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## Organisation of Lublin confinement institutions in 1939–1944 within the ramifications of the German security apparatus

### Abstract

The aim of the article is to present the confinement institutions set up in Lublin in 1939–1944 by the German occupier, and to analyse the organisational aspects of their functioning in the operational context of various agencies of the security system of the Third Reich and the General Government. The first part of the essay consists of background information necessary to conduct the analysis – exposition of the administrative division of Polish territory after the September campaign and the structure of the security apparatus introduced by the German occupier. In the main body, three main stages of establishment of the confinement institutions are outlined, based on the comparison of the circumstances influencing their formation. Simultaneously, their official subordination to appropriate agencies of the security system is shown, what is compared to the actual dominance of various parties over different prisons and camps. As such, it is possible to present the whole segment of the German occupational system, from two distinctive perspectives: existence of a series of suitable institutions serving specific roles in order to strengthen the occupier's control over the Polish population, and the competition of respective agencies of the German security apparatus over the masses of prisoners.

**Key words:** Nazi prisons, Nazi camps, Nazi occupation, World War II, KL Lublin, Majdanek, Lublin Castle

### Introduction

Between 1939 and 1944, the German occupier established more than 600 confinement institutions of various character in the Lublin region

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(Mańkowski 1988: 11). Only a very small number of those could potentially have been researched, due to insufficient source material available.

From the broad perspective, scattered information on different confinement institutions can be found in archives from all around the world,<sup>2</sup> due to the fact that they appeared as an important aspect of Nazi policies, had been placed under investigation of the Polish Underground State or were part of post-war investigations of German officers. Detailed collections are gathered primarily in the Polish State Archives and the Archives of National Institute of Remembrance<sup>3</sup> or profiled museums (the Archives of the State Museum at Majdanek, the National Museum in Lublin) that also supervise the documentation compiled by bodies established after WWII to research German crimes in occupied Poland.

Lublin confinement institutions have also been the topic of numerous historical analyses. The majority of them focused on KL Lublin – one of the largest German concentration camps. Since 1965, the State Museum at Majdanek has been publishing its journal “Zeszyty Majdanka”;<sup>4</sup> while significant monographs on the camp were published in 1981 and 1991 (edited by, respectively, Józef Marszałek and Tadeusz Mencil).<sup>5</sup> The institution is frequently presented in other historical, popular-science or media publications.

A monograph on the history of the Lublin Castle prison in 1939–1944 was published in 1988 (edited by Zygmunt Mańkowski), which was the result of lengthy research conducted by historians and its former inmates.<sup>6</sup> Due to the activity of the National Museum in Lublin, various

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<sup>2</sup> Such as: the Hoover Institution Archives (USA), the National Archives (UK), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Russia), the Yad Vashem Archives (Israel), the German Federal Archives (Germany), the Central Archives of Modern Records (Poland).

<sup>3</sup> In both cases, primarily in Lublin and Warsaw branches.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I–XV and XVII–XXVI all focus on various issues of the camp’s functioning, as well as other relevant topics.

<sup>5</sup> In the context of the article, other main works that influence the analysis conducted, include: Gorbatow 1944; *Komunikat...* 1944; Kriger 1944; Simonow 1944; *Majdanek: rozprawa...* [1945]; Sobolewski, Zagórowska 1945; Szewczyk 1945; Christians 1946; Murawska-Gryń, Gryń 1962; Marczevska, Ważniewski 1973; Leszczyńska 1980; *Der Ort des Terrors...* 2008, as well as memoirs of former prisoners: Siejwa 1964; Jackiewicz 1967; Stanisławski 1969; Brzosko-Mędryk 1975; *Przeżyli Majdanek...* 1980; Zakrzewski 1982; Czajka 1983; Kwiatkowski 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Other important studies on the Lublin Castle prison and its sub-units include: Szewczyk 1946; Moszyński, Policha 1948; *Działalność...* 1983; Hohengarten 1991; Hohengarten, Lipski 2000; *Z dziejów więzienia...* 2007, as well as the memoirs of former

aspects of the prison's history have regularly been presented at exhibitions or in publications. In 1979, the Museum of Martyrdom "Under the Clock" – a branch located in the former detention house – was established.<sup>7</sup>

The camp on Lipowa Street has been the topic of several articles (Berenstein 1957; Rajca 1969; Grudzińska, Rezler-Wasielewska 2008; Lenarczyk 2009), with the aim of presenting its history from only a broader perspective, without detailed analysis.<sup>8</sup> Similar observations can be made with regards to the camp on Chełmska Street (Rajca 1991; Lenarczyk 2014).<sup>9</sup> The remaining confinement institutions in Lublin have not been researched even to such a limited extent.<sup>10</sup>

Still, one should note that the analyses presented above focus primarily on separate camps and prisons, providing a narrow view on the subject discussed. As a result, the aim of the following article is to research the topic from the perspective of the whole segment of the German occupational system, in the context presented in the subject. As such, one should focus on answering two main questions connected with the analysis proposed:

- 1) what kind of confinement institutions were set up by the German occupier in Lublin in order to strengthen its control over the local population?;
- 2) how did the structure of the German security system influence the organisation of the network of those institutions?.

The first part of the essay consists of background information – exposition of the administrative division of the Polish territory after the September campaign and the structure of the security apparatus introduced by the German occupier. In the main body, three main stages of establishment of the confinement institutions are outlined, based on the comparison of the circumstances influencing their formation. Simultaneously, their official subordination to appropriate agencies of the security system is shown, which is compared to the actual dominance of various parties over different prisons and camps.

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prisoners: *Wspomnienia więźniów...* 1984; *Zamek lubelski: wspomnienia...* 1998; Górnicz 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Main works on the topic are: Kowalski 1986; *Hitlerowskie więzienie...* 1988; Oratowska, Krzysiak, Michniowski 2019.

<sup>8</sup> Moreover, a lot of information can be obtained from the memoirs of Jacob Frank, former prisoner of the camp: Lewis, Frank 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, due to high death rates among the prisoners, few accounts have been preserved. From the literature, one should especially note: Dobrowolski 1994.

<sup>10</sup> Scattered information is present in: Datner 1969; Marszałek 1998; *Obozy pracy przymusowej* 2015.

## Types of German occupational administration in Lublin and its region

One can distinguish two main phases of the development of the German occupational administrative structures on the Polish lands between 1939 and 1945: the command of the Wehrmacht – armed forces of the Third Reich (from the outbreak of the war until 25 October 1939) – and the civil administration of the General Government (until the end of WWII).<sup>11</sup>

The organisational details of the military leadership changed frequently. Initially, all power was granted to the Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres (Commander-in-Chief of the Army) and the commanders of the armies operating in a given area. On 8 September, Poland was divided into 4 districts, and the administrative rule was transferred to the Oberbefehlshaber Ost (Supreme Commander East). Further specifications were provided on 25 September: Lublin was incorporated into the Łódź district, and the army administration was formed, with its command given to Oberbefehlshaber Ost (in Poland and in Łódź, thus also Lublin – Generaloberst Gerd von Rundstedt). Matters of the civil sector were handled by a civil board, subordinated to the military – in the whole of occupied Poland, as well as in Łódź, the role of its head was given to Hans Frank (Kozyra 2013: 37).

On 12 October, a decree regulated that on 25 October the area not annexed by Germany was to form the *Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete* (the General Government for the Occupied Polish Region), with Frank as its Governor-General. It was divided into 4 districts (Lublin being the capital of one; a 5<sup>th</sup> district, Galicia, was formed after the German attack on the USSR). The military administration was abolished. On 8 July 1940 the state's name was changed into the *Generalgouvernement* (General Government).

Officially, the General Government was not a part of Germany, nor was it the successor of the Republic of Poland. It had its own administration (including police), currency, tariff laws and border.

## Structure of the security apparatus of the Third Reich and the General Government

In order to present the agencies of the security system operating various confinement institutions in Lublin, it is necessary to outline several

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<sup>11</sup> In Lublin, the conflict finished between 22 July (evacuation of the German administration from the city) and 25 July 1944 (capitulation of the occupant's garrison).

organs of the Nazi police apparatus, which had been under simultaneous influence of different channels of the German administration. Among those, one should particularly outline: the state Ministry of the Interior, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), and its paramilitary formations – the Schutzstaffel (SS) that eventually evolved into a *de facto* independent organisation equal to the state organs, subordinated only to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler who in turn answered directly to Hitler. The last organisation became one of the fundamentals of the Nazi system and influenced the majority of aspects of everyday life in the Third Reich, especially in the Eastern occupied territories (Ryszka 1985: 345–346).

At the moment of Adolf Hitler's rise to power in January 1933, Germany had no uniform police force. The long process of its creation had been mostly completed on 27 September 1939, when the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, Reich Security Main Office) was formed, subordinated simultaneously to the SS and the Ministry of the Interior. It included, among other organisations, the Sicherheitsdienst<sup>12</sup> (SD, Security Service) and the Sicherheitspolizei (SiPo, Security Police) – the latter composing of the Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo, Secret State Police) and the Kriminalpolizei (Kripo, given tasks of a criminal investigation agency, yet supporting other branches of the police in their goals in occupied Poland). The Ordnungspolizei (OrPo, Order Police, responsible mainly for the factual law enforcement, yet in the occupational conditions given terrorist tasks) remained separate from the RSHA, but was subordinated to Himmler who, officially, answered to the Minister of the Interior (the post given to the Reichsführer-SS in 1943).

Moreover, the analysis conducted in the article shows the influence of several more bodies on the functioning of the confinement institutions in Lublin. Among them, one can find: the Selbstschutz (“self-protection units”) – a paramilitary formation subordinated to the RSHA, dissolved due to its relative independence; the so-called Blue (or Navy-Blue) Police (Polnische Polizei im Generalgouvernement) – police units composed of Polish officers, subjected to OrPo and given limited operational prerogatives; the Arbeitsamt (Labour Office) – organ of the administration of the General Government established to enforce the provision of a labour force for the German economy; the Baudienst (“building service”) – organisation constituting a form of forced labour administered by the district offices of the General Government; the Standgericht – in

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<sup>12</sup> Formed in 1933 as one of the 5 main offices of the SS.

this context, the summary court of the SiPo, granted special prerogatives to increase the speed and effectiveness of the sentences; the Ortskommandantur – a military body administering army buildings and units within its region of supervision subordinated to various levels of German forces throughout WWII.

The initial structure of the General Government included, among others, the position of Der Höhere SS und Polizeiführer Ost (HSSPF, Higher SS and Police Leader East), existing parallel to the state's administration and subordinated to the Governor-General. Similarly, in each District, the office of the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF, SS and Police Leader) was created, answering to the HSSPF and the local Governor. In December 1940, the government of the General Government was formed, which included, among others, the positions of Die Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei (BdO, "leader of the OrPo") and Der Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (BsD, "leader of the SiPo and the SD"). They responded to HSSPF and supervised over – respectively – Der Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei – KdO (KdO, "commander of the OrPo") and Der Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes (KdS, "commander of the SiPo and the SD"), present in each District.

The duality of police's dependence, as seen in Germany, was also present in the General Government. The Governor-General supervised HSSPF and, as such, BsD and BdO. Simultaneously, the two latter offices had to answer to the RSHA.

However, the political system of the General Government was organised around the rule of the principle of leadership, resulting in Frank's independence from all German ministries but the Führer himself, as well as his absolute power over all aspects of state's policies. In reality, the forces of the security apparatus managed to gain relative independence from the Governor, often being able to ignore or counter rule his decisions (Kasperek 1983: 258; Wróblewski 1988: 36). This observation is especially visible when analysing the Lublin District, where the position of the SSPF was held by the infamous Odilo Globocnik (his service in Lublin is described in works such as: Rieger 2009; Poprzeczny 2004), but similar conclusions may be reached while researching other areas of occupied Poland (such as Kielce – Rogowski, Wójcicka 2009).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Various aspects – predominantly from the perspective of Polish occupied territory – of German administration (different agencies, institutions, camps, etc. of the terror apparatus) had been analysed in works such as: Moszyński, Policha 1948; Rusiński 1950 and 1955; Madajczyk 1970a and 1970b; Leszczyński 1971; Łuczak 1979; Mańkowski 1982; Grünberg 1984; Ramme 1984; Wróblewski 1984; Jansen, Weckbecker 1992;

While the phenomenon had little to no effect on the conditions present in confinement institutions in Lublin experienced by the inmates, it vastly influenced the organisational aspects of the subject analysed, producing open conflicts of interest between various parties over the creation and functioning of local camps and prisons. Moreover, it presents a danger for historians' research, as the bureaucratic confusion is often present in the content of the primary and secondary sources, yet its actual impact on the analysis is impossible to be fully assessed.

### Stages of establishment of the Lublin confinement institutions

While conducting the analysis of the origins of subsequent confinement institutions in Lublin, one can distinguish three main stages of their establishment – differing in the circumstances surrounding their formation and the extent of the influence of Nazi ideology on the issue discussed.

First stage (18 September 1939 – end of October 1939)

The first period is characterised by the temporary and provisional nature of the confinement institutions. The argument is supported by the provisions of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact stating that Lublin and its area were to be annexed by the USSR (on 28 September the treaty was revised and the whole region was granted to Germany). The same conclusion can be reached while analysing the policies of the German occupant. According to various relations (Białasiewicz, Gzella 1994: 184–191), a number of citizens (from several hundred to few thousand) were taken hostage and put under “*protective detention*” in isolated areas (Ibidem: 194–196).

Two such sites can be precisely identified – the barracks of the 8<sup>th</sup> Legions Infantry Regiment at the western outskirts of the city and the airport of the Lublin Aircraft Factory on Chełmska Street. The lack of certifiable documents supports the view that such a decision was not coordinated on levels of administration higher than the local army lead-

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Crankshaw 1997; Kosiński 1999; Wardzyńska 2009; Mazower 2011; Młynarczyk 2012; Winstone 2015; Goebbels 2016a and 2016b; Zapomniani kaci... 2016; Korcuć 2019; Pączek 2019; *W cieniu...* 2021.

ers (as such, it must be perceived in the context of securing the rear of the military front). Furthermore, the process of imprisonment was conducted hastily and chaotically; for example, Kazimierz Podbielski remembered that his father avoided being taken by the Germans by simply not answering the door (Archiwum... 2009: 1). Both the barracks and the airport were badly damaged during the bombings of the September campaign; their state made it impossible to confine people in those areas for a long period of time.

At the beginning of October, the former prison in Lublin Castle<sup>14</sup> was adapted to the needs of the police units following the German army in order to detain POWs, and people perceived as partisans or dangerous (Mańkowski 1984: 7).

In the context discussed, it is worth noting that the period analysed was free of conflicts between various agencies of the German administration and security apparatus.

Second stage (end of October 1939<sup>15</sup> – July 1941)

The confinement institutions established during the next period had a permanent character, partially due to revised agreement between Germany and the USSR. Moreover, the analysis shows the clear impact of the centralised Nazi ideology on the security policies, which can be seen in the case of imprisonment of Jerzy Albin de Tramecourt (Voivode of Lublin, murdered in unknown circumstances in November) and Bolesław Sekutowicz (President of the Regional Court in Lublin, initially released, then imprisoned again and shot on 23 December 1939) who were placed in the building of the Appellate Court on Krakowskie Przedmieście 43, after rejecting the offer to join a collaborationist government (Kozyra 2002: 44).

However, the analysis of the topic in the context of the period discussed shows the decisive influence of local conditions and objective occupational requirements, which resulted in the establishment of institu-

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<sup>14</sup> Already in the medieval times, a prison was maintained in the Castle keep. In 1826, a neo-Gothic building was constructed specifically for prison purposes, both for political and criminal inmates. The Castle kept its function after Poland regained its independence, but the institution itself ceased to exist during the September campaign.

<sup>15</sup> A precise date cannot be stated as the local process of formation of the administration and security system happened over a long period of time, lasting up to mid-November 1939.

tions such as the detention houses of the Blue Police or the Wehrmacht garrison.<sup>16</sup>

After the creation of the General Government, the Lublin Castle prison became a part of the local KdS office, under the official name of *Der Kommandeur der Sipo und des SD – Gefangenhau*. It was simultaneously subordinated to the Gestapo, SD and Kripo (as units of the KdS, with historians underlining the importance of the first formation – Wróblewski 1988: 39), the *Standgericht* and the Department of Justice (one of twelve departments of the Government of the General Government – Rogowski 2021). However, in reality the Director of the prison had to reply to various figures influential enough to break away from the official hierarchy, such as *Globocnik*.

The Castle served the role of a central District prison; it was also one of three central prisons of the General Government (next to the *Montelupich* Prison in Kraków and *Pawiak* prison in Warsaw – Maleszyk 2009: 21). It had the character of a custody, transitory, political, criminal, solitary confinement institution. It became part of the Nazi terror and extermination system, seat of a court and a location of brutal interrogations and executions. Simultaneously, it housed various workshops where the inmates were forced to work and administered the labour camp in *Dąbrowica* (c6 km from Lublin). Prisoners<sup>17</sup> were subjected to inhumane conditions, overcrowding, hunger, diseases and terror from the German staff.

Another institution established during the period discussed was the detention house of the Lublin KdS<sup>18</sup> (*Gefängnis im Dienstgebäude der Sicherheitspolizei in Lublin*). It was located in the basements of the building on 3 *Uniwersytecka* Street. Its common name – “Under the Clock” – derives from the clock installed on the construction’s façade. The ground and upper floors contained offices simultaneously used as interrogation and torture chambers. The basements were refitted in order to build 15 small temporary holding cells for the inmates who were selected for investigation by the occupant’s functionaries.<sup>19</sup> The conditions

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<sup>16</sup> Due to the lack of sources, an exact number and details of establishment of such confinement institutions are unknown.

<sup>17</sup> The majority of inmates were of Polish origin. Other significant groups include: the nationalities of the USSR, Jews and Germans. However, the total ethnic composition was varied, consisting of such exotic nationalities as Chinese.

<sup>18</sup> While historians often claim that it was supervised by the Gestapo, cases when the prisoners were handled by other agencies are known, making such statements imprecise.

<sup>19</sup> As such, mainly political prisoners of Polish origin were held in the institution analysed.

present in the detention house were inhumane and the interrogations were extraordinarily brutal; the cries of the victims from the upper floors were easily heard in the basement. It is estimated that between 1942 and 1944 at least 200 people were murdered while being detained “Under the Clock” (Oratowska, Krzysiak, Michniowski 2019: 9).

While the circumstances of one’s arrival at the detention house varied, the majority of inmates were selected to be transported to the building from the Castle by the officers of KdS agencies, who, under the pretext of conducting an investigation, had the power to decide about the faith of a person from other confinement institutions in Lublin, overruling the members of their crews – a factor leading to additional conflicts between German officials.

At the beginning of the period discussed, the provisional camp at the airport, due to the objective needs of the military conflict, had been transformed into a permanent site for POWs subordinated to the Ortskommandantur Lublin. However, it ceased to exist in January/February 1940, when the inmates were transported to various camps further West (Lenarczyk 2014: 66). Buildings on Chełmska Street were subsequently used as warehouses of units of the SS and the Wehrmacht; the majority of them left the location by summer 1942, but some remained for as long as May 1944.

The site was used again as a camp from 22/23 July 1940, when local Jews were brought onto the airport and used as forced labour (the demolition of the existing infrastructure, which can be perceived in the context of preparations for a new institution), probably due to orders from SSPF Globocnik (Ibidem: 68). In March, the former airport became a gathering point for the Jewish population being forced to live in the Old Town ghetto.

The extent of the impact of local conditions on the establishment of the confinement institutions during the period discussed is especially visible while analysing the case of the camp on Lipowa Street. On 4 December 1939, due to the private initiative of Globocnik, members of the Jewish population were ordered to participate in forced labour. Although the group was disbanded, the Judenrat promised to deliver workmen who conducted constructions on the square on Lipowa Street. At the beginning of 1940, the area housed specialised workshops and became a transitory camp for displaced Jews transported to Lublin. Some time around June 1940 the local Jews ceased to be released home after work. The institution can be regarded as having a permanent character from December 1940, when it became the destination of transports of Polish POWs of Jewish heritage (Grudzińska, Rezler-Wasielewska 2008: 495).

Initially, the institution was subordinated to the Selbstschutz; however, while conducting the research, one can see the dominant influence of Globocnik on the organisational aspects of the camp. While he never served any official function in its structure, he managed to gain “*full control over the camp*” in summer 1940 (Lenarczyk 2009: 42). His position was further strengthened in February 1941, when the camp was taken over by Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (DAW, German Equipment Works) – an SS-run company, with headquarters in Berlin (Schulte 2001: 130).

Based on the circumstances presented above one can claim that the camp served the functions of a labour, penitentiary, transitory, POWs, gathering institution. The most complex description is provided by Wojciech Lenarczyk, who illustrates it as a “*prototype of a Nazi labour camp for Jews*”, unique “*informal, SS-run POWs camp, that at the same time most importantly remained a forced labour camp for Jews*” (Lenarczyk 2009: 37, 47).

In 1940, two gathering points subordinated to the Lublin Arbeitsamt were established on Krochmalna Street. They became the location of assembly primarily for Poles who were subsequently transported to Germany for forced labour.

Third stage (July 1941 – July 1944)

During the third stage, the establishment of confinement institutions was influenced by the terrorist aspects of the Nazi ideology rather than by objective requirements or private initiative of local officers.

Himmler’s visit to Lublin on 20/21 July 1941 resulted in an order to create a camp for 25,000–50,000 prisoners who could be used in works for the SS and German police; authority to fulfil the task was given to Globocnik (*Majdanek w dokumentach...* 2016: 37–39).

Initially, the occupant intended to develop the camp on Lipowa Street. However, the concept of the planned institution underwent many changes: on 22 September an order was issued to build a concentration camp for 5000 prisoners, who in turn would construct the camp for 50,000 people (Ibidem: 43). 5 days later the decision was revised to creating a camp for 50,000 POWs (Ibidem: 44). Historians perceive the changes in the context of a conflict between the SS and the Wehrmacht over control of masses of prisoners – with the former gaining the upper hand (Marszałek 1991: 40).

On 1 November the plans for the new institution were enlarged to hold 125,000 people (*Majdanek w dokumentach...* 2016: 50), and on

8 December – 150,000 prisoners (Ibidem: 53). As a result, the site on Lipowa Street was no longer suitable for the project and a new place was chosen as the camp's location – a large, sparsely-inhabited area on Lublin's eastern outskirts. The first inmates<sup>20</sup> began construction works in October, in inhumane conditions.

On 23 March 1942, the plans for the camp were changed once more, fulfilling the need to imprison up to 250,000 people (Marszałek 1991: 46–47). The decision was met with opposition from various levels of German administration, such as the Reich Ministry of Transport, Governor of the Lublin District and the Governor-General. While the resistance lacked any effect, due to the worsening of the German military situation, on 14 April 1942 Himmler decided that until the war is won, the camp should hold 50,000 people (*Majdanek w dokumentach...* 2016: 65–67).

The institution – named until February 1943 Kriegsgefangenenlager der Waffen SS in Lublin (KGL Lublin), and afterwards Konzentrationslager der Waffen SS Lublin (KL Lublin), commonly known as “Majdanek” – had features of a concentration, POWs, labour, penal, transitory, death camp. Historians called it a “*synthesis, synonym of Nazi crimes in the Lublin region*” (Dziadosz, Marszałek 1969: 107). It was subordinated to, simultaneously: RSHA, SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (SS-WVHA, SS Main Economic and Administrative Office) and Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (IKL, Concentration Camps Inspectorate – one of the SS sub-offices, since 1942 part of SS-WVHA). In mid-1942, special offices at SSPF were created to take over a part of primarily economic duties.

At the same time, Majdanek was a location of autonomous institutions, subordinated to different agencies of the German security system: Frauenkonzentrationslager (Female Concentration Camp, whose administration was subordinate to KL Lublin's commander), Lazarett für sowjet-russische Kriegsversehrte (“lazaret for Soviet-Russian soldiers”, subordinated to local KdS), Auffanglager der Ordnungspolizei- Sicherheitsauffanglager (“hostage camp”, answering to Lublin KdS and KdO) and Wehrmacht's labour camp.

Compared with other German concentration camps, Majdanek is known for its very low number of sub-camps: only 12, 4 of them located

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<sup>20</sup> This group was composed of POWs from the USSR. In total, the majority of prisoners were of Jewish origin, but a significant ratio of inmates from Poland and the USSR should be noted. As was the case with Lublin Castle, the total composition was varied; transports were brought from all around Europe.

in Lublin: on Lipowa Street, on Chełmska Street, 4 Ogródkowa Street (established in spring 1942, connected with the destruction of Jewish buildings in the Wieniawa district) and Żniwna Street.

The history of the Lipowa Street camp during the period discussed is closely connected with Majdanek, despite the two institutions having different administrations. On one hand, both of the sites cooperated as a segment of the Nazi terror system, for example sharing the labour masses of prisoners. On the other hand, the management of KL Lublin actively tried to subjugate the Lipowa camp. From Autumn 1941, the guarding forces were provided by Majdanek's commander. In June 1942, the camp was surrounded by Lithuanian soldiers sent from the KL, and in response Globocnik called gendarmerie units for backup (*Majdanek w dokumentach...* 2016: 143). An intervention of the higher levels of the SS administration resulted in the victory of SSPF. Still, the connections between the camps were never fully broken: for example, DAW supervised several production barracks located in Majdanek.

The situation changed in September 1943, when Globocnik was dismissed from his post, Hitler's Führer Decree for the Concentration of the War Economy was issued, and the preparations for the Aktion Erntefest were under way. As a result, on 22 October 1943 the Lipowa camp was officially subordinated to KL Lublin, but due to the murder of its prisoners on 3 November and the resulting destruction of the camp, the decision came to no effect.

However, the mass execution of the Jews stood in opposition to the economic plans of DAW and other segments of the German economic system. As a result, the camp was re-established, as a unit of KL Lublin, although in a limited form.

Himmler's visit in July 1941 was also an important factor in the history of the camp on the former airport. Although Czesław Rajca claimed that, on Globocnik's orders, a labour camp, subordinated to Die Pelz und Bekleidungswerkstätten ("fur and clothing workshops") – a company under SSPF's authority – was organised there by June 1941 (Rajca 1991: 386), its further development happened only thanks to the Reichsführer's decisions (Lenarczyk 2014: 71). The camp became subordinated to an SS-run company in Dachau and changed its name to Bekleidungswerke der Waffen-SS Dachau, Aussenstelle Lublin – BKW Lublin ("clothing factories of Waffen-SS Dachau, Lublin branch – BKW Lublin").

At first, the inmates were ordered to produce shoes and gather confiscated property. However, due to the enormous amount of loot, additional changes in the camp's profile were made. In April 1942 a new administration was subordinated to Globocnik, the production tasks were

revoked until the turn of the year, when the majority of goods were put in order. To improve the reorganisation, Ostindustrie (East Industry, Osti), an SS-run enterprise was created and given control over the camp in March 1943.<sup>21</sup> During summer 1943 the institution's name was changed to Altsachenverwertungsstelle der Standortverwaltung Lublin ("site of utilisation of old items of the Garrison Administration in Lublin").

Initially, during the last quarter of 1941, the labour tasks in the camp were forced onto female prisoners of the Castle. The struggle for control over this group eventually evolved into another serious conflict between the administration of KL Lublin and SSPF. On 14 July 1942, after a talk with Himmler, Globocnik ordered the establishment of a female camp in Majdanek; its administration perceived it as a possibility to subordinate the institution of Chełmska Street (Lenarczyk 2014: 75–76). However, in autumn the location was changed to Chełmska Street; women that had already been placed in KL Lublin were transferred to the former airport. As a response, Majdanek's commander, Hermann Florstedt, organised new transports of females to his camp and ordered the return of prisoners and documentation from Chełmska Street. Although both administrations remained antagonistic towards each other, they nevertheless worked together in exploiting the prisoners and providing security measures.

Moreover, the behaviour of one of the airport camp's commanders, Christian Wirth (acting, *de facto*, end of 1942–20 September 1943), caused a conflict between its administration and higher levels of SS hierarchy. He was, on one hand, known for his extreme ruthlessness towards prisoners as well as his crew, and on the other – using various nonconventional methods to deceive the prisoners to work efficiently. His policies resulted in an investigation, ordered by the SS headquarters, led by Konrad Morgen. Although Wirth made no attempt to hide his methods from the inspector, the case did not produce any results (Tregenza 1993: 36–37). The enormous extent of his independence could also be seen after Globocnik's replacement with Jakob Sporrenberg. During a visit to Lublin, the new SSPF could not inspect the camp without Wirth's – his direct subordinate – permission and had no means to ensure the commander would execute his orders (The National Archives...: 13).

Eventually, the institution analysed was also subordinated to KL Lublin on 22 October 1943; similarly, its prisoners were murdered on 3 November, but the camp was not re-established afterwards.

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<sup>21</sup> The company was also responsible for several production barracks located in Majdanek.

Many Lublin confinement institutions cannot be described in detail due to the lack of sources. Among them, one can list (see: Dziadosz, Marszałek 1969: 92; *Obozy...* 1979: 274–277; Kasperek 1983: 90, 105, 110, 185, 240):<sup>22</sup>

- labour camp for Jews;
- penal camp at 2 Browarna Street for Jews (est. December 1940–January 1941);
- the Arbeitsamt labour camp at 9 Probostwo Street for Jews (est. 9 October 1941);
- labour camp for civilian Frenchmen at 46 Łęczyńska Street (est. 23 May 1941);
- the Baudienst labour camp at 33 Bychawska Street (est. 1941);
- labour Kommando at 27 Chopin Street (warehouses during Operation Reinhard);
- camp of the POWs from the USSR (so-called “Dziesiąta Camp”), operating at the end of 1941 during construction works on Majdanek;
- the Baudienst labour camp on Sienna Street (est. 1941 or 1942), on a Jewish cemetery;
- the Baudienst labour camp at 19 1 May Street (between 1942 and 1943);
- the Baudienst labour camp and a reloading point in Wrotków district (between 1942 and 1944);
- the Baudienst labour camp on Nowy Świat Street (between 1942 and 1944);
- training camp for workmen between Wierzbowa, Krańcowa and Chełmska Streets (est. 1 March 1943), set up on SS orders;
- the Baudienst labour camp on Chełmska Street (between 1943 and 1944);
- the Baudienst labour camp at 21/23 Wesoła Street (between 1943 and 1944);
- camp of the POWs from the USSR at 35 Nowy Świat Street (between 1943 and 1944);
- camp on Wojenna Street;
- the Baudienst camp on Wyścigowa Street;
- labour camp at 6 Leszczyńskiego Street, where French prisoners were held;
- labour camp on Wrońska Street for Polish Jews.

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<sup>22</sup> Unless specified, the institutions were not dedicated to imprison a specific group of inmates – their analysis, conducted from a sociological or ethnic perspective, greatly exceeds the requirements of the article.

Moreover, various confinement institutions, mostly related to the exploitation of masses for labour purposes, were set up in villages and towns surrounding Lublin. The region itself became known for the extraordinary level of terror introduced by the occupant.

## Conclusions

The analysis shows that during WWII in Lublin, the German occupant created a number of confinement institutions – a process that took place in three distinctive phases, differing in the extent of influence of objective circumstances and private and state initiatives on the decisions. The role and actions of local German officials, mainly SSPF O. Globocnik and his associates, were an important factor in the eruption of competition between the various levels of occupant's administration for the control of subsequent confinement institutions. However, further conflicts were generated between different agencies of the German security apparatus, due to the structure of the system itself.

Furthermore, the confinement institutions organised in Lublin formed a comprehensive network, responsible for exerting control over diverse groups of the population – POWs, displaced people, criminal and political prisoners, of various sociological and ethnic origin – and that were suited to perform various tasks: conduct investigations, forced labour or extermination. As a result, the system strengthened, at the same time: the actual German presence on occupied Polish territory, the German political and economic power and its own operational potential.

In the context of the conflict discussed in the article, the development of the network was possible due to the relative independence of the lower levels of the German security system, which itself led to competition between the occupant's officials.

Although due to its ramifications, the article provides only the necessary background for a detailed analysis, its content can be used as a catalyst for a further debate on the subject of conflicts between various levels of Nazi administration. Additional research is required to establish if Lublin was an exceptional case, where both the conflict between the occupant's officials and the network of confinement institutions were present to such an extent, or rather a similar conclusion can be reached during analyses of other locations in areas occupied by Germany.

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### **Organizacja lubelskich miejsc odosobnienia w latach 1939–1944 w ramach niemieckiego systemu aparatu bezpieczeństwa**

#### Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie instytucji odosobnienia utworzonych w Lublinie w latach 1939–1944 przez okupanta niemieckiego oraz przeprowadzenie analizy aspektów organizacyjnych ich funkcjonowania w kontekście działania poszczególnych organów systemu bezpieczeństwa III Rzeszy i Generalnego Gubernatorstwa. Pierwsza część zawiera podstawowe informacje niezbędne do przeprowadzenia badania – zaprezentowanie podziału administracyjnego ziem polskich po kampanii wrześniowej oraz struktury aparatu bezpieczeństwa wprowadzonego przez niemieckiego okupanta. W części właściwej analizy nakreślono trzy główne etapy tworzenia instytucji odosobnienia, co osiągnięto na podstawie porównania okoliczności wpływających na ich założenie. Jednocześnie zaprezentowano ich oficjalną pozycję w strukturach organów systemu bezpieczeństwa, co zestawiono z faktyczną dominacją różnych agencji i postaci nad poszczególnymi obozami i więzieniami. W ten sposób przedstawiono cały odcinek niemieckiego systemu okupacyjnego z dwóch odrębnych perspektyw: utworzenia szeregu odpowiednich instytucji pełniących określone role w celu wzmocnienia kontroli okupanta nad ludnością polską oraz konkurencji poszczególnych agencji niemieckiego aparatu bezpieczeństwa o kontrolę nad masami więźniów.

**Słowa kluczowe:** więzienia hitlerowskie, obozy hitlerowskie, okupacja hitlerowska, II wojna światowa, KL Lublin, Majdanek, Zamek Lubelski