

THE LORD PICKLES ALDERNEY EXPERT REVIEW

MAY 2024

Maps of Alderney, courtesy and copyright Caroline Sturdy Colls and Kevin Colls (2022).



Foreword by the Rt Hon Lord Pickles

Alderney, in the Bailiwick of Guernsey, is a peaceful island in the English Channel. Today, it is famous for its beauty, tranquillity and the welcome of its residents. From 1940 until Liberation, for most of those sent to the island, Alderney was hell on earth.

Unlike the other Channel Islands, Alderney was evacuated of most of its residents. Alderney, therefore, does not have the record of occupation that Jersey or Guernsey has. This led to an assumption by the unscrupulous and the careless that Alderney was a plain canvas on which any fantasy could be painted. Claims of mass murder that anywhere else would be checked carefully have been accepted at face value. A letter from *Reichsführer-SS* Himmler published decades ago is presented as an “exclusive” breakthrough. Third- or fourth-hand testimonies of atrocities, without any supporting evidence, are given as a fact. Anyone having the temerity to question such assertions is accused of being part of a “cover-up.” What happened on Alderney was bad enough with its brutality, sadism and murder, without the need for embellishment.

As the UK’s Special Envoy on Post Holocaust Issues, I have encountered many arguments over numbers. Nothing compares to the virulence or personal nature of arguments over numbers in Alderney. At a time when parts of Europe are seeking to rinse their history through the Holocaust, the British Isles must tell the unvarnished truth.

Numbers do matter. It is as much of a Holocaust distortion to exaggerate the number of deaths as it is to underplay the numbers. Exaggeration plays into the hands of Holocaust deniers and undermines the six million dead. The truth can never harm us.

To get the truth, the Review decided to look at the known records of the occupation. The Nazis were assiduous record keepers. While much was destroyed, the team discovered duplicates existing in other countries and archives. Many murdered victims of the Nazis have no certain burial site, some are in places yet to be found, but we now have many of their names. This report is the most comprehensive look by experts on the numbers, conditions, and individuals in Alderney during the occupation. A wealth of archival information has been hidden in plain sight.

I am indebted to the Review panel, who have exceeded my expectations. They have produced a serious work that will stand the test of time. Such is the depth of detail and expertise behind the numbers presented here, no “lost” files or “newly discovered” burial can change these core figures by any order of magnitude.

Alderney housed the most westerly concentration camp in the Third Reich. Prisoners were treated appallingly, and life was cheap, but Alderney did not house a “mini-Auschwitz”; there was no extermination centre on the Island. Anyone who claims so has never visited Auschwitz or understood the extent of the Nazi’s death factories in Eastern Europe.

I place on record my thanks to the Review Panel:

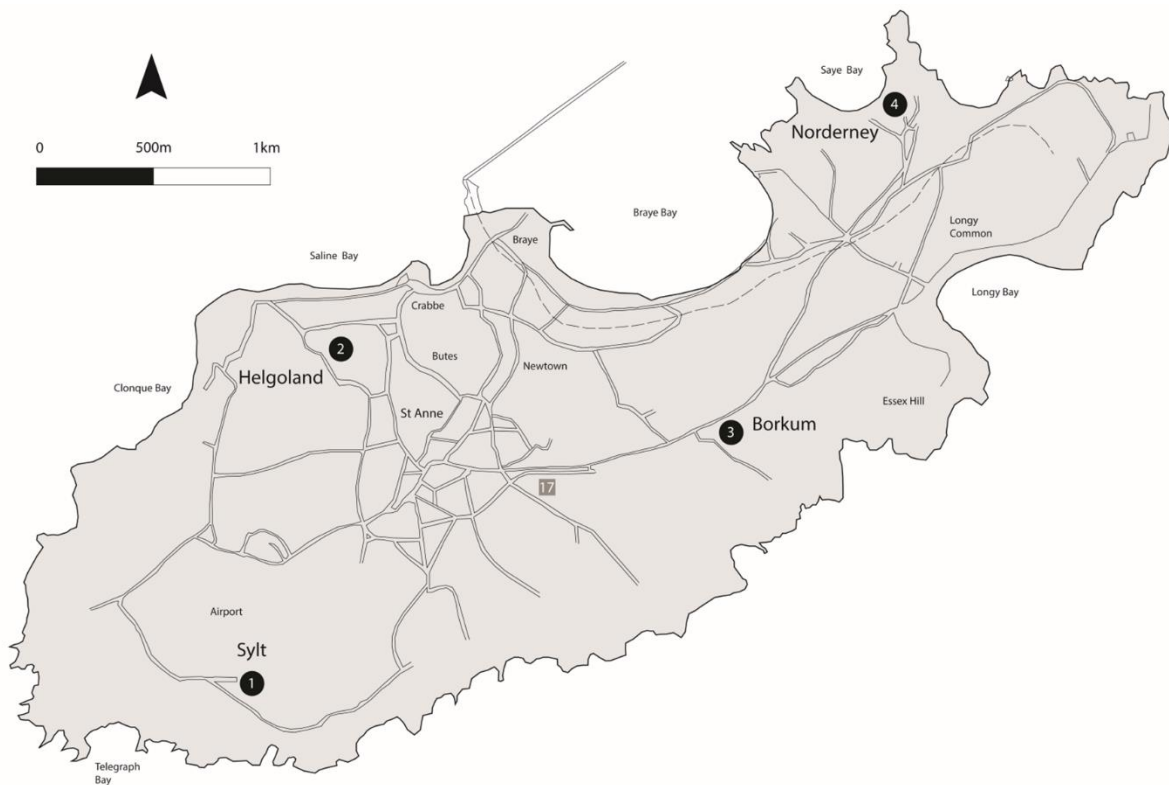
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As the Review progressed, it became increasingly clear that the lack of war crimes trials on Alderney, for the outrages and the murders committed by the Nazis, was an issue that must be addressed. I am grateful to Professor Anthony Glees for taking on this daunting task. Again, my expectations were exceeded, and I was surprised by his discoveries. Professor Glees found not one but a succession of cover-ups. While it is intriguing that the fate of the Nazi murderers on Alderney was intimately linked to the PoW breakout at Stalag Luft III (*The Great Escape*), they should have faced British justice. The fact that they did not is a stain on the reputations of successive British governments.



Lord (Eric) Pickles
UK Special Envoy on Post Holocaust Issues
May 2024



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Between 1941 and 1945, crimes were committed against forced and slave labourers brought to Alderney to construct fortifications as part of the German war effort.
2. Housed in camps that shared many of the traits of those in mainland Europe, these labourers were subject to atrocious living and working conditions, which included starvation, long working hours, completing dangerous construction works, beatings, maiming, torture, being housed in inadequate accommodation and, in some cases, executions.
3. Death figures calculated after Alderney was liberated by the British originally suggested that 389 people died as a result of this ill-treatment. Having initiated a review of the mortality rate, the **Alderney Expert Review Panel is confident that the number of deaths in Alderney is unlikely to have exceeded 1134 people, with a more likely range of deaths being between 641-1,027** (see Table B / pages 33-35).
4. To this should be added a **minimum of 97 deaths and 1 disappearance** that occurred in the context of transits to and from the island.
5. The team believe that there is **no evidence for arguing that many thousands of victims died** as has been advanced in mainstream and social media. Claims that Alderney constituted a 'mini-Auschwitz' are wholly unsubstantiated.

6. The team has **detailed information about the transport of labourers** under the control of the SS (*SS Baubrigade I*). We also have detailed information about convoys of Jews deported from France, the number of Spaniards, the number of Channel Islanders, the number of German political prisoners, the number of French, Belgians and North Africans. **In many cases we have detailed lists of names.**
7. On these grounds, the team **does not expect any further discoveries to reveal additional survivor numbers in excess of a few hundred, in the main of Eastern European origin.**
8. Additional research by Anthony Glees finds that war crimes investigations by Captain Theodore Pantcheff and others were wholly serious in intent. The case was handed to the Russians because the majority of victims were Soviet citizens; in exchange, the British were given the Germans who murdered British servicemen in Stalag Luft III during 'the Great Escape.' The Soviet Union decided not to follow up the Alderney case.
9. The Alderney expert review panel is **confident about the total number of those who died** in Alderney. It is **equally confident about the total number of labourers** who came to Alderney.
10. **The team's calculation of the minimum number of prisoners/ labourers sent to Alderney throughout the German occupation is between 7608-7812 people. These are as follows:**

Table A

Date	Details	Number of individuals
After July 1940 ¹	Channel Islanders (Guernsey)	321
December 1941 to February 1942 ²	Flemish Belgians French (of whom 27 were Algerian) Italians	177 200 10
Early 1942 ³	Spaniards	297
15 and 16 March 1942 ⁴	Eastern Europeans	c.800
June 1942 - March 1943 ⁵	Dutch	At least 27

¹ A majority were volunteers; but there were also some who had committed misdemeanours and were given a 'choice' of going to Alderney instead of prison; and conscripts who were called up by the Germans, according to age cohorts, see IA. FK 29-1, FK 29-2, FK 29-3, FK 29-4, FK 3-6, AQ 1301/14, CC/EC 2-5.

² IA. FK 28-9.

³ MIM. ASFIC 5359. Report on visit, Jersey and Guernsey, 7 to 11 Aug 1945, by Sergeant Shepherd.

⁴ GARF. Fond 7021, List 149, File 167. The Island of Alderney, 3 July 1945.

⁵ TNA. WO 208/3734. MI19 (RPS), report 2298 on Alderney; WO 208/3740. MI19 (RPS), report 2440 on Alderney; NIOD. 215, CDI (Collectie Duitse instellingen buiten Nederland), Heereskriegsgericht Guernsey, 131a t/m 131d; NIOD. 250M, Afwikkelingsbureau Concentratiekampen; Nationaal Archief. Centraal Archief Bijzondere Rechtspleging, CABR (2.09.09), 86505, dossiernummer 80205 (PRAC Amsterdam); entry for Jacobus Deijbel, 'Occupied Alderney', <https://occupiedalderney.org/people/573/>

July and August 1942 ⁶	Eastern Europeans	c.2,800
October 1942-March 1943 ⁷	Spaniards from Vernet	at least 10
3 and 5 March 1943 ⁸	<i>SS Baubrigade</i> I labourers	983-1,027
After April 1943 ⁹	Channel Islanders (Jersey)	88
12 August 1943 ¹⁰	Jews (transported from France)	325
Up to September 1943 ¹¹	Germans	c.900
Up to September 1943 ¹²	Women, mostly French	c.100
9 September 1943 ¹³	Transport from Compiègne comprising French and North Africans	113
11 October 1943 ¹⁴	Jews (transported from France)	245
September 1943 ¹⁵	Italian POWs	c.30
Dates unknown (probably 1943-1944)	Jews (transported from France) Other deportees from France	24 ¹⁶ 49 ¹⁷
17 May 1944 ¹⁸	People from Lower Normandy	30
4 June 1944 ¹⁹	Mostly Spaniards	40-200
June 1944 ²⁰	North African POWs	25
Up to May 1945 ²¹	German 999 Brigade	At least 14
Total		c. 7608-7812

⁶ TNA. HO 144/22237. M.I.19 (R.P.S.) 2122, Report, Channel Islands, Alderney, 12 April 1944.

⁷ Crespo, M. (2014) *Esclavos de Hitler. Republicanos Españoles en los Campos Nazis del Canal de la Mancha*, Barcelona: UOC. The transports from Vernet are referenced in Archives Départementales de la Manche, Saint-Lô (France). 2Z347. Préfecture de Rouen - Liste des ex-internés du Camp du Vernet recrutés par les Autorités d'Occupation pour aller travailler sur les chantiers des Iles Anglo-Normandes – Organisation Todt, 24 March 1943; Amicale des Anciens Internés Politiques et Résistants du camp de concentration du Vernet d'Ariège (AAI) (2010). *Lettre d'information Spéciale*, Octobre, p.5.

⁸ IA. AQ875/03. Testimony of K. Hinrichsen, captain of the Ship *Robert Müller*, 15 June 1945.

⁹ These were conscripts, IA. FK 29-1, FK 29-2, FK 29-3, FK 29-4, FK 3-6, AQ 1301/14, CC/EC 2-5; JA. BA 37/8.

¹⁰ Luc, B. (2010) *Les déportés de France vers Aurigny*, La Hague: Editions Eurocibles, p. 17.

¹¹ TNA. WO 311/11. Report no. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Periodical Report on Atrocities Committed in Alderney (1942–1945), 23 June 1945

¹² TNA. WO 311/13. Report no. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Report on atrocities in Alderney (1942-1945), 27 June 1945, p.3; another source refers to 'female volunteers' (without number); the dates given are August 1943 to May 1944, see Rijksarchief in België, Dienst Archief Oorlogsslachtoffers (Archives Service for War Victims). RAP 184 TR 35451. Amicale des anciens déportés de l'île anglo-normande d'Aurigny au Ministère des Victimes Civiles de la Guerre, 3 April 1946; Steckoll, S.H. (1982) *The Alderney Death Camp*, London: Granada, p. 112, states that Algerian women were also brought over.

¹³ Luc (2010), p. 17.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ TNA. KV4/78. Copy of report to IO 19B HQ Force from Sjt Bennet, Alderney, 23 May 1945.

¹⁶ See the contribution of Benoit Luc in this report.

¹⁷ See the contribution of Benoit Luc in this report.

¹⁸ Luc (2010), p. 17.

¹⁹ For the lower number, see Luc (2010), p. 17; for the higher number, Lemoine E. (1988) *Au bagne, le curé! Ou l'Odyssée d'un curé normand déporté à l'île d'Aurigny en 1944, terre anglo-normande devenue bagne nazi*, Caen.

²⁰ Ginns, M. (1994) *The Organisation Todt and the Fortress Engineers in the Channel Islands* (Archive Book No. 8), Jersey: Channel Islands Occupation Society, p. 64.

²¹ TNA. KV4/78. Report on Alderney, June 1945.

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Acknowledgments

The team wishes to thank the staff at all of the archives and resource centres mentioned in this report. Among the individuals who provided assistance in the research for this report we would like to mention Will Butler and James Clark, at the National Archives (Kew); Owen Fullarton, at the Military Intelligence Museum (Chicksands, UK); Piers Secunda, for sharing his research into Jewish victims deported to Alderney; Andrew Pantcheff, for making the time to discuss his father's career and thinking; Mark Lamerton, for sharing the papers related to his conscripted uncle, Richard Lamerton; Yossi Gevir, Senior Advisor at Yad Vashem, for helping the team with enquiries and sending us files; Professor Dan Plesch of SOAS, for making available the UNWCC files; Susan Ilie, the team's research assistant in Guernsey, who diligently copied Guernsey and Alderney files for us; Graham Smyth, who collected valuable records from the IWM; Daan Stokvis, Research Associate at the NIOD Institute in Amsterdam, who carried out research in Dutch and Belgian archives; Elise Bath from the Wiener Holocaust Library, who guaranteed a kind and fast turnaround of requests for International Tracing Service (Arolsen Archives) records; Raisa Ostopenko for her assistance with transcriptions and translations from Russian to English; Jordi Artigas i Brugal (Amical Islas del Canal) for the kind support in the research of the Spaniards in Alderney; and Hannah Clint for research support. Our thanks also go to Rene Pottkamp (NIOD), Karsten Uhl and Christian Römmer (Gedenkstätte Neuengamme), Peter Gohle (German Federal Archives Ludwigsburg), Myfanwy Lloyd, Elaine Rhodes, Andy Webb, Martin Bright, Antony Barnett, Patrick Marnham, Professor Gerhard Hirschfeld, Antoine de Gennaro (on behalf of French North Africans), Beate Kibelka and Thorsten Reich at the Forum Marinearchiv, and the staff at Guernsey and Jersey Archives, and at the Alderney Museum. A special thanks to Chris Going, international expert on aerial photography, for his analysis and report. Our final thanks go to the Bailiff of Guernsey; and to Lord Pickles and his Chief of Staff, Sally Sealey, for supporting and championing this project.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

1. What is the purpose of the review?

The purpose of the review is to determine the most accurate number of labourers/prisoners who a) died in Alderney and b) were sent to Alderney (a number which includes the dead). A third element was later added to c) discover why the German perpetrators were not tried by Britain for war crimes committed in Alderney.

2. What is new about Eric Pickles' definition of Holocaust distortion?

While minimising the numbers of the dead is a common form of Holocaust distortion, Eric Pickles has highlighted that exaggerating numbers is also a form of distortion; both are a critical threat to Holocaust memory.

3. Who was responsible for the fortification of Alderney? How did the division of labour between Military engineers, Organization Todt and SS function?

Army Fortress Engineers were responsible for setting out and selecting the permanent fortifications for Alderney according to an eight-year plan, in compliance with Adolf Hitler's order of 20 October 1941. They undertook the technical supervision of the construction work carried out by the Organisation Todt, whose own staff oversaw the conscripted specialist German and Dutch companies to whom the voluntary, forced, as well as slave labour provided by the SS, was assigned.

4. What was the maximum occupancy of Alderney at the height of operations?

Being an island of just 8 sq. km., ultimately constricted by dozens of defence sectors, artillery batteries, minefields and obstructed zones, Alderney finally held over 3,200 German military personnel together with OT staff, in addition to a maximum force of some 5,800 foreign workers in the four principal labour camps at the height of operations between August and October 1943.

5. How is one to assess the claim that calculations of manpower hours and workforce strength can be determined on the basis of cubic meters of concrete poured in Alderney?

Cubic meters of concrete poured is not a reliable metric to determine worker numbers; e.g. there were many high labour intensive areas on OT worksites which did not result in high values of concrete poured.

6. How many nationalities of labourers were sent to Alderney?

People of around 30 nationalities were sent to Alderney, the majority of whom were from Europe or North Africa. Other nationalities included Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, French, Spanish, German, Belgian, Dutch, British and Italians, among others.

7. Were there any women in Alderney?

Yes. In addition to the 25 women from the Channel Islands who worked in the Soldatenheim, sometimes accompanying their husbands, we have evidence of at least 7 French women who arrived in early 1942, 2 who died in 1942 and 1943, and a further 4 who were present at liberation. In one of his reports, Captain Theodore Pantcheff (one of the war crimes investigators) refers to the presence of '100 women, mostly French'; Algerian women were also

said to be among their number. We know that most of the women were young and massively outnumbered by men, and sexual assaults and abuse was likely to have taken place. Being in Alderney was likely a frightening experience for most women. Despite this, post-war reports always cast aspersions on their reputation, regardless of nationality.

8. What is the difference between voluntary, forced and slave workers?

Voluntary labourers volunteer their labour and are paid; forced labourers are paid but have no choice whether or not to work; slave workers are forced to work and are not paid. It should be noted that the distinction between 'forced' and 'slave' workers is customary in Britain and other Anglophone countries. However, other historical literatures do not use this particular distinction. They depart from using 'forced labourers' as a generic category, from which further distinctions are derived: Jewish forced labourers, Eastern European forced labourers (mainly Poles and *Ostarbeiter*), forced labourers from other European countries, prisoners of war and concentration camp prisoners. Each of these sub-categories then invites a separate discussion. The contributions from continental European authors in this report adhere to this second form of presenting information. It is consensus in these historical literatures that the fate of forced labourers of Western European origin was very different from the fate of Jewish forced labourers, Eastern European forced labourers and concentration camp prisoners, whose treatment was appalling.

9. What is the proportion between voluntary workers, and conscripts or forced workers, as regards Channel Islanders sent to Alderney?

Only those from Jersey were conscripted; they made up just over 20% of the workforce. There is anecdotal evidence from families that some voluntary workers from Guernsey had no choice in being sent to Alderney, perhaps because they were otherwise unemployed or had committed a minor offence against the Germans.

10. Where was the largest group of forced and slave labourers from? And which group had the highest mortality rate?

The largest group of people sent to Alderney came from the territories which at the time were part of the Soviet Union and from Poland. The Soviet contingent included both civilians and Prisoners of War (POWs) who mostly came from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Georgia. The largest transports arrived between March and August 1942, and comprised around 3,400 people. As Eastern Europeans were seen by the Germans as inferior and as a threat to society, they were subject to very harsh treatment. Therefore, the majority of victims who died also came from these countries.

11. How many camps were there in Alderney? What were their names and what are the differences between them?

There were four main named camps in Alderney: Sylt, Norderney, Helgoland and Borkum, all of which were initially run by Organisation Todt. In March 1943, *SS Baubrigade I* (prisoners of Neuengamme concentration camp) arrived in Alderney and Sylt was taken over by the SS Deaths Head Unit. A fifth named camp, Citadella, is mentioned in some sources but it is unclear whether this was a separate camp or whether this was another name used to describe Sylt. At least 9 smaller, unnamed camps existed across the island, and forced and slave labourers also lived on farms, in fortifications and in houses, bringing the total number of sites to around 20.

12. Why were the Alderney camps called Sylt, Norderney, Helgoland and Borkum? And why did the Germans call Alderney "Adolf Island"?

The camps were named after the German Frisian Islands. The Germans called Alderney “Adolf Island” because each of the Channel Islands received a code name beginning with the same letter as its actual name. So Alderney was named “Adolf”, Jersey was “Julius” and Guernsey was “Gustav”.

13. What kind of camp was Norderney?

In Phase 1 (1941), Norderney was a housing complex for voluntary labourers from France, Belgium and Portugal. In Phase 2 (1942) it became an Organisation Todt forced labour camp for people from c. 30 different countries. In Phase 3 (1943) it became a camp under SS command, with a Jewish camp within it.

14. What was the camp with the worst conditions in Alderney?

It is difficult to say which camp had the worst conditions. Inmates of Sylt (labour and concentration camp), Helgoland and Norderney all suffered terrible living conditions, starvation and ill-treatment on a daily basis. Even though it was the smallest of all of the camps, inmates of Sylt labour camp describe how it was used as a punishment camp for labourers who had committed so-called misdemeanors in other camps or at work. Beatings and torture were recalled by survivors and dead bodies were often to be found in the barracks. During December 1942, a so-called Berlin Commission reportedly visited Norderney and Helgoland because of reports of unsanitary conditions and a high number of deaths but this did little to improve the treatment labourers received. From March 1943, Sylt was taken over by the SS and it operated in a similar way to concentration camps in mainland Europe. Therefore, labourers were beaten, shot “trying to escape” and starved by guards who diverted their food rations to their own stores. All of camps were also poorly constructed, meaning that the labourers had to suffer the effects of the weather, vermin infestation and disease.

15. What was the worst period in the operation of the Alderney camps?

This varied depending on the camp in which labourers found themselves. However, the highest mortality rate occurred between August and December 1942, and mostly comprised Eastern European labourers housed in Norderney and employed by Organisation Todt.

16. Which categories of workers were particularly badly treated? And why?

Concentration camp prisoners were regarded as enemies by the SS and were therefore constantly terrorised. The racist ideology of the National Socialists meant that civilian forced labourers from Eastern Europe were treated much worse than forced labourers from Western Europe.

17. Why were workers so badly treated, if they had been brought to the island to do fortification work that was supposed to stick to schedules?

Racism and the impunity of violence against certain groups led to many Germans acting out their feelings of superiority in a violent manner, which affected the efficiency of labour deployment.

18. Why did the SS *Baubrigade I* come to the island?

From March 1943, Sylt camp was occupied by prisoners from the Neuengamme concentration camp following an agreement between the Organisation Todt and Hans Kammler, who had been in charge of numerous construction projects important to the war effort in the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office since 1943. Kammler called on one of the *SS Baubrigades* (SS construction brigades) under his command. The use of concentration camp prisoners was intended to fill the gaps left by the high death rates among civilian forced labourers. In addition,

the deployment of heavily guarded prisoners was intended to increase the secrecy of the construction activities.

19. On what grounds did 594 Jews from France find themselves at camp Norderney in Alderney in August and October 1943?

The majority of this French Jewish contingent were deported to Alderney due to their status as spouses of so-called 'Aryan' women; their marital status made them technically non-deportable to the extermination camps; but they could be deported to forced labour camps.

20. From what archives are the numbers and dates pertaining to these Jewish deportees from France derived?

For 570 of the 594 Jews the dates on which they were transported from Drancy to Normandy, and from Cherbourg to Alderney, are known through the records of the Drancy camp administration and through the postwar testimonies of the deportees. This information can be found in the Division of the Archives of Victims of Contemporary Conflicts, which is part of the French Ministry of Defence. It conserves the individual archives of deportees from France.

21. How many Jews from the French contingent at Norderney that arrived in 1943 died in Alderney? And why is the number relatively low?

Benoit Luc found records for four Jews from this group who died in Alderney. One survivor of Alderney, Dr Henri Uzan (quoted on page 181-82 of Luc's book), associated the low mortality with three factors: a high level of cohesion and solidarity within this group (i.e. some detainees would smuggle food from the ships in the harbor, to be shared with others); the relatively clement climate (compared to Central-Eastern Europe); they were assimilated Frenchmen, and being able to see France on a clear day boosted morale. Later in his book, Luc cites others factors: the relatively short duration of their detention; and the fact that over a quarter of the group was sent back to France in medical convoys in early 1944.

22. Why were many Jews in the French contingent at Norderney sent back to France in medical convoys in January and March 1944? And how many of them died after their repatriation?

The average age of this group of Jews from France was advanced. With the poor nutrition, many became infirm. A *Kriegsmarine* doctor then convinced the two SS men in charge at Norderney to return those to France whose presence in the island was of no use. As one survivor, Dr Henri Uzan, later stated, without this intervention there would have been many more deaths. The SS men agreed to this repatriation, not out of humanitarianism, but out of necessity. While the German authorities could have repatriated the sick to Drancy, the UGIF (Union Générale des Israélites de France) arranged for them to be sent to the Rothschild hospital in Paris. Two men in this group died there before the liberation of Paris.

23. How were the Jews in this group from France treated in Alderney?

In Norderney camp, Jews deported from France, together with North Africans, were monitored by two SS guards, Adam Adler and Heinrich Evers. In the trial of these two men, there is mention of beatings and humiliation of prisoners but no summary executions. During the day the prisoners were supervised by members of the Organization Todt. Discipline varied from one worksite to another. The prisoners often reported that the worst they had to endure was hunger combined with the never-ending assault by fleas, lice and rats in the barracks.

24. How realistic is it to assume that large numbers of Jewish victims from France may have remained unaccounted for?

As concerns the large Jewish group deported to Alderney in August and October 1943, the likelihood that anyone remained unaccounted for is very small. A majority of Second World War victims - or their families - applied to the French state for moral and financial compensation, and their files have survived. Secondly, there is the data gathered by the *Amicale des anciens déportés d'Aurigny*. Only individuals who had not come to the attention of their co-detainees – a rather unlikely scenario – could have remained unaccounted for. As concerns those from France who may have been deported separately from the main convoys (and whose next-of-kind did not file claims), there is a possibility that they remained unaccounted for. Indicative of this are the four Jews and four other French citizens buried in Alderney who do not figure in Benoit Luc's research.

25. Which cemeteries were the labourers who died in Alderney buried in?

Three cemeteries in Alderney were used to bury labourers who died: Longy Common cemetery, St Anne cemetery and, to a lesser extent, the German Military cemetery.

26. Were these cemeteries well organised and were victims buried in individual graves?

Individual graves marked with crosses gave the impression of an organised burial system. However, research by Sturdy Colls and Colls (*"Adolf Island": The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, ch. 7-9) has shown that these cemeteries were purposefully designed to make it look like the Nazis were creating orderly burials for those that died on the island. Combined with fake causes of death on death certificates, this gave the impression that a small number of workers died and that they did so of natural or accidental causes. However, witness testimonies, exhumations in the 1960s and aerial photographs clearly show that more people died than had graves and that the cemeteries were repeatedly modified throughout the occupation. In both St Anne and Longy Common cemeteries, the crosses were removed by the Germans and re-erected, meaning that the names on the graves were unlikely to correspond to the person buried there and graves were left unmarked.

27. Where might the bodies be of people who do not have a marked grave in Alderney?

Research by Sturdy Colls and Colls (*"Adolf Island": The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, ch. 8) demonstrated that at least one mass grave likely existed within the cemetery at Longy Common and several other possible mass and individual burial sites were identified within and beyond its boundaries. Also, this research has suggested that there might have been further burials on Simon's Place Hill and near the OT Camp on Longy Road. The bodies of those known to have died (based on death certificates and witness accounts) but who did not have marked graves are likely buried in these locations.

28. Were the bodies of labourers dumped at sea in Alderney?

From the evidence available, it is unlikely that dumping bodies in the sea was a widely used method of body disposal. However, it does appear to have taken place on a few occasions. For example, Kirill Nevrov reports how he excavated two pits at low tide into which 18 and 11-12 corpses were tipped and Ted Misiewicz claimed that he threw bodies over the wall at the harbour. John Dalmau, who witnessed bodies being dumped over a cliff, also reported seeing bodies of victims floating in the water. Some evidence (presented in Sturdy Colls and Colls, *"Adolf Island": The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, p.303) does suggest that human remains did

wash up in Alderney and in France after the war but no detailed study was ever carried out to determine how many bodies were found.

29. Were mass or war crimes carried out in Alderney?

Beside Jews, there were other groups targeted because of their perceived racial and biological inferiority. People of 'Slavic' ethnicity (Poles, Ukrainians, Russians and others) were the biggest category of those who were exploited for their labour, subjected to the Nazis' genocidal violence, and died in Alderney. Intelligence officers identified the atrocities inflicted on these people in Alderney as a war crime. There are records of Roma among the dead in Alderney, a group who were also targeted for genocide by the Nazis. Prisoners of War, concentration camp inmates, and political prisoners were among those who came to Alderney from c. 30 different countries, all used for their labour. Every death in Alderney is a tragedy. The Lord Pickles Alderney Expert Review team recognise the violence and suffering of thousands of people in the island at the hands of Nazi Germany and their collaborators; we carry out our work for their sake and in memory of them all.

30. Was Alderney a site of 'extermination through labour'?

The formula 'extermination through labour' goes back to an agreement reached between Reich Minister of Justice Otto Thierack and Heinrich Himmler from September 1942 to extradite prisoners from the penal system to concentration camps. Recent historical research has questioned the usefulness of this term to frame the practice of the concentration camp system, because there is no evidence for the existence of an overriding program of 'extermination through labour' that guided all action. This also applies to Alderney: as concerns the use of civilian forced labourers, there was no plan to 'exterminate' them through labour. It changes nothing about the fact that the conditions for the forced labourers in Alderney were criminal and brutal (workplace violence, beatings, hunger, etc.), and that an utterly callous attitude to human life prevailed. There was a widespread common understanding - in the OT, military and other German quarters - that the deaths of large numbers of certain categories of workers due to gruelling working conditions were not a problem. Nevertheless, this is different from deliberately planning to kill as many forced labourers as possible through work.

31. Why was the death toll at camp Sylt low compared to other sites such as Auschwitz?

Auschwitz was a concentration and extermination camp with gas chambers and a large Jewish inmate population destined for death, and is therefore not suitable for comparison with a satellite camp without gas chambers that was designed for the exploitation of the labour power of non-Jewish inmates. A comparison with the Neuengamme main camp and its satellite camps is more meaningful: while the monthly mortality rate in Alderney was between 1.0 to 2.5 percent in the first four months (March-June 1943), it was around 3 percent on average in the satellite camps, and between 4 and 11 percent in the main camp during the same period. A comparison between locations, where SS construction brigades were deployed, is also significant: at the previous location before arriving in Alderney, 111 out of 600 prisoners of SS Construction Brigade I died between October 1942 and February 1943; whereas in Alderney 102 out of presumably 983 prisoners died over a much longer period (March 1943 to June 1944), according to the current state of research. Finally: until the final evacuation of inmates to the mainland in July 1944, conditions in Alderney were comparatively stable, and in the case of camps that operated to exploit the labour power of inmates, the ability to maintain established routines typically contributed to lower mortality rates. In other camps, especially in the last year of the war, the chaos caused by the direct impact of, for example, bombings, and/or the sudden arrival of often sick inmates evacuated from other camps, and/or the rapid changes in the

number and nature of the guards, led to conditions in which mortality rates increased, often dramatically.

32. How serious were British efforts in the summer of 1945 to get to the bottom of crimes committed in Alderney?

Very serious. The UK was a co-signatory of the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943. This contained the commitment to return Nazi perpetrators to the scenes of their crimes, to be tried there by national courts (unless they were 'major war criminals' in which case they were to be tried at an international tribunal). The atrocities in Alderney came into the former category. British military intelligence officers, led by Captain Theodore ('Bunny') Pantcheff, were totally committed to gathering, at speed, prima facie evidence that would form the basis of an Alderney war crimes trial. Their dossier, officially described as 'The Alderney Case', consisted of many hundreds of pages of detailed witness statements both from victims and German officers, many of whom were prisoners of war of the British. Their investigations were completed on 12 September 1945 and classified as an 'Official Government Document'. It was painstakingly thorough, even if not always entirely accurate in the light of the sources that are available today. After conducting his investigations in Alderney and as part of Britain's wider commitment to prosecuting Nazi perpetrators, Pantcheff went on to play a key part in securing trials in over 4,000 cases involving 1,000 individuals; over 140 death sentences were carried out and almost 700 individuals were given prison sentences.

33. Why were none of the culprits responsible for the crimes committed in Alderney tried in a British court after the Second World War?

The British Government handed 'The Alderney Case' to the USSR on 11 September 1945, via the UNWCC; and the Soviet Union decided not to follow it up. In late July and early August 1945 the British Foreign Office decided, unilaterally, to expand its application of the principles of the Moscow Declaration, whereby a case would be tried on the basis of 'territoriality' (i.e. the place where the atrocities had been perpetrated) to 'nationality' (i.e. the nationality of the victims of the atrocities). There was a certain logic to this - Alderney had been evacuated of almost all British subjects and the large majority of the victims were Soviet citizens. The ostensible reason given for this was that Britain wanted to try the Germans responsible for the murder of 50 British servicemen ('The Great Escape') held at Stalag Luft III. By rights, the Germans should have faced a Soviet court. The hope was that in giving the USSR 'The Alderney Case' we would get the 'Stalag Luft III Case', which we did.

34. Did the Holocaust happen in Alderney?

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) defines the Holocaust as 'the systematic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million European Jews by Nazi Germany and those fascist and extreme nationalist partners and other collaborators who participated in those crimes.' The murder of European Jewry had various phases, from stigmatisation, deprivation of rights, expropriation, exploitation and imprisonment in camps and ghettos to physical extermination – either in camps or by murder on the spot. Benoit Luc's research shows that at least 594 of the prisoners sent to Alderney were Jews; they would not have been forcibly deported, imprisoned in camps guarded by the SS and used as unpaid forced labourers if they were not Jewish. They were not sent to Alderney to be systematically murdered, but to exploit their labour. There were no gas chambers in Alderney and no systematic murders of Jews. But, in the eyes of the Nazi regime, Jewish forced labourers only had the right to live as long as their labour could be exploited. The Holocaust therefore is part of Alderney's history.

35. Which evidence is more reliable? Eyewitness accounts versus official documentation as used in the Alderney Review

The Alderney Review team have weighed up two forms of evidence. On the one hand there are personal accounts found in eye-witness accounts, interviews, oral testimony, witness statements, diaries and memoirs; on the other there is official documentation. Scientists are trained to handle both types. They are mindful of the respective strengths and limitations of the two forms of evidence, but also how they complement each other. Official documentary evidence is more accurate as concerns specific quantitative information, such as numbers, dates, names, identities, lists of people. Official documents are also the better source for understanding bureaucratic and organizational processes. However, not every relevant aspect that is of historical interest is documented by such evidence. Eyewitness accounts have a greater level of accuracy where it comes to describing the conditions of life and death. They are also better in conveying atmosphere. And they are obviously the place where to look for personal opinions, subjective situation appraisals and motivations.

Abbreviations of archival holdings

AG-NG	Neuengamme Archives
BAMA	Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv (German Federal Archives, Military Archives), Freiburg, Germany
BAB	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives, including former BDC) Berlin, Germany
BAL	Bundesarchiv Ludwigsburg (former Zentral Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen)
CWGC	Commonwealth War Graves Commission (formerly the Imperial War Graves Commission, IWGC)
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv (State Archives of the Russian Federation), Moscow, Russia
IA	Island Archives, Guernsey, Channel Islands
ITS	International Tracing Service Digital Archive, Bad Arolsen, Germany
IWM	Imperial War Museum Archive, UK
JA	Jersey Archives, Jersey, Channel Islands
MIM	Military Intelligence Museum, Chicksands, UK
NARA	National Archives & Records Administration, United States
NIOD	Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam, Netherlands
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, UK
UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive, Washington DC, United States
YVA	Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Israel

Introduction

Paul Sanders and Colin Partridge

Of all the territories in Nazi-occupied Europe, the isolated situation in which the island of Alderney found itself for most of the Second World War was unique, even within the immediate setting of the Channel Islands' archipelago. The geographical remoteness of what was an evident frontline position, at the extremity of the German supply chain, was one enabling factor in the appalling treatment of the labour force that arrived here to toil on the so-called 'Atlantic Wall'. In her sister islands substantial elements of the resident population remained; and the respective Bailiwick civil authorities and institutions were allowed to continue in operation (albeit subject to the strictures of German military government). Not so in Alderney, which was abandoned by its inhabitants, who evacuated to the UK in June 1940. Many buildings, whether homes or for everyday community use, were taken over as stores or left derelict. Coupled with increasing restrictions on movement, as numerous defensive positions were completed, minefields laid and beaches and open areas obstructed, the sense of confinement was overwhelming; and more so for the foreign forced and slave labourers held in the camps on an island most had never heard of and of whose location they had been totally unaware. Escape was impossible from this small island where the large German garrison saw everything, as was hiding or taking shelter among sympathetic members of a civilian population. All were herded together in a microcosm of brutality, where conventional restraints ceased to exist, and where 'falling behind construction schedules' was the *only* factor that might restrain the perpetrators.

The camps in Alderney are significant in the history of Nazi Crimes, including the Holocaust, not just because they were sited on British soil, but because they raise the question whether 'extermination through labour' (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*) was practiced in Alderney. The number of victims who died in Alderney during the Nazi occupation has never been established conclusively, and has therefore been subject to enduring controversy. The speculation has attained particular heights in recent years, leading the UK Post Holocaust Issues Envoy and Head of UK Delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Lord Eric Pickles to call a review of all the evidence. As Lord Pickles stated on the launch of the review in July 2023:

Numbers matter because the truth matters. The dead deserve the dignity of the truth; the residents of Alderney deserve accurate numbers to free them from the distortion of conspiracy theorists. Exaggerating the numbers of the dead, or even minimising them, is in itself a form of Holocaust distortion and a critical threat to Holocaust memory and to fostering a world without genocide.

To get to the heart of the matter, Lord Pickles appointed a team of independent international experts. Their terms of reference were:

1. To review pre-existing knowledge and records from international archives to identify:
 - a. The most accurate number of prisoners who died in Alderney during the Nazi occupation.
 - b. The number of labourers, including prisoners / forced / slave (of all categories / nationalities / places of origin) who passed through Alderney.
2. To produce a report on the findings of the enquiry.

In the interest of combining academic rigour with openness and transparency, participation in the work of the review was opened to the general public. Historians, journalists, and all other members were given the opportunity to submit evidence relating to the terms of reference. The expert panel was tasked to review these submissions and include feeds in their final report. Instructions on how to submit information, and what form this should take, were published on www.gov.uk in July 2023. The deadline was set to 1 November 2023.

This report presents the results of the review. The first step in the project was for members to go through the available literature with a fine comb. In a second step they identified research gaps that could be plugged via access to un- or under-explored archival holdings, or by soliciting innovative scientific approaches. The leads produced in step two were then followed up in step three.

It will be noted that this final report goes beyond the initial terms of reference, to also explore the place of Alderney in the history of Nazi war and mass crimes. Canvassing this context is essential for a correct understanding of the numbers, and the controversies that attach to these.

As regards structure, the report commences with a contextual overview of the logistical constraints of German fortress construction activity in Alderney (Colin Partridge). This is followed by a section which presents the key results in terms of numbers on deaths, burials and missing individuals, while also outlining the methodological challenges involved in these calculations (Caroline Sturdy Colls, Daria Cherkaska and Kevin Colls). Then follows a second part with three sections providing detail on specific groups of individuals sent to Alderney: Channel Islanders (Gilly Carr), deportees from France (Benoit Luc), and 'Red' Spaniards (Antonio Muñoz Sánchez).

The third and final part of the report consists of thematic sections. The first of these deals with the question of deaths in transit (Paul Sanders). The second provides an analysis of conditions of forced labour, violence and mortality rates in Alderney (Marc Buggeln, Karola Fings and Fabian Lemmes). It derives its conclusions on the basis of comparison of the numerical data we have on Alderney, with relevant data on concentration camps and forced labour camps in Germany and German-occupied Europe. It should be noted that this contribution (as all contributions from Continental European authors) operates along the distinction between different sub-categories of forced workers - Jewish forced labourers, Eastern European forced labourers, forced labourers of Western European origin and prisoners of concentration camps) - rather than along the distinction between 'forced' and 'slave' workers, common in the literature in Britain and the Anglosphere (this issue of different terminologies is discussed in the FAQ section).

The last two thematic contributions engage with 'alternative theories' that have been used to account for deaths in Alderney. The first is a piece on open-air cremation, which rules out that this was practiced as a method of corpse disposal in Alderney (Robert Jan van Pelt); the second a contribution by Chris Going, a world authority in aerial photography, who critically dissects and refutes media allegations that a site below Fort Albert contains secret mass graves.

The final contribution in the report engages with the controversial question as to why the individuals responsible for atrocities committed in Alderney were never tried in a British court, to which it offers a compelling new answer (Anthony Glees).

I. The logistical context

Colin Partridge

Insofar as Alderney was impacted by the presence of foreign labour building fortifications under German occupation in the Second World War (1940-45), we must confine our overview from mid-1941 through the more intensive construction phase lasting two and a half years from early 1942 to July 1944. The first fixed defences in the Channel Islands followed from the abandonment of Operation *Sealion*, and were bolstered by service construction units prior to Operation *Barbarossa*, the German invasion of Russia in June 1941.²² Finally, in anticipation of a British attempt to recover the islands, Adolf Hitler ordered their permanent defence on 20 October 1941, issuing specific instructions for the engagement of foreign labour for works to be designed by the Fortress Engineer Staff (*Fest.Pi.Stab*) and carried out by the Organisation Todt (OT) under an eight-year plan to turn them into an ‘impregnable fortress’ to be held in perpetuity.²³ In Alderney, the character of this foreign labour force would change over time from volunteer workers in 1941 to forced and slave labour including Russian prisoners of war and the so-called *Ostarbeiter*, French Jews and the SS mobile construction brigade (*SS-Baubrigade*) I from Neuengamme concentration camp, starting in March 1943.²⁴

Plans were progressively drawn up from early 1942 to form what Hitler envisaged as the ‘New Westwall’ - a littoral analogy to the pre-war defences on Germany’s western border with France. But in name only, for it would by no means be a continuous line of mutually supporting defence works, rather a chain of fortresses that was only as strong as the weakest link – one of which proved to be the case in Normandy in June 1944. Subject to frequent revisions as time passed, Hitler himself took a very close interest in the works in the Channel Islands, calling for regular monthly progress reports²⁵, offering advice on the smallest detail of individual bunker designs and demanding ever tighter deadlines for completion of the successive stages in his plans.

To keep pace with these demands, the OT undertook the construction of the four principal

²² Cruickshank, C. (1975) *The German Occupation of the Channel Islands*, London: Oxford University Press, pp.178-84. Molt, A. (1988) *Der Deutsche Festungsbau von der Memel zum Atlantik*, Friedberg: Podzun-Pallas, pp.87-89.

²³ Rolf, R. (2014). *Atlantikwall, Batteries and Bunkers*, Middelburg: PRAK Publishing, pp.138-39.

²⁴ Sanders, P. (2005) *The British Channel Islands under German Occupation 1940-1945*, Jersey: Jersey Heritage Trust and Société Jersiaise, pp.191-200. Dick, C. (2022) *Builders of the Third Reich*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp.39-43, 68, 89-90, 100, 129, 131-2.

²⁵ These statistics are an important source for understanding the level of work undertaken during the Occupation. Given Hitler’s personal and sustained interest in the fortification of the Channel Islands, they are likely to be reliable or even over-estimate progress.

camps²⁶ on Alderney to accommodate the labour carrying out their assignments under the conscripted German and Dutch construction companies: stone quarrying, materials supply, excavations for defence works, trenching for water, power and field defences, roadworks, tunnelling for underground bomb-proof storage facilities, the construction of the timber formwork, the fixing of steel reinforcement and placing of the concrete and, finally, arming the ubiquitous bunkers which still litter the island's landscape.

Alderney's location, some 12 kilometres west of Cap de la Hague on the Cotentin peninsula, placed it in an extremely exposed position in comparison with the two main Channel Islands of Guernsey and Jersey. After the decision to obstruct Alderney's pre-war airfield, transport by sea was the only means of communication with the mainland French ports of Cherbourg, Granville and St. Malo, each being served by a single railway line. Each port and island was served by a local convoy officer, with overall planning control falling under the main office in St. Malo which laid out the principal convoy routes.²⁷ The surviving convoy shipping records (*Geleitdienststelle*) provide a fairly accurate picture of the problems, constraints and losses involved not only in operating convoys in wartime conditions, but also in the often severe weather which prevailed in the Bay of St. Malo and around the Channel Islands.²⁸

From research carried out into wartime shipping movements, it is also quite clear that severe logistical constraints were imposed on operational efficiency by the range of vessels commandeered from commercial operators all over Europe, some entirely unsuited to deep sea navigation. River barges, better suited to certain cargoes such as heavy ordnance or even long steel reinforcing rods, were towed by tugs. Most had to be fitted with light anti-aircraft guns for self-defence. There had been no pre-war German plan for the occupation of the Channel Islands, and the availability of armed naval escorts was extremely limited, with increasing enemy intervention. The steady growth in shipping losses and marine casualties testifies to this ever-present danger and the almost total absence of protective air cover from the very early stages of the occupation. Ironically, the greater proportion of German military personnel serving in Alderney was that of the Luftwaffe. At the time of the surrender in May 1945, over one-third of the 3,200 troops were manning the island's extensive anti-aircraft defences. As losses mounted, convoys had to be reduced in number and sailings were necessarily restricted to the hours of darkness from as early as January 1942 under coordinated protection in transit from the coastal artillery batteries. Delays due to bad weather or waiting for suitable escorts were frequently

²⁶ It is acknowledged that a number of smaller camps existed in addition to the main camps. Four of these smaller camps had German names; these included the Island Farm (*Gutshof*) and other locales used to house labourers close to specific facilities.

²⁷ Wallbridge, Capt. J. (n.d.) *Channel Islands Merchant Shipping 1940-1945*. CIOS Archives Book 5, pp.4-5.

²⁸ Bricet, O. and Peyle. E. (2001) *La Marine allemande à Saint-Malo 1940-1944*, Cancale: Les Editions du Phare, pp.33-82.

reported in the war diaries of the respective military and naval commands. Unloading facilities, with quicker turn-around times for larger vessels, were simply not available in Alderney until the widening of the existing quayside at Braye and completion of the so-called German jetty in September 1942, to which three electric cranes were not added until mid-1943.²⁹

For once, the surviving records, though incomplete, are sufficient to give a convincing picture, not only of the inadequate shipping capacity for equipping, supplying and arming an occupying force within the Channel Islands in excess of 26,000 German military personnel but also, as we have seen, for carrying the necessary construction materials (timber, cement, steel, etc.) for the planned fortifications. In addition, it was incumbent on the occupying power to provide essential supplies for the remaining civilian populations of Jersey and Guernsey. Statistics kept by the OT show the debilitating effects on the supply of construction materials to Alderney which, in themselves, became more difficult to acquire as supplies were simply destroyed in transit or increasingly diverted to more pressing locations elsewhere on what was now called the 'Atlantic Wall' for propaganda purposes.

The consolidation of the Alderney defences from December 1941 onwards entailed the merging of the earlier bunker designs for what Hitler termed the *Neue Westwall*, and from which a selection of types from the 1938-40 range was deemed appropriate for a coast defence role. These were supplemented initially by designs produced³⁰ for specific new functions such as command, observation, medical and shelter, which were combined in a dedicated folio issued during 1942.³¹

For the first time, these designs called for deeper excavations with integral access stairs to lower the profile of the installations and provide earth cover, considerably adding to the need for manual labour. These were progressively followed by new designs for the permanent defences of the Atlantic Wall in the 600-series from the last quarter of 1942, notably with an expanding range of coast artillery, anti-tank and anti-aircraft positions, and which together enable us to enumerate and accurately plot the timing of their construction from the date of their introduction through the remaining active island programme to its conclusion in July 1944.

²⁹ Schenk, P. (1988) 'Alderney's German Jetty,' *Channel Islands Occupation Review*, pp.9-20.

³⁰ BAMA. RH 11.III/140. Entwicklungsbericht der Waffenkommission Fest, Bd.3, November 1941.

³¹ Koninklijke Landmacht, Scheveningen. SMG-0-172. Anlage zu Insp. der Landesbef. West Nr.3/100/42g. Ib/B, Typenheft für die Erkundung des ständigen Ausbaues in Stahlbeton No.627/19.

A close study of the surviving Fortress Engineers (*Festungspionierstab*)³² and OT records³³ for Alderney show a fluctuating and inadequate supply of materials, particularly cement, to meet the planned overlapping construction programmes from early 1943 onwards. With the increasing shortage of materials, the planned construction schedules for Alderney fell behind as the monthly progress charts prepared for Hitler by the Fortress Engineers clearly show. Even as early as July/August 1943, concrete output in Alderney was falling away, while all tunnelling work had ceased with barely half of the projected bomb-proof underground storage capacity completed and the specialist army mining engineers withdrawn. Comparison of the projected number and types of standard works in Building Program 1 (*Bauprogramm 1*) of early 1942 with the adjusted targets in April 1944 reflects the substantial withdrawal of Russian labour to France in late 1943. The consequential reduction in output and slowing of progress on the ground led to the realization that the planned programme could not be achieved, as borne out by post-war interrogations of senior German military and OT personnel.³⁴ It also explains why the order to withdraw *SS Baubrigade I* in December 1943 was reversed at the urging of military command (LXXXIV Corps); in effect, this was an acknowledgement of a shortage of labour in Alderney³⁵ [see Appendix I].

Any assessment, therefore, of the numbers of foreign labour brought to the island must take full account of the period during which the major defence works were being undertaken and to the time the four principal labour camps remained open and occupied. These camps are generally accepted as having been capable of holding the following numbers: Sylt a maximum of 1,000 after enlargement by the SS in March 1943 (500 prior to that date under the OT); Helgoland a maximum of 1,500, a similar number in Norderney, and 500 in Borkum.³⁶ Even allowing for the existence of other smaller, temporary hutments and specialist camps within the neighbourhood of St. Anne, it would be wholly unrealistic to allow a worker population of more than 5,000 at any one time, other than in exceptional circumstances such as occurred in the four months from July to October 1943 when numbers reached 5,800 before declining rapidly with the subsequent closure of Helgoland camp.³⁷ The remaining workforce had been evacuated by July 1944.

Claims in excess of the maximum number of workers who could be accommodated, coupled with

³² BAMA. RH.2/v. 555. Festungspionierstab 19, Übersicht über den Ausbaustand u. Baufortschritt auf den Kanalinseln vom 29.4.44 (and previous).

³³ NARA. Microfilms T78/317/7 and T 312/1547.

³⁴ Foreign Military Studies, 1945-1954. MS B-671 Dipl. Ing. Xaver Dorsch, *Organisation Todt – Operations in West*, (one of a number of post-war interrogation reports in *Geschichte des Oberbefehlshabers West* held at Cabinet Office Historical Section, London, 1969).

³⁵ NARA. Microfilm T314/1604. Ausbau an der Küste, Generalkommando LXXXIV A.K. an A.O.K.7, gez. Marcks, 9 December 1943.

³⁶ Pantcheff, T.X.H. (1981). *Alderney Fortress Island*. Chichester: Phillimore, pp.8-10.

³⁷ TNA. WO 311/13. German Occupation of the Channel Islands, 3. Movements and Distribution of workers in camps.

a high turnover in labour from which exaggerated death rates are alleged, simply make no sense when considered in relation to the inadequate and endangered transport facilities, the shortage of building materials and the conflicted and incomplete construction programme. How could the German responsible parties be expected to transport tens of thousands of forced and slave labourers to Alderney by sea within this clearly defined period - as has been claimed by a number of recent writers - when the available shipping was simply unable to provide the crucial military logistical support? For all the Nazi ideological desire to impose extreme coercion in its forced labour programme, particularly in that of the SS, there were no practical grounds for bringing workers to Alderney to exterminate them when the facility existed in the more readily accessible network of continental death camps. Furthermore, why did the Nazis go to such lengths in the face of increasing danger from the approaching isolation of the islands after the Normandy landings in June 1944 to evacuate the remaining labour force? It is clear that these workers still had an economic value to Germany.

II. Alderney slave workers: overview of death, burial and missing individuals

Caroline Sturdy Colls, Kevin Colls, Daria Cherkaska

This subsection of the report focuses on a) providing a summary of the peer-reviewed research that features in our monograph *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney* (published in 2022), b) following up new lines of enquiry with regards the names and numbers of victims who died in Alderney within sources that were not accessible to us during the completion of this publication, and c) cross-checking the information provided by other review members with our master database of names.

“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney uniquely drew upon more than a decade’s worth of historical, forensic and archaeological research by the authors. This book’s main aim was to refocus attention on the stories of the forced and slave labourers sent to Alderney and to demonstrate how the complex landscape forged by the Germans impacted upon their lives, work and deaths. This work represented the first detailed investigation of the lives, and landscape inhabited by, the forced and slave labourers in Alderney. It went beyond the studies of other scholars who have approached the subject from a single discipline and exceeds the scope of the 1945 inquiries conducted by the British and Soviet governments, not least because we utilised sources and equipment that these investigators simply did not have.

As with our wider work connected to Nazi persecution, work for this book involved a review and archaeo-critical assessment of known archive material in order to: (1) examine primary evidence (much of which has been consciously or unconsciously distorted in some previously published works), and (2) offer new perspectives regarding individual and collective experiences, the natural and built environment, and the fate of missing persons. Second, the declassification of (and increased level of access to) sources from the UK National Archives, former Soviet territories (most notably Ukraine and Russia) and the International Tracing Service (ITS) archives, was the catalyst for new research regarding many of the forced and slave workers, leading to the creation of micro-histories and a reassessment of what happened to specific individuals. The discovery of many new materials – including several long-thought destroyed reports and correspondence created by the British investigators – led to a re-evaluation of post-war approaches to the occupation. Documents, photographs, aerial reconnaissance data, maps, plans, testimonies and a wide range of other sources are thus brought together for the first time. Third, the project involved state-of-the-art non-invasive

archaeological research, undertaken between 2010 and 2017, which facilitated the location, documentation and characterisation of the various types of physical evidence connected to the labour programme, specifically the camps, fortifications and (marked and unmarked) burial sites.

Consulted Archives

A collection of global archives was consulted during both research for *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney* and for this review. The effort ranges across the register of archival holdings that appear in the beginning of this report, in addition to the following:

- Alderney Museum Archive (AMA), Channel Islands
- States of Alderney. Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93
- Priaulx Library (PL), Guernsey, Channel Islands
- Commonwealth War Graves Commission (formerly the Imperial War Graves Commission, IWGC), Great Britain
- National Collection of Aerial Photography (NCAP), Great Britain
- National Archief, The Netherlands
- Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), France
- Mémoire des Hommes: Portail Culturel du Ministère des Armées, France
- Mémorial de la Shoah (MS), France
- Archiv Gedenkstätte Dachau (Archive of the Dachau Memorial AGD), Germany
- Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg (Archive of the Flossenbürg Memorial), Germany
- Archiv Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Archive of the Neuengamme Memorial), Germany
- Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen (Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum), Germany
- Archiv ‘Zwangsarbeit 1939–1945. Erinnerungen und Geschichte’, Germany
- Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (State Archives of the Free and Hanseatic City Hamburg), Staatsanwaltschaft Landgericht Hamburg, Germany
- Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland Archives), Poland
- Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine, Ukraine
- Galuzevyi archiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (State Archive Department of the Security Service of Ukraine), Kyiv, Ukraine
- Central Archive of the Federal Security Service (Tsentralnyi arkhiv Federalnoy Sluzhby Bezopasnosti), Russia
- Central State Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation (Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ministerstva oborony Rossiiskoi Federatsii - **TsAMO**), Podolsk, Russia
- Digital Database ‘Memorial’ of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation (**OBD Memorial**): materials and documents kept by following archives were accessed through this Digital Database
- Russian State Military Archive (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvenni Voennyi Arkhiv - **RGVA**)

Lists and Names

The culmination of this research allowed us to collate several tables and a master database of names of individuals who died in Alderney. This master database drew predominantly upon lists of names generated as part of our research for *“Adolf Island: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney”*, with which we cross-checked and incorporated new research from our team as well as information provided by other review panel members.

During the Occupation, officially, two cemeteries were used to bury the forced, slave and less-than-slave labourers who perished. These were located at St Anne (an existing cemetery surround the island church) and a new cemetery at Longy Common.

Confirmation that an individual died in Alderney was derived from the following sources. In many cases, more than one source recorded their deaths.

- Names present on the grave markers present in St Anne, Longy Common and the German Military cemeteries included in burial lists and photographs, documented, collected and/or revised by:
 - Captain Kent, Major Haddock and Captain (later Major) Pantcheff as part of the British investigations into crimes perpetrated in Alderney undertaken between May and September 1945.³⁸
 - The Soviet Repatriation Mission and the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, who visited Alderney after the war and who conducted their own investigations into the fate of Soviet citizens who worked for the Germans.³⁹
 - The Imperial War Graves Commission (now the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, who visited the cemeteries in 1952 and assisted with the exhumations of the graves by the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (VDK) in 1961.⁴⁰
 - The States of Alderney, Alderney Courts and St Anne’s Church.⁴¹

³⁸ TNA. WO 311/11. Appendix F, Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Periodical Report on Atrocities Committed in Alderney (1942-1945), 23 June 1945. Various copies of this document exist in files in TNA, GARF, AMA, MIM and YVA.

³⁹ GARF. Fond 7021, List 149, File 167; YVA. M. 33 7021-149-16, pp. 23 - 37; Burial cards created by the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, available at <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=261981688&p=1>.

⁴⁰ TNA. FO 371/100916. Alderney (St. Anne) Churchyard, 1952; TNA. FO 371/100916. Alderney Channel Islands, Alderney, Russian Cemetery, Foreign Workers, 1952; CWGC. [7/4/2/10823](#). Members of the German Todt Organisation, Alderney Russian Cemetery, 7 December 1961; CWGC. [7/4/2/10821](#). German War Graves. Alderney. St Anne Churchyard, 8 December 1961.

⁴¹ States of Alderney: Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93.

- Exhumation and reburial lists relating to:
 - The French mission who exhumed the bodies of seven French citizens (four men buried St Anne cemetery and three men buried in the Jewish section of Longy Common cemetery) in October 1949.⁴²
 - The VDK who conducted exhumations at all three cemeteries in 1961 and who provided updated lists of names to the British government and States of Alderney in 1963 and 1970.⁴³
 - Mont de Huisnes German War Cemetery, where the remains of the labourers exhumed in 1961 were reburied.⁴⁴
- Death certificates produced by the Germans for Organisation Todt (OT) labourers.⁴⁵
- Death certificates and registries produced by the Germans in KL-Neuengamme concentration camp, the parent camp of KL-Sylt, for *SS Baubrigade I* labourers.⁴⁶
- Named individuals thought to have died in Alderney according to witnesses.⁴⁷

These sources were viewed in conjunction with a wide range of other archival material relating to the occupation of Alderney and the Nazi labour programme more broadly. Of note were transport lists that provided the names of labourers sent back to mainland Europe and various investigative documents present in the files of ITS, OBD Memorial and TNA, in which the efforts to locate former labourers helped to confirm in some cases whether individuals had survived.⁴⁸

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid; CWGC. [7/4/2/10823](#). Members of the German Todt Organisation, Alderney Russian Cemetery, 7 December 1961; CWGC. [7/4/2/10821](#). German War Graves. Alderney. St Anne Churchyard, 8 December 1961; Database of the VDK; States of Alderney: Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93.

⁴⁴ States of Alderney: Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93.

⁴⁵ IA. FK 31-11. OT Death Certificates, Misc. Dates; States of Alderney: Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93.

⁴⁶ AG-NG. Totenbuch, Reviertotenbuch and Standesamtsregister; ITS. 1.1.30. Namen für die Hauptkartei verkartet.

⁴⁷ Appendix 1 in Kondakov, G. (1991) *The Island of Dread in the Channel. The Story of Georgi Ivanovitch Kondakov*, edited by Brian Bonnard, Stroud, pp.145-150; *ibid.*, pp.15-17; 55-56; 60; 76; 81; 146-150; TsAMO. 58/977525/344. Prisoner of war information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=81794858>; NARA. RG242/A3355/136. Prisoner of war information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978000212>; <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978008916>; <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978018517>; ITS. 1.1.27/2742422. Iwan Tschornij, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/archive/1-1-27-2_01012702-oS/?p=1&doc_id=2742422; RGVA. 1367/1/25. Prisoner of war information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=84530836>; TsAMO. 58/18004/761. Information from loss clarification documents, 1946, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=59112066>; TsAMO. 58/18003/1580. Information from loss clarification documents, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=65725374>; TsAMO. Odessa Runway/223247/17. Information from loss clarification documents, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=84269061>; NARA. RG 242/A3355/136. Dachau concentration camp prisoner lists, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978000495>; NARA. RG 242/A3355/136. Dachau concentration camp prisoner lists, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978028773>; ITS. 1.1.6/10131209. Personal files – Concentration camp Dachau; TsAMO. 58/18001/1248. Irrevocable loss information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=6956023>; GARF. p-9526/6/1143. Information from loss clarification documents, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=79493070>.

⁴⁸ For example, ITS; States of Alderney: Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93; Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, available at <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=261981688&p=1>.

Methodological Challenges

Although a wide range of archival materials exists that allowed us to review the names and number of the deceased in Alderney, several challenges existed with these materials which mean that a definitive list of numbers and names is impossible to achieve. These issues are outlined here and explain some of the gaps or uncertainties presented in the results section.

The existence of a marked burial for an individual was the first indicator that they may have died in Alderney. For victims whose name was known from a grave marker, their surname, first name, date of birth and date of death would have been present and these were included in the master database where known. Weathering and the movement of grave markers by the Germans and as part of post-war restoration works does however mean that not all these details were readable / present by the time they were documented. There is also a significant volume of archival documentation that points to the fact that grave markers were erected, moved, removed and re-erected on a number of occasions, particularly at Longy Common Cemetery.⁴⁹

Where death certificates were available, more information could be derived about individuals. It was often possible to include the following information in the master database, all of which was cross-checked against other sources where possible:

- Surname
- First name
- Date of birth
- Birthplace
- Occupation (variably in Alderney and before their arrival)
- Company for whom an individual worked whilst in Alderney (if OT)
- Camp in which an individual was registered at the time of their death (it should be noted that there was a hospital at Norderney; therefore, some deaths of labourers held in other camps may have been registered there)
- Date of death
- Cause of death (although it should be noted that the Germans often utilised arbitrary causes of death on these certificates)
- Camps in which individuals were previously held (this was more commonly available for *SS Baubrigade I* labourers).

⁴⁹ Many of the points that follow are discussed in more detail in Sturdy Colls, C. and Colls, K. (2022) *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, ch.7-9; For examples, see TNA. WO 311/13. Statement by OT Frontführer Johann Hoffmann, 1 August 1945; TNA. WO 311/13. Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/709, Periodical Report on Alderney Atrocities No. 4, 11 September 1945; TNA. WO 311/13. Statement by Mil.Verw. O/Insp. Hans Spann, 5 September 1945; TNA. WO311/12. Statement of Sonderführer Wilhelm Richter, 4 June 1945.

Many survivors and witnesses mention deaths of anonymous victims / groups of victims. However, they do so with varying degrees of detail and varying levels of certainty about whether a person was actually deceased. Hence, names that were only provided in witness testimonies should be viewed with caution, unless the body of an individual was seen.

Efforts by the Germans to destroy documentation (both on and off Alderney) and hide the deaths of victims has led to significant gaps in the records regarding the number and names of people who died. For example, most of the available death certificates for OT workers only cover the period August to December 1942.⁵⁰ Some of these records were undoubtedly destroyed but others were never created, as the Germans deployed a deliberately ad hoc and deceptive approach to issuing them.⁵¹ Likewise, many records pertaining to the *SS Baubrigade I* labourers were not recorded or they destroyed when the *Cap Arcona* sank meaning that additional names were lost.⁵² Labourers camp numbers were also reused.

Records relating to Alderney can be found in archives all around the world. It would be impossible for researchers to ever claim to have located and viewed all available source material, particularly given restrictions on access that exist in some countries and the lengthy processes involved in examining records that are not digitized. Access to material in the Russian and Belarusian archives was extremely difficult for researchers even before the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. However, this event has meant that securing copies of documents is now impossible. Fortunately, copies of many important Soviet documents and documents sent to the Soviet government by the British government (most notably those from the State Archives of the Russian Federation, Moscow Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby (GARF)) were acquired by researchers in the early 1990s and were found in other archives, thus they have been utilized during this research. Yet, we are aware that additional documents might exist in Russian archives that we have not been able to consult.

A common problem we encountered is that the names of the dead were often misspelt. The Germans often Germanized names in their records and on grave markers, whilst the British government often incorrectly transcribed names from German records and/or grave markers. Some names also appeared twice within burial lists, with and without different spellings, or they

⁵⁰ This batch originally comprised of 158 death certificates. However, in the 1970s, some of them were returned to family members of the deceased, whilst the rest were held by the Island Archives in Guernsey following their transfer from the Imperial War Museum (pers. comm. Island Archives and Imperial War Museum). Just over 40 certificates were catalogued by the Island Archives and were available for study. In 2018, a second batch was found following a request by Caroline Sturdy Colls to the archive, bringing the total to 144.

⁵¹ Sturdy Colls and Colls, *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, pp. 238-242.

⁵² TNA. WO 311/13. Statement by St. Feldw, Kurt Busse, 22 May 1945; TNA. WO 311/13. Statement by OT Frontführer Johann Hoffmann, 1 August 1945.

were spelt differently across several source types. Hence, extensive cross-checking was required to determine whether they belonged to the same person to avoid double counting or the omission of individuals from the master database. Other entries in burial or death lists had the first and last names of the deceased in the wrong order and inconsistencies in personal data between different sources were often notable.

These issues described above were particularly prominent with regards the names of former inmates which had Soviet origins (including but not limited to Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Tatars, ethnic Poles from Soviet territories, etc). All these names would originally have been written in Cyrillic, so transliteration/transcribing is necessary when writing them in Latin letters. There are no strict rules on how this should be achieved and the way they are written depends on the language origins of the person who recorded the name. Based on these facts, many variations of the same name or surname could be given (i.e., Наумович (original in Russian) could be transcribed as Naumovich (English version) or Naumowitsch (German version) and we observed many of these different versions with the records pertaining to Alderney. In addition, we observed that Germanised versions of first names were used instead of Slavic versions (i.e., Peter instead of Piotr or Petro). Short forms of names were also used, most likely because it is a common practice for Slavic languages to use more comfortable spellings of names for informal communication and so these versions may have been used by the labourers themselves. Sometimes the full first name and short form can be dramatically different. However, for native speakers it is very obviously the same name (i.e. Zhenia is a short form for Eugenii). Various forms of original names were also used (see issue with nationality or ethnicity of inmates from the USSR section below). For example, similar names could have a different spelling and written form in for example Russian, Polish or Ukrainian (all these languages were widely spread in Volhynian region for example, and a big group of Alderney inmates were sent from there). For this reason, the same person could be mentioned with a slightly different version of his name without referring to his nationality/ ethnicity, i.e., Nikolai/Nikolei, Mykola and Mikołaj are Russian, Ukrainian and Polish versions of the same name.

We also noted that sometimes surnames or parts of surnames were illegible or written in an awkward way. If it is a common surname or has traditional origins it was possible to reconstruct the record: for example first name, i.e. Piotr – Petrov or occupation, i.e. koval/kaowal (blacksmith) – Kowaltschuk). However, this was not always possible i.e., in the case of Livenko, it seems that part of the surname was missed. In several cases, first names and surnames were written in the wrong way around or some letters missed. We tried to include various versions of

the names based on 1) different versions in records and 2) common spelling for fluent speakers in Russian and Ukrainian. However, it is still possible that some other variations could exist.

The subject of recognition of ethnicity for inmates/victims from the Soviet Union demands attention. There were several inmate groups transferred to Alderney as slave labours from different areas of the Soviet Union i.e., a large group of Soviet PoWs from Orel, OT workers from Kostopil, a group of SS prisoners from Sachsenhausen (possibly Soviet PoWs. In German records as well as in post-war documents, the use of the term “Russians” for describing these groups of victims became a synonym for “Soviets”. This raised several methodological challenges already mentioned in our book:

A) it is impossible to identify the ethnic origin of an individual based on the spelling of their name or place of birth. We managed to identify the nationalities of some Soviet inmates if it was mentioned in records (i.e., death certificates, profiles from other camps (Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald), some Soviet documents or memoirs). However, the variability of spelling some names as well as a lack of individual records limited our ability to identify nationality of everyone. Any confirmed or most likely nationalities were put in the master database. Yet, it would be inaccurate to calculate the precise percentage of each ethnic group among general numbers of the Soviet victims in Alderney for the reasons given.

B) Due to the Third Reich’s policy against Soviet PoWs (who were considered political enemies by Germany and “traitors of the Motherland” by the Soviet authorities), we have a limited amount of records about their fate, especially in the early stages of Operation Barbarossa (the invasion of the Soviet Union). For this reason, tracing their fates before and after Alderney is problematic. Generally speaking, most of them perished during WWII, but it is beyond our competency to say where exactly and under which circumstances. Those who survived, after liberation had to return in the country of origins (the USSR) and went through the procedure of filtration. Some of them were sent in the Soviet labour camps after their return.⁵³

In addition, the main purpose of sending Soviet investigators to Alderney after liberation was to return Soviet citizens back to the USSR as per the Yalta Conference. For this reason, the responsibility to conduct surveys and interrogations of witnesses was delegated to the Soviet Repatriation Mission not to other Soviet bodies of investigation such as the Extraordinary State

⁵³ Discussed further in Sturdy Colls and Colls, *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, ch.10-11.

Commission for Investigation Nazi Crimes (who may well have conducted more detailed investigations).

We did encounter records that listed the place of death as Alderney but, when we undertook further research, it was apparent that they died in transit after leaving the island e.g., in Toul, at sea, or in mainland Europe (i.e. in Neuengamme or another sub-camp). Therefore, these deaths do not appear in our master database but are dealt with in the separate section of this report drafted by Paul Sanders.

We did encounter individuals that were reported as deceased but who survived. Likewise, we encountered names of victims' whose identities or camp numbers had been assumed by different individuals after their deaths. Therefore, there are undoubtedly people who died in Alderney who we are unable to locate because records were altered, or their identities were stolen.

Results

As an opening statement, it is important to stress that the overwhelming majority of the results, statistics, tables and overall conclusions offered within "*Adolf Island: The Nazi Occupation*" remain accurate and valid. Not all these conclusions will be revisited again here in this report because the findings were too numerous. What will be covered here are topics directly relevant to the key purpose of this review: namely the numbers of missing individuals and confirmed deaths, and any new information that has been identified on this subject.

Based upon our above methodological approach and scientific protocol, the minimum number of forced, slave and less-than-slave labourers who died in Alderney is **396** (as this matches the confirmed number of actual bodies that have been exhumed in 1949 and 1961). The maximum number is **1,134** (Table B; this includes the confirmed number of exhumed bodies plus the upper range of missing persons that have been identified - although this higher figure is likely to include double counting of individuals).

Based on all of the current evidence, we suggest that this range can be tightened further. Based on the data, the minimum number of forced, slave and less-than-slave labourers who likely died in Alderney is between **641 and 1,027**. This comprises the 396 bodies exhumed in 1949 and 1961 from Longy Common, St Anne and the German cemeteries, individuals for whom we have death certificates but no marked graves, individuals named by witnesses for whom we have no

marked graves, and specific reports of the deaths of particular groups of people (Table B), but assumes some of the missing individuals may already be represented in the final numbers (the 73 unidentified bodies exhumed from Longy Common in 1961, the 12 bodies still remaining in the mass grave at Longy, and the 5 unexhumed bodies at St Annes cemetery) and a lower number of *SS Baubrigade I* arrivals on 3 and 5 March 1943 (see Section VII and discussion below).

Table B – An overview of missing persons and number of deaths during the Occupation⁵⁴

Group	Number
Exhumations and confirmed bodies	
1949 and 1961 exhumations in Longy Common and St Anne cemeteries (including 73 unidentified victims) ⁵⁵	391
1961 exhumations of OT workers in the German military cemetery ⁵⁶	5
(A) Total number of exhumed bodies	396
Suspected in situ bodies not exhumed	
Suspected burials in St Anne that were not exhumed ⁵⁷	5
Additional bodies in the suspected mass grave on Longy Common ⁵⁸	At least 12
(B) Total number of suspected in situ bodies not exhumed	At least 17
Named missing persons whose names did not appear on marked graves*	
OT labourers with death certificates ⁵⁹	26-40
SS labourers with death certificates ⁶⁰	26
Individuals named by witnesses / in tracing enquiries ⁶¹	20–26 (as some might

⁵⁴ Further explanation of many of the detailed conclusions presented in this table can be found in Sturdy Colls and Colls, *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*. Some of the numbers differ from this publication as additional information has been found about some individuals. In a small number of cases, individuals have been proven not to have died in Alderney and have thus been removed from the totals.

⁵⁵ Numerous files about the exhumations exist and these have been compared to burial lists created between 1945-1952. Key sources can be found in the following, but further sources are cited in the footnotes below: CWGC. 7/4/2/10821. German Graves in the Channel Islands, 29 March 1963; TNA. HO 284/84. Exhumation of members of the former Todt Organization in Guernsey and Alderney/Channel Islands, 8 August 1961; TNA. FCO 33/4872. Exhumation and Transfer of German War Dead in the British Channel Islands, 5 February 1962; CWGC. 7/4/2/10822. List of German War Graves. Alderney. St Anne’s Churchyard, 7 December 1961; States of Alderney. Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93; Pantcheff, T.X.H. (1981) *Alderney Fortress Island*, Sussex: Phillimore, pp. 70-74.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ CWGC. 7/4/2/10821. German Graves in the Channel Islands, 29 March 1963.

⁵⁸ 31 bodies were found in an area marked as the ‘mass grave’ of ‘43 unknown Soviet citizens’ by the British in 1945 during the exhumations. However, archaeological research suggested that further burials likely remain in situ in this location. Therefore, it is possible that at least 12 bodies could still be present there.

⁵⁹ IA. FK 31–11. OT Death Certificates, Misc. Dates. This range takes into account the sources mentioned in footnote 50.

⁶⁰ AG-NG. Häftlinge Database/Datenbank/Totenbuch/Reviertotenbuch/Standesamptsregister, Misc. Dates.

⁶¹ OBD. 70097. Prisoner of war report, 1952, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=66921678&p=234> (accessed 29 April 2020); TNA. WO 311/12. Statement made by Balika Alexander, 10 June 1945; TNA. WO 311/12. Statement of Civ. Cyprian Lipinski, 28 July 1945; TNA. WO 311/12. Statement made by Sajenko Vladimir, 10 June 1945;

	have survived)
Individuals named on reverse of/on discarded grave markers ⁶²	8
(C) Total number of named missing persons	Between 80 and 100
Unidentified missing persons* + **	
SS BB1 labourers (in addition to those in official death registries)	
Likely comprises: 33-73 people who remain unaccounted for in burial lists, death registries or transport lists off the island (depending on whether a figure of 983 or 1,027 arrivals on the island from 3-5 March 1943 is accepted.	
It might also include: c.58 deaths between March and November 1943 c.30 prisoners shot in autumn 1943 c.33 prisoners shot in 1944 An unknown number of people killed during transports on and off the island, buried where they fell or 'dealt with' by the SS	33-121
Soviet labourers dead on arrival in March 1942 ⁶³	c.20
Inmates of Sylt labour camp (died August 1942 to March 1943) ⁶⁴	c.27-300
Individuals who died in Norderney hospital between July and September 1943 ⁶⁵	c.65

Kondakov, G. (1991) *The Island of Dread in the Channel. The Story of Georgi Ivanovitch Kondakov*, edited by Brian Bonnard, Stroud, pp. 15-16, 55-56, 60, 76, 80-81, 146-149 and Appendix 1; Norbert Beernaert in Steckoll, S.H. (1982) *The Alderney Death Camp*, London: Granada, p. 177; The Memoirs of a French Resistance Fighter 'Glaize' cited in Bunting, M. (1995) *The Model Occupation: The Channel Islands Under German Rule 1940-1945*, London: Harper, p. 290; TsAMO. 58/977525/344. Prisoner of war information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=81794858> (accessed 4 May 2020); NARA. RG242/A3355/136. Prisoner of war information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978000212>; <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978008916>; <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978018517> (accessed 4 May 2020); RGVA. 1367/1/25. Prisoner of war information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=84530836> (accessed 4 May 2020); TsAMO. 58/18004/761. Information from loss clarification documents, 1946, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=59112066> (accessed 1 May 2020); TsAMO. 58/18003/1580. Information from loss clarification documents, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=65725374> (accessed 4 May 2020); TsAMO. Odessa Runway/223247/17. Information from loss clarification documents, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=84269061> (accessed 4 May 2020); NARA. RG242/A3355/136. Dachau concentration camp prisoner lists, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978000495> (accessed 4 May 2020); NARA. RG242/A3355/136. Dachau concentration camp prisoner lists, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=1978028773> (accessed 4 May 2020); ITS. 1.1.6/10131209. Personal files – Concentration camp Dachau, (accessed 4 May 2020); TsAMO. 58/18001/1248. Irrevocable loss information, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=6956023> (accessed 4 May 2020); GARF. p-9526/6/1143. Information from loss clarification documents, <https://obd-memorial.ru/html/info.htm?id=79493070> (accessed 4 May 2020). Two of the victims (Rudi Busch and Josef Lammel), mentioned in Pantcheff, *Alderney Fortress Island*, p. 30, were killed elsewhere according to records in ITS and AG-NG.

⁶² Appendix F in TNA. WO 311/13. Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Report on Atrocities Committed in Alderney (1942–1945), 27 June 1945; States of Alderney. Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93. Twelve crosses bore two names, but two bodies were only found in five of these graves, leaving seven people unaccounted for. An additional cross was found on the ground at Longy Common cemetery bearing the name Fedor Pakhomov, but his body has never knowingly been found.

⁶³ GARF. Fond 7021, List 149, File 167. The Island of Alderney, 3 July 1945. According to Soviet investigators, these men were dead on arrival on the 15 and 16 March 1942.

⁶⁴ TNA. WO 311/12. Statement of Civ. Cyprian Lipinski, 28 July 1945; Ivan Kalganov in Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, p. 168.

⁶⁵ Guernseyman and volunteer labourer Marshal George Johns recorded 76 deaths in the OT hospital at Norderney from July until September 1943, but burial registries only record a maximum of eleven OT workers who died during this period. See TNA. WO 311/12. Statement of Marshal George Johns, 1945. Hence, this number has been calculated by deducting the official number of deaths from Johns' total. Further evidence for a higher number of deaths in this period is recorded in TNA. WO 311/11. Statement of Thomas Robins, 1945, in which it is reported that 41 OT workers

Inmates of Helgoland who were sent to Sylt concentration camp and did not return ⁶⁶	c.10–15
“Jews and political prisoners” murdered during so-called “dance” killings and cliff-edge shootings ⁶⁷	c.100 (minimum as multiple actions may have occurred)
(D) Total number of potentially unnamed missing persons	At least 255 (but potentially 621+)
(E) Overall total of missing persons (C + D)	At least 335 (but potentially 721+)
Overall totals for confirmed deaths and missing people based on existing evidence	
Actual minimum number of deceased individuals (A)	396
Possible maximum number of deceased individuals (A + B + upper range of E)	1,134
Probable lower range of deaths (A + lower range of E - B - 73)	641
Probable upper range of deaths (A + upper range of E - B - 73)	1,027

* It is possible that at least 73 of these individuals were buried in the unmarked graves found during the VDK exhumations in 1961. However, this cannot be conclusively determined as formal identification of the bodies of the victims is not possible.

** All numbers in this section are approximate in the absence of more detailed records.

Only three new individuals named on death certificates or tracing searches were found over which affected the burial numbers presented in *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney* (Wassili Jefinoschkin, Nikolei Kirilow, and Tahar Abdemeziem). Most of the new information that was forthcoming allowed us to identify further personal details (such as names, birthplace, or occupation) belonging to unidentifiable individuals who already appeared in our overall number of death and burials (see 5.6 and 5.7 below), or to correct misspelt names (most often using previously unavailable Soviet documents).

died there in the seven weeks after 9 August 1943.

⁶⁶ Cohen, F. (2000) *The Jews in the Channel Islands during the German Occupation 1940–45*, Jersey: Jersey Museums Service, p. 131; TNA. WO 311/13. Statement by OT Frontführer Johann Hoffmann, 1 August 1945.

⁶⁷ TNA. WO 106/5248B. M.I.19 (R.P.S.) 2253, Report, Channel Islands, Alderney, 5 July 1944; Dalmau, J. (1956) *Slave Worker in the Channel Islands*, Guernsey: Guernsey Press, pp. 16-19; Kondakov, *The Island of Dread*, p. 52; Kirill Nevrov in Kondakov, *The Island of Dread*, p. 53; IWM. MISC 2826 - 189/2. Nr. 3376, Interview with Ted Misiewicz, (undated); V. I. Rosslova, as cited in Cohen, *The Jews in the Channel Islands*, p. 32; TNA. WO 311/12. Alderney Concentration Camps, 23 May 1945; GARF. Fond 7021, List 149, File 167. Appendix 6, short notes from the verbal translation from the investigation documents of Captain Kent about the island of Alderney, undated; Steckoll, *The Alderney Death Camp*, pp. 49; 90.

Upon collating all the known information from our research and that of the other experts (particularly lists created by Colin Partridge, Benoit Luc, Karola Fings and Marc Buggeln), we have compiled a master database which comprises of the personal information of 399 individuals who likely died in Alderney, with 395 having identifiable names (either surnames or first names).

Besides confirming the numbers of individuals, this process has also successfully identified other important pieces of information that should be highlighted.

We now know the names of the French victims buried in graves exhumed from St Anne cemetery in 1949 and reburied in France (Leon Georges Garnier, Georges Daniel Maignan, Jean Jegu and Léon Alliard) courtesy of States of Alderney, Alderney War Graves files.⁶⁸

It was possible to identify the names of three Dutch victims buried in Plot 1 in the cemetery at St Anne between October 1942 and February 1943 in the National Archives of the Netherlands and States of Alderney, Alderney War Graves file (Herman Sehlhoff, T.J. Picket, and J.E. Westerling). Two more Dutchmen, Arie Cornelius Rijntalder and Jacobus Johannes Deijbel were already known as they were listed in German, British and Soviet burial records).⁶⁹

Although post-liberation burial lists suggest that the first labourer died in February 1942, this appears to have been a transcription error on the part of Allied investigators.⁷⁰ The first accurately recorded death of an OT labourer – a Spaniard named Gonzales Peeters – actually took place on 27 April 1942.⁷¹

Burial registries and marked graves suggest that most of the OT labourers that perished came from Eastern Europe, most from Russia and Ukraine. To a lesser extent, deceased OT workers

⁶⁸ States of Alderney. Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93. Further information can also be found in the records of Mémoire des Hommes: Portail Culturel du Ministère des Armées, https://www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/fr/arkotheque/client/mdh/recherche_transversale/bases_nominatives_detail_fiche.php?fonds_cle=39&ref=3604594&debut=0; https://www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/fr/arkotheque/client/mdh/recherche_transversale/bases_nominatives_detail_fiche.php?fonds_cle=29&debut=0&ref=3517367 and https://www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/fr/arkotheque/client/mdh/recherche_transversale/bases_nominatives_detail_fiche.php?fonds_cle=29&ref=3488318&debut=0

⁶⁹ Dutch National Archive. 2.19.255.01. Plaatsingslijst persoonsdossiers Oorlogsgravenstichting, 139191A Sehlhoff and 33771A Deijbel; States of Alderney. Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93.

⁷⁰ The death certificates of Iaser Koleda and Michael Melschin in IA. FK31-11. OT Death Certificates, Misc. dates, suggest that these men actually died in November 1942. It appears that the British government misinterpreted 'II' on the grave marker as Roman numerals instead of as '11' as intended. On thirty-two of the crosses, the dates of death were illegible.

⁷¹ TNA. WO 311/13. Appendix F, Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Report on Atrocities Committed in Alderney (1942-1945), 27 June 1945.

also originated from Poland, Belarus, Georgia and possibly also Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, from France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and North Africa.⁷²

The majority of SS prisoners that died came from Russia, the next largest group from Ukraine, smaller numbers from Poland, Belarus and Germany, and a handful from the Caucasus (e.g., Georgia) or possibly the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia). Once again, estimating exactly which Soviet-occupied territories individuals some came from was difficult due to the already mentioned shifting borders.

Eight individual graves belonging to 'French Jews' were present in a separate area of Longy Common cemetery and the names of these victims were recorded on their grave markers (Leib/Seib Becker, Chaim Goldin, Wilfred Gordesson, Szmul Ela Kirschblatt, Henri Lipmannm Robert Perlstein, Isaac Stresskoski and Lucian Worms).⁷³ Three of these individuals were exhumed in 1949 whilst the remaining five were exhumed in 1961. All were reburied in France. It should be noted that these individuals may have had French citizenship or were in France when they were captured (hence their classification as French), but at least two of them were from Russia and Poland.

Regarding the issue of additional Jewish deaths, Benoit Luc – who conducted the most authoritative study to date on the fate of French Jews in Alderney –demonstrated that 586 out of 590 Jewish labourers that he identified as being sent to Alderney after August 1943 and housed in Norderney survived.⁷⁴ The four who perished were among the eight individuals buried at Longy Common, all of whom had marked graves. It should be noted, however, that four of the deceased victims were not included in this list. It is possible that they arrived on a known transport and Benoit Luc is continuing to research this. It is equally possible that some or all of them were part of another transport. One hypothesis is that they arrived after the 26 October 1943, as a German letter in the ITS archive mentions a planned transport from Cherbourg to Alderney consisting of '32 French and 69 non-French Jews' after this date.⁷⁵

⁷² Labourers from the Caucasus were often POWs enlisted for forced labour.

⁷³ YVA. Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names,

https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&s_lastName=&s_firstName=&s_place=alderney&s_dateOfBirth=&cluster=true, misc. dates; Luc, B. (2010). *Les déportés de France vers Aurigny*. La Hague: Editions Eurocibles, Annexe 7; TNA. WO 311/11. Appendix F, Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Periodical Report on Atrocities Committed in Alderney (1942-1945), 23 June 1945; States of Alderney. Alderney War Graves File, 1946-93.

⁷⁴ Luc (2010). *Les déportés de France vers Aurigny*.

⁷⁵ ITS. 2.2.3/83261200. Überstellung von jüdischen Arbeitskräften nach Alderney, 26 October 1943.

To return to named victims, Leib Becker was the oldest known OT worker to die in Alderney aged 66.⁷⁶ Based on the available information, Stanislaus Knapp was the youngest. He was 15 when he died on 14th of September 1942, reportedly from cachexia and heart weakness.⁷⁷ The youngest of the SS prisoners to die were Mikhail Kanunenکو/Skanunenکو, Volodymyr Kotopulenko (a shoemaker) and Jakov Dovgaliuk, all of whom were 18 and most likely from Ukraine. At 44 years old, former Chemist Richard Ernst Bräuning was the oldest SS BB1 labourer known to have died. The average age at death of SS BB1 labourers was 25.

Two of the newly identified individuals had dysentery listed as cause of death. Adding these to the totals in "*Adolf Island: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney* (table 7.1) makes dysentery the second highest case of death amongst the OT slave workers (with 32 cases) – with the most commonly listed being poisoning (35 cases). However, these causes of death should be viewed with caution as an abundance of evidence exists to show that arbitrary causes of death were provided by the Germans.⁷⁸

Based on the Neuengamme camp records, the most listed cause of death for SS BB1 prisoners was cardio or circulation failure (39 cases) followed by tuberculosis (21 cases) and gunshot wounds (13). Again, these should be viewed with caution, for example the cause of death for some prisoners differ between the Neuengamme records and official SS registry books created by the SS administration.⁷⁹

New research has also confirmed the names of the five OT workers who were buried in the German military cemetery (Josef Doleys, Ladislaus Garafa, Josef Grogorski/Grabowski, Giacomo Tsiovara/Ciowara, and Bunatadze).⁸⁰

Some issues remain with identifying the number of deceased *SS Baubrigade* I labourers in Alderney owing to the lack of clarity provided by the source material. No German lists showing the names of those sent to the island has been found. Therefore, we are reliant on a testimony by the Captain of the ship Robert Müller 8, Karl Hinrichson to British investigators on 15 June 1945

⁷⁶ YVA. Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names, https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&s_lastName=&s_firstName=&s_place=alderney&s_dateOfBirth=&cluster=true_misc_dates

⁷⁷ IA. FK 31-11. OT Death Certificates, Stanislaus Knapp, 15 September 1942.

⁷⁸ Sturdy Colls and Colls (2022). "*Adolf Island: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, ch.7-8.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Two of the unknown individuals were washed up on shore, but the fate of the other three is not known. Information about German military deaths can be found in various locations including: JA. L/D/25/D1/11. Album containing German burial reports for Alderney, Guernsey and Sark and research into German burials in the islands, 1942-1945; TNA. FCO 33/4872. Exhumation and Transfer of German War Dead in the British Channel Islands, 5 February 1962; TNA. WO 311/12. List of German war dead in German cemetery on Longy Road, 11 June 1945.

to interpret this.⁸¹ This source identifies 1,027 men who were sent to Alderney on 3 and 5 March 1943. Whilst the wording of the report might suggest that these were all ‘concentration camp prisoners’, it is also possible that the 44 SS guards who were sent with them should be deducted from this number, bringing the total number down to 983. If we accept the figures provided by the SS in various transport reports and their final report which indicated that 636 people were sent back to Norderney in June 1944 (which should also be viewed with some caution), then we are left with a range of between 33 and 73 people whose fate is unknown.⁸² After extensive discussions with Karola Fings (an expert in *SS Baubrigade I*), this range has been included in the calculations in Table B to reflect this uncertainty. These issues are discussed further in Section VII below.

Aside from the victims we were able to identify by name or from transport numbers, evidence exists that additional people died in Alderney in a series of witnessed events, as outlined in Table B. As some of these victims may be individuals who (a) had a marked burial or (b) have been named by us but who did not have a marked burial, we have presented a range for the *minimum* number of people we believe to have died in Alderney above. This number is likely to be higher. In *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, we presented a range of numbers provided by former labourers, guards and witnesses, which have been included in the final review report.

Our historical and archaeological investigations have also uncovered several probable unmarked burial sites in which unidentified victims may be buried. These are discussed in more detail in *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney* and so are summarised here for information.

- Further burials within Longy Common and St Anne cemeteries that were not exhumed by the VDK.⁸³ This includes the bodies of at least some individuals buried in a “mass grave” identified by post-war British investigators as containing the remains of “43 unknown Russians” as well as several probable mass graves identified within and outside the boundaries of Longy Common cemetery.⁸⁴

⁸¹ TNA. WO 311/13. Testimony of the Captain of the ship *Robert Müller 8*, Karl Hinrichsen, concerning the transportation of SS Baubrigade 1 prisoners to Alderney.

⁸² ITS. 1.1.30/82132691. Report of Curt Hille, former prisoner of the flying squad (Baubrigade I) attached to CC Neuengamme, 10 March 1950; Fings, Karola, ‘Alderney (Kanalinsel) (SS-BB I)’, in Megargee, Geoffrey P. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of camps and ghettos, 1933-1945* (in association with The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC), Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2012, Vol I, part B, p.1362; ITS. 1.1.0.2/82342175. Bericht Nr. 6, 14 February 1944.

⁸³ Sturdy Colls and Colls, *“Adolf Island”: The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, ch.8-9.

⁸⁴ CWGC. 7/4/2/10823. Present War Graves Plot – UK report form, 25 June 1945; TNA. WO 311/13. Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Report on Atrocities in Alderney (1942–1945), 27 June 1945; TNA. FO 371/100916. Alderney Channel Islands, Alderney, Russian Cemetery, Foreign Workers, 1952; CWGC. 7/4/2/10823. Graves Registration

- Additional graves on Simon's Place, situated in an area of shrubland next to the island golf course.⁸⁵
- Possible burials at the OT camp off Longy Road, identified by the authors from aerial images dated to June 1944.⁸⁶

Given the probability of ad-hoc body disposal there is of course every chance that bodies may exist at other locations across the island, particularly close to the camps and military installations. Some sources do suggest that bodies also have been dumped at sea. From the evidence available, it is unlikely that this was a widely used method of body disposal. However, it does appear to have taken place on a few occasions. For example, Kirill Nevrov reports how he excavated two pits at low tide into which 18 and 11/12 corpses were tipped and Ted Misiewicz claimed that he threw bodies over the wall at the harbour.⁸⁷ John Dalmau, who also witnessed bodies being dumped over a cliff, also reported seeing bodies of victims floating in the water.⁸⁸ Some evidence (which we presented in *"Adolf Island": The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*) does suggest that human remains did wash up in Alderney and in France after the war but no detailed study was ever carried out to determine how many bodies were found.⁸⁹

Report Form, 17 January 1958; TNA. FO 371/111797. NS 1851/3. I.W.G.C. letter to Lord Jellicoe, 8 July 1954; CWGC. 7/4/2/10823. Letter from Len Dowsen to Wally, 3 September 1954; CWGC. 7/4/2/10823. Letter to Assistant Secretary from Chief Admin Officer, 21 May 1956.

⁸⁵ TNA. WO 311/13. Statement by a) O/Gefr Georg Preukschat b) Bruno Zietlow, 1945.

⁸⁶ NCAP. ACIU C0704, 12 June 1944.

⁸⁷ Kirill Nevrov in Kondakov, *The Island of Dread*, p. 53; IWM. MISC 2826 – 189/2. Nr. 3376, Interview with Ted Misiewicz (undated).

⁸⁸ Dalmau, *Slave Worker in the Channel Islands*, p. 16-17.

⁸⁹ Sturdy Colls and Colls, *"Adolf Island": The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, p.303.

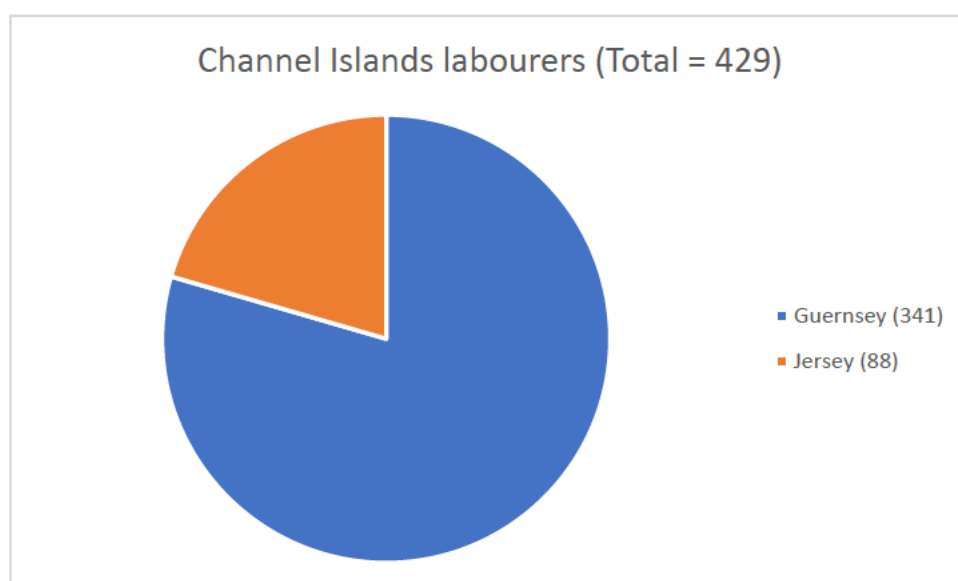
III. Channel Islanders in Alderney

Gilly Carr

Headline statistics

More Channel Islanders from Jersey and Guernsey travelled to Alderney at various times to work during the German Occupation than has hitherto been acknowledged. A systematic search in the relevant archives⁹⁰ in the Channel Islands yielded names of 429 people. Of these, 341 were from Guernsey (79%) and 88 were from Jersey (20%). Of the Jersey labourers, 11 (12.5%) were from Ireland and had come to Jersey before the occupation. Of the 429 workers, 229 (53%) were employed by the Germans and 200 (47%), by the States of Guernsey, although many who worked for the States of Guernsey later worked for the Germans after their forces took over more of the operations in Alderney. Of those employed by the Germans, 25 (12.5%) were female.

Table C



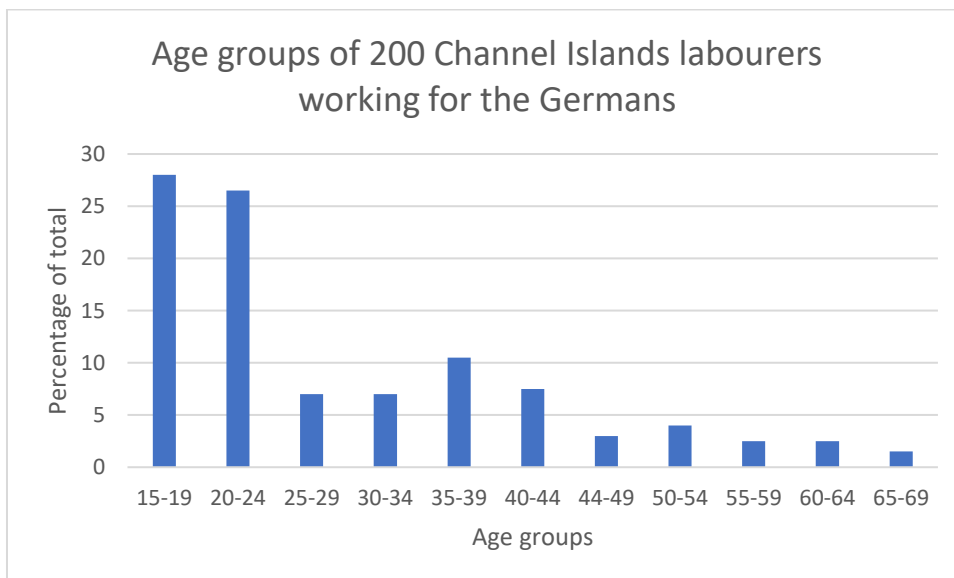
Of the 229 people employed by German forces, the dates of birth for exactly 200 are known. At this time, minimum school leaving age was 14 and going into employment at this age was normal. When analysed in 5-year groupings, those aged 15-19 years made up the largest age group working in Alderney. Of these teenagers, those aged 18 years old made up the largest group (23 people or 41% of the teenagers).

⁹⁰ IA. FK 29-1, FK 29-2, FK 29-3, FK 29-4, FK 3-6, AQ 1301/14, CC/EC 2-5, BA 37/8.

Table D

Age Range	Number of the workforce	Percentage of the workforce (%)
15-19	56	28
20-24	53	26.5
25-29	14	7
30-34	14	7
35-39	21	10.5
40-44	15	7.5
44-49	6	3
50-54	8	4
55-59	5	2.5
60-64	5	2.5
65-69	3	1.5
Unknown	29	12.6

Table E



Why were people in Jersey and Guernsey working in Alderney and what were they doing?

As almost the entire population of Alderney had evacuated on 23 June 1940, some Guernsey farmers and their herdsmen went to Alderney to salvage cattle and other animals before the arrival of German forces. After the arrival of the Germans on 2 July, the States of Guernsey advertised for men to go to Alderney, with the permission of the Germans, in order to lift potatoes, gather stores of flour, cattle fodder and agricultural seeds. 35 men went in later July 1940.⁹¹ Although it has been suggested that these 35 men stayed for two years,⁹² while numbers of the working party remained fairly constant, different men came and went from Alderney at

⁹¹ Packe, M. and Dreyfus, M. (1971) *The Alderney Story, 1939-49*, Alderney Society, p.31.

⁹² Packe and Dreyfus (1971: 31-32).

different dates. The Guernseyman in charge of the islanders in Alderney, Mr H Perchard, replaced by Mr Charles Hutchesson by November 1940, and later replaced by Mr Peter Tostevin, was appointed as 'Civil Commandant'; the Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey's 'Member-in-Charge' of Alderney was Wynne Sayer, based in Guernsey. Charles Daniel, based in Alderney, held the vital role of 'storeman', making sure that food and fuel stores for Alderney were adequate.

In January 1941, a working party went from Guernsey to Alderney to prepare the land for cultivation, later planting seeds and preparing accommodation for the workers, bringing cattle back to Alderney for the island farm.⁹³ Further working parties went to the island to repair houses and the breakwater.⁹⁴ Although the land was cultivated to benefit those in Guernsey, the Germans took their cut; one-third of wheat and oats had to be handed over to feed the Germans' horses.⁹⁵

During 1942, as Alderney's fields continued to be cultivated for agriculture, we can only assume that the Germans continued to take a cut. Throughout 1941 to 1942, the number of men present in Alderney hovered around 30 to 40,⁹⁶ implying on the face of it a consistently small work party, but the people involved regularly changed. These men stayed in Alderney's hotels.⁹⁷ Jersey also began to share with Guernsey the financial burden of paying for the billeting costs of the German occupation of Alderney during 1942.⁹⁸

Over the course of 1942, men from Guernsey were increasingly employed by German forces. The Labour Officer in Guernsey, Mr R Johns, had to comply with urgent German requests for workmen, putting adverts in the papers for glaziers, joiners, carpenters and masons.⁹⁹ Some men previously employed by the States of Guernsey in Alderney became employed by German forces instead, including by the Organisation Todt (OT) firm Heinrich Kniffler.¹⁰⁰ German demand for

⁹³ IA. CC 13-4. Correspondence between Philip Romeril, Labour Department, and Feldkommandantur 515, Nebenstelle Guernsey, January-April 1941.

⁹⁴ IA. CC 13-4. Correspondence between Philip Romeril, Labour Department, and Feldkommandantur 515, Nebenstelle Guernsey, April-June 1941.

⁹⁵ IA. 1/3/3. Letter from Peter Tostevin, Central Party, Alderney, to Wynne Sayer, 19 November 1941.

⁹⁶ E.g. men employed in Alderney as on the 1st June, 1942. IA. CC 2-5. Details of States of Guernsey Party, 6 August 1942; IA. CC 2-5. Letter from Charles Daniel (storeman) to Arthur Mahy, Hirzel House, Guernsey, 18 August 1942.; IA. CC 2-5. States Office, Guernsey, particulars of men employed on Alderney maintenance and occupation (January 1, 1942 – October 31, 1942), 12 May 1943.

⁹⁷ IA. CC/EC 2-5. Letter from Charles Hutchesson, civil commandant in Alderney, to Mr Romeril, Labour Department, Guernsey, 22 February 1941.

⁹⁸ See IA. CC 2-5. Correspondence between Bailiff Victor Carey of Guernsey and Bailiff Alexander Coutanche of Jersey, May 1942.

⁹⁹ E.g. IA. CC 2-5. Letter from Dr Brosch, Nebenstelle Guernsey der Feldkommandantur, to the President of the Controlling Committee of the States of Guernsey, 15 May 1942

¹⁰⁰ IA. FK 29-1. Letter from Kniffler to Feldkommandatur 515, Guernsey, 24 July 1942.

people to repair houses in Alderney led to advertisements for good wages ‘plus billets and full rations’ plus allowances for dependants,¹⁰¹ although complaints were later made about the wages and rations.¹⁰² As food became more scarce in the Channel Islands, buying – and paying the high prices of the Black Market - was increasingly necessary. The German offer of high wages and rations was sufficient inducement for many to seek employment with them,¹⁰³ even though working in Alderney meant regularly witnessing ill-treatment of foreign labourers. Anecdotal evidence from families suggest that some men had no choice but to go because of minor offences against the Germans; certainly some are recognised as having convictions from the German courts.

In September 1942, Wynne Sayer and Charles Daniel were among those Islanders deported to civilian internment camps in Germany.¹⁰⁴ This loss of these two key people plus the heavy financial burden¹⁰⁵ led the States of Guernsey to decide to withdraw its own workforce from Alderney. By 21 November 1942, all States-employed workers were back in Guernsey. All men still in Alderney after that date were working for Germans.¹⁰⁶ The withdrawal of the States of Guernsey men coincided with the German demand for more workers in Alderney,¹⁰⁷ as the Germans took over the workplaces vacated by those previously administered by the States of Guernsey.¹⁰⁸ The 8 men who stayed after this date worked for the HUV (*Heeresunterkunftsverwaltung*), the Army’s quartering administration, under which civilians could be employed by the occupying force (under the Hague Convention) to repair and maintain local buildings to be used as troop billets. Other places of work for Channel Islanders in Alderney included the OT Farm (where they worked with animals and on the land) and in the island’s Soldatenheim, where jobs included cleaning toilets, as well as cooking, cleaning and laundry. As the States of Guernsey withdrew its workers from Alderney, the Germans wrote to the Bailiff of Jersey, invoking Article 52 of the Hague Convention, and asked for people to be conscripted to work in Alderney.¹⁰⁹ By June 1943, 33 Jersey men and women were working in Alderney.¹¹⁰ Jerseyman Richard Lamerton was ‘called up to Service of Labour’ in Alderney, working for the

¹⁰¹ IA. FK 29-1. Copy of notice inserted in newspapers, by RH Johns, Labour Officer, 29 September 1942.

¹⁰² IA. FK 29-1. Letter from Feldkommandant Heider (St Helier) to the Inselkommandant in Alderney, 23 June 1943.

¹⁰³ See IA. FK 29-2. Letter from John Leale, President of the Controlling Committee, to Felkommandantur 515, Nebenstelle Guernsey, 30 April 1943.

¹⁰⁴ IA. CC 2-5. Letter from Arthur Mahy (secretary to Agricultural Officer) to Mr P Tostevin (Civil Commandant, Alderney), 30 September 1942.

¹⁰⁵ IA. CC 2-5. 13 November 1942.

¹⁰⁶ IA. CC 2-5. Letter from Raymond Falla, Agricultural Officer, to Feldkommandantur 515, 21 November 1942.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. IA. CC 2-5. Letter from Feldkommandantur to Labour Office, Guernsey, 5 October 1942.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. TNA. WO 311/12. Testimony of Brian O’Hurley, 23 May 1945.

¹⁰⁹ JA. B/A/W40/16/2. Letter from Feldkommandantur 515 to Bailiff of Jersey, 21 November 1942.

¹¹⁰ JA. B/A/W40/16/2. Letter from Bailiff to Feldkommandantur 515, 27 June 1943 and 24 July 1943.

HUV from 14 May 1943 for 6 months¹¹¹, suggesting that this was the length of a typical period of conscription.

When did the workers from Jersey and Guernsey leave Alderney?

In June 1944, soon after the Allied invasion of Normandy, most Channel Islanders still working in Alderney for the Germans were evacuated from the island. In February 1944 a list of 'British people employed in Alderney' shows 89 people from Guernsey and Jersey, 8 of whom were residents George Pope and his family, indicating 81 workers.¹¹² This number remained constant until 25 June 1944, when travel permits were issued for 81 people to travel from Alderney to Guernsey.¹¹³ These people were working for various entities attached to the occupying forces, including the OT firm Blume,¹¹⁴ the OT farm, the HUV, and the Soldatenheim. In addition to the Pope family, 8 men chose to remain in Alderney for reasons unknown,¹¹⁵ but perhaps they had no family in Guernsey and needed the work and money and had made lives in Alderney. Perhaps they hoped to be rescued by the Allies or were motivated by keeping an eye on the welfare of the island.

Liberation 1945

These 8 men were still in the island in February 1945, as their names (along with those of the Pope family) were on lists for Red Cross parcels after the Red Cross ship, the *SS Vega*, visited the Channel Islands.¹¹⁶ When liberators landed in May 1945 they found 18 British civilians¹¹⁷: George Pope, his wife, his mother in law, 6 children, the eight men who stayed behind in June 1944, and Guernseyman Eric Kibble, who had been deported to Alderney prison in February 1945.¹¹⁸

All of these people (and some who had left Alderney earlier) were interviewed by the war crimes investigators and were able to testify to conditions of work, starvation and ill-treatment of foreign labourers by named military personnel and OT overseers in different parts of the island. They were also able to relay information told to them by various foreign labourers.¹¹⁹ A

¹¹¹ My thanks to Mark Lamerton for sharing the papers relating to his uncle.

¹¹² IA. FK 29-2. List of British people employed in Alderney, February 1944 (exact date not given).

¹¹³ IA. FK 29-1. Fahrgenehmigung für die auf beiliegender Liste aufgeführten britischen Staatsangehörigen, 25 June 1944.

¹¹⁴ IA. FK 29-1. Letter from Militärverwaltungsrat to the Platzkommandantur in St Helier, 27 June 1944.

¹¹⁵ IA. FK 29-1. Engländer auf Alderney, O.U., den 18 Juli 1944.

¹¹⁶ IA. FK 30/9. Red Cross reports on stock, 15 February 1945.

¹¹⁷ TNA. WO 311/12.

¹¹⁸ TNA. WO 311/12. Testimony of Eric Kibble.

¹¹⁹ See interviews with Channel Islanders in TNA. WO 311/12.

small number of islanders themselves ended up in Norderney camp and were able to talk about the ill-treatment they endured and what they had witnessed.¹²⁰

In the Pantcheff Report, German POW Johann Burbach, who had been in Alderney since November 1942, testified that another member of the German garrison, Kraus, had 'given a statement' to George Pope about yet another member of the German military, Richter, who was in charge of the Organisation Todt farm in Alderney.¹²¹ Richter had apparently 'beaten two Englishmen and had ordered them to be fired upon'. This statement appears to be third hand (and is thus unreliable) and refers to an 'order'; we are not told whether the order was supposedly carried out, nor whether 'being fired upon' approximated to 'being shot dead', nor who these men were. It is important to state that there is no other 'evidence' that this shooting took place. Channel Islanders were the only Britons in Alderney and not one of those interviewed at liberation referred to any colleagues being shot or shot at. No Channel Islander family reported, after liberation, that their family member was shot / killed. No Channel Islander family has come forward in the last 80 years to make such a claim. No other archival evidence exists to back up such a claim, and the names of all Islanders in Alderney are known. This is thus an unreliable source that can be discounted.

If we are to find an explanation for this allegation, two can be put forward: two Jersey men, Walter Gallichan and Gordon Prigent, are well known for having spent time in Norderney camp, where they were badly treated (but not shot; they returned to Jersey in 1944). We know, too, that two Guernsey men escaped from Alderney in April 1944: friends Hansel Duquemin (who worked on the OT farm) and Henry Ingrouille (a fisherman), who both survived the war.¹²² Perhaps this statement was a cover story to save the face of the overseer?

It is worth noting that Johann Burbach made a second statement about Kraus's statement to Pope regarding Richter: 'In some burial place he had the crosses removed, burned, and had the ground levelled'. This related to the cemetery on Longy Common and is a statement unrelated to that regarding the two Channel Islanders.

¹²⁰ E.g. TNA. WO 311/12. Testimony of WJ Upson, 20 May 1945. See also entries for Walter Gallichan and Gordon Prigent in the Frank Falla Archive, www.frankfallaarchive.org

¹²¹ Translation of statement by PW KP/256658 Gefr. Johann Burbach, 10 July 1945, Periodical Report no. PWIS(H)/KP/704, Periodical Report on Alderney Atrocities. The National Archives ref. WO 311/13.

¹²² Report. Channel Islands. Alderney. MI19 (RPS)/2136, 17 April 1944. The National Archives ref. WO 208/3728 and WO 208/3279 (Report 2122 on Alderney).

IV. Deportations from France to Alderney

Benoit Luc

The study of the Alderney deportees has been part of a national survey conducted by the French *Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation* for almost 30 years.¹²³ The aim of this survey is to identify by name the deportees and all others taken away by force from France during the Second World War.

The deportees from France to Alderney were the subject of my Masters thesis, which I wrote in 2007-08. The starting point of my research was a set of lists collected mainly from the society of the former Alderney deportees (the *Amicale des anciens déportés d'Aurigny*). These lists were used to research the individual files of each deportee. In France, deportees or their families were able to apply to the French authorities for recognition of their status immediately after the war. This led to the creation of a major source of individual archives at the *Division des archives des victimes des conflits contemporains* (DAVCC), which forms part of the historical service of the Ministry of Defence. The archives have been held at Caen since 1993.

Convoys sent from France in the DAVCC archives

The exploitation of the DAVCC archives yielded a total of 855 names of prisoners from France. This count does not include the names of four other Jewish and four other French labourers, who were buried in Alderney. They were discovered by the team of Caroline Sturdy Colls, but they do not feature in the DAVCC archives. With the exception of two Frenchmen¹²⁴, who were prisoners of the *SS Baubrigade I*, and therefore held in Sylt camp, the 855 deportees from France were imprisoned in camp no. 2, Norderney.

The first Alderney deportees that appear in these archives are 31 Spanish Republicans, who arrived in the island on 22 February 1942. They had fled to France in February 1939 after the fall of the Catalan front. Grouped together in temporary camps on the beaches of the Mediterranean, they were sent to internment camps such as Gurs, Recedebou or Le Vernet, before being sent to Brest and then to the Channel Islands.

¹²³ La Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation (2004) *Le Livre Mémorial des déportés de France arrêtés par mesure de répression et dans certains cas par mesure de persécution 1940/1945* (4 volumes), Paris: Tirésias. For more information, see <https://fondationmemoiredeportation.com/livre-memorial/>

¹²⁴ Both these Frenchmen survived their deportation. Auguste Brunet died in 1976 and Aristide Boursier in 1986.

On 12 August and 11 October 1943 two convoys of Jews arrived in Alderney. The first consisted of 325, the second of 245 men. In total, 594 Jews are known to have left France to be sent to Alderney (the dates of transport for 24 of these men are unknown).¹²⁵ Most passed through Drancy and the Loiret camps (Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande). Their itinerary was unusual. Some were only on the island for a few months, repatriated in two medical convoys to Paris. The rest of the group was evacuated from the island on 7 May 1944.

Between these two convoys, on 9 September 1943, arrived a group of 113 prisoners, in their majority of North African origin, from the Compiègne internment camp.

On 17 May 1944, 30 more people, who were suspected of being resisters, were sent to the island. Almost all of them had been arrested in Lower Normandy. On 5 June, they were followed by around forty other people,¹²⁶ mainly from the Vernet camp, including a large number of Spanish refugees. The count concludes with 49 more men whose names feature in the DAVCC archives, but whose date of deportation is also unknown (see above).

Jewish spouses of 'Aryan' women and labour draftees (*requis*)

The largest group were Jews from France. They included both French and foreign Jews. Among them were also naturalised French Jews whose nationality had been called into question by the laws of the Vichy government. This group was categorized as Jews married to Aryan women, i.e. Jews who had married non-Jews. Interned at Drancy, they had to provide baptism certificates from at least three of their wives' grandparents to prove their status. As a result, they remained at Drancy classified as 'non-deportable'. It explains how some of the Jewish deportees to Alderney could be arrested as early as August 1941, during the first Paris round ups, and then spend two years at Drancy or in the Beaune-la-Rolande and Pithiviers camps, in the Loiret region. It was not until the summer of 1943 that the decision was taken, probably after the arrival of Alois Brunner as head of Drancy, on 2 July 1943, to send the 'non-deportables' to the Organization Todt worksites in Alderney (the "non-deportable" status was not meaningless; but the camp authorities could also disregard it, if they had to fill up convoys to the East).

It should be noted that this group included around sixty young Jews who were not spouses of 'Aryan' women, and who were sent to the island of Alderney on the terms of the compulsory

¹²⁵ This count includes the four additional Jewish burials in Alderney discovered by the team of Caroline Sturdy Colls, but which do not appear in the DAVCC archives.

¹²⁶ Antonio Muñoz Sánchez (see contribution in this report) provides a 4 June dating and arrives at a different figure for this transport (200). The difference between the two figures is accounted for in Table A (executive summary).

labour draft. A possible explanation is that the German authorities wanted to lower the average age of this population, which was relatively high.

Mortality

Although the Jews were subject to beatings and other forms of ill-treatment, there is no mention of summary executions or beatings resulting in death - neither in individual archives nor in direct testimony, nor even in the 1949 trial of the two SS guards in charge of the camp.¹²⁷ The mortality rate of this group of deportees from France was low; and there were several reasons for this. The first was that many of the Jewish deportees were too old or too weak to work on these sites. Owing to the intervention of a *Kriegsmarine* doctor in Alderney, the two SS officers in command of the Norderney camp agreed to send two convoys of prisoners requiring medical attention to the continent. On 15 January and 29 March 1944, a total of 150 prisoners were sent to Cherbourg and then on to Paris. There, the *Union Générale des Israélites de France* (UGIF) obtained their evacuation to the Rothschild Hospital or the Picpus Asylum¹²⁸. The *Kriegsmarine* doctor, whose name is not known but whose intervention is often mentioned in eyewitness accounts, even initiated a survey of the deportees' diet, which led to an improvement from March 1944. The men repatriated to Paris regained their freedom at the end of August 1944 with the liberation of the French capital, with the exception of two men who died there beforehand.

From among the 855 deportees from France for whom there is a trace in the DAVCC archive there were four Jewish deaths on the island: Leib Becker, Wilfried Gordeson, Henri Lippman and Lucien Worms. Four additional Jewish and four other French burials in Alderney, whose names are not in the DAVCC archives, feature in the contribution in this report by the team of Caroline Sturdy Colls.

The other members of this group of French deportees, around 440 people, were evacuated on 7 May 1944. They were sent first to Cherbourg, then to OT camps in Northern France, in and around Boulogne-sur-Mer. During the summer of 1944, several escapes occurred, as well as a total of seven deaths. The last members of this group were liberated on 4 September 1944 at Dixmude in Belgium.

¹²⁷ The minutes of the trial of Adam Adler and Heinrich Evers, which took place in Metz, can be consulted at the Shoah Memorial.

¹²⁸ Files relating to these particular transfers are available at the Rothschild Foundation and at the DAVCC (Caen). Additional archives are held at the Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Contemporary Jewish Documentation Centre) of the Shoah Memorial in Paris, in the record groups CCXVIII-6 to CCXXI-27 (of particular note is CCXXI-16, a document from the UGIF on the transfer of deportees from Alderney to the Rothschild Hospital).

Evacuation of 25 June 1944

After the Normandy landings, and on the eve of the capture of Cherbourg, the remaining Alderney deportees were evacuated, with a few exceptions. First to Guernsey, then to Jersey and Saint-Malo, where they were loaded onto railway carriages and sent on a month-long journey, passing through Rennes, Nantes, Angers, Moulins and Mâcon, before arriving in Paris via Dijon. These prisoners regained their freedom with the liberation of the French capital. Only the two French Baubrigade prisoners were transferred to Germany and were not released until May 1945.

Memory and legal battles

The Alderney deportees formed the *Amicale* in August 1945 to assert their rights.¹²⁹ Given the particular nature of their deportation, due to the geography of the place, the low mortality rate and their early release, they found themselves in an uphill struggle against the French administration, in order to be recognized as deportees. However, from April 1948 onwards the authorities, basing themselves on the arrival of the Jewish prisoners, started to recognize the island as a site of deportation.¹³⁰

In total, from among the Jews deported from France who left a trace in the DAVCC archive, 4 died on the island, 2 in Paris and 7 in the camps in the Boulogne area. To this must be added one person, a member of the Compiègne convoy, presumed dead.

¹²⁹ The Amicale's archives are kept at the Shoah Memorial. They include information bulletins on the rights of deportees, post-war deaths, excursions, press articles, exchanges with the authorities regarding their rights, etc..

¹³⁰ It bears mentioning that, in his research work, Serge Klarsfeld did not consider this deportation as forming part of the Final Solution. The Alderney Review does not share this point of view: the deportees in this group were singled out and sent to Alderney because they were Jews. Had it not been for their 'Aryan' marriage, they would have shared the fate of other Jews deported to the East. Family members of a number of the Alderney deportees were murdered in Auschwitz. One example of this is David Trat, whose mother was sent to Auschwitz, whence she never returned. His brother, on the other hand, was never arrested during the Occupation, even though he never went into hiding.

V. The Spaniards in Alderney

Antonio Muñoz, with Jordi Artigas (Amical Islas del Canal)

104,000 soldiers of the Spanish Republic were living as refugees in France when the country was taken over by the Germans.¹³¹ Antifascists with war experience, the occupiers saw these *Rotspanier* (Red Spaniards) as a potential danger and persecuted them. Over 7,000 Spaniards captured by the Wehrmacht ended up in Mauthausen concentration camp.¹³² In August 1940, 450 Spanish civilians from the Angoulême refugee camp were also deported there. This brutal persecution was, however, short-lived and the treatment of Spanish refugees became more ‘civilized’, partly because the Germans decided to employ them, mainly in the construction of infrastructures in occupied France.¹³³

From the autumn of 1940, the Germans recruited Spaniards in the unoccupied part of France under the control of the Vichy government, where most of them lived at the time: both in the internment camps where Vichy imprisoned the most politically ‘dangerous’ and, above all, among the Foreign Workers’ Groups (GTE), units of c. 250 men who Vichy employed in civil works. In 1940-41, voluntary recruitment was common, though not really ‘voluntary’, as working for the Germans was the only way out of the internment camps. From 1942, the occupation authorities ordered Vichy to hand over complete GTEs. Thus, c. 50,000 Spaniards ended up working on the Atlantic Wall, of which some 15,000 were ‘volunteers’ (*Transportspanier*) and at least 35,000 forced labourers (*Rotspanier*).¹³⁴

While the *Transportspanier* had the same rights as the French volunteers, the *Rotspanier* lived in OT camps, had to carry out the most difficult jobs, in some cases wore a bracelet with the letters

¹³¹ Dreyfus-Armand, G. (2000) *El exilio de los republicanos españoles en Francia. De la Guerra civil a la muerte de Franco*, Barcelona.

¹³² Pike, D. W. (2000) *Spaniards in the Holocaust. Mauthausen, Horror on the Danube*, London, 2000; we have no record of any Spaniard being transferred from Alderney to a concentration camp. The 7,400 Spaniards deported to Mauthausen and the further 2,000 Spaniards deported to Dachau, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, etc., are fully identified in Spanish studies. Not a single one had previously been in Alderney; Bermejo, B. and Checa, S. (2006) *Libro Memorial Españoles Deportados a los Campos Nazis (1940-1945)*, Madrid; Government of Catalonia, ‘Banc de la Memòria Democràtica (Democratic Memory Bank)’, <https://banc.memoria.gencat.cat/en/>. This resource incorporates data of Catalan and Spanish deportees to Nazi concentration camps.

¹³³ Reinhard Heydrich put it this way in 1941: ‘The dangerousness of this international, communist-infested, anti-German rabble needs no further explanation. Only the situation of the labour market has determined me not to have the (...) *Rotspanier* (...) arrested (...) but to observe them for the time being and only place them in the camps intended for these elements in the event of undisciplined or politically detrimental behavior’, Reinhard Heydrich to minister of labour Franz Seldte, 7 April 1941, quoted in *Rechtsprechung zum Wiedergutmachungsrecht*, vol. 18 (1967), p. 360.

¹³⁴ Luc, B. (2010) *Les déportés de France vers Aurigny*, La Hague: Editions Eurocibles; Dreyfus-Armand (2000); Alff, W. (1966) ‘Die republikanischen spanischen Flüchtlinge (“*Rotspanier*”); in *Gutachten des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. II, Stuttgart, pp. 264-292; Berdah, J. F. (2019) ‘Au service du Ille Reich. Persécution et exploitation des républicains espagnols dans la France occupée (1940-1944)’, in Camps, C. and Sagnes-Alem, N. (eds.) *Les camps de réfugiés espagnols en France, 1939-1945*, Cazouls-lès-Béziers: Editions du Mont, p. 131-150.

"RS", were assigned in large groups to construction companies, and were often transferred between construction sites. Thousands escaped to go underground and some entered the Resistance. Hundreds were arrested and sent to punishment commandos or deported to concentration camps in the Reich.¹³⁵

Arrivals and departures

Some 4,000 Spanish exiles worked in the Channel Islands.¹³⁶ There are no exact numbers of how many were sent to Alderney, but our research highlights that there was a minimum of at least 347-507, of whom we have been able to identify by name 133.

On 22 February 1942 the first *Rotspanier* arrived at Alderney.¹³⁷ They came from Brest, where they had worked on the construction of the submarine base. In terms of numbers, some testimonies cite c.300 people, but a post-war report from British intelligence puts the number at precisely 297. Using German, French and Spanish sources, we identified 50 Spaniards in that first convoy of February 1942, and a further two in March of that year. The same report cites that, in August 1942, 250 of the Spaniards were evacuated to Guernsey. As regards the remainder of this group, 37 were in Alderney until mid-1944 and only 10 stayed on until May 1945.¹³⁸

Arrivals in 1943 were much lower than in 1942. Firstly, there were some transports from Vernet. An unknown number of these arrivals were 'volunteers' who had signed a contract with the OT to be able to get out of the internment camp. Documentation from French archives provides hundreds of names (not all of them Spaniards). However, as the documents note that the transports were sent to the Channel Islands, it is not possible to ascertain who eventually came to Alderney;¹³⁹ we have only been able to identify 10 by name.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, some Spaniards working in Jersey or Guernsey were sent to Alderney as a punitive measure for minor offences.

¹³⁵ Garcia, G. (2013) *Plaza de los republicanos españoles. Testimonios de exiliados en Bretaña*, Editorial Comuniter; Prades, E.P. (2000) *Morir por la Libertad. Españoles en los Campos de Exterminio Nazis*, Ediciones Vosa; Roig, M. (2017) *Els catalans als camps nazis*, Barcelona: Edicions 62; Soo, S. (2013) *The Routes to Exile: France and the Spanish Civil War Refugees, 1939-2009*, New York: Manchester University Press.

¹³⁶ Bonnard, B. (1993) *Alderney at War*, Stroud: The History Press; Pike, D. W. (2015) 'Les îles anglo-normandes sous l'occupation allemande et la singularité des républicains espagnols en captivité (1^{re} partie : 1940-1943)', *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 260: 59-78 ; Pike, D. W. (2016) 'Les îles anglo-normandes sous l'occupation allemande et la singularité des Républicains espagnols en captivité (2^e partie : 1944-1945 et l'après-guerre)', *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 261: 119-138.

¹³⁷ Dreyfus-Armand, G. (2000).

¹³⁸ MIM. ASFIC 5350. Report on visit, Jersey-Guernsey, 7 to 11 August 1945, by Sergeant Shepherd.

¹³⁹ Archives Départementales de la Manche, Saint-Lô (France). 2Z347. Préfecture de Rouen, liste des ex-internés du Camp du Vernet recrutés par les Autorités d'Occupation pour aller travailler sur les chantiers des Îles Anglo-Normandes – Organisation Todt, 24 March 1943.

¹⁴⁰ Crespo, M. (2014), *Esclavos de Hitler. Republicanos Españoles en los Campos Nazis del Canal de la Mancha*, Barcelona:

During the months of April, May and June 1944, several convoys of deportees left Vernet. Separated along the way, some were sent to Dachau and others to Alderney.¹⁴¹ The total number of these Spanish deportees from Vernet is again unclear.

According to one testimony, the last transport to arrive in Alderney on 4 June 1944 consisted of two hundred deportees, the majority of them are Spaniards.¹⁴² All in all, we have identified 41 Spaniards who arrived at Alderney in 1944. Most of them were likely to have been evacuated back to Continental Europe in the course of that same year because fewer than this were present at liberation. Some of those evacuated in the summer of 1944 were destined for the Reich, but managed to escape en route.

Work, survival, death, memory and justice

Most of the Spaniards were interned in Norderney camp. There were also small groups in the other camps, including in Sylt when it was already under SS control. Almost 90% of the identified Spaniards were between 20 and 45 years old. The youngest was 18, the oldest, 60. The Spaniards worked in construction, quarrying, the unloading of ships, transport, and in the offices of the camps themselves. Testimonies agree that the Spaniards were noted for their solidarity and strong mutual support.¹⁴³

Only one Spaniard is documented as having died in Alderney: Pedro González, who arrived in February 1942 and died on 27 April 1942, at the age of 39.¹⁴⁴ José Losada del Amo also arrived in the first transport and stayed in Alderney until the end of the war. He was later sent to hospital in Jersey, where he died in September 1945, aged 55.¹⁴⁵ Among the few testimonies provided by Spaniards who were in Alderney, there are many references to the appalling living conditions, mistreatment and even murder. However, where it comes to deaths, it has been observed that

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¹⁴¹ Farreny del Bosque, C. and Farreny del Bosquen H. (2010) "L'Affaire Reconquista de Espana" 1942-1944. *Résistance espagnole dans le Sud-Ouest*, Éditions Espagne au Cœur.

¹⁴² Lemoine E. (1988) *Au baigne, le curé! Ou l'Odyssée d'un curé normand déporté à l'île d'Aurigny en 1944, terre anglo-normande devenue baigne nazi*, Caen, cited in Amicale des Anciens Internés Politiques et Résistants du camp de concentration du Vernet d'Ariège (AAI) (2010) *Lettre d'information Spéciale*, October, p.5. Benoit Luc (see contribution in this report) provides a 5 June dating and arrives at a different figure for this transport (40). This reflects his conservative handling of the sources, which relies (mostly) on official archival documentation. The difference between the two figures is accounted for in Table A (executive summary).

¹⁴³ Colomer, M., Bonamusa, N. and Farrell, D. (2023) *Cartes des de l'Exili. Josep Vicente Anadón, atrapat entre dues guerres*, Argentona: La Comarcal Edicions; Pike, D. W. (2015) ; Pike, D. W. (2016).

¹⁴⁴ TNA. WO 311/13. Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Report on Atrocities in Alderney (1942-1945), 27 June 1945.

¹⁴⁵ MIM. ASFIC 5350. Report on visit, Jersey-Guernsey, 7-11 August 1945, by Sergeant Shepherd; JA. B/A/W85/6. Plan of Strangers' Cemetery, Jersey.

Spaniards did not explicitly mention the death of other Spaniards, but only those of workers of other nationalities; nor did they provide names.¹⁴⁶

In the 1960s, dozens of Alderney Spaniards, together with other *Rotspanier* who had toiled on the Atlantic Wall, went to court to claim compensation from the West German government. After a long legal process, they won their case in 1972, becoming the first group of former forced labourers of the Third Reich to have been recognized by West Germany as victims of Nazism. On the treatment of the *Rotspanier*, the competent judge stated that their fate was not on a par with that of the Jews. However, the German leadership did consider the Spanish Republican refugees as potential ideological enemies, and this had a bearing on their treatment in the OT. While the treatment was not uniform, some *Rotspaniers* had to endure conditions that were 'comparable to those in concentration camps'. This consideration is of particular relevance to Alderney, the harshest place for the *Rotspanier* on the Atlantic Wall.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ e.g. Dalmau, J. (1956) *Slave Worker in the Channel Islands*, Guernsey: Guernsey Press; also IWM. D.14523. Palmer Papers; it is noticeable that war crimes investigators were often patronising and disparaging in their records of interviews with Spaniards. Therefore it is possible that they did not take the men seriously enough to record their testimony in the depth they deserved.

¹⁴⁷ Muñoz, A. (2021) 'La lucha de los antiguos trabajadores forzados españoles del III Reich por ser reconocidos como víctimas del nazismo (1956-1972)', *Hispania Nova - Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, nº19: 325-352.

VI. Deaths in transit

Paul Sanders

This section deals with deaths in transit - to and from the island; or in locations outside Alderney, as a result of the treatment received in the island. Theodore Pantcheff thought that several hundred Alderney deportees must have died after leaving the island¹⁴⁸ - in shipwrecks, *en route*, in escape attempts, in executions or in hospitals following their repatriation. Further deaths occurred during the evacuation of the workforce from the island after D-Day.

The ports of interest with regard to Alderney are Cherbourg, at the tip of the Cotentin Peninsula, and St Malo. The vessels plying these routes that typically emerge in the sources were the *Franka*, *Xaver Dorsch*, *Robert Müller*, *Dorothea Weber*, *Gerfried*, *Schwalbe* and *Minotaure*. Weather permitting, convoys plied the Cherbourg-Alderney route every fortnight, and these movements included transports of labourers and prisoners. As one German PoW interrogated in July 1945 stated, batches of men who were too ill or too infirm to continue working were taken out at regular intervals, typically after a few months.¹⁴⁹

The longer route to St Malo, via Guernsey and Jersey, became the only practicable one in the wake of D-Day, when the link to Cherbourg was severed. As a reminder, Cherbourg was an early objective of the Allied landing and fell to US forces on 1 July 1944. Alderney prisoner deaths on the St Malo route would have occurred, in their majority, during the evacuation of most of the remaining non-German workers in the island, in late June – early July 1944.

Prisoner transports

In January 1943 180 sick Russians were shipped from Alderney to Cherbourg on the *Franka*. A second transport, that same month, of an additional 300 Russians, remained stranded for 3 days on the *Xaver Dorsch*, during which time around **15** bodies were carried away.¹⁵⁰ Additional loss of life occurred when the vessel was beached in a storm at Bray Harbour, on 13-14 January. The

¹⁴⁸ JA. L/D25/A/4. Information provided by T.X.H. Pantcheff, appendix to Col B E Arnold, *The Alderney Story*, n.d.

¹⁴⁹ TNA. WO 311/12. Statement Josef Kaiser, 11 July 1945.

¹⁵⁰ Pantcheff, T.X.H. (1981) *Alderney Fortress Island. The Germans in Alderney, 1940-1945*, Chichester: Phillimore, p.18-19. In 1945, two Germans, Werner Höhne and Josef Kaiser, gave figures of 14 and 15 deaths respectively, see TNA. WO 311/13. Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Report on Atrocities in Alderney (1942-1945), 27 June 1945, p. 90. Their statements are also included in TNA. WO 311/12, as is a corroborating statement by Hans Schenk.

survivors were then returned to camp Helgoland, and a further evacuation attempt was made in February 1943.¹⁵¹

In June 1943, around one-fifth (200) of the total prisoner population¹⁵² of camp Sylt, which was a satellite of Neuengamme, were too infirm to continue working. Military command had made it clear that, due to the strained supply and logistics, it wanted all 'useless eaters' removed. A second reason was that the Germans had learnt that one way of keeping the spread of epidemics in check was to reduce the number of sick prisoners in the island. As a result of this policy, the SS scheduled an evacuation of sick Sylt prisoners to Neuengamme. Before this went ahead, Maximilian List, the commandant of Sylt, subjected every candidate to examination, in order to prevent 'slackers' from joining the transport who might avail themselves of the opportunities for escape that cross-border travel entailed. List announced that candidates had a choice between 'work' and 'death'. The final figure reduced to 150, who left Alderney in early July. When they arrived in Cherbourg, an empty railroad car was added to the train, for deaths *en route*.¹⁵³ Despite the precautions taken by the SS, at least 12 prisoners are thought to have escaped during the journey. The total number of prisoners reaching Neuengamme on 13 July was 136 (of whom **seven** were dead on arrival).¹⁵⁴

This first transport of sick prisoners to Neuengamme was followed by smaller ones, amounting to a total of c. 60 other sick prisoners (of whom some also escaped or perished *en route*).¹⁵⁵ Based on findings Marc Buggeln published in 2014, around 20 percent of those who were sent back to Neuengamme perished - some in the first four months after arrival, others as late as 1944.¹⁵⁶

October 1943 saw another large evacuation of OT labourers, this time on the *Dorothea Weber*, who left in similarly poor conditions as their predecessors.¹⁵⁷

Two transports, on 15 January and 29 March 1944, repatriated 150 sick prisoners from camp Norderney to France. Of these, **two** Jewish deportees later succumbed at the Hôpital Rothschild in Paris (in May and in August 1944, respectively).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ Sturdy Colls, C. and Colls, K. (2022) "*Adolf Island*": *The Nazi Occupation of Alderney*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.103.

¹⁵² Fings, K. (2005) *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ: Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden*, Paderborn: Schöningh, pp.205; 212.

¹⁵³ Fings (2005: 206).

¹⁵⁴ BAB. BDC/SSO. Maximilian List, Disziplinarakte, Verfügung vom 14 Oktober 1943; Vernehmungen Klebeck und List, September 1943.

¹⁵⁵ Fings (2005: 212).

¹⁵⁶ Buggeln, M. (2014). *Slave Labor in Nazi Concentration Camps*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.85-86.

¹⁵⁷ Pantcheff (1981: 19).

¹⁵⁸ Luc, B. (2010). *Les déportés de France vers Aurigny*, La Hague: Editions Eurocibles, pp.127-134.

On 7 May 1944, the remaining 440 Jewish inmates of Norderney were sent to forced labour camps in the area of Boulogne-sur-Mer. The *Amicale d'Aurigny*, the interest group founded by the survivors after the war, related that on the way there, and until Liberation, a 'large number' of escapes occurred.¹⁵⁹ All in all, 7 deportees died in the camps of the Boulonnais, including one at the Collège Mariette OT camp in Boulogne; and three in the course of bombardments. **One** French deportee remains unaccounted for. He was last seen when he attempted to escape from a train passing through Paris, on 31 July 1944. The remainder of this group was liberated near Dixmuide (Belgium), on 4 September 1944.¹⁶⁰

By July 1944, the overwhelming majority of non-German OT workers were evacuated from Alderney to St Malo.¹⁶¹ One of the vessels used for this purpose was the *Minotaure*. After a stopover in Jersey, which the boat left under the cover of darkness, on the night of 3-4 July, it was torpedoed by an Allied vessel off Chausey, on the approach to St Malo. The exact number of passengers or victims is unknown, but a common estimate is that half of the passengers perished. One survivor, Colleen Queree, a stowaway from Jersey, spoke of 300 passengers, of whom **29** were killed instantly by the impact, while an unknown number drowned.¹⁶² Dennis Le Cuirot, another islander who boarded the *Minotaure* in Jersey with the intention of escaping to France, stated that there were 175 survivors.¹⁶³

The best documented group are the remaining 636¹⁶⁴ *SS Baubrigade I* prisoners, who were evacuated from Lager Sylt, on 24-25 June 1944: 280 on the *Gerfried*¹⁶⁵, and the remainder aboard the *Schwalbe* and the *Franka*.¹⁶⁶ The vessels transited through Guernsey and Jersey, where the *Gerfried* passengers were transferred onto another vessel, the *Klaus Wilhelm*¹⁶⁷, before finally reaching St Malo on the morning of 1 July. From here the prisoners took a tortuous route down the Loire Valley and across the Centre of France, reaching Kortemark, near the

¹⁵⁹ Historique sur Aurigny, *Amicale des Anciens Déportés à l'Île anglo-normande d'Aurigny* (incl. 1993 testimony of David Trat, president of the *Amicale*), n.d.

¹⁶⁰ Luc (2010: 134-139); UNWCC. French Charges against German War Criminals. Charge No. 522, 7 July 1945, <https://unwcc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Reel-5-Charge-files-France-vs-Germans-181-520.pdf>, p. 1835-1837. The latter archive includes details about two of the seven deaths.

¹⁶¹ Pantcheff (1981: 10).

¹⁶² JA. L/C/24/C/8. Testimony of Colleen Queree, 9 July 1945. Her figure merits attention, as she had previously worked in Alderney, and could have been familiar with some of the people on board.

¹⁶³ JA. L/C/24/C/9. Testimony of Dennis Le Cuirot, n.d.

¹⁶⁴ KZ Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 'Alderney (I. SS-Baubrigade)', <https://www.kz-gedenkstaette-neuengamme.de/geschichte/kz-aussenlager/aussenlagerliste/alderney-i-ss-baubrigade>; also Fings (2005: 212).

¹⁶⁵ Pantcheff (1981: 36-37) cites an extract from the log book of the *Gerfried*. The original is referenced in Sturdy Colls and Colls (2022: 170, n.170) as being in the Guernsey Island Archives (IA. AQ 875/03).

¹⁶⁶ BAB. NS 19/14. Situation Report, 7 August 1944, cited in Sturdy Colls and Colls (2022: 170, n.170).

¹⁶⁷ Statement by Henry Meier, captain of the *Klaus Wilhelm*, 7 June 1945, see TNA. WO 311/13. Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702, Report on Atrocities in Alderney (1942-1945), 27 June 1945.

Belgian Channel coast, on 28 July 1944. At Kortemark they toiled on V1 sites for several weeks, until they were transferred to Sollstedt, a satellite camp of Buchenwald, arriving there on 10 September.¹⁶⁸ The largest number of deaths during this two-and-a-half-month odyssey was the result of outright executions during or following escapes. According to the testimony of one veteran prisoner, the SS escort killed seven of his comrades during the probably first escape attempt, after the train left Rennes, on the night of 5-6 July. The following day (7 July) another four prisoners were shot¹⁶⁹; and on 10 July one prisoner was interred near the railway tracks, on the approach to Angers.¹⁷⁰

The files in the Neuengamme database¹⁷¹ indicate the following dates and numbers for the fatalities that occurred on the journey to Kortemark:

Table F – Fatalities during evacuation of SS Baubrigade I, June-July 1944

Date	Number of fatalities	Reason of death
30 June 1944	1	Unclear ('died during evacuation')
6 July 1944	3	Shot during escape
7 July 1944	4	Shot during escape
9 July 1944	1	Shot during escape
11 July 1944	1	Shot during escape
14 July 1944	4	Unclear ('died during evacuation')
18 July 1944	3	Killed in bomb explosion
22 July 1944	2	Shot during escape
26 July 1944	18	Shot during escape
TOTAL	37	

The most substantial of the deliberate killings took place on 26 July 1944, near Breuvannes (Eastern France), when the SS escort stopped the train and sprayed the railway car, from which

¹⁶⁸ KZ Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 'Alderney (I. SS-Baubrigade)', <https://www.kz-gedenkstaette-neuengamme.de/geschichte/kz-aussenlager/aussenlagerliste/alderney-i-ss-baubrigade>; NIOD. Archief 250k, inv.no.788, Curt Hille (Magdeburg) to the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme (Hamburg), 10 March 1950.

¹⁶⁹ See the testimony of the Baubrigade prisoner Jan Woitas, Procès-Verbal, Commission de Recherche des criminels de guerre de la Hollande Septentrionale, 23 Juillet 1946, UNWCC. French Charges against German War Criminals. Case No. 2415, 18 December 1946, <https://unwcc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Reel-10-Charge-files-France-vs-Germans-2061-2231.pdf>, p. 671. The statement is partly corroborated by another survivor, who writes that the escort killed two prisoners and seriously injured one other during the escape attempt of five prisoners on 5-6 July. He also mentions the four prisoners shot in two separate railway carriages on 7 July, see NIOD. Archief 250k, inv.no.788, Curt Hille (Magdeburg) to the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme (Hamburg), 10 March 1950.

¹⁷⁰ BAL. 410 AR 63/77 (p. 695). Witness statement by Walter H., 1 June 1967, cited in Fings, Karola, 'Alderney (Kanalinsel) (SS-BB I)', in Megargee, Geoffrey P. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of camps and ghettos, 1933-1945* (in association with The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC), Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2012, Vol I, part B, p.1362 (note 13). The date of the burial near Angers appears in a survivor letter, NIOD. Archief 250k, inv.no.788, Curt Hille (Magdeburg) to the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Neuengamme (Hamburg), 10 March 1950.

¹⁷¹ AG-NG. Totenbuch, Reviertotenbuch and Standesamtsregister; ITS. 1.1.30. Namen für die Hauptkartei verkartet; Totenbuch Neuengamme (online), <https://www.kz-gedenkstaette-neuengamme.de/geschichte/totenbuch/die-toten-1940-1945/>

4 prisoners were attempting to escape, with bullets. While the SS left behind one body, 17 others were interred 80 kilometers further north, next to the railway line at Ecrouves, just outside Toul, the following day.¹⁷² According to Fings, the final death count on reaching Kortemark was **37**, as against 27 successful escapes.¹⁷³

In total, the number of individuals who perished in transit is **97** individuals; to which one should add **one** individual reported missing (this count does not include the 20 percent of SS *Baubrigade I* prisoners who perished *after* their return to Neuengamme). The figure is not final. In keeping with Pantcheff's intuition outlined in the beginning of this section it should be understood as a strict minimum.

¹⁷² UNWCC. French Charges against German War Criminals. Case No. 2415, 18 December 1946, <https://unwcc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Reel-10-Charge-files-France-vs-Germans-2061-2231.pdf>, p.660ff; these 18 deaths are also logged in other archives: AG-NG. Totenbuch, Reviertotenbuch and Standesamtsregister; ITS. 1.1.30. Namen für die Hauptkartei verkartet.

¹⁷³ Fings (2012: 1362); update provided by Karola Fings (May 2024).

VII. Forced labour and mortality in Alderney in comparative perspective

Marc Buggeln, Karola Fings, Fabian Lemmes

Forced labour in Nazi-occupied Europe

In order to classify Alderney's forced labour conditions and death rates within the German occupation regimes in Europe, and the coercive and violent conditions associated with them, comparison is necessary. This is the only way to show the extent to which conditions in Alderney differed from those in the German Reich or other German-occupied territories. Mortality rates are an important indicator here because, on the one hand, they focus on the ultimate and irreversible experience of violence – death – and, on the other hand, mortality rates generally reveal something about the conditions in the respective camps.¹⁷⁴ As there are more or less well-founded assumptions about a higher mortality rate in many camps, we have based our comparison only on the confirmed deaths.

In the case of Alderney, it is crucial to distinguish between concentration camp prisoners, civilian forced labourers and Jewish forced labourers. Generally speaking, concentration camp prisoners were subjected to a permanent regime of violence and terror by the SS, which resulted in a high mortality rate in the concentration camps. In contrast, civilian forced labourers from Western Europe were subjected to far less violence. The civilian forced labourers from Eastern Europe (in the case of Alderney mainly *Ostarbeiter*, see below) were subjected to significantly worse working and living conditions and to a greater extent to repression and violence. Nevertheless, even for them the conditions and chances of survival were in general far better than in a concentration camp.

Jewish forced labourers (here referring to forced labour outside concentration camps) were subjected to the greatest extermination pressure. Since the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, for example, there were approximately 750 to 800 'forced labour camps for Jews' in former Polish and Soviet territories.¹⁷⁵ Some of the inmates were executed as soon as the planned work was completed, while others were deported in succession to ghettos or extermination camps, where many of them died.

¹⁷⁴ Buggeln, B. (2014) *Slave Labour in Nazi Concentration Camps*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.83-84; Fings, K. (2005) *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ. Himmler's SS-Baubrigaden*, Paderborn: Schöningh, pp.166-181, 208-214.

¹⁷⁵ Wenzel, M. (2009) 'Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden in den besetzten polnischen und sowjetischen Gebieten', in Benz, W. and Distel, B. (eds.) *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, C.H. Beck: Munich, vol. 9, pp. 125-154, here p. 125.

From 1943, Jewish *Mischlinge* (Nazi jargon for 'mixed race') and Jewish people who were married to non-Jewish people were used more intensively for forced labour in the German Reich and in occupied Western Europe.¹⁷⁶ It was standard practice to transfer these individuals to the Organisation Todt, as the Wehrmacht had previously declined to utilise this group for forced labour in October 1943. This group was also subjected to forced labour and mistreatment. However, as the Nazi leadership was fearful of protests from non-Jewish relatives,¹⁷⁷ their conditions were more comparable to those of civilian forced labourers than those of concentration camp prisoners. According to official guidelines, they were not to be treated as forced labourers but as free labourers. Nonetheless, there was a constant threat that any form of inadequate labour or resistance could lead to a report to the Gestapo.¹⁷⁸

Large numbers of Jews from the German Reich were deported to concentration camps during the November pogrom of 1938. Thereafter, most were deported from the territory of the Reich to concentration and extermination camps in German-occupied Central and Eastern Europe. The Jewish prisoners who were in the Neuengamme concentration camp were either murdered in the summer of 1942 as part of the '14f13' murder operation or deported to Auschwitz in autumn 1942.¹⁷⁹ By 1943/44, therefore, there were (with a few exceptions) hardly any Jewish prisoners left in the concentration camps in the Greater German Reich and the ever-expanding network of satellite camps. This explains, why there were no Jewish prisoners in the *SS Baubrigade I* in Alderney. It was not until 1944, when the labour shortage in the Reich became acute and many camps were relocated from the East as the Red Army advanced, that the number of Jewish prisoners in concentration camps increased significantly.

Forced labour in Alderney

The organisation of the *Arbeitseinsatz* (labour deployment) for the fortification work in Alderney was the task of the Organisation Todt. This applied both to the civilian labour force and to the Jews deported from France, who were housed and fed in OT camps, as well as to the concentration camp prisoners, although the SS was responsible for guarding the latter. The OT construction sector (Bauleitung) 'Adolf' formed for Alderney was – like the construction sectors on Jersey and Guernsey – integrated into the OT structures in occupied France, i.e. part of OT

¹⁷⁶ In Eastern Europe, Jewish 'Mischlinge' were also treated like 'full Jews'.

¹⁷⁷ Stoltzfus, N. (2001) *Resistance of the Heart: Intermarriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest in Nazi Germany*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

¹⁷⁸ Gruner, W. (2006) *Jewish Forced Labour Under the Nazis. Economic Needs and Racial Aims, 1938-1944*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 89-102.

¹⁷⁹ Garbe, D. (2007) 'Neuengamme – Stammlager', in Benz and Distel, *Der Ort des Terrors*, vol. 5, pp.315-346, here pp.322f.

Einsatzgruppe West.¹⁸⁰ Until November 1942, it was subordinate to the Oberbauleitung 'Normandy' (St-Malo), then to the newly established Oberbauleitung 'Cherbourg'. The heterogeneous composition of the workforce in Alderney (French civilian workers, Soviet civilian workers, Poles, Czechs, 'Red Spaniards', French prisoners, Jewish forced labourers, concentration camp inmates) was basically typical of *OT Einsatzgruppe West*. However, the very small number of local workers and the large number of concentration camp prisoners were unusual.

Concentration camp prisoners

The Alderney satellite camp that hosted the *SS Baubrigade I* (Construction Brigade) was assigned to the main Neuengamme concentration camp near Hamburg. A comparison shows that mortality rates of the concentration camp prisoners in Alderney were not only generally lower than mortality rates in the Neuengamme main camp, but also lower than average mortality in the Neuengamme satellite camps. The monthly mortality rate in Alderney was highest in the first four months (March-June 1943), when it was between 1.0-2.5 percent. During the same period, it averaged around 3.0 percent in the satellite camps and between 4.0-11 percent in the main camp.¹⁸¹ From the summer of 1943, mortality rates fell in large parts of the concentration camp system, partly because the SS issued a number of regulations aimed at making the prisoner labour force last for longer. Both in Alderney and on average in the Neuengamme satellite camps, the monthly mortality rate fell below 1.0 percent, while it tended to be just over one percent in the Neuengamme main camp. With all due caution (given the fragmentary nature of the data), it can generally be said that the chances of survival of concentration camp prisoners in Alderney, as in most satellite camps (the major exceptions being the large underground relocation projects such as Mittelbau-Dora or Ebensee, where conditions were catastrophic) were better than in the main concentration camps. Typically, this was due to the fact that the use of labour sites that were not under exclusive SS control could have a moderating effect on the use of violence by the SS (a situation that did not apply to the environment in the main concentration camps). But, the lower mortality in the satellite camps was also due to the fact that sick prisoners from these camps were often returned to the main camps.

Equally insightful is a comparison of death rates in the Neuengamme satellite camp (Sylt) in Alderney (March 1943–June 1944) with other satellite camps. The Alderney satellite camp

¹⁸⁰ Lemmes, F. (2021) *Arbeiten in Hitlers Europa. Die Organisation Todt in Frankreich und Italien 1940–1945* (Industrielle Welt, vol. 96.), Cologne: Böhlau.

¹⁸¹ Buggeln, *Slave Labor*, pp.28-32, appendix 5 and 8.

became the base of one of the SS Construction Brigades, mobile prisoner detachments under SS control that were created from autumn 1942. Camp management and SS guards sometimes moved along with the various deployments, and the ratio between the number of guards and the number of prisoners was similar. In the German city of Düsseldorf, the previous deployment of *SS Baubrigade I* before arriving in Alderney, 111 out of 600 prisoners (18.5 percent) died between October 1942 and February 1943. In Alderney, there were 102¹⁸² deaths, out of around 983¹⁸³ prisoners (10.4 percent), but over a much longer period of time (March 1943 to June 1944). Looking at other deployments of SS Construction Brigades in the Reich, Alderney even compares favourably to the extremely violent conditions in Osnabrück, where 34.4 percent of prisoners (86 out of 250) died between October 1942 and May 1943. On the other hand, there were also places where the death rate was significantly lower, such as in Wuppertal (0.2 percent, i.e. one death out of 600 prisoners, between October 1943 and May 1944).¹⁸⁴

The main reasons for the different death rates are the respective camp regimes, for which the respective camp commanders were responsible. This shaped the application of violence – meaning the degree of workplace brutality and other violence, combined with the degree of shortages (often exacerbated by corruption). The surrounding environment also played a role, especially in the German-occupied territories. In SS Construction Brigade V, which was deployed at various locations in Normandy (March 1944–August 1944), to build positions for the German *Luftwaffe*, around 80 of around 2,500 prisoners (3.2 percent) died during this period (around 50 of them due to bombing raids). Thanks to proactive support from the French civilian population, prisoners received help to survive, ranging from food to escape assistance.

Compared to most other sites of Construction Brigades in the Reich, it can be said that despite the impossibility of outside support and the island situation (which ruled out the possibility of escape from the outset), the prisoners' chances of survival in Alderney were by no means exorbitantly worse. However, they were as bad as in other satellite camps.

Civilian forced labourers

A slightly different picture emerges when we look at the other foreign workers, particularly the Soviet civilian workers. While the concentration camp prisoners were housed and guarded in a

¹⁸² Number of confirmed deaths.

¹⁸³ 532 prisoners of SS-Baubrigade I were brought to the island on 2 March 1943, and 495 on 5 March 1943, arriving on the ship *Robert Müller 8*, see IA. AQ875/03. Statement Captain Karl Hinrichsen, Jersey, 15 June 1945. Hinrichsen reports that each transport was accompanied by two SS officers and twenty SS men. 44 people are therefore deducted from the number of people transported here, resulting in a total of 983 prisoners.

¹⁸⁴ Fings, *Krieg*, pp.170-181.

camp controlled by the SS, the foreign civilian workers in Alderney were housed and fed directly by the OT.

It is even more difficult to determine the mortality rate of the foreign, non-Jewish civilian labour force in Alderney for the years 1942–1944 than of the concentration camp prisoners. Based on current knowledge, about 300 of the approximately 4,500 people in this group (not included in this number are the concentration camp prisoners and the Jewish forced labourers) died, giving a mortality rate of about 6.6 percent. These relatively high death rates were mainly due to the high mortality rates among Soviet civilian workers, who were subject to a discriminatory special regime as so-called *Ostarbeiter*¹⁸⁵ (Eastern Workers) and were brought to Alderney in large numbers in August 1942. Due to poor nutrition, long working hours, absence of medical care and inadequate clothing, many of the *Ostarbeiter* died in Alderney in the last quarter of 1942; or were in such a bad shape that around 500 of them had to be brought back to the mainland in January 1943, as no longer fit for work. Their working and living conditions were in marked contrast to those of the much better treated French civilian workers, even if the latter were conscripts.¹⁸⁶

On the one hand, this finding is not surprising, as *Ostarbeiter* were generally the most discriminated against group of civilian foreign forced labourers under National Socialist rule, both de jure and de facto. This applied to the territory of the German Reich as well as to the OT *Einsatzgruppe West* in France and other occupied territories. In this respect, the findings fit into the overall picture of Nazi forced labour as expected.

On the other hand, despite all the difficulties of quantification, the high mortality rate among the *Ostarbeiter* in Alderney appears to have been exceptional (although not necessarily unique). By way of comparison: according to Mark Spoerer's relevant estimates, around 170,000 of the 2.775 million Soviet civilian workers in Germany died during the war; their mortality rate was in the order of 3 percent per annum¹⁸⁷ and thus significantly lower than in Alderney. The high death rates in Alderney also stood out among the construction sites of the OT *Einsatzgruppe West*, even if we cannot quantify the mortality of the OT labour force in France as a whole. It is true that working on an OT construction site in occupied France was also difficult, dangerous (risk of accidents, regular air raids) and full of privation, and the living conditions, especially for the local and foreign forced labourers housed in camps, were poor to a greater or lesser

¹⁸⁵ On the 'Ostarbeitererlasse' (*Ostarbeiter* decrees), see Herbert, U. (1999) *Fremdarbeiter. Politik und Praxis des "Ausländer-Einsatzes" in der Kriegswirtschaft des Dritten Reiches*, Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, pp.154-157.

¹⁸⁶ Fings, *Krieg*, pp.197-214; Lemmes, *Arbeiten*, pp.507-508.

¹⁸⁷ Spoerer, M. (2001) *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*, Stuttgart: DVA, pp. 219-231.

extent.¹⁸⁸ However, there are no reports of such high death rates as in Alderney. A point of comparison for the local civilian labourers: at the Fécamp OT *Bauleitung* in Normandy, which – like the Adolf *Bauleitung* in Alderney – used several thousand foreign workers, the deaths of fourteen locals due to accidents are on record for the years 1942-44 (no figures are available for the foreigners from third countries brought to France): none in 1942, one in 1943 and thirteen in 1944.¹⁸⁹

We can therefore conclude: while the concentration camp prisoners of the *SS Baubrigade I* had no worse chance of survival under the conditions in the island than at many sites in the Reich, the other non-Jewish civilian forced labourers, especially the Soviet civilian workers, were more likely to die here than on the French mainland. The isolation from surrounding society had a negative effect on this group: their deployment was characterised by total control, inadequate food provision and workplace brutality, and thus approached the conditions that were common for concentration camp prisoners.

Jewish forced labourers

Previous research on the camps for Jewish forced labourers from 1943 onwards in the German Reich and Western Europe, which were mainly for Jewish *Mischlinge* and Jewish people married to non-Jews, suggests that there was generally no mass murder of the inmates in these camps and that relatively few inmates died.¹⁹⁰ In this respect, the low mortality rate of the large group of 594 Jews who arrived in Alderney in 1943, which figures in Benoit Luc's research, is in line with previous research findings on the Jewish forced labour camps in Western Europe and the German Reich from 1943 onwards.

The situation in the Jewish forced labour camps in Eastern Europe was dramatically different. Here, no distinction was made between different groups of Jewish people; instead, there was consistently poor treatment. The inmates of these camps were required to perform extremely hard forced labour at low rations. The mortality rate in many of the camps was correspondingly high. In addition, the forced labour camps were generally only a transit station until the inmates were transferred to the extermination camps and murdered.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Lemmes, *Arbeiten*, chapters 8 and 10; Dick, C. (2022) *Builders of the Third Reich*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, chapter 4.

¹⁸⁹ Martin, M. (1994) 'La construction des Blockhaus de Fécamp. Aspects économiques et humains', in *Annales du patrimoine de Fécamp*, 1: 48-67; Lemmes, *Arbeiten*, pp. 581-586.

¹⁹⁰ Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labour*, pp. 96-101.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-275.

'Extermination through labour' in Alderney?

Several publications on Alderney claim that the OT carried out systematic 'extermination through labour' there. This does not correspond to the current state of research. The term 'extermination through labour' goes back to an agreement reached between Reich Minister of Justice Otto Thierack and Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler in a conversation on 18 September 1942. Thierack recorded this point of the conversation as follows: "Extradition of asocial elements from the penal system to the Reichsführer SS for extermination through labour. All those in preventive detention, Jews, Gypsies, Russians and Ukrainians, Poles serving sentences of more than three years, Czechs or Germans serving sentences of more than eight years will be handed over at the discretion of the Reich Minister of Justice."¹⁹²

The formula 'extermination through labour' is therefore used in the research literature exclusively for concentration camps, to which prisoners were extradited from the penal system,¹⁹³ and for some camps for Jewish forced labourers in German-occupied Eastern Europe.¹⁹⁴

Even for these camps, however, the use of the term is controversial, as, over time, the SS administration tried to reduce high mortality rates, in order to make the much-needed prisoner labour last longer. Jens-Christian Wagner advised against using the formula even for the catastrophic conditions in some areas of the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp (such as the below-ground sites where prisoners engaged in heavy physical labour), because it indicated a planned, long-term programme (for which there was no evidence).¹⁹⁵ Particularly high mortality rates were connected to specific local conditions and constellations of protagonists. Even as regards the Jewish forced labour camps in Poland, Wolf Gruner is sceptical that one can consistently speak of a guiding principle of 'extermination through labour'.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Stanford Digital Repository. H-2479. PS-654. Minutes of the meeting with Reichsführer SS Himmler on 18 September 1942 in his field headquarters.

¹⁹³ Wachsmann, N. (1999) 'Annihilation through labour'. The Killing of State Prisoners in the Third Reich', *Journal of Modern History*, 71 (3): 624-659.

¹⁹⁴ Reference is made to a relevant passage in the minutes of the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942, which states: 'Under appropriate direction, the Jews are now to be suitably deployed for labour in the East in the course of the Final Solution. In large labour columns, with separation of the sexes, the Jews fit for work will be led to these areas by road construction, whereby a large proportion will undoubtedly be lost through natural wastage.' Quoted from Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes. R100857, pp. 166-180, here 172-173, reprinted in Roseman, M. (2002) *Die Wannsee-Konferenz. Wie die NS-Bürokratie den Holocaust organisierte*, Munich-Berlin: Propyläen, pp. 165-184.

¹⁹⁵ Wagner, J.-C. (2010) 'Work and extermination in the concentration camps', in Caplan, J. and Wachsmann, N. (eds.) *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany*, London/New York: Routledge, pp.127-148. See also: Buggeln, *Slave Labour*, pp.19-23 and 63.

¹⁹⁶ Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labour*, pp.291-293.

To be sure, racist thinking had penetrated to an extent, that there was an implicit understanding - in the OT, military and other German quarters in Alderney- that the deaths of large numbers of Eastern Europeans due to gruelling working conditions were not a problem. Nevertheless, this is different from deliberately planning to kill as many Eastern European forced labourers as possible through work. The formula 'extermination through labour' therefore does not apply to civilian forced labour in Alderney.

Conclusion

As everywhere in occupied Europe, conditions in Alderney under German occupation were shaped by the National Socialist policy of violence and forced labour. Since the beginning of the war, the use of forced labour had been extended to ever wider circles of people and ever larger groups of the population and prisoners. Alderney is emblematic of the massive use of forced labour for the German war economy under the radicalised conditions of 'total war' (*totaler Krieg*) that the German Reich had been waging in Europe since 1942/43, and especially for the massive use of forced labour by the OT. What made Alderney special was the fact that civilian population had been evacuated. Therefore, the only other people that concentration camp prisoners and civilian forced labourers came into contact with were almost exclusively German uniformed personnel (SS, military and OT). The conditions in Alderney differed for concentration camp prisoners and the various groups of civilian forced labourers, just as they differed elsewhere in Europe. Concentration camp prisoners were exposed to greater violence and had significantly higher mortality rates than civilian forced labourers. However, there was a certain adaptation process in Alderney.

The concentration camp prisoners in Alderney were exposed to less violence than their counterparts in a main concentration camp (but this should be seen as a reflection on the even more murderous conditions in concentration camps, rather than to imply a 'less violent' experience in Alderney). At the same time, it should be noted that the conditions for the concentration camp prisoners in Alderney improved with their transfer from the island to Belgium in summer 1944, because they received support from the local population.¹⁹⁷ In contrast, the conditions for the civilian forced labourers in Alderney were significantly worse than in occupied France, where the civilian population often supported the forced labourers and had a moderating influence on violent attacks on forced labourers through their presence alone.

¹⁹⁷ Fings, *Krieg*, pp.242-243.

This is clearly reflected in the comparatively high mortality rates among the civilian (non-Jewish) forced labourers in Alderney.

VIII. “Many were probably cremated”: corpse disposal by means of burning pits and pyres in German-ruled Europe, 1942-45

Robert Jan van Pelt

There is ample evidence that, during the German occupation of Alderney between 1940 and 1945, bodies of deceased forced labourers and prisoners were buried in three cemeteries: St Anne, Longy Common and the German Military Cemetery. In exhumations that were undertaken in 1949 and 1961, the remains of 396 individuals were recovered. However, there are currently speculations that the number of victims at Alderney might include thousands more people than the official number. In the first of two articles, published seven years ago in the *Daily Mail*, retired British Army officers Richard Kemp and John Weigold argued that:

[...] tens of thousands lost their lives in the most brutal way—at least 40,000 by our calculations and possibly many, many more. Such a toll makes Alderney nothing less than the biggest crime scene in British history.

In the second article they speculated that “a minimum of 40,000 slave labourers died from exhaustion, sickness, injury and brutality, and perhaps as many as 70,000.” The authors suggested that the Nazis either disposed the bodies at sea (by throwing them off cliffs or burying them in the shallow sand at the lowest tide); heaped them into “unmarked mass graves”; or “tossed” them into the concrete foundations of their fortifications.”¹⁹⁸

A fourth form of corpse disposal that is purported to have occurred in Alderney - open-air cremation - is the subject of this section. To be upfront: this argument is baseless. A straightforward approach would be to apply to this claim a classic *argumentum ex silentio* (argument from silence) because neither intentional evidence (testimonies and so on) nor non-intentional, material evidence (documents and other historical ‘tracts’) either mention, or show, remains of corpse burning in Alderney. Testimonies about open-air burnings in the extermination sites such as Auschwitz, Treblinka and other places suggest that these provided dramatic, almost apocalyptic spectacles that made an incredible impression on anyone involved.¹⁹⁹ One would have expected that if such events had occurred in Alderney, they would be present in at least some of the testimonies. Therefore the lack of such eyewitness evidence

¹⁹⁸ Kemp, R., Weigold, J. (2017) ‘Posing outside Lloyds Bank: The Nazi monsters who murdered thousands in British camps’, *The Daily Mail*, 7 May, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4482758/The-Nazi-monsters-murdered-thousands-BRITISH-camps.html>

¹⁹⁹ Müller, F. with Freitag, H. (1999) *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, p.136-38; about the sensory aspects that could not be avoided, see Flaws, J. (2021) ‘Sensory Witnessing at Treblinka’, *The Journal of Holocaust Research*, 35 (1): 41-65.

suggests that, despite a general agreement that arguments from silence are risky, in the case of open-air corpse burnings it might be valid, as such an occurrence would have been considered extra-ordinary and, hence, as a notable event.

Moving beyond an argument from silence, it is important to note that the history of the Holocaust shows that open-air burning of human corpses was technologically quite complex and, in addition, required the stokers to have hard-won experience. Hence the following short overview of the main developments in open-air cremation technology.

In early 1942 the chief of the Gestapo, Heinrich Müller, charged Paul Blobel, an architect who, for a few months, had led *Sonderkommando 4a* (Special Squad 4a), a mobile killing unit charged with murdering Jewish civilians in German-occupied Soviet Union, with the task to erase the evidence of the murders. Since the beginning of Operation Barbarossa in June 1941, mobile killing units had been murdering first Soviet officials and, from August onwards, also hundreds of thousands of Jews, leaving mass graves everywhere. In December 1941, German killing technology had taken a step forward through the creation of a semi-stationary killing installation near the village of Chelmno (*Kulmhof*), in the Wartheland province. The corpses were buried in mass graves in the Rzuchow Forest. Blobel was to find a way to efficiently get rid of all the evidence in this forest, by clearing the mass graves that already had been created. The reference number of Müller's file for what was to be known as the *Enterdungsaktion* (Exhumation Operation) was 1005, and so Blobel's project came to be known as *Aktion 1005* (Operation 1005). *Aktion 1005* was to be highly secret.²⁰⁰

Blobel faced a major technical problem: there was no technical experience in getting rid of large groups of corpses by means of burning. Initial experiments with flame-throwers and incendiary bombs proved disappointing: the exhumed corpses did not burn well, but the nearby trees did go up in flames. Then Blobel adopted a well-established method of disposing animal carcasses in burning pits in which the walls of the pit turned the heat back into the carcass, saving fuel. In 1905 German Engineer Wilhelm Heepke described a carcass burning pit measuring 2.5 metres by 2.0 metres and 0.75 metres deep, which contained at the bottom a second, narrower pit measuring 2.50s by 1.0 metre and 0.75 metres deep. The upper part of the pit was to hold the carcass and the lower part of the pit the fuel, which was wood soaked in petroleum. The carcass was suspended over the lower part of the pit, resting on three 2-metre-long iron bars that were

²⁰⁰ The most comprehensive study on the Nazi attempt to empty the mass graves in the East is Angrick, A. (2018) *"Aktion 1005", Spurenbeseitigung von NS-Massenverbrechen, 1942-1945* (2 vols.), Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag; also important is Hoffmann, J. (2008) *"Das kann man nicht erzählen": "Aktion 1005" - Wie die Nazis die Spuren ihrer Massenmorde in Osteuropa beseitigten*, Hamburg: KVV Konkret; and the collection of interviews that were the basis of the last-named book: Hoffmann, J. (2013) *"Diese ausserordentliche deutsche Bestialität": Wie die Nazis die Spuren ihrer Massenmorde in Osteuropa beseitigten*, Hamburg: KVV Konkret.

supported by the 0.50 metre wide shoulders of the lower part.²⁰¹ Blobel instructed his men to create a round, open burning pit, between 4 and 6 meters in diameter and 3 metres deep, with some iron rails on short masonry columns creating a grid suspended above a bed of coals, and with alternating layers of corpses and wood stacked on the grid. A special air shaft supplied the coals at the bottom of the pit with sufficient oxygen.²⁰² This contraption proved more satisfactory: it had a capacity of 100 corpses.²⁰³

Blobel's experiments in the Rzuchow Forest were meant to inform a general practice of erasing the evidence of massacres, and hence Blobel's results were immediately reported to Heinrich Himmler, who was responsible for the extermination of the European Jews. In March 1942 Auschwitz was given a role in the mass killing of Jews, and since the beginning of July, transports with Jews had been arriving on a daily basis in Auschwitz. Most of those brought to the camp were killed immediately after arrival in primitive gas chambers installed in two peasant houses, labeled as Bunker 1 and Bunker 2. Their bodies were buried nearby. On 17 July 1942, Himmler visited that camp to see the murder operation first hand, ordered the exhumation and burial of the corpses, and told his host, Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss, to travel to the Rzuchow forest and observe Blobel's pits in action.²⁰⁴ Höss carried out this order, taking along with him his aide Franz Hössler, who was to be responsible for the burning of the exhumed corpses, and Walter Dejaco, an architect in the Auschwitz Central Construction Office. Initially they were not convinced by the idea of using a pit, which required much labour, and upon their return to Auschwitz they decided to construct an above-ground pyre instead. They quickly abandoned this method however, and adopted Blobel's pits, using methanol and gasoline as fuel.²⁰⁵ Unlike the round burning pits created by Blobel, the four burning pits dug close to Bunker 2 near Auschwitz-Birkenau were rectangular, twenty meters long, three meters deep, and seven to eight meters wide. And it demanded considerable skill: if the bodies were packed too densely, the air couldn't get through and the fire would go out.²⁰⁶ Burning of one "load" took forty-eight

²⁰¹ Oudemans, A.-M. (2014) 'History of Animal Rendering– Destructie Column part 8' (posted 9 June), Geschiedenis van de dierlijk afvalverwerking of 'destructie' - History of Animal Rendering, <http://historyofdestructieoranimalrendering.com/2014/06>, also Heepke, W. (1905) *Die Kadaver-Vernichtungsanlagen*, Halle: Carl Marhold, p.33.

²⁰² See the Bonn District Court judgment in the Chelmno Trial (30 March 1963), as quoted in Rückerl, A. (1978, 2nd edition) *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, München: DTV, p.273-74.

²⁰³ UC San Diego, 'Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946, 1947), Extermination Camp Chelmno (Kulmhof), Part I', <https://pages.ucsd.edu/~lزامosc/gchelmno.html>

²⁰⁴ Höss, R. (1992) *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz* (edited by Steven Paskuly, translated by Andrew Pollinger), Buffalo: Prometheus Books, p. 33.

²⁰⁵ Höss, *Death Dealer* (1992: 32).

²⁰⁶ Venezia, S. (2009) *Inside the Gas Chambers – Eight Months in the Sonderkommando of Auschwitz*, London: Polity Press, p.59-60.

hours—after which significant body parts such as bones, skulls and other parts of the skeleton still remained.²⁰⁷

These pits were abandoned in the spring of 1943, when four new gas-chamber equipped crematoria came into operation in Auschwitz-Birkenau, and also Bunkers 1 and 2 were closed. However, in the spring and early summer of 1944, when the number of killed exceeded the incineration capacity of the crematoria, the SS ordered the creation of new incineration pits, which had an innovative feature: a special fat-recovery system to speed the combustion process.²⁰⁸ Yet maintaining the fire was a very labour intensive work because the heaps of bodies would always settle, preventing air getting into the pit, and dozens of stokers had to constantly pour fuel, including recovered human fat on the burning corpses to keep the flames burning.²⁰⁹

Incineration pits based on the one Blobel developed in the Rzuchow Forest were not only adopted in Auschwitz. In a modified form, they also served in the Operation Reinhard (Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka) extermination camps. In all of them iron rails were an essential element, creating a platform to carry the corpses, and in Treblinka the walls of the pits were coated with cement.²¹⁰

After his experiments in the Rzuchow Forest, Blobel created a number of roving Operation 1005 units to excavate existing mass graves of Jews who had been machine-gunned close to their villages and towns. These units consisted of closely guarded Jewish prisoners, who were killed after some time. While in the extermination camps it made sense to invest the time and labour to create the deep incineration pits that could be used again-and-again, when dealing with scattered smaller mass graves it did not make sense to invest the time and labour to excavate a large pit, obtain iron rails, and so on. In this case an Operation 1005 unit used an improved, above-ground pyre.²¹¹

In the Second World War the use of both cremation pits and large pyres was normally reserved for the burning of the corpses of those the Germans deemed sub-human. None of these

²⁰⁷ Greif, G. (2005) *We Wept Without Tears: Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp.136-38.

²⁰⁸ Höss, *Death Dealer* (1992: 160); Tauber, H. (2000) 'Deposition', in Dlugoborski, W. and Piper, F., *Auschwitz, 1940-1945: Central Issue in the History of the Camp*, Oswiecim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, vol. 3, p. 259; Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz* (1999: 130-32).

²⁰⁹ Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz* (1999: 136-8).

²¹⁰ Arad, Y. (1987) *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*, Indiana University Press, p.174-75; Rajchman, C. (2011) *The Last Jew of Treblinka: A Memoir*, New York: Pegasus, p. 85-86; see also Holocaust Education and Archive Research Team, 'Court Proceedings Extracts and Interrogations, Former Trawniki SS and Ukrainian Civilians serving in the Treblinka Death Camp', <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/ar/Trawniki/trawnikiInterrogations.html>

²¹¹ Hoffmann, "Diese ausserordentliche deutsche Bestialität" (2013: 101; 170).

contraptions were constructed in the (Greater) German Reich in its borders before the outbreak of World War II or in German-occupied Western Europe until early 1945. Only in the last months of the war were large corpse-disposal pyres constructed in the German Reich: this happened in Dresden, in the wake of the devastating aerial attack of 13-14 February 1945. This first and last use of corpse pyres in the Reich had its origin in the serendipitous presence in the city of a unit commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Streibel, which had participated in corpse burnings in the Operation Reinhard camps. While the pyres were meant to remain secret, local photographer Walter Hahn obtained an official pass to record the destruction in Dresden, and used the opportunity to take a few photographs which are one of the very few images showing open-air burning of corpses in World War Two.

This very short overview of the use of open-air burning of corpses in German-ruled Europe demonstrates that it was not an easy, self-evident technology of corpse disposal that could be improvised: it required design expertise, construction materials such as iron rails that were not available everywhere, considerable experience in arranging the corpses and keeping the pyre burning, and great amounts of fuel. In addition, the absence of testimony about the use of such pyres in Alderney - the argument from silence - and the fact that there is no material evidence (remains of pits or iron rails, which were an essential part of the pyres in the East) suggest that the claim of Messrs Kemp and Weigold - open-air cremation as an explanation for the absence of tens of thousands of corpses - is not plausible.

IX. Report on Fort Albert aerial photo

Chris Going

An article published in the Observer on 13 August 2023²¹² drew attention to a series of sub-triangular features visible on the North side of Fort Albert in an air photograph taken on 12 June 1944 (Sortie 106G/0813 frame 3050). They were identified as 'graves'.²¹³ This report evaluates these features.

Background

During 1943-44, Allied reconnaissance aircraft photographed the defences of the Atlantic Wall, including those on the Channel Islands, as they were strengthened. At this time, Fort Albert was adapted as a naval gun battery Marine Batterie (MB) 'Elsaß', whose principal armament was three 17cm SKC L/40 guns with a range of c. 15-18 kms.

Clearance work for a semi-sunken structure, identified as the MB fire control bunker is evident on frame 080 of Sortie RA 820 of 3 October 1943. Work is well under way on 20 March 1944, and close to completion on a third photographic cover of 12 June 1944. A dark, central mark on its flat roof locates what is probably the central axis of its parallax rangefinder (*Entfernungsmesser*)

What are the 'grave'-like features?

To be effective, the gun battery needed a range finder with a wide field of traverse NE, N and particularly to the W to keep watch on ships approaching Braye Bay.

To improve westward visibility would have required the old fort glacis to be cut back by the creation of a terrace-like berm. In this part of the site we encounter granite bedrock at a depth of c. 0.25m, and the slope is steep - around 45 degrees. The 12 June air photograph appears to show this work in progress, and we are likely looking at an established quarrying technique with

²¹² Townsend, M. (2023) 'The Holocaust happened on British soil': Inquiry into Nazi camps creates bitter divide on Alderney', *The Guardian*, 13 August, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/aug/13/the-holocaust-happened-on-british-soil-inquiry-into-nazi-camps-creates-bitter-divide-on-alderney>

²¹³ The identification of 'graves' below Fort Albert was alleged by Marcus Roberts, named by Mark Townsend in fn. 212.

'benches' for the lateral removal of rock spoil. This would have been followed by smashing and removing the separating baulks which would have been disposed laterally or downslope. The triangular-shaped shadows suggest the ground here was being lowered in flat-bottomed spit like 'boxes'. If these were graves, one would expect oblong shadows caused by the 'head' and 'foot' ends to be dug to the same depth. This is not what we see.

Changed shadowfall on aerial photos of 29 May 1945²¹⁴ show that the ground height was reduced across the entire area where the 1944 'graves' are alleged to have been cut some time after the area was photographed on 3 October 1943.

Conclusion

There is no evidence that the features observed in the June 1944 aerial photo are graves. The suggestion that prisoners were digging burials into granite bedrock in the middle of a hurried programme of upgrading the Atlantic Wall seems somewhat counter-intuitive, especially in an area where line of sight issues might force parts of the granite glacis to be immediately dug away. It also makes little sense to execute prisoners at this time.

To characterise more precisely the nature of the activity seen on the aerial photographs taken on this flight, the full cover should be studied in stereo.

²¹⁴ 106 Group 'Liberator' sortie 0045 (see frames 3065-7, 3119-21, and 4098-99).

X. The failure to prosecute war crimes committed in Alderney

Anthony Glees

This part of the review relates to the fact that virtually none of the German perpetrators of the atrocities committed against the slave labourers brought to Alderney were ever brought to justice. My chief concern as the advisor to Lord Pickles has been to research the reasons for what is, on the face of it, an egregious injustice, namely Britain's failure to mount a War Crimes trial in Alderney, following the liberation of the Channel Islands. This was solemnly provided for by the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943 (to which the UK was a signatory) and which formed the political foundation for all Allied war crimes trials.²¹⁵ This laid down that German war criminals, apart from the 'major' ones who, it was decided in 1945, were to be tried in an International Military Tribunal to be established in Nuremberg, should be tried in the territories where their atrocities had been committed and judged and punished according to the laws that applied there.²¹⁶ It seems scarcely understandable that Britain, of all countries, declined to try Nazi war criminals for appalling atrocities committed on British soil against citizens of some 30 nations.²¹⁷ Instead, the British authorities passed all the evidence that they had carefully collected in the so-called 'Alderney Case' to the USSR via the United Nations War Crimes Commission on 12 September 1945, despite the USSR not having requested it and so, apparently, directly contravening Britain's international treaty obligations.²¹⁸ The USSR accepted the case but, as far as we can tell, proceeded (much to Britain's disapproval) to do nothing with the evidence.²¹⁹ It followed that with one or two exceptions, all of those who had cruelly and systematically tortured, and often murdered their victims, in a British Crown Dependency, or those who had been the commanding officers of these men, could escape trial.²²⁰ In this way,

²¹⁵ Yale Law School - Lillian Goldman Law Library, The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, 'The Moscow Conference', October 1943, <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/moscow.asp>

²¹⁶ The Robert H. Jackson Center, 'London Agreement & Charter, August 8, 1945', <https://www.roberthjackson.org/article/london-agreement-charter-august-8-1945/#:~:text=The%20London%20Agreement%2C%20signed%20August,trial%20of%20Nazi%20war%20criminals.>

²¹⁷ From 23 July to 19 December 1949 (when all war crimes trials were wound down, and remaining cases passed to the West German authorities), the British tried 937 German war criminals, 230 were sentenced to death, mostly by hanging, but 54 were guillotined and a number shot; 600 were given prison sentences, see Sharman, C.L. (2007) *War crimes trials between occupation and integration: the prosecution of Nazi war criminals in the British zone of Germany*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Southampton, available at: University of Southampton Institutional Research Repository, <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/466423/>

²¹⁸ TNA. WO 311/106 7609.

²¹⁹ TNA. FO 371/3335; see also JAG Directive 6 Sept 1945: 'On no account should a German be tried by a British Military Tribunal for offences against Russians'.

²²⁰ TNA. WO 309/145; communication from Mr Roberts, 25 August 2023 (via Mr James). The exceptions were two German guards tried and convicted by the French authorities. The French had requested information from the Judge Advocate's Office on 15 March 1947 and were told on 24 March 1947, that 'no British nationals were involved', that 'the majority of the internees were Russian', and that the UK authorities had 'no list of the men responsible in the possession of this office'. This was not the full truth. Thanks are due to Mr Roberts and Mr James for a series of insights they offered at an early stage of this investigation.

justice was denied to their victims and their families. What was ‘covered up’, it should be emphasised, was not a lack of fervour on the part of the British to convict Nazi war criminals (indeed it was believed the Soviets would be far more severe in their punishment of the war criminals than the British). Rather it was that the case had been handed over almost at once to the USSR and that the USSR did nothing with it.²²¹ This has been hidden from public view until now.

A number of theories could be adduced to explain what appears to have been a national dereliction of duty, some more plausible than others. There is evidence to show that the decision to hand what was officially termed ‘the Alderney Case’ was taken over a six week period, from mid-June to the end of July 1945.²²² This was done as a result of deliberations between the Foreign Office, as the senior partner, the Judge Advocate’s Office and the Treasury Solicitor’s Office.²²³ The Foreign Office decided to expand the core principle of ‘territoriality’ enshrined in the Moscow Declaration to include ‘nationality’. The precise reasons for this may unfortunately be hidden in the mists of time. Whilst it was true that those who suffered or perished were chiefly Soviet citizens, this was irrelevant as far as the 1943 Treaty was concerned and a sizeable proportion were in fact Jews and citizens of some thirty countries, including Britain itself, France, Spain and North Africa.²²⁴ However, research for this Review shows that it is certainly not true that the British authorities wished any German perpetrators of atrocities (almost all of whom were in British captivity) to escape justice; indeed throughout 1945 and 1946 they sought to persuade the USSR to get on with trying them, even considering trying them themselves in the British Zone of Germany, a course favoured by the Attorney General Sir Hartley Shawcross and the Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin. But by 1947 the evidence shows Britain believed it had absolved itself of further responsibilities, even to the extent of denying (to France) that it had materials relating to what had happened in Alderney, a claim that was nonsense. It is a fact that had Britain tried the perpetrators itself, justice would have served and this did not happen. Precisely why, at some point, it was decided that the Alderney Case should be handed to the USSR deserves the fullest answer possible.

²²¹ Pantcheff, T.X.H. (1981, repr. 1987) *Alderney Fortress Island. The Germans in Alderney, 1940-1945*, Chichester: Phillimore; Steckoll, S.H. (1982). *The Alderney Death Camp*, London: Granada.

²²² TNA. TS 26/146; FO 371/51030; WO 311/46 (UNWCC papers); FO 800/921.

²²³ TNA. WO 311/46; FO 1060/6; FO 371/3335; TS 26/197 (re the deportation of British subjects from the Channel Islands to the Third Reich).

²²⁴ E.g. TNA. WO 311/106; on 23 July 1945 the JAG instructed investigators to seek affidavits of Spanish nationals on the Channel Islands ‘regarding atrocities carried out [there] by the Germans’.

The following document goes a long way to providing that answer. On 31 July 1945 RDJ Scott Fox from the Foreign Office Legal Dept wrote to Sir Thomas Barnes at the Treasury Solicitor's Office about the Alderney Case:

The delay in replying has been caused by my having to ask the JAG for further particulars about these alleged war criminals to enable us to reach a conclusion. We have now learned that all [sic] the victims of the alleged war crimes were Russians who worked for the Todt Organisation or were prisoners in the concentration camps on the island, with the possible exception of a few German nationals. Certain French Jews who succeeded the Russians in the Todt Organisation were not ill-treated by the Germans and no cases of war crimes have arisen in respect of them. Under the circumstances we feel that our best course would be to offer to have over to the Soviet authorities for trial all the Germans implicated in these war crimes together with all the evidence that we have collected. In this way we would hope to gain a certain kudos for the gesture and we should also be spared the possible later embarrassment by the Russians criticising in good or bad faith the leniency of any sentences passed by our Special Military Courts. Moreover if the Russians agree to take them they will thereby in a measure fall into line with our interpretation of the Moscow Declaration, i.e. that the nationality of the victims as well as the geographical location of the crimes should be a determining factor in deciding who should try a given war criminal. We do not wish to use them as a bargaining point but the gesture may be a useful precedent to encourage the Russians to give us more spontaneous help in other cases, particularly the Stalag Luft III case.²²⁵

The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the British authorities wished to get their hands on the Stalag Luft III perpetrators in Soviet hands, where the British and American airmen were the victims. And they believed this could be achieved by passing to the USSR the Alderney German war criminals whose victims were Soviet citizens.²²⁶

²²⁵ TNA. FO 1060/6; FO 1060/897; TS 26/146.

²²⁶ The Stalag Luft III case concerned the murder of US and UK PoWs by German officials, which went on to inspire the popular movie 'The Great Escape'. It was tried by a British court in Hamburg, despite the territory involved being under Soviet control, so it is possible the 'deal' was honoured by the USSR, IWM. 'Record of the Judgements at the Stalag Luft III War Crimes Trial', <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1030012290>

Conclusion

Robert Jan van Pelt and Paul Sanders

The historical place of Alderney

Immediately after the capitulation of the German Reich, George Orwell composed his essay 'Notes on Nationalism'. In it he despaired about the mental habits engendered by nationalism-obsession, instability, and above all, a total indifference to reality: "Every nationalist is haunted by the belief that the past can be altered. He spends part of his time in a fantasy world in which things happen as they should." And as nationalism was ubiquitous, it appeared to him that even the straightforward task of calculating the number of deaths caused by the war that had just come to an end would prove impossible: "One has no way of verifying the facts, one is not even fully certain that they have happened, and one is always presented with totally different interpretations of different sources."²²⁷

A few weeks after Orwell wrote those words, a British intelligence unit arrived in Alderney to create a record of the nature and scope of German atrocities committed during their occupation of the island. Not plagued by the kind of epistemological doubts on the possibility of establishing the truth at the end of a war that had shown the worst and best of nationalism, Major Sidney Cotton, Major F. F. Haddock, Captain C. Kent, Captain J.D. Denning, Captain Theodor Pantcheff, and their collaborators went about their shared task in a straightforward manner, interviewing witnesses and trying to locate material evidence of crimes committed. They worked within a common-sense Aristotelian understanding about the necessary correspondence between evidence and facts, and the necessary correspondence between facts and statement about facts—the latter being defined as the truth. "To say of what is that it is not, or of what is not that it is, is false, while to say of what is that it is, and of what is not that it is not, is true."²²⁸ Like many other now forgotten forensic reports researched and written immediately after the end of World War Two, Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702 on 'Atrocities Committed on Alderney (1942-1945)'²²⁹ and the various accompanying Periodical Reports, written by Pantcheff, are not perfect, but as good an attempt to establish with limited means the truth in difficult circumstances as could be undertaken.

²²⁷ Orwell G. (2002) 'Notes on Nationalism', in *Essays*, New York, London and Toronto: Alfred Knopf, p.874-75.

²²⁸ Metaphysics 1011b25.

²²⁹ TNA. WO 311/13.

In the years that followed, Orwell reworked the brilliant and also deeply disturbing insights articulated in the spring of 1945 into a masterwork that brought him immortality, while Pantcheff's yeoman service (along with that of Cotton, Denning, Haddock and Kent) to those who died in Alderney and those who survived their forced stay on the island allowed for a new beginning to all: the families of the deceased, the survivors, and the inhabitants of Alderney who, after a five-year exile in Britain, faced the daunting task of rebuilding their home. Pantcheff's report (and investigations by others) was filed in the National Archives in Kew, with another copy in a Moscow archive, and there they remained for the next sixty years, unseen. While his colleague investigators moved on to other things, Pantcheff, who had pre-war ties to Alderney, never lost his commitment to documenting the island's wartime past. In 1981 he provided a final service to the dead and the living when he published his *Alderney: Fortress Island*.

During the Cold War, Orwell's dark musings that we had arrived in an age in which the past might be altered seemed to apply to those on the other side of the Iron Curtain, but not to us, who lived on the 'right' side. Yet after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, an increasing sense of the relativity of facts, fed by post-modern theory and prospering within a progressively globalized and increasingly paranoid mental environment, inaugurated what is often labelled as the 'Post-Truth-Age' with its obsession with 'fake news' spread by alt-right trolls and others. And it is in that context that the certainties that honest and capable people like Pantcheff and his colleagues had created in the post-war era came to be questioned. As the established and alternative histories of Alderney became the topic of tabloid news reporting, it proved necessary to return to that seemingly old-fashioned task to establish the truth about what remains an immutable past. "Numbers matter because the truth matters," Lord Pickles stated in July 2023 when he announced the enquiry that has led to this report: "The dead deserve the dignity of the truth; the residents of Alderney deserve accurate numbers to free them from the distortion of conspiracy theorists."²³⁰ In order to arrive at that truth, he established a group of experts coming from different disciplines, different historiographical traditions, and different nations, offering a variety of perspectives that might provide an antidote to the indifference to reality that Orwell identified in May 1945.

Except for points of detail, the members of the panel are in agreement on the principal facts of the wartime history of Alderney, as can be established on the basis of the available evidence. In

²³⁰ Gov.uk, 'Press release: Review into the number of prisoners who died on Alderney during the Nazi occupation', 27 July 2023, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/review-into-the-number-of-prisoners-who-died-on-alderney-during-the-nazi-occupation>

other words, they believe that they have been able to establish, as Lord Pickles requested them to do, the truth. This is the summary of their findings.

Main results

The review concludes that a maximum of **1,134 deaths** occurred in Alderney between 1942 and 1944, with the probable range lying between 641 and 1,027 (see **Table B / pages 33-35**).

Offering these ranges was necessary as not all victims can be accounted for by documentary evidence. One therefore must rely on oral history, which presents other challenges in terms of accuracy. Although many oral sources exist in which witnesses offer wide-ranging estimates of the numbers of deaths, we have chosen to include in our figures only those that can be corroborated by multiple sources and/or which refer to very specific details about killings/deaths.

To these totals should be added the minimum of **98** people who died in transit or were presumed dead. The ill-treatment that labourers received in Alderney also undoubtedly contributed to further deaths that occurred in the weeks and months after they arrived at camps in mainland Europe. For those who survived, long-term health problems often resulted from the treatment they received in Alderney.

The **minimum number of prisoners/labourers sent to Alderney** during the German occupation, as calculated by the team, is **between c. 7608 and 7812 (table A)**.

In addition to accounting for the numbers of individuals who passed through the Alderney camps, the review has been working on establishing the identity of a large number of previously unidentifiable individuals. This personal information, which has been integrated into a master database, and to which names are being added on a rolling basis, will eventually be made accessible to the general public.

Besides its work on the numerical dimensions of death and forced labour in Alderney, the enquiry promotes a better understanding of the fate of specific groups of people who were sent to Alderney: Channel Islanders, several groups from France (including 594 Jews), and Spaniards. It also delves into issues such as the reason why the crimes committed in Alderney were not prosecuted by British courts, and how these crimes relate to the Holocaust.

In more general terms, the enquiry improves the framing of Alderney as a site of Nazi war and mass crimes, which is likely to contribute to a better-informed public debate. Colin Partridge's section on logistics establishes that there were contextual constraints; and that these constraints placed caps on metrics such as occupancy rates in the island. Arguments about Alderney during the occupation that deliberately choose to disregard such realities on the ground are essentially unsound. They should be treated like any other attempt to dull our senses with misinformation.

The section on situating Alderney in a comparative perspective with other sites of Nazi persecution (written by Marc Buggeln, Karola Fings and Fabian Lemmes) continues in the trajectory of Partridge. The authors point out that Alderney is emblematic of the massive use of forced labour in the German war economy. The range of forced labourers used—from civilian forced labourers from various nations to Jewish forced labourers and concentration camp prisoners—is also typical of the labour force directed by the Organisation Todt in German-occupied territories. As a special characteristic, they emphasise that due to the lack of a civilian population, the forced labourers on the island were almost exclusively exposed to German uniformed personnel (military, OT and SS). This meant that the mortality rate for the Eastern European civilian forced labourers in particular was significantly higher in Alderney than on the French mainland. At the same time, however, a comparison of the death rates shows that the Sylt concentration camp prisoners in Alderney had better chances of survival than in Neuengamme main camp, and that the death rates did not stand out significantly in comparison to other satellite camps (or SS Construction Brigades). From a comparative perspective, it also becomes clear that the low death rate among the Jewish forced labourers from France corresponds to what has been established in research on camps for Jewish forced labourers in Germany and Western Europe (but not in Eastern Europe, of course). According to the authors, the term 'extermination through labour' does not apply to the conditions in Alderney, as the workers were not sent to the island to be put to death. This changes nothing about the fact that workplace brutality, violence and hunger etc. —a signature of the National Socialist forced labour system based on racist criteria—were omnipresent on the island. An utterly callous attitude to human life prevailed in the OT, military and other German quarters. The common understanding was that certain categories of workers were 'expendables'. Large numbers of deaths among them, caused by gruelling working conditions, were not seen as a moral, but merely a logistical problem. Nevertheless, this is different from deliberately planning to kill as many forced labourers as possible through work (which is what the term 'extermination through labour' suggests).

The issue of constraints also emerges in Robert Jan van Pelt's excursion into the topic of open-air cremation. Van Pelt drives home the point that this form of body disposal is again attached to technical and logistical constraints. As a practice, it is tied to specific locations (Eastern Europe) and specific dates (1942-1944). The 'first and last' exception to this rule occurred in mid-February 1945, when the bodies that scattered the ruins of Dresden were burnt in corpse pyres. As van Pelt does not fail to point out, this was linked to a coincidence – the fact that an SS unit specialised in this form of body disposal happened to be in the city at this specific time; and that they were ordered to apply the skills acquired in the killing fields of Eastern Europe to dead Germans. Alderney lies well outside the geographical and chronological bounds sketched by van Pelt. *Ad hoc* arguments about the purported capability of the Nazis to replicate the practice of open-air cremation wherever and whenever do not resonate with the evidence but belong into the realm of historical fiction à la Jack Higgins. Finally, Chris Going's refutation of media allegations, that a site below Fort Albert contains secret mass graves, goes in very much the same direction of debunking 'alternative theories' used to account for deaths in Alderney.

Concluding reflection

For many years the wartime history of Alderney was a niche concern of a few scholars, a bond for a small group survivors of the German forced and slave labour deployment on the island, and a rather ambiguous presence in the life of those who lived there. British collective memory had allowed it to be forgotten, and it did not have a place in the collective memory of Nazi rule in general, or the Holocaust in particular. In being left out of the various collective memories in which it could have claimed a place, the wartime history of Alderney shared the fate of the great majority of histories, great and small, that succumb in the struggle of cultural survival, a struggle created by the fact that both individually and collectively humans have a limited capacity to absorb, recollect and represent knowledge.

Evaluations of what is important enough to be included in collective memory, and might be forgotten, occur within a continuously shifting political and social setting. Re-evaluations occur when an individual or group is able to convince society at large that, as in the words of the Psalmist, "the stone which the builders rejected Has become the chief cornerstone." A classic example of this is the Holocaust, the memory of which was suppressed in Europe after 1945, to become first socially and morally important in the 1980s, and to acquire vital political significance in the project of European unification twenty years later. By 2005 the Holocaust had become, in the now famous observation of Aleida Assman, one of the world's most prominent scholars of collective memory, the key *europäischer Gründungsmythos* (European foundation

narrative).²³¹ The history of the United Kingdom was only tangentially related to the Holocaust: the question of the admission or not of Jewish refugees to both the United Kingdom and Palestine between 1933 and 1939, the treatment of these refugees during the war, the response to news about the increasing persecution and genocide of Jews on the European continent from 1939 to 1945, and the decisions concerning Jewish survivors and the future of Palestine after 1945, define a periphery, and not the core of the Holocaust, which is symbolized by names such as Auschwitz, Babyn Yar, and Wannsee.

For the past decade, the wartime history of Alderney - and the way in which it was largely forgotten - was deemed to have both a narrative and symbolic potential for our understanding of the Holocaust. Wild speculations, and the onset of a polemic, but also genuine concerns, placed the case at the centre of public attention. And as Whitehall had established, in 2010, an office that dealt with post-Holocaust matters—the United Kingdom Special Envoy for Post-Holocaust Issues—the institutional framework existed for a process of re-evaluation. The present report is a result of this.

The wartime history of Alderney has entered, at least for now, into the larger collective memory of the United Kingdom and - given the press coverage abroad - of both European and overseas countries. The question now is whether this effort can endure. The collective knowledge of the past faces increasing pressure from the project to 'decolonize' representations of the past, through the inclusion of more global history. As a result, the renewed interest in what happened between 1940 and 1945 in Alderney may have come too late to be broadly relevant. The fact that this report appears at a time when high school teachers in many countries report that their students consider classes on the history of the Holocaust irrelevant in the context of the current situation in Gaza is telling.

There are also other issues that may limit the impact of the current re-evaluation of the place of Alderney in the collective memory of tomorrow. First, the report, while bringing a whole body of new information to the table, largely confirms the big picture of the knowledge about wartime Alderney before it became the object of distortions a decade ago. There will always be those who, assuming the mantle of the intrepid maverick, will dismiss the report as 'typical consensus thinking amongst established historians'. Some might even credit the so-called 'Deep State' for its content. But, at the end of the day, the results of the report do not radically challenge the

²³¹Asmann, A. (2012) *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gedächtniskultur?* Vienna: Picus, p.35.

decision of earlier generations, namely that the wartime history of Alderney was not to have a key place in the collective memory of the United Kingdom, Europe, or the world at large.

The centrality of the Holocaust in the collective memory of the West informs the interest of the wider public in the question as to whether the Holocaust directly impacted Alderney (which, notwithstanding its odd political status outside the United Kingdom, is part-and-parcel of the British cultural sphere). We must concede that, within the history of the Holocaust, the case of Alderney offers a difficult and unfamiliar representation. The Jewish slave labourers on the island were men who were exempt from deportation to the death camps in the East. While the German policy known as the Final Solution of the Jewish Question was the direct cause of their presence in Alderney, they were there because their destiny was to be an exception to that Final Solution, at least for the time being.

In addition, we must concede that we choose to remember the Holocaust, a totalizing concept that brings together many different histories of persecution, suffering, betrayal, and charity, because we have plotted it as the morality tale *par excellence* for our multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, yes multi-everything societies. However, the wartime story of Alderney does not offer any obvious lesson that allows itself to become a powerful element of recollection in that morality tale.

Finally, the authors of this report clearly understand that the ultimate stewards of any locally centred history are the local inhabitants of that place. Over an almost eight-decade-long period, the residents of Alderney and their government, the States of Alderney, have preserved the difficult wartime past of the island in their hearts, in archives, memorials, public commemorations, and private acts of remembrance. With one exception, Jurat Colin Partridge OBE, the authors of the report do not live on the island. They hope the members of the Alderney community will consider their report both as a sincere tribute and as a useful contribution to their multi-generational effort.

Appendix 1: Survey of construction progress 1942-1944

Colin Partridge compiled the following table tracking the progress of fortification over time, on the basis of the regular progress reports of the Fortress Engineer Sector Gr.II/14 (Fest.Pi.Abschn.Gr.II/14) Alderney.²³²

Table G

DATE	Concrete poured cubic metres	Standard Units planned/completed	A/T Walls metres	Tunnels square metres	Mines Number	Tramway kilometres
1942			3,600m planned	10,000m² planned		
1.06.42^a	-	122/3	105 m	250 m ²	843	2,7km
1.11.42	-	153/10	400 m	1,640 m ²	1,674	-
1943						
1.03.43	2,555 m ³	-	-	1,898 m ²	3,625	-
1.04.43	925 m ³	153/16	-	2,253 m ²	4,764	-
1.05.43	4,439 m ³	153/16	661 m	2,882 m ²	4,764	-
1.06.43^b	2,926 m ³	153/20	717 m	3,353 m ²	4,764	-
1.07.43^c	3,825 m ³	151/21	783 m	-	5,910	-
1.08.43^d	4,662 m ³	150/24	<u>798 m*</u>	4,211m ²	5,910	-
1.09.43	5,179 m ³	151/26	798 m	4,516 m ²	5,910	-
1.10.43^e	3,643 m ³	165/35	798 m	<u>4,795 m²*</u>	6,010	-
1.11.43^f	3,815 m ³	165/35	-	-	7,112	-
1.12.43^g	1,796 m ³	-	-	-	9,329	-
1944						
1.01.44^h	1,235 m ³	165/35	-	4,795 m ²	11,320	-
1.02.44ⁱ	1,100 m ³	165/38	-	4,795 m ²	11,320	-
1.03.44^j	1,967 m ³	149/47	-	4,795 m ²	12,527	-
1.04.44^k	1,800 m ³	149/52	-	4,795 m ²	14,780	-
1.05.44	2,239 m ³	149/55	-	4,795 m ²	16,540	-

* No further work after these dates

- a** Note: a total of 11,800 OT workers in the Channel Islands at this date.
- b** Work being hampered by bombing of supply shipping / shortage of cement.
- c** 2 Kps of mining troops returned to the continent with resultant reduction in tunnelling.
- d** Supply lines noted as still being insufficient.
- e** Influx of labour / highest monthly output of concrete [40,881 m³] in whole of the Channel Islands.
- f** Around 2,000 workers withdrawn / now only 7,500 in the Channel Islands.
- g** Further labour withdrawn / now only 6,700 in the Channel Islands.
- h** Further labour withdrawn / now only 4,200 in the Channel Islands
- i** Marginal increase in labour / now only 4,500 in the Channel Islands
- j** Labour again reduced / now only 3,900 in the Channel Islands.
- k** Labour static / Field Order works now discontinued.

²³² The source for this compilation is: NARA. Captured German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Microfilm T78/317. Records of Headquarters, German Army High Command (OKH).

Appendix 2: Atrocities in Alderney. A selection of eye-witness accounts

Anthony Glees

In Alderney, between 1941 and 1945, the Nazis built the only labour and concentration camps on English soil.

In his infamous two speeches to SS officers in Posen, today Poznan, Poland, on 4 and 6 October 1943, SS Chief Heinrich Himmler explained what has been called the 'exterminatory mindset' of Nazi racist thinking.²³³ "Whether the other races...these human animals... perish from hunger interests me only in so far as we need them as slaves for our culture. Whether or not 10,000 Russian women collapse while digging a tank ditch interests me only in so far as the tank ditch is built for Germany". A year earlier Goebbels had said to colleagues that 'the idea of extermination through work is best'.²³⁴ The January 1942 Wannsee Protocol which recorded the processes of Hitler's Final Solution linked the death of Jews 'through natural wastage' with their forced labour.²³⁵ We should not forget that in October 1946 Fritz Sauckel, the head of the Organisation Todt Organisation from 1942 until 1945, was hanged as a major war criminal at Nuremberg, a fact that makes clear the ideological linkage between the atrocities associated with forced and slave labour and the policies of genocide. The gate to Auschwitz (*Arbeit macht frei*) cynically signified the connection Nazis made between forced labour, concentration camps and the prospect of death (as 'freedom' from labour). This was the mindset that the idea of the Holocaust and how it was to be realised, as well as the conditions under which slave labour was to be exploited ruthlessly in order to try to secure the Reich, irrespective of vast numbers of deaths that would be entailed.

After its liberation in 1945, British intelligence officers led by Captain Theodore ('Bunny') Pantcheff gathered evidence of the appalling atrocities committed by Germans on the island, from some of those who had survived it as well as those who had perpetrated them. Here was evidence of a major aspect of the 'exterminatory mindset', a culture of systemic brutality and sadism. It appalled the British intelligence officers investigating it and Pantcheff in particular. It should not surprise that Fritz Sauckel the Todt Organisation slave labour chief was hanged at Nuremberg in October 1946 as a major war criminal.

²³³ The History Place, 'Audio Excerpts from the speech given by Heinrich Himmler to SS Group Leaders in Posen, occupied Poland', 4 October 1943, <https://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/holocaust/h-posen.htm>

²³⁴ Buggeln, M. (2014) *Slave Labor in Nazi Concentration Camps*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.63.

²³⁵ USHMM. Holocaust Encyclopedia, 'Wannsee Protocol', <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/wannsee-protocol>

The purpose of their detailed and lengthy report was to create a compelling prima facie case against the Germans which was intended to lead to a War Crimes trial. It was not surprising that the word 'Belsen' sprang immediately to mind when the Foreign Office Legal Department first read Pantcheff's dispatches.

Pantcheff had concluded that "crimes of a systematically brutal and callous nature were committed on British soil; the common cause of death was starvation, assisted by physical ill-treatment and overwork. Arbitrary beatings were a daily occurrence, on occasions prisoners were beaten for no offence at all. They were carried out by uniformed German officers on all parts of the victim's body, with fists, sticks and pieces of hose and other weapons including rifle butts".

This is a sober and accurate assessment of the hell-hole into which Alderney, emptied of virtually all British citizens, had been turned under German occupation. The entire island became a place of torture for every slave worker and death for many hundreds of them, mostly Russian and including Jews and citizens of almost 30 different nations. It was a place where depraved, savage and sadistic acts of brutal violence were carried out daily on a systemic basis, where well-armed German officers unleashed unimaginable horror on their defenceless and starving prisoners. This was inhumanity towards humans that knew no bounds, embedded in the 'culture' that was Nazism.

There are literally hundreds of pages of testimony like this in Pantcheff's reports; here is a small selection of the evidence that crops up, time and time again.

A German officer but imprisoned for an offence in SYLT camp, Otto TAUBERT, set the scene. He told Pantcheff he been posted to Alderney on 29 December 1940 and remained there until 13 January 1945.

- "From August to September 1941 monthly transports of 300-400 Russians arrived in Alderney for Todt Organisation work, in all some 1,000 people. They were sent to Norderney, Borkum and Helgoland camps (the fourth camp, Sylt, was an SS camp) which consisted mainly of Dutchmen and Frenchmen. Norderney was cleared of Russians in March and April 1943 on the arrival of concentration camp prisoners, French Jews and terrorists. I saw four men, one was weeping bitterly and kicked and pushed by an escort who called a sentry who took the men away. He got a whip from the guardroom. The handle of the whip was made from woven leather.

I could see guard indicating to the SS men they were to fasten the four prisoners onto the barbed wire with handcuffs, their hands behind their heads. They were then whipped, not beaten one after the other but at random. One man was hanging by his arms, bent double with pain. The whipping lasted ten minutes. All four men were Russian and wore the red badge. These prisoners had taken a lamb and eaten it. I often saw Russian corpses in the streets, the men had collapsed and died of hunger. At the slaughterhouse I often saw Russians taking bloody entrails from the bins surreptitiously in order to eat them in a quiet place. Immediately in front of my billet in St Anne's I saw a man, completely emaciated and hollow-cheeked. He was incapable of speaking. He groaned as he died."

- "In late 1942" two German engineers reported that they saw "the bodies of dead Russians, also some Frenchmen and Dutchmen. They were loaded, completely naked, on lorries, moved and dragged down off from them with dung forks and then thrown into mass graves...having been shown the BELSEN photos, we can only state that the 200 or so bodies we saw were in a similar or worse state. They were totally emaciated skeletons, some of which still showed the green and blue marks of maltreatment".
- Several witnesses reported seeing bodies tipped into the sea. One, George KONDAKOV, witnessed a tip lorry being used to dump corpses off the breakwater into the harbour. "The lorry turned round" he said, "its back rose and naked bodies started to fall into the sea". John DALMAU described how "50 of the slave workers were shot and thrown over the cliff. Some of the men were not dead but stones were tied to their feet before they were thrown over. This mass murder was repeated seven times. Among the rocks and the seaweed there were skeletons all over the place. Crabs and lobsters had a feast".
- In 1941 a Scot, Thomas CRERON, employed as a labourer in Alderney, witnessed a Todt Organisation officer hitting Russians with a three inch thick piece of wood and he saw Russians lying on the ground, beaten on their hands. An English colleague, Le COCQ, was jailed for 14 days for hitting a Todt man who was beating eight Russians returning from work. They were hit in the face, fell to the ground and then kicked. In SYLT camp, groups of sixty prisoners were treated with great brutality by officer RIGNER. He beat them, set his dogs on them and ordered them to stay lying down on the ground so the dogs could savage them further.
- CRERON also saw prisoners left unconscious on the ground. "RIGNER confined one hundred and twenty Russians in a pigsty for stealing potatoes and all were kicked by him and his guards. In 1944 two Frenchmen were shot by the Camp Commandant with a tommy-gun during a US air raid on the island. He struck and kicked a worker who was too ill to work; he was then forced to join his detail and died the same day".
- A French prisoner witnessed 'Russians and Jews so badly beaten by the Todt Organisation and SS that they had to be removed on a large barrow. In February 1944 he saw a French Jew

beaten over the head with a pick-axe handle by an Todt foreman. He believed the OT attacked Jews in particular whereas the SS went after Russians. Prisoners were regularly hit until they became unconscious.

- Peter TOSTEVIN, a Channel Islander, stated that in 1942 he saw Russians laying a cable, beaten to the ground and left to die. He saw Russians beaten to the ground by Todt guards 20 to 30 times.
- Ernest CLARK, a British farmer who had returned to the Island told Pantcheff he had seen prisoners eating food the dogs had left. On one occasion he saw them eating “a calf buried under manure and also bad cows’ feet”; they were “being systematically starved”. SS officers, he stated, “competed in gaining leave from duties by shooting prisoners for the smallest offences. The guards would throw away cigarette ends and as soon as an inmate bent down to pick it up, they would be shot”.
- A Spaniard was beaten nearly blind by a German heavyweight boxer for giving food to a Russian, called Petreuss, beaten in the kidneys...Russians lay dead and bleeding.
- John DALMAU, a Spanish prisoner, described how, following a particular bombing of German cities, Jews were made to ‘dance’ by SS guards: “Fifty or more political prisoners and Jews were made to jump by firing bullets at their feet. When one was hit and fell, another bullet was fired, this time in the head. This continued until the last man had fallen”.
- The Commandant of Norderney, Karl THEISS, he said, carried out beatings in his office so brutal that the walls of the office had to be painted over several times a day to remove blood stains. He appointed a French colonial prisoner as his official torturer because he could flog harder than any German. A man was tasked with driving a lorry around his camp to collect bodies. He saw Russians too ill to work thrown into the sea.
- Jakob KAISER, a German naval officer interviewed by Pantcheff explained how he had “removed fourteen corpses” from a boat, one eaten by rats or by Russian workers. Labourers shipped to Alderney were kept below deck with less than one square meter deck space per person and with no sanitary arrangements.
- In Sylt, the SS-run concentration camp, Russians were brutally beaten by an officer, BOHN, who hit them with a heavy stick. In Helgoland camp in 1943 Jews were attacked by specially trained dogs from the *Hafenschutz*. Russians were constantly shot “for being Russian”. A man named ‘ABDULLAH’ who had tried to escape was crucified on the gate to Sylt camp. A British intelligence report noted that “one Russian was crucified on the camp gate, naked and in mid-winter. The German guards threw buckets of cold water over him all night until he was dead. Another was caught by bloodhounds after attempting to stow away on a boat to the mainland. He was hanged and crucified on the camp gate. They left his body hanging for 5 days as a warning”.

- Otto SPEHR said he had seen two groups of prisoners killed in April 1943 and February 1944 because they had “become too ill to work”. The sick were driven out of the camp by SS guards at night, herded through a gap in the perimeter fence where they were then shot “whilst trying to escape”.
- HOEGELOW an officer in Sylt camp admitted he had ordered the death by hanging of a prisoner who had tried to escape. Jose MURILLO, a Spanish Todt slave worker witnessed “hangings of prisoners in SYLT in front of all the prisoners” ordered by KLEBECK, the deputy commandant. He added that “one of the German political prisoners hid in St Anne’s Church. When the Germans found him, they took him to the top of the tower and threw him off. He was then shot on the ground”.
- SCHUELLER stated that “between March and November 1943 140 prisoners perished in Sylt concentration camp”. A favourite trick was to use the savage dogs to force prisoners over the boundary line, which they were not allowed to cross, so they would be shot by a guard. He saw brutal treatment meted out to Russian workers with guards exhorted to kick the Russians, describing them as animals. It was seen and it was condoned.
- Fritz WAGNER said: “During the first months the Russians were in Alderney in 1942 I saw the following incident: a squad of Russian prisoners were carrying one of their number who was too weak to walk. An OT guard ordered them to leave him lying in the road. When I passed the same place three hours later, he was still there, obviously dead and covered by leaves. I have often seen Russians and Poles beaten with sticks about one yard long and 2-3 inches thick, similar to a walking stick”.