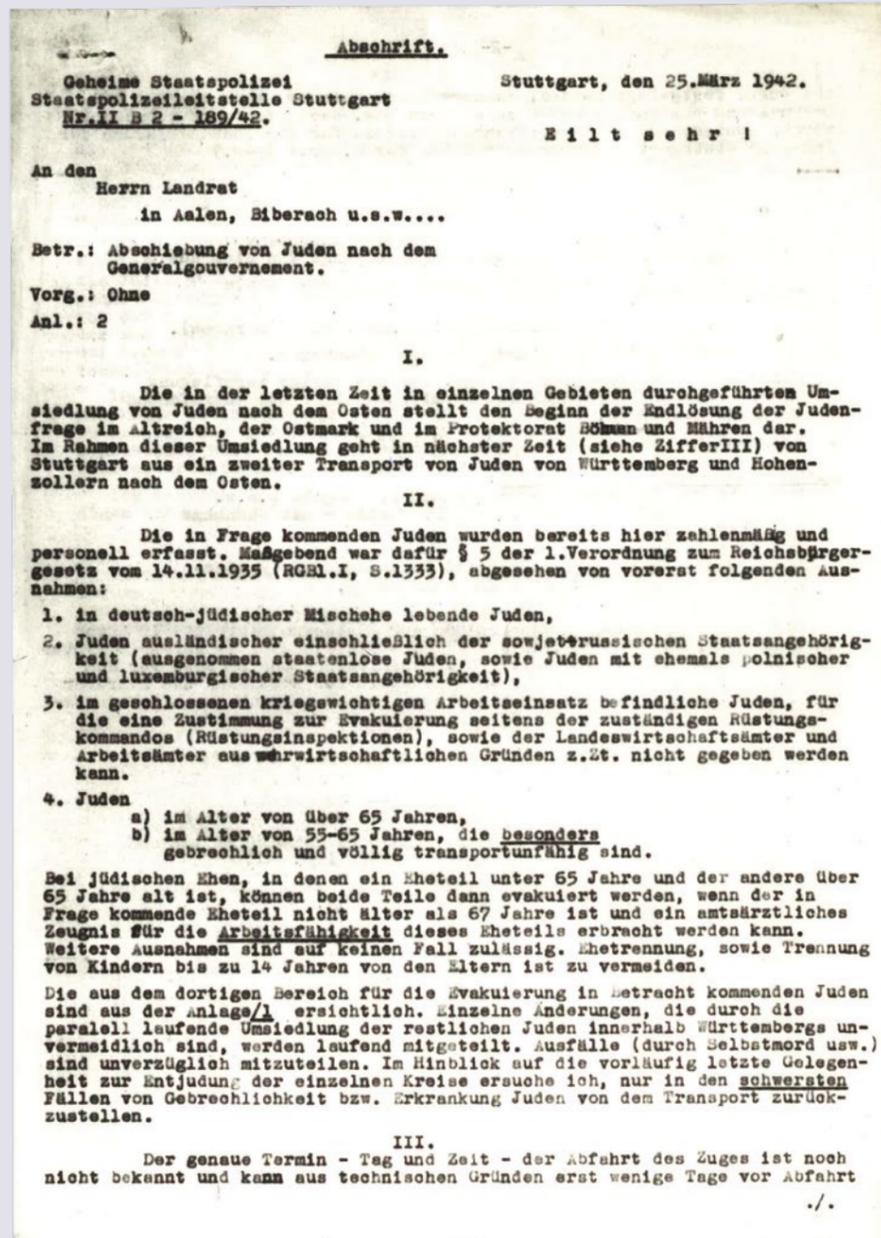
Testimony of a deported Jewish woman from Ulm.



View of the Killesberg transit camp in Stuttgart, end of November 1941. The picture is from a film that was probably commissioned by the Stuttgart Gestapo. In it, we can see how those being filmed first look uncertainly into the camera (like the seated girl in the foreground) and then immediately turn away from the camera again. What is striking about the film from today's perspective (as with other footage made by the perpetrators) is the disturbing normality and absence of any form of coercion and violence. These scenes were staged by the perpetrators.

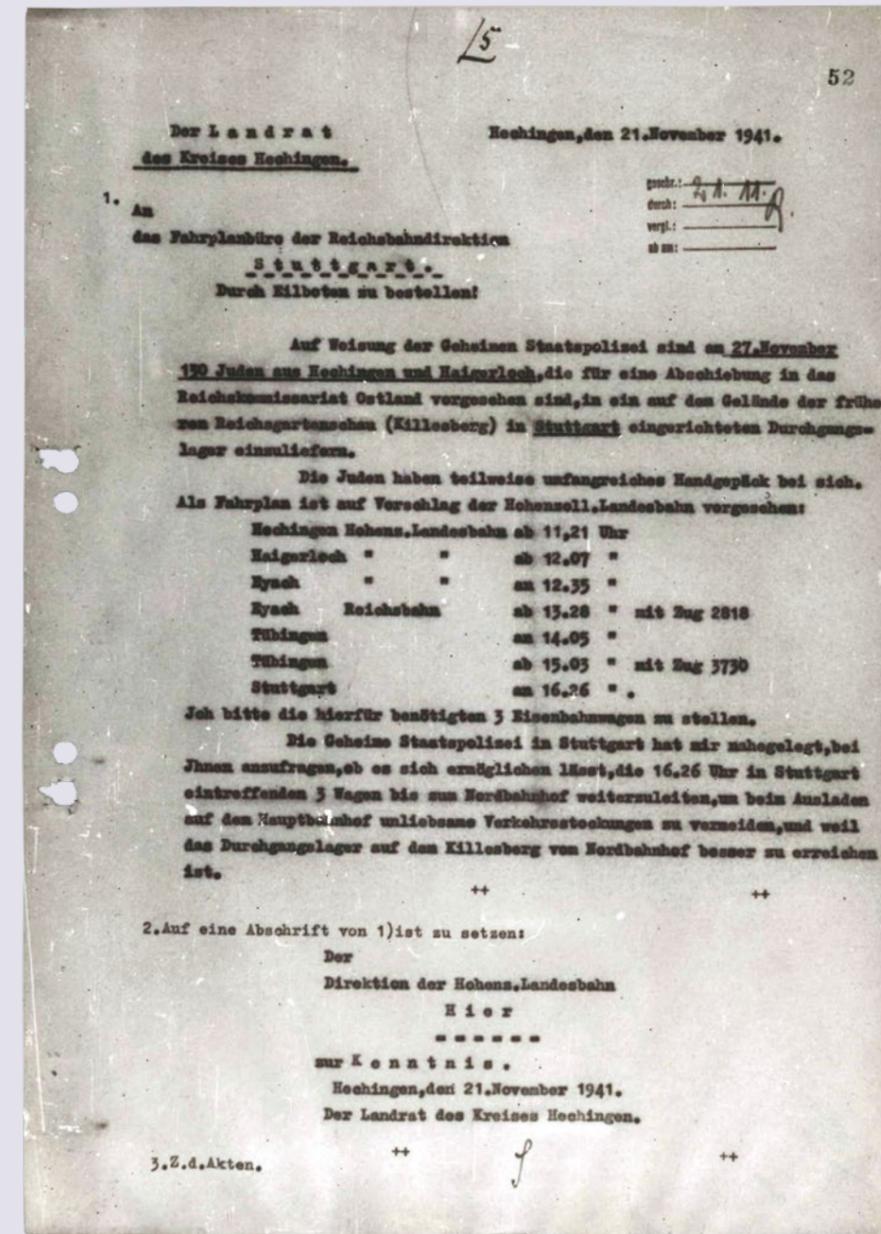


Loading suitcases of the deportees in Stuttgart, late November 1941. The luggage is being stacked into a removal van and taken from the collection depot to the train station. In the film, you can make out some of the names that the owners have written on their suitcases.

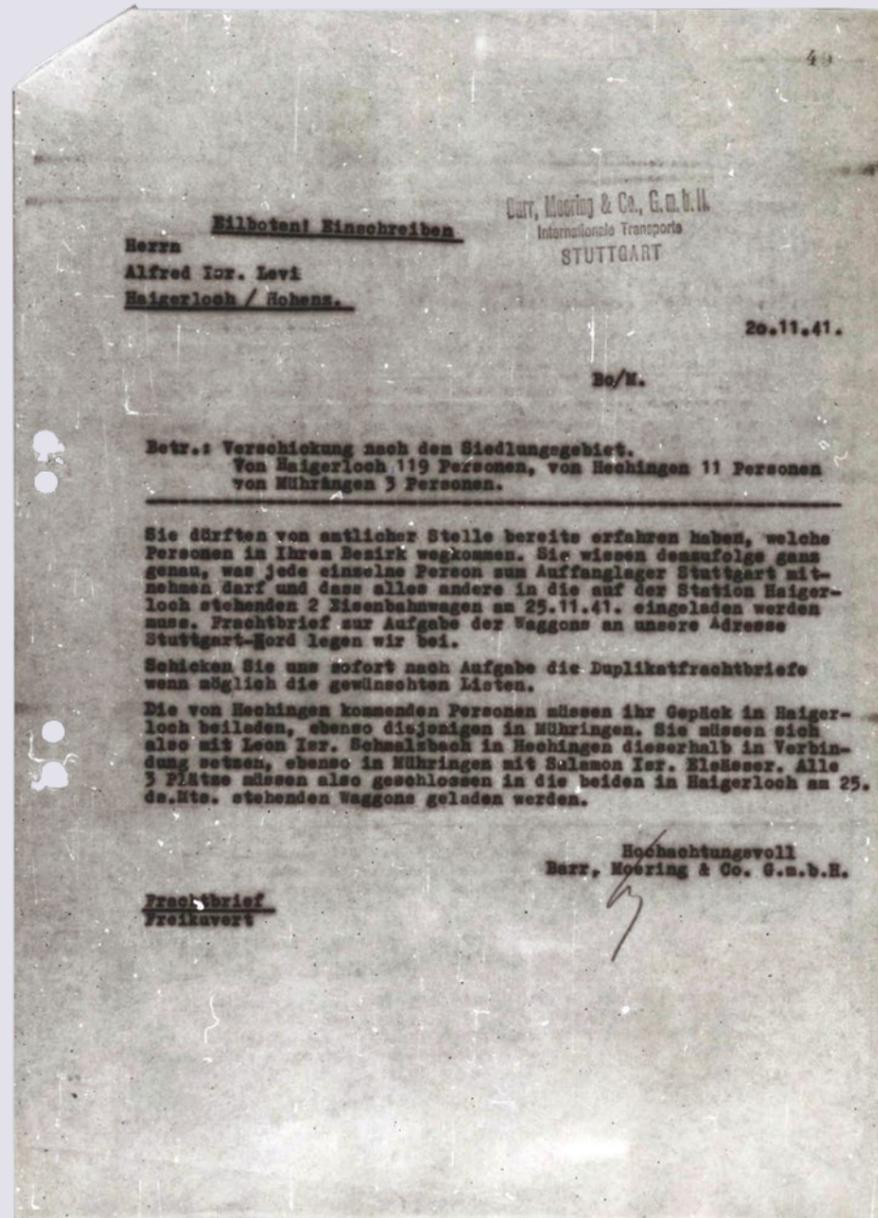


Letter from the Secret State Police/ State Police Headquarters in Stuttgart dated 25 March 1942 concerning "Deportation of Jews to the Generalgouvernement".

In it, the control centre of the Secret State Police Stuttgart informs the district councils of the region that "in the near future a second transport of Jews from Württemberg and Hohenzollern will leave from Stuttgart for the East". Various references are made to this, including "exemptions applicable for the time being".



On 21 November 1941, the district administrator of the Hechingen district approached the Reichsbahndirektion with a request to divert the deportation trains to Stuttgart Nordbahnhof in order to avoid "unwelcome traffic congestion".



On 20 November 1941, a Stuttgart transport company instructs Alfred Levi, a Jew living in Haigerloch, to load the luggage he was carrying during the deportation into the railway wagons and keep it "locked".

## WÜRZBURG

In the early hours of the morning of 27 November 1941 the authorities deported 202 Jews from Würzburg. Two days later, they were deported to Riga via a camp near Nuremberg, together with another 806 people from Main-Franconia. 52 people survived this transport to Riga. Gestapo, police, representatives of the SS, transporters, officials and others were involved.

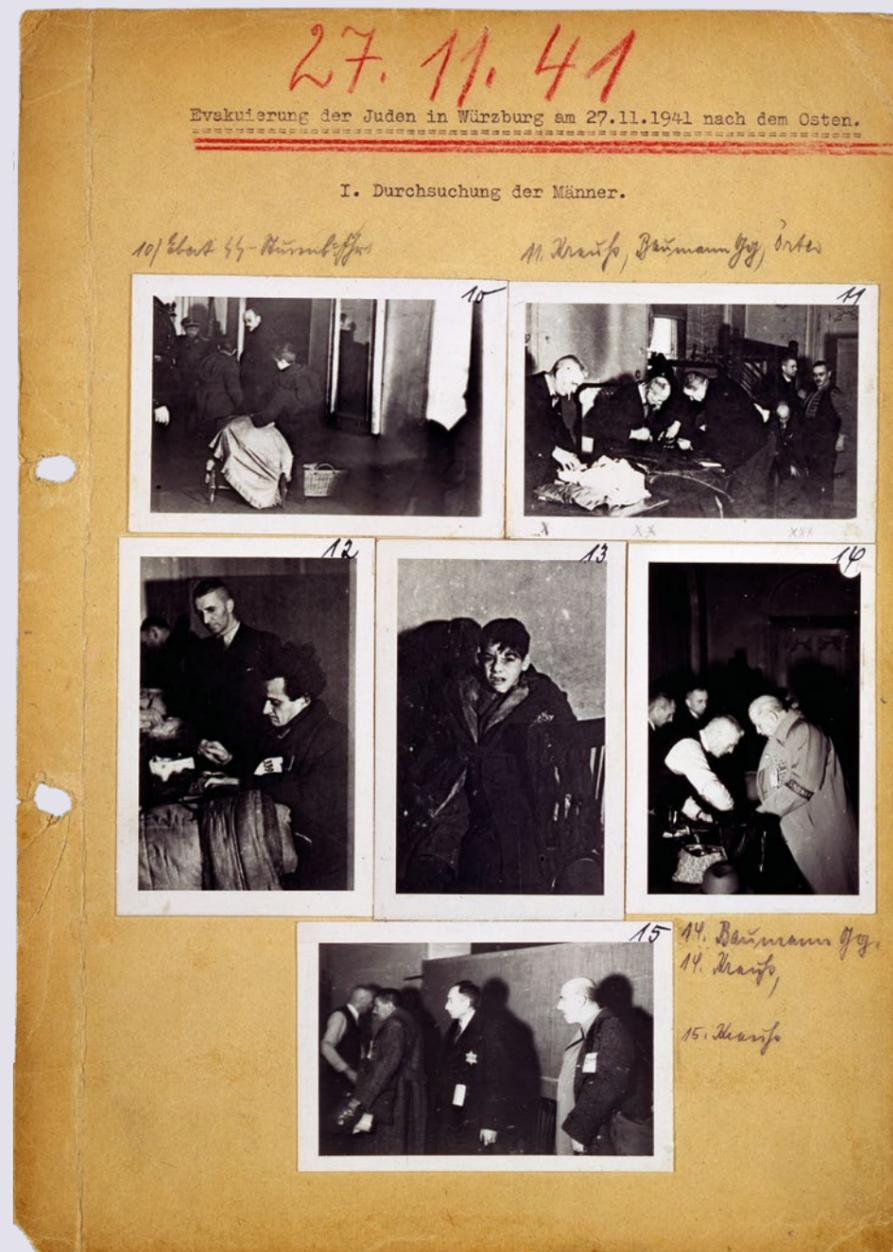
The course of the deportation was documented in a photo album. The photographer, Hermann Otto, was a local policeman working on behalf of the Würzburg Gestapo. He made 128 prints, arranged them in an album and labelled them. Otto described the deportation as "Evacuation to the East".



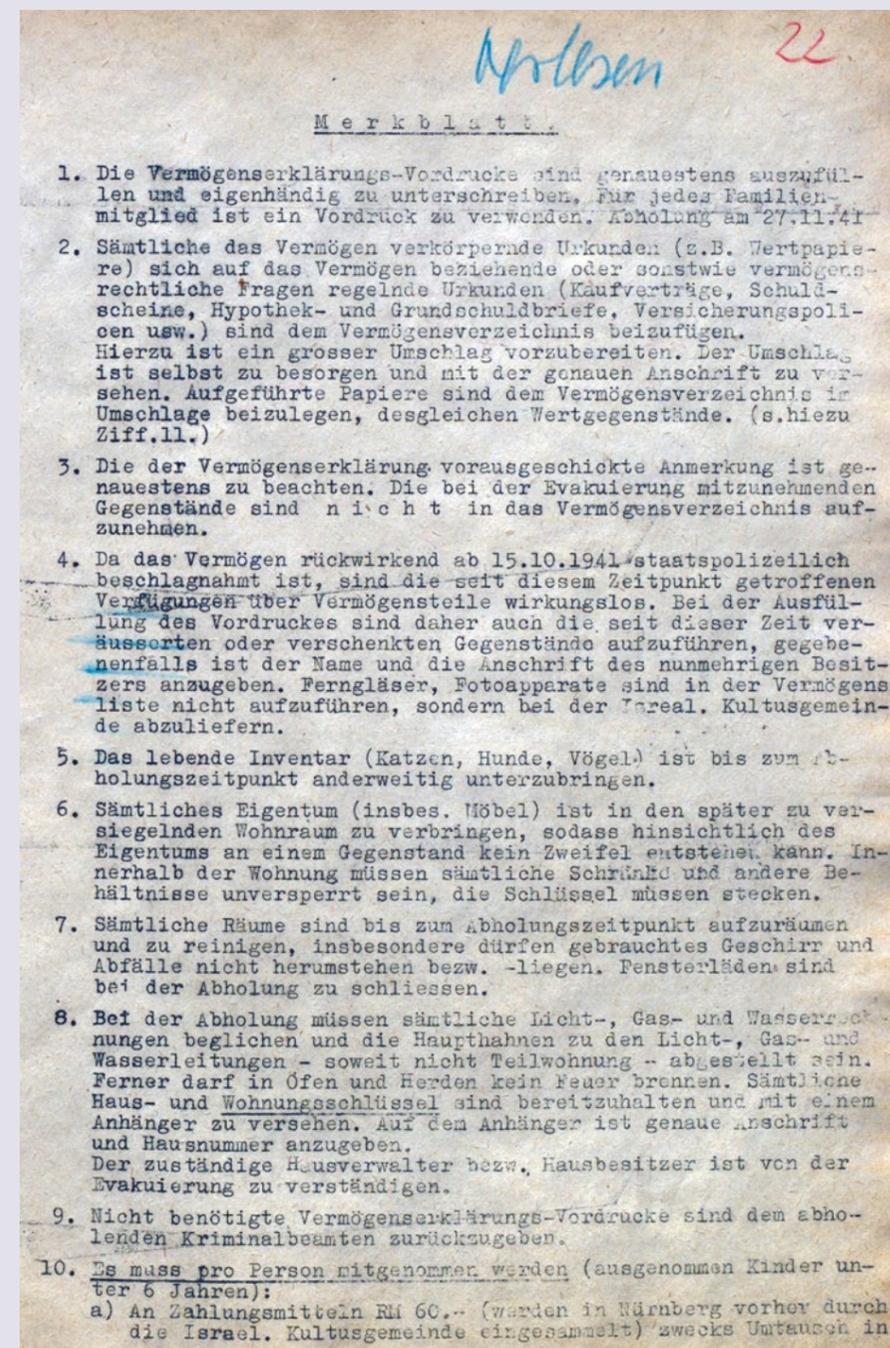
Under cover of darkness, the Jews were taken from the transit camp to Würzburg main station in the early morning hours of 27 November 1941.



Würzburg main station, 27 November 1941: Jews board the wagons of the deportation train bound for the Jungfernhof camp in Riga.

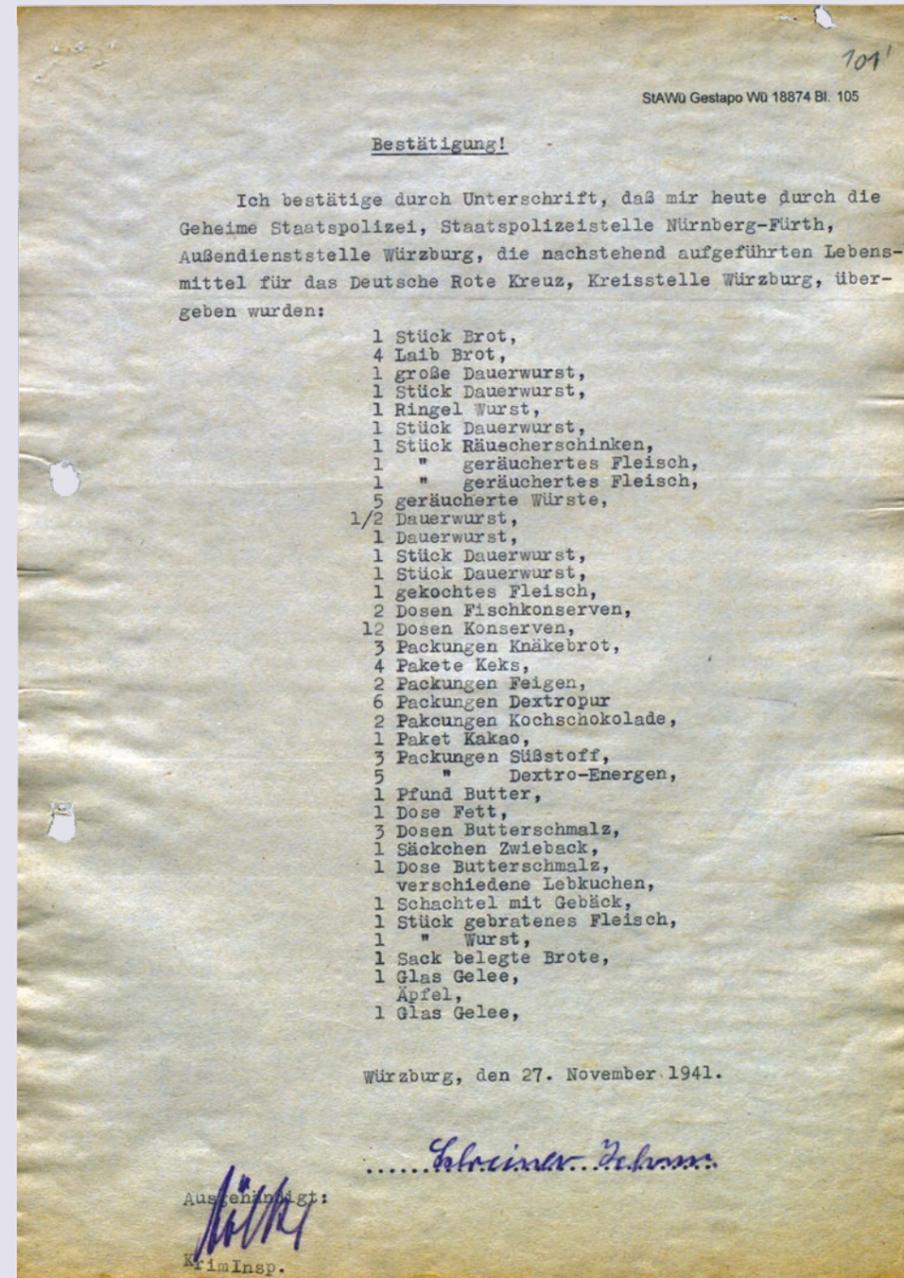


Page from the photo album belonging to the Würzburg Gestapo. On the day before the deportation, the Jews were made to present themselves with their luggage at a transit camp. Those who did not show up there on time were picked up by criminal police officers and SS men - and often subjected to punching and kicking. They were registered and searched. In some cases, the deportation numbers of the deportees can be recognised. Picture 12 shows the shoemaker Heinrich Michel from Würzburg. Michel was murdered in Riga. Wilhelm Reinstein (deportation number 277), a shop assistant in Würzburg by profession, and his wife Irma were also murdered in Riga.



The leaflet shown refers to the forthcoming "collection on 27.11.41" and explains the "property declaration forms to be filled out in detail" which were distributed at the same time. Among other things, it states that "assets are to be confiscated by the state police with retroactive effect from 15.10.1941". There are also specific instructions on how to leave one's dwelling.

All Jews marked for deportation received such a leaflet. They were ordered to acknowledge receipt. "Refrain from making any direct enquiries to the Würzburg field office [of the Gestapo]." (Excerpt)



In a letter dated 27 November 1941, the Würzburg District Office of the German Red Cross confirms having received food taken from among deportees' belongings.

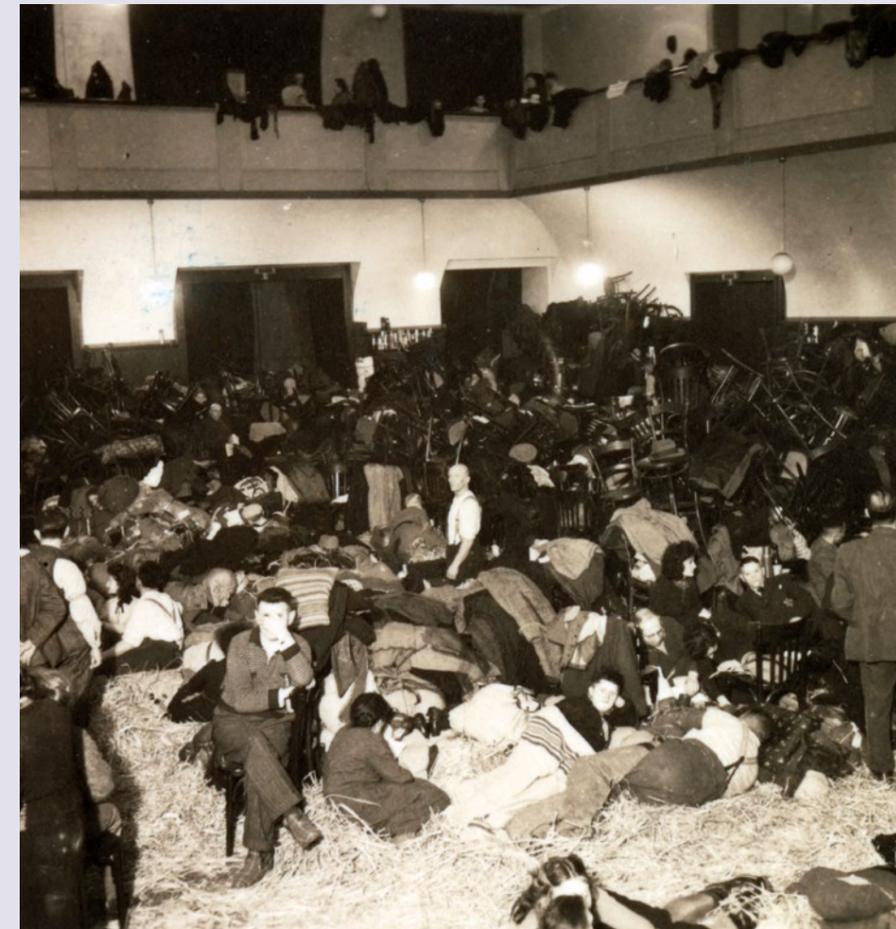
## BIELEFELD

On 13 December 1941, 420 people were made to board a train at the Bielefeld railway station. The train was already overcrowded at this point: it started in Münster and went via Osnabrück to Bielefeld. On that same day, in the Gestapo Westphalia command region, based

out of Münster, 1,031 Jews were deported to Riga. 102 of them survived.

A picture series consisting of 25 photos captures individual situations. They were taken by the Bielefeld photographer Georg

Hübner, an early member of the NSDAP and a Polizeiasistent (assistant police officer). They form part of the "Kriegschronik" (War Chronicle), which was overseen by the city's director of museums, Dr. Eduard Schoneweg. The recordings were intended to document the smooth course of a deportation from the perspective of the perpetrators. These images were also staged.



On the eve of the deportation in Bielefeld: the transit camp was located in the hall of a conference room of the local veterans' association, the "Kyffhäuser". We can only guess at the sanitary conditions, or how cramped the space must have been between the furniture and the luggage. People had to lie on straw beds. The younger man in the foreground, sitting on a chair, appears to be shying away from the photographer's gaze and trying to hide his face from the camera.



Two people are standing in front of the customs shed at the station. The woman is wearing two long coats one on top of the other - there is a weight limit on luggage. There is a tag hanging from a button with their transport number on it. Next to it is the yellow star. The man is holding a large bag with fabrics tied to it. According to the inscription, "pots" and "tools" are stowed in the suitcase standing between them. A name is written on the long side of the case: "Mayer." The first wedding anniversary of Jenny and Heinrich Mayer fell on the day of their deportation. Neither of them survived their abduction.



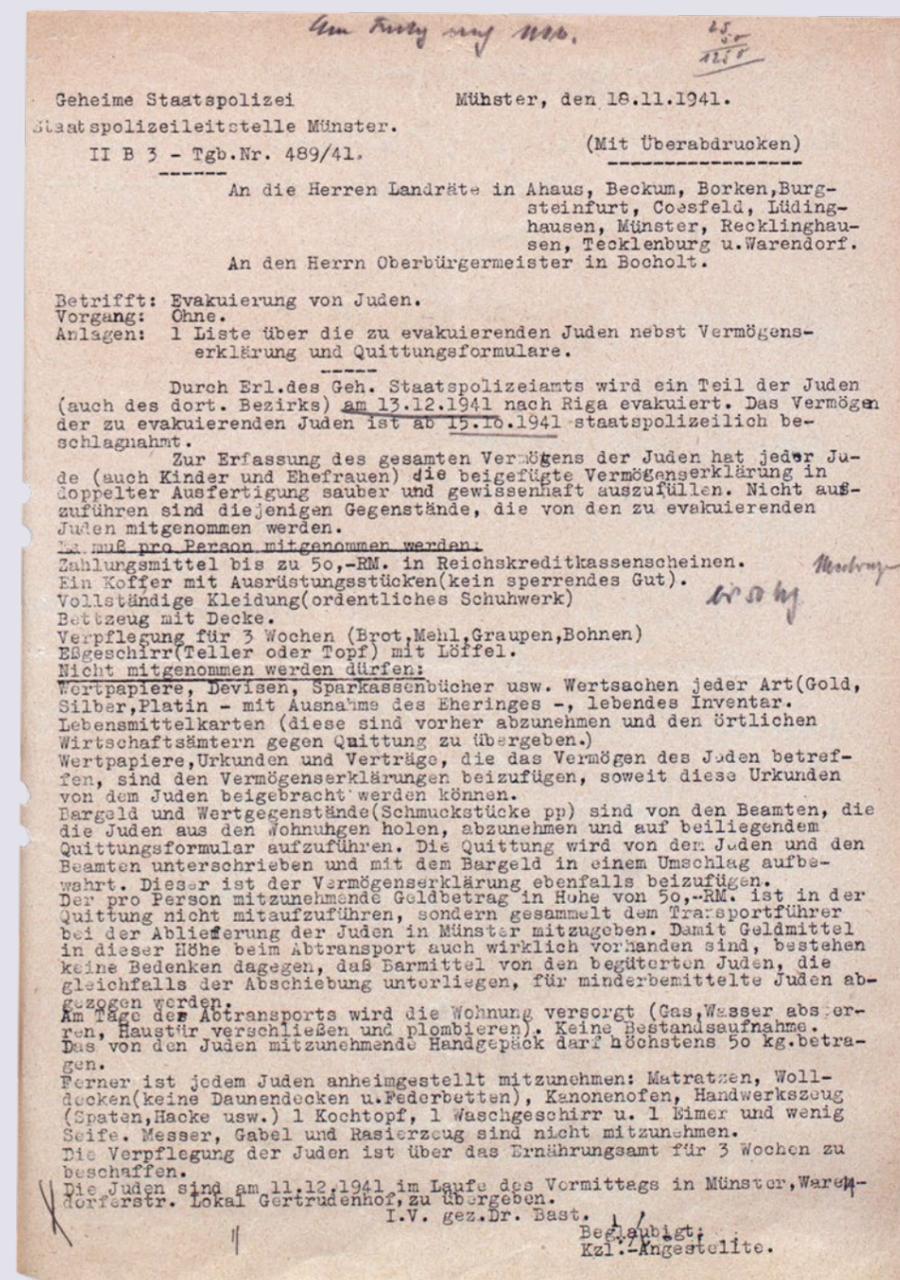
From the transit camp, municipal buses transported the Jews to the railway station. The train coming from Münster (with a stopover in Osnabrück) was already overcrowded when it arrived in Bielefeld, as it was full of deportees from Westphalian communities. The people on the platform went to a carriage intended for the "Bielefelders".



The Jews from Eastern Westphalia and Lippe moved up the crowded Bielefeld platform with their luggage towards the three front carriages, which were still empty. The people deported from Münster and Osnabrück watched from the windows. On that day, train passengers on other platforms could see the deportation in progress, for hours.



Locomotive 93 062 of the Deutsche Reichsbahn, home station Bielefeld, leaves the station in the direction of Riga. The train driver looks cheerfully into the camera. The caption to the picture by the photographer Georg Hübner reads: "Muss i'denn, muss i'denn" [the title of a folk song about going away]. Deportees report that they sang this farewell song at the Bielefeld railway station with the addition: "Nun ade, du mein lieb' Heimatland" ["Now farewell, my dear homeland"].



On 18 November 1941, the Gestapo/ State Police Office of Münster informed the administration about the procedure for robbing the deportees' belongings.

A proxy for Dr. Gerhard Bast, deputy head of the Gestapo in Münster from July 1941, signed this memorandum to the district councils of the region.

Among other things, it states that "the assets of the Jews marked for evacuation have been confiscated by the state police as of 15 October 1941". There are also specific instructions on what may be taken away and how the flat is to be left. "The Jews are to be handed over on 11.12.1941 over the course of the morning at the Gertrudenhof pub in Münster."



## WHY RIGA?

The mass murder of the Jews in Riga illustrates how the Holocaust was accelerated by the start of deportations from Germany to the East.

After the plan to resettle the European Jews on the island of Madagascar had failed, the Nazi leadership intensified its discussions about other possibilities for a "Final Solution to the Jewish Question".

The war of extermination against the Soviet Union exacerbated this situation. More and more people were falling victim to the murder campaigns in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union, carried out by the Einsatzgruppen since June 1941.

In September 1941, Hitler ordered the deportation of Jews from the German Reich to the East. Originally the deportations were to take their victims to occupied Soviet territories. But since the war was not going according to German plans, the first deportation trains left for the Litzmannstadt ghetto four weeks later. However, because the many Jews from the Reich could not be accommodated there, the Reich Security Main Office, as the authority in charge of the deportations, finally chose Minsk and Riga as the destinations.

### The Baltic States and the Holocaust

The Baltic States played an important role in the National Socialist

supply system and armament industry. Riga was the seat of the administrative organs of the German occupying forces in the "Reichskommissariat Ostland", covering the territory of the states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and parts of Belarus.

The location on the Baltic Sea was also of great political, military and economic importance. The deported prisoners' labour was ruthlessly exploited in factories in and around Riga.

From 1941 to 1944, the Baltic area became one of the main sites of the Holocaust.

## LAGER JUNGFERNHOF

***"Anything they can use, they take: gold cigarette cases, good lighters - they even pull wedding rings from fingers."***

Josef Katz, survivor of the Jungfernhof camp, reports on thefts carried out by perpetrators.

From 2 December 1941, almost 4,000 people arrived in Riga in the first four transports from Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Vienna and Hamburg. Since the evacuation of the ghetto - i.e. the murder of the Latvian Jews living there - had not yet been completed, the deported German Jews were taken to the Jungfernhof estate on the outskirts of the city.

SS-Unterscharführer Rudolf Seck was responsible for managing this farm. The buildings, barns and stables were completely unsuitable for accommodating several thousand people. Conditions were catastrophically bad. The women, men and children were made to carry out forced labour every day. They were used for repair work on the buildings, in agriculture and for sorting the clothes and suitcases of the people who were shot directly upon their arrival in Riga.

800 to 900 inmates of the camp died in the winter of 1941/42, one of the coldest winters in Eastern Europe in the 20th century. Elderly people especially froze to death in their cots, died of malnutrition or from rapidly-circulating diseases. In March 1942, the SS transported around 1,800 Jews and murdered them in the Bikernieki forest. Several times the German occupiers transferred groups to forced labour in the ghetto or in factories. When the Jungfernhof camp was abandoned in 1944, only a small group of forced labourers remained on site.

## LAGER SALASPILS

***"Thousands and thousands froze to death in the barracks there."***

Artur Sachs, survivor of the Salaspils camp, on conditions in the winter of 1941/1942.

***"We new arrivals find a half-finished barrack there, without a roof: even the windows have not been put in yet."***

Josef Katz, survivor of the Salaspils camp, about his arrival in the winter of 1941.

The Salaspils camp was set up by Soviet prisoners of war at the end of 1941 under the supervision of SS-Untersturmführer Gerhard Maywald, about 18 kilometres from the centre of Riga. It served as a police prison and labour education camp. On the arrival of the first Jewish prisoners in Salaspils, the camp consisted of only one barrack for the Latvian guards and a half-finished barrack for the detainees. SS leader Lange recruited its

labour force from the transports arriving in Riga.

At the end of 1941, 1,000 Jews from the German Reich were registered as being held in Salaspils. Living conditions in the camp were catastrophic. There was a lack of food, heating and access to hygiene.

In addition, harsh working conditions and fast-spreading diseases led to high mortality in the camp.



Jewish prisoners at forced labour in the Salaspils sawmill, winter 1941/1942. The photograph was taken by the photographer Heinz Dürr (1893-1976) for propaganda purposes. Dürr had joined the NSDAP in 1920 and worked as a photojournalist for various NS authorities.



Prisoners subjected to forced labour at a lumber camp in Salaspils, winter 1941/1942. The photograph was taken by photographer Heinz Dürr for propaganda purposes.



Double wire fence around the barracks in Salaspils, photo taken by the Red Army after liberation, around 1944/1945.



## BIKERNIEKI FOREST

***"During the roll call, the transport began. When the motorcars returned after 15-20 minutes, we became suspicious."***

Edith Sophia Wolff, survivor of the Riga ghetto, speaking about "Aktion Dünamünde".

In March 1942, the German occupiers said that they planned to provide the Jews in the Riga ghetto and the Jungfernhof camp with better accommodation and easier work in a fish canning factory in Dünamünde, a district of Riga. About 4,800 Jews were rounded up under this pretext and transported away. But this was a lie: there was no camp in Dünamünde.

Under the leadership of SS leader Rudolf Lange, the Jews were taken to the Bikernieki forest, east of Riga, and murdered there. The shootings were carried out by

German security police and the so-called Kommando Arajs, a volunteer auxiliary unit led by Latvian Viktor Arajs. The "Aktion Dünamünde" was the largest mass execution to take place in the Bikernieki forest. Between 1941 and 1944, German occupiers and Latvian auxiliary troops continuously murdered Jews, political prisoners and prisoners of war in the Bikernieki forest.

20,000 of the approximately 35,000 people murdered there were Jews. Bikernieki is the largest mass grave in Latvia.



View of the memorial in Bikernieki.

## RIGA CAMP COMPLEX KAISER FOREST

***"Kaiserwald is a big cemetery for us, a cemetery of unmarked graves."***

Max Kaufmann, survivor of the Kaiserwald concentration camp.

The dissolution of the ghettos in Latvia was inseparably linked to the establishment of the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. In March 1943, the SS began construction of the concentration camp. Jews from the Riga ghetto in particular, but also from other Latvian ghettos, were interned here. They had to do forced labour for German companies. For this purpose, several satellite camps were set up as part of the camp complex.

The transfer from the ghetto to the Kaiserwald concentration camp brought drastic changes. The detainees were separated according to gender.

Families could now only see each other through barbed wire and could only speak to each other occasionally. There was no privacy. Everything had to be done under the eyes of other prisoners and camp staff. Abuse was a part of daily routine.

When the Red Army advanced in 1944, the Germans gradually dissolved the camp complex. Children, the old, the weak and the sick were murdered by the German occupiers before they fled. Most of the more than 10,000 inmates were taken on foot, by train and by sea to the Stutthof concentration camp further west, near Danzig.



Sign on the fence of the Kaiserwald concentration camp, photo taken by the Red Army after liberation, around 1944/1945.



Barracks in the Kaiserwald concentration camp, photo taken by the Red Army after liberation, around 1944/1945.



View into a barrack of the Kaiserwald concentration camp, photo taken by the Red Army after liberation, around 1944/1945.

## PERPETRATORS OF FORCED LABOUR IN RIGA

In Riga, various offices run by the German authorities and factories registered their requirement for forced labourers. Due to the labour shortage during the Second World War, deportees were used for a wide variety of jobs.

Every morning between six and seven o'clock, columns of labourers were picked up at the ghetto and made to march to their workplaces inside and outside the city. For the forced labourers, survival depended on the conditions of the work they were made to do. Work details differed in the length of the daily

walk to and from work, the harshness of the work requirements and the treatment and conditions at the workplace.

Among other things, the Jewish forced labourers had to chop wood, clean private flats and service rooms, load building materials and sort clothes. In addition to these operations there were industrial and Wehrmacht enterprises as well as SS offices that needed to be staffed with many workers. Jewish craftsmen in particular were in demand. Tailors', shoemakers', carpenters' and plumbers' workshops



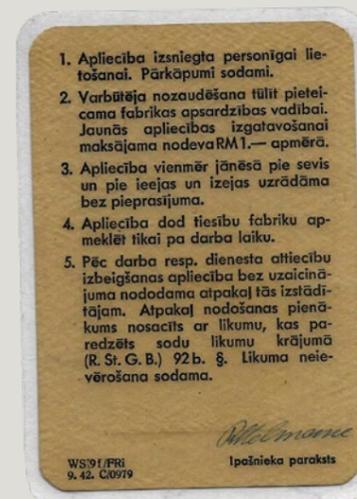
Forbidden from walking on the pavement, Jews are forced to walk to work in the road, Riga 1942. The photographer is Otto Donath, who worked in a propaganda detachment of the Wehrmacht.

are soon set up in most of these enterprises. To supply the war economy, Jews were made to cut peat for fuel, work in the armaments industry and build air-raid shelters.

Many female prisoners were made to work in the textile industry. They sewed, cleaned and repaired uniforms. From 1943 onwards, women were also employed in the production of electrical equipment for AEG, in several subsidiary camps. After the dissolution of the ghetto, forced labour continued to dominate the deportees' daily routine.



Column of Jewish forced labourers on their way to their workplaces outside the Riga Ghetto, around 1941/1942.



ID card of a forced labourer at AEG in Riga, 1944.

Those responsible for and carrying out National Socialist crimes in Riga worked for the SS and the police, the Wehrmacht and the administration. They had different backgrounds and education. They were usually men, but women were involved as well. The perpetrators included both Germans and Latvians.

These five biographies exemplify a large number of perpetrators. Only a few would later be held accountable for their involvement in these crimes. In most cases, only photos of the perpetrators wearing uniform can be found.

These are the clothes they wore when they committed their crimes.

### Friedrich Jeckeln

After the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Wehrmacht, Friedrich Jeckeln became Higher SS and Police Leader in the Russia South area. In this post he reported directly to Himmler and received supreme regional command

authority over SS and police forces in Ukraine. There he developed a standard procedure for the planning and execution of mass shootings and was responsible for numerous massacres, including the one at Babi Yar in Kiev.

In mid-October 1941, Jeckeln was transferred to Riga. In the Rumbula forest, Jeckeln prepared executions according to the methods he had already used in Ukraine.

At the end of the war, Jeckeln was arrested and extradited to the Soviet Union. A Soviet military court found him guilty on 3 February 1946 and sentenced him to death by hanging. On that same day Jeckeln was executed in the former Riga ghetto.



Friedrich Jeckeln, 1937.

**Dr. Rudolf Lange**

***"Dr. Lange came to visit every Saturday. He just shot people down indiscriminately."***

Siegfried Adler, survivor of the Salaspils camp, about Rudolf Lange.

For several years, the lawyer Rudolf Lange was a middle-ranking official in the Political Police of the Nazi state, working to ensure the functioning of the apparatus of terror. When the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) and the Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst, SD) were formed for the purpose of murdering the Jewish population in the Soviet Union, Lange was assigned to Einsatzgruppe A in June 1941. He was this group's chief of staff and would later be transferred to Riga.

For a time, Lange also led Einsatzkommando 2, which murdered about 60,000 Latvian Jews and Jews deported to Latvia by December 1941. From December 1941 he

was the commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in Latvia and personally directed numerous mass shootings. During the fighting with the Red Army, Lange was wounded and committed suicide in order to avoid capture.



Dr. Rudolf Lange, around 1941/1942.

**Viktors Arājs**

Latvian Viktors Arājs was a policeman in Riga and, after German troops invaded in the summer of 1941, he received an order from the SS to recruit Latvian volunteers for a special unit. He became head of this so-called Kommando Arājs, which murdered more than half of Latvia's Jews on behalf of the Security Police. After the German

capitulation, Arājs became a prisoner of war and remained in British custody until 1949. Until 1975 he lived undiscovered in the Federal Republic of Germany. It was only through a tip-off by the editor of a Latvian-language newspaper that he was arrested at the age of 65. In 1979, the Hamburg Regional Court found him guilty of complicity in the murder of at least 13,000 people. In 1988, Viktor Arājs died during his imprisonment in Kassel.



Viktors Arājs, photo probably taken shortly before the start of the war in 1941.

**Emilie Kowa**

***"[There] wasn't a day that went by in the Kaiserwald where you weren't beaten up by her."***

***"Kowa was the terror of Kaiserwald and later of AEG."***

Frieda S., survivor of the Kaiserwald concentration camp, speaking about the warden Emilie Kowa.

Over a dozen female guards worked in the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. One of them was Emilie Kowa. In the Ravensbrück concentration camp she was trained as a concentration camp guard. After that she was transferred to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, at the end of August 1943. Kowa worked there as a supervisor in the women's protective custody camp area, and as acting head supervisor. She also worked as a supervisor in the AEG women's subsidiary camp in Riga.

In October 1945, Kowa was arrested in her hometown of Pforzheim and subsequently sent to an internment camp. In February 1948, a French military court indicted her for abuse and participation in the murder of prisoners in the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp. The court sentenced her to 20 years imprisonment and forced labour. In 1953, Kowa was granted early release from prison. In 1964, the Mannheim public prosecutor's office investigated her again. Survivors testified that Kowa shot prisoners during the dissolution of the Groß-Rosen concentration camp, but the case was dropped a few years later. The date of her death is unknown.

**Gerhard Maywald**

The primary school teacher Gerhard Kurt Maywald applied to work in the Criminal Investigation Department and was hired as a candidate police officer in Kiel in mid-1938. In July 1941 he came to Riga with

Einsatzgruppe A and remained in the city as an SS Untersturmführer until May 1942. In October 1941, he received the order to establish the Salaspils labour camp to house the deported Jews.

At the end of the war, Maywald became an American prisoner of war and was interned. After his release, he lived in Hamburg under a false name until 1950. It was not until 1976 that Maywald was charged with murder in Hamburg. In 1977 he was found guilty only of aiding and abetting murder in a mass shooting and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. He died in 1998.



Gerhard Maywald in a forest area near Riga in the winter of 1941/1942.

## THE GRAVE AND MEMORIAL SITE IN THE BIKERNIEKI FOREST

The Riga Committee, founded in 2000, is a unique cultural association of cities that commemorates the deportations and murders of their former Jewish citizens. A central place for this shared remembrance is the gravesite and memorial in the Bikernieki forest near Riga.

55 larger and smaller mass graves are located on the grounds of the Bikernieki memorial, the largest mass grave in Latvia. It

is estimated that 35,000 people were murdered here - Jewish children, women and men, political activists and prisoners as well as Soviet prisoners of war. In the early 1960s, the mass graves in the Bikernieki forest were enclosed with edge stones. But for almost half a century, the fate of the deportees in Latvia and Germany remained virtually unknown.

Until the end of the 1980s, there were no commemorations for

those murdered in either Bikernieki or the Rumbula forest. In Soviet Latvia, the Holocaust was also systematically concealed. Although there were initial plans to design a memorial in the Bikernieki forest in the mid-1980s, the construction work was stopped after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 due to the city of Riga lacking the necessary funds. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and Latvia's independence, it finally became possible to gradually integrate the

crimes of the occupation period into Latvia's collective memory. Through numerous lectures on the deportations to Riga and through encounters with Jewish ghetto survivors from Latvia and Germany, awareness also grew in Germany.

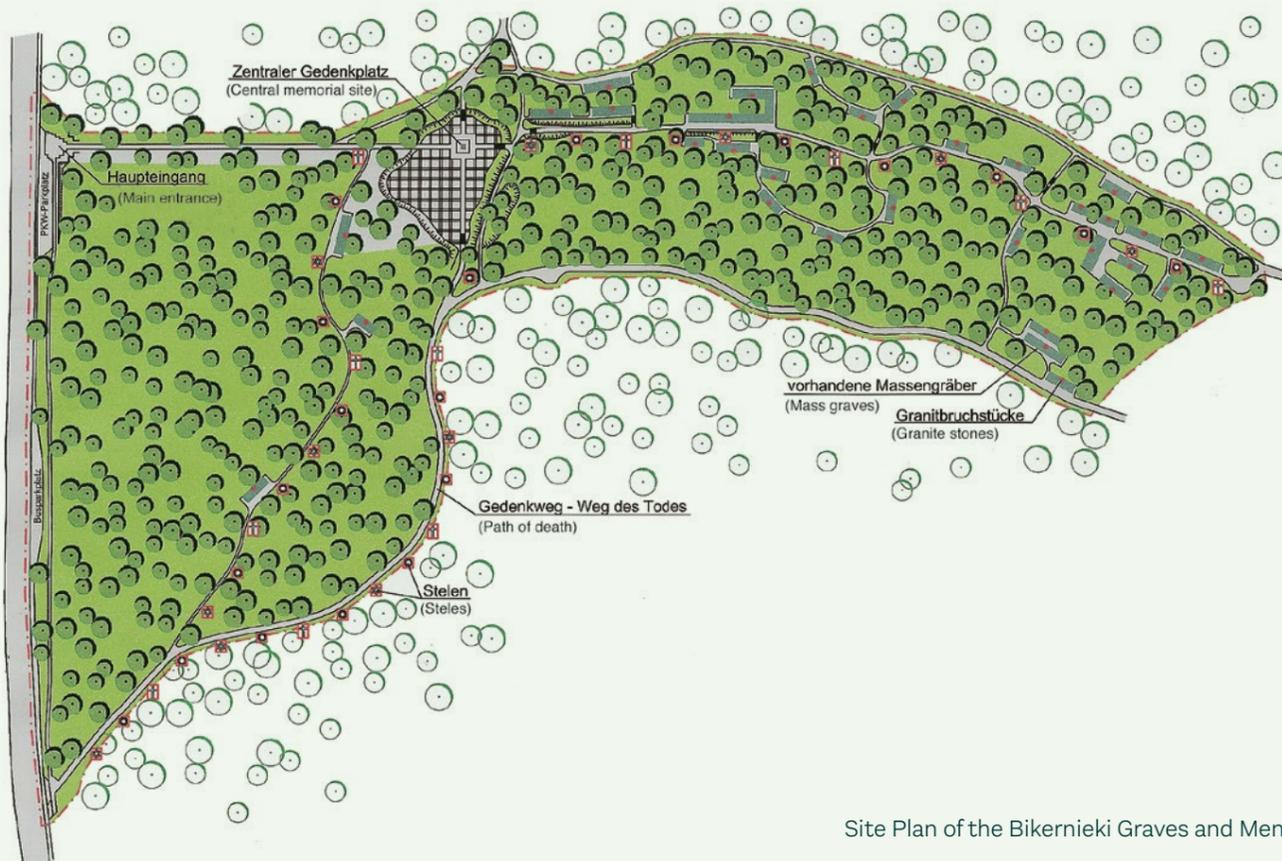
In 1991, for the first time, those deported to Riga were explicitly commemorated in some German cities. The German-Latvian War Graves Agreement, which came into force at the end of 1996,

enabled the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (German War Graves Commission) e.V. to take care of the graves of deportees for the first time. The Riga Committee and the Volksbund returned to the original plans for the erection of a memorial in the Bikernieki forest, so that construction work could begin in 2000.

60 years after the start of the deportations, the memorial was ceremonially inaugurated in

November 2001. It is divided into squares according to the number of mass graves.

Plates with the names of towns from which the deportees came are embedded in the squares. A granite stone is symbolically embedded for each victim. They stand close together, like victims before the shootings, and they differ in size and shape and are arranged in groups.



Site Plan of the Bikernieki Graves and Memorial



Inauguration of the gravesite and memorial on 30 November 2001.



The cylinders contain lists of names of the murdered Jews, which are kept in the centre of the memorial.

In work camps lasting several days, Latvian and German young people maintain the facility in the forest and contribute to its preservation. In the process, the young people engage with this place of remembrance and thus ensure that the memory of the deportations is also kept alive for future generations.



Young people during a work camp in 2018.



Young people from North Rhine Westfalia working on maintenance, Work camp 2007.

The memorial site is divided into squares according to the number of mass graves. Plates with the names of towns from which the deportees came are embedded in the squares. A granite stone is symbolically embedded for each victim. They stand close together, like victims before the shootings, and they differ in size and shape and are arranged in groups.



Stones with biographical data of those murdered, placed by visitors in the centre of the memorial.

## BERLIN

### Putlitz Bridge Deportation Memorial and Moabit Goods Station Memorial in Berlin

In Berlin-Moabit, a memorial on a bridge commemorates over 30,000 Jews who were deported from the neighbouring goods station. Although the station was located in the middle of the city, not a single photo of the deportations has been found to date. From its erection in 1987 to the present day, the memorial has repeatedly been the target of anti-Semitic attacks. In 1992, it was severely damaged in an explosive attack.



The memorial on the Putlitz Bridge.

Today, a plaque next to the memorial commemorates this attack. The site of the former goods station in Moabit was itself forgotten for a long time. Although the initiative "They were Neighbours" as well as numerous journalists, historians, Moabit citizens and the Foundation Topographie des Terrors drew attention to this historic site for



Design sketch of the memorial site.



The preserved section of track 69.

years, it was not until June 2017 that a memorial could be inaugurated there.

The few historic fragments of the freight station are located between a hardware store and a supermarket. At this site, 20 pine trees were planted, forming a grove that will reach a height of up to 35 metres over the next 30 years.

The treetops touch and overlap, creating a light canopy and stretch out over and beyond the adjacent buildings. The living memorial changes its shape and needs constant care.



Pupils from the neighbouring Theodor-Heuss-Gemeinschafts-Schule participate in the development.

**Platform 17 Memorial in Berlin Grunewald**

Between 1941 and the end of the war, over 50,000 Jews were deported from Berlin-Grünewald station. Since 1991, a memorial has commemorated the long walks and marches across the city to the station.

At the end of the 1990s, Deutsche Bahn AG held a competition for a memorial, which was inaugurated at platform 17 in 1998. It consists of cast steel plates embedded in the railway ballast. They record, in chronological order, the date, the number of deportees, and their destination.



The concrete wall at the station entrance with negative prints symbolises the bodies of the deportees.



One of the 186 cast steel plates commemorating the deportations at Grünewald station.

**BILLERBECK**

**Geschwister-Eichenwald-Schule**

In Billerbeck, Münsterland, an alliance of a local school, private individuals and a foundation commemorates Jewish neighbours, their persecution and murder under the National Socialist regime. At the centre of the commemoration are brother and sister Eva and



The last photo of the Eichenwald siblings with their mother Ruth, taken before the deportation, 1941. Four-year-old Eva and her five-year-old brother Rolf-Dieter were deported along with their parents and grandmother on 11 December 1941 from Düsseldorf to Riga. His father Otto Eichenwald died in March 1942 as a result of the brutal working conditions during the construction of the Salaspils camp near Riga. The children and their mother were deported from Riga to Auschwitz in November 1943 and murdered there.

Rolf-Dieter Eichenwald, who lived with their family in Billerbeck until 1938 and were deported to Riga in 1941.

Since 2006, the siblings have been commemorated in the city's Jewish cemetery with two granite ashlars, whose empty spaces commemorate the lives of Eva and Rolf-Dieter Eichenwald which were so suddenly interrupted. The initiative for this came from the Wolfgang Suwelack Foundation in Billerbeck. The association has been intensively involved in the commemoration of the Eichenwald siblings for years.



The memorial stones at the Jewish cemetery in Billerbeck.

Since 2010, the Billerbeck Municipal Secondary School has been called the "Geschwister-Eichenwald-Schule". In projects, the pupils work intensively on the history of exclusion and persecution in the National Socialist era. A student exchange with a school from Riga brought together different perspectives on the past and present. Regular study trips to Riga also take place. And a visit to the memorial in Bikernieki is always a part of the programme.



Student exchange in October 2017 between the "Geschwister-Eichenwald-Schule" and a partner school near Riga.

## DÜSSELDORF

### Old slaughterhouse

Between 1941 and 1945, the National Socialists ran a transit camp on the grounds of the Düsseldorf municipal slaughterhouse. People were held there overnight before being deported from the nearby Derendorf railway station to the east. About 6,000 Jews from the Düsseldorf administrative

district were deported in a total of seven transports. Today, the campus of the Düsseldorf University of Applied Sciences is located there.

The former cattle hall is home to the university's library. A memorial was opened in the entrance area in 2016.

The role of this memorial is to document the deportations. In addition, a place of learning is being created that offers historical-political educational programmes for young people, among others. The link between the university and the place of remembrance enables students to participate in the design and ongoing development of the culture of remembrance.



Exterior view of the Alter Schlachthof memorial site.



View of the permanent exhibition.



Guided tour at the Alter Schlachthof memorial site on Open Monument Day 2018.

## STUTTGART

### Killesberg and the “Zeichen der Erinnerung” [Signs of Remembrance] memorial

Since 1962, a memorial stone has stood on the grounds of the Höhenpark Killesberg, commemorating more than 2,000 deported Jews and the transit camp which was run there. The legend on the

stone, which was written in 1962, seemed vague by modern standards: this inspired a citizens' initiative to bring more attention to the memorial stone and to provide more comprehensive information about the site.

In 2013, the memorial was expanded with two information pillars and a circular steel ring embedded in the ground. It symbolises the space where 2,000 people had to stand shoulder to shoulder.

The "Sign of Remembrance" memorial was opened in 2006 on the tracks of the Inner North Railway Station, from which the three largest deportation transports started. The design leaves the existing piece of track unchanged and lays a path around it to create a sort of frame for the track. This commemoration is flanked by a "Wall of Information" on the deportations and a "Wall of Names" on the deportees.



The memorial stone erected in 1962 on the Killesberg Stuttgart with the inscription: "In memory of the more than 2,000 Jewish fellow citizens who, during the time of calamity in 1941 and 1942 embarked here upon their journey of torments, which ended in concentration camps and in death."



Board with the deportation sites in the memorial "Sign of Remembrance" at Stuttgart North Station.



The steel ring on Stuttgart's Killesberg, completed in 2013.



The "Wall of Names" of the deportees in the memorial "Sign of Remembrance".

## VIENNA

### Aspang Railway Station Memorial

Today's Leon Zelman Park in Vienna was home to the Aspang station until the 1970s. Although the station, which was built in 1880-1881, was located in the city centre, it was never used very much for regional transport. Probably for this reason, it was designated for use for the deportation of 47,035 Jews between 1939 and 1942.

Since 2017, there has been a memorial on the former station site. Previously, a memorial stone erected in 1983 was the sole reminder of the site's past, as no traces of the demolished station itself are still visible.

The City of Vienna announced a competition for art in public spaces and financed the project. The 30-metre-long concrete memorial is modelled on rails, which remind

us of the railway station's tracks. They converge conically and end in a dark concrete block that represents death, nothingness and oblivion.



Memorial at the former Aspang railway station commemorating the deportations in Leon Zelman Park.



The artist duo PRINZpod (Brigitte Prinzgau and Wolfgang Podgorschek) designed the memorial, which was opened in 2017.



The pedestrian crossing at the Aspangbahnhof memorial.

## WÜRZBURG

### "DenkOrt Deportationen"

Würzburg was the centre of the deportations in Lower Franconia between 1941 and 1944. Deported Jews came from about 140 places in the region and belonged to 109 Jewish communities. Located directly at Würzburg's main railway station, a memorial was inaugurated in June 2020, the DenkOrt, or "Place of Remembrance".

Abandoned suitcases symbolise the loss and disappearance of Jews and their communities. Moreover, they establish a link between the place of deportation and the communities. Every blanket roll, every suitcase and rucksack was made with a double, so that one piece of luggage can be placed

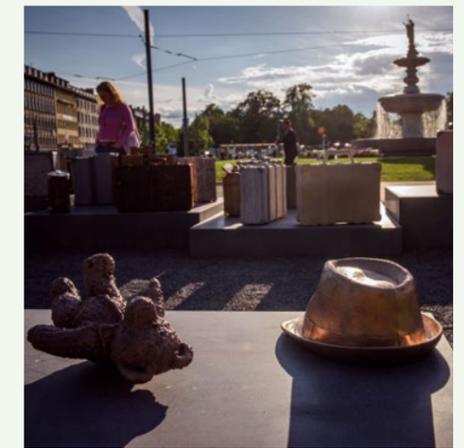
at the memorial and its double can be placed in the deportees' communities.

Historical photos taken at the deportation station served as a model for the design.



View of the "DenkOrt" at Würzburg's main railway station.

The municipalities can and should take responsibility for producing the pieces of luggage themselves. So far (2020), the monument comprises 47 pieces of luggage.



A cuddly toy and a hat as examples of the individual objects designed and contributed by participating cities.



Snapshot of the opening in June 2020.



The suitcase installation at "DenkOrt".

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Yad Vashem:  
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The Steven Spielberg Jewish Film Archive:  
<https://en.jfa.huji.ac.il>

akg-images: p. 43 l., p. 44 u. Bergzwo GmbH: p. 6-7, p. 28  
Bundesarchiv: p. 31 l., p. 31 m., p. 36 l., p. 37 r., p. 38 l.

Federal government / Steffen Kugler: p. 4  
DenkOrt Deportationen e.V. / Oliver Mack: p. 49

Erinnerungsort Alter Schlachthof / HSD: p. 46

Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg / Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart: p. 18, p. 19, p. 20

Leo Baeck Institut: P. 32 l., P. 32 r., P. 33 r., P. 36 r.

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Private collection, Andreas Keller: P. 47 Private collection, Neil Kaplan: P. 37 l. Private collection, Thomas Rey: P. 44 u. Private collection, Ulrike Schulte-Vorwick: P. 45 r. raumlaborberlin: P. 43 m., p. 43 r., p. 43 lower.r.

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State Archives Münster: P. 27

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