

ANNIHILATION INSTEAD OF FORCED LABOR

Himmler's Struggle against Production Constraints and Armaments Interests in General Commissariat Latvia

Reinhard Heydrich, the head of the Reich Security Main Office, was right when he expressed a fear some eight months before his death that commerce and industry could wreck his plans for a “total resettlement of the Jews” by claiming Jewish forced laborers “as indispensable workers.”¹ The second wave of mass murder directed at the Jews of General Commissariat White Ruthenia ran almost exactly the way the SS and police envisioned it, because General Commissar Wilhelm Kube also approved of the strict mustering of Jewish skilled workers for indispensability and agreed with the identification of Jews as “adherents of gangs,” meaning of course partisans.² In Reich Commissariat Ukraine, annihilation operations were likewise stepped up over the course of summer 1942, because Reich Commissar Erich Koch had ceded authority in the “Jewish question” to Higher SS and Police Leader Ukraine Hans-Adolf Prützmann.³ But in the General Government the desired total extermination of the Jews threatened to lead to an impasse, for after *Reichsführer-SS* and Chief of the German Police Heinrich Himmler had issued his order of 19 July 1942 to murder the General Government’s entire Jewish population by year’s end – save for the forced laborers in the “collection camps” of Warsaw, Cracow, Częstochowa, Radom, and Lublin – his men there began to encounter difficulties.⁴

In the course of spring 1942, Himmler had managed to wrest control over the “Jewish question” from General Governor Hans Frank, but the practical implementation of his “final solution order” by 31 December 1942 had to take into consideration the deployment of Jews important to the war effort. Independent of the back-and-forth between Himmler and Frank, the SS and police leaders in the districts of Galicia and Lublin, Fritz Katzmann and Odilo Globocnik respectively, had been able to assert their

own interests to the greatest extent possible. On the other hand, the mass murder of the Warsaw ghetto's Jews, which was underway at the killing center Treblinka, could only be carried out if the Wehrmacht's interests were guaranteed.

The office of the High Field Administration Commandant in Warsaw (OFK Warsaw) reacted to the deportations, which began on 22 July, by closely monitoring Wehrmacht workplaces and armaments enterprises within the ghetto. The Jewish forced laborers in Warsaw were barracked on-site like those who had to work at military offices outside the ghetto.⁵ During later deportations, when the SS and police seized Jews who were deployed on behalf of armaments enterprises but not registered as such, OFK Warsaw tried unsuccessfully to intervene with Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger, the higher SS and police leader in the General Government. After filing a request at the Main Labor Office Warsaw, local OFK officials learned that it was impossible to use Polish workers as substitutes due to the demand for workers for the Reich. The labor administration itself claimed to be surprised by the sudden "resettlement" of the Jewish workers in question.⁶ This situation was the tangible outcome of a unilateral announcement by Krüger made on the eve of Himmler's "final solution order" for the General Government. According to Krüger's decree, all prior agreements with the Wehrmacht concerning Jewish forced laborers were null and void; in the future, armaments enterprises would be provided with Jewish workers from the camps of the HSSPF.⁷

The deportation operations, however, interfered so much in the running of wartime production that the office of the Military District Territorial Commander in the General Government (WiG) turned to the High Command of the Wehrmacht with his complaints:

The resettlement of the Jews, which is taking place without notification of most Wehrmacht offices, brought serious difficulties in supplies and delays in immediate production for the wartime economy. Jobs at the SS-level, urgency level "winter," cannot not be taken care of on time ... Immediate removal of the Jews would have as a consequence a considerable reduction in the military potential of the Reich and at least a momentary hold up in provisioning the front as well as the troops of the General Government ... As has now been discovered, orders important to the war effort of the highest level of urgency, above all for winter needs, are being processed in the General Government on behalf of various Reich Wehrmacht offices without the knowledge of the Armaments Inspection and the WiG. The timely completion of these jobs has been made impossible by the resettlement of the Jews. A systematic registration of all such enterprises requires some time. It is asked that the resettlement of the Jews active in commercial enterprises be suspended.⁸

If these jobs important to the war effort were not to suffer, wrote WiG Kurt Freiherr von Gienanth, then either the 140,000 Polish workers promised to the general plenipotentiary for the deployment of labor would have to stay in Poland so as to replace the Jews, or only a gradual extraction of Jews after the training of qualified replacements would have to be considered.⁹ Himmler's answer was clear. First he dismissed all those Jews deployed in clothing enterprises as "so-called" armaments workers and explained that he had ordered these people in Warsaw and Lublin to be collected in concentration camps. He would guarantee the continuation of deliveries to the Wehrmacht. On the other hand, Jews who worked in real armaments enterprises, such as weapons and auto workshops, would initially be collected in various enterprises. Afterward, these workers would be transferred to isolated enterprises and, as a last step, their substitution with Polish workers would follow. The last such large concentration workshops with Jews would be located "as far to the east of the General Government as possible." Himmler added: "However, there, too, the Jews are to disappear in accordance with the Führer's wish."¹⁰

The Reichsführer-SS did not even try to address Gienanth's complaints or show any readiness to compromise; he merely explained how he intended to maintain complete power of disposal over the Jews who were still living, despite the needs of enterprises important to the war effort and without allowing difficulties in orders to arise.¹¹ When Himmler registered the continued presence of 35,000–40,000 Jews during a visit to the occupied Polish capital on 9 January 1943, he had the chief of the local armaments command report to him and issued him an ultimatum: by 15 February, all working Jews were to be transferred to concentration camps in District Lublin.¹² When this proved to be completely impractical, Himmler founded Concentration Camp Warsaw – one day after his deadline had elapsed.¹³

Without elaborating on the history of various ghettos in the districts of the General Government, Białystok District, or Reich Commissariat Ukraine, it can be said in short that in autumn 1942, Himmler, with Hitler's approval, was pursuing a program covering entire regions of Eastern Europe in order to prevent Heydrich's fear from coming true. Although Concentration Camp Warsaw existed merely on paper – the ghetto terrain was in part merely "rededicated" – that was not what really mattered. What was important was that the ghetto inhabitants working as forced laborers had been turned into concentration camp inmates – and as such they were formally subordinated to Division D of the SS Economics and Administration Main Office. In practical terms, however, they were under the control of the office of the SS Economist attached to the HSSPF.¹⁴

Given the comparably low number of Jews still living in General Commissariat Latvia, this former Baltic republic was not a focal point of Himmler's

ler's struggle against economic interests. Even after the murder operations that swept General Commissariat White Ruthenia, 30,000 Jews were still living and working there at the end of 1942.¹⁵ In General Commissariat Latvia, by contrast, there were still 12,000–13,200 Jews in Riga, 841 in County Commissariat Courland, 289 in County Commissariat Jelgava, 454 in County Commissariat Daugavpils – that is to say, not even half the number of those in General Commissariat White Ruthenia.¹⁶ Nonetheless, their existence still served to aggravate Himmler. Unlike General Commissar White Ruthenia Kube, Reich Commissar Ukraine Koch, or General Governor Frank, who had in the course of 1942 turned over authority for handling the “Jewish question” to the police or had coordinated with the police, decision makers in Latvia had yet to create clarity. On the one hand, it had become obvious even to officials in the Reich Commissariat Ostland (RKO) that Himmler alone could lay claim to the solution of the “Jewish question”; on the other hand, the SS and police had the impression that Reich Commissar Ostland Hinrich Lohse was working toward subordinating the police to the civil administration.¹⁷

On top of that, Wilhelm Burmeister, Lohse's representative at talks with SS Captain Walter Jagusch on 13 October 1942, had been reluctant to recognize the Security Police's control over all legislative measures concerning the Jews, but had instead referred the matter to Reich Minister for the Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg.¹⁸ For Riga, the actual placement of laborers with enterprises lay firmly in the hands of the civil administration, and for the Security Police, its practice of loaning deported Jews to the civil administration created only problems whenever it sought to recall them.¹⁹ The SS and police were unable to take action against the ghetto by arguing that the Jews presented a partisan danger; General Commissariat Latvia had few guerilla attacks to report.²⁰ Plans for armed resistance in the Riga ghetto, which had been ruthlessly crushed by the Tin Square Operation, could hardly be considered a pretext.

Therefore, on 2 April 1943, Himmler established Concentration Camp Riga, effective 13 March, with the backdating referring to a conversation with Deputy Reich Commissar Ostland Günther Pröhl, HSSPF Ostland Friedrich Jecklen, and Wehrmacht Territorial Commander Ostland Walter Braemer.²¹ Having found an unresolved situation on site in the occupied territories, Himmler had once again deployed this new instrument. But unlike the case in Warsaw, there are clear differences here that cannot yet be fully explained given the current state of the research. The address – Ganību dambis 31 (Weidendamm 31) – was far away from the Moscow Suburb, probably the address of a part of the office of the SS Economist. Whereas Himmler had intentionally set up the new concentration camp in the Polish capital on the ghetto terrain, he refrained from doing so in the case of

Riga. Furthermore, the decree establishing Concentration Camp Riga made no mention of Jewish inmates, whereas this had been the stated aim behind setting up Concentration Camp Warsaw. Finally, the establishment of Concentration Camp Riga took place "with the approval of the Reichsführer-SS," whereas Himmler had personally ordered the establishment of Concentration Camp Warsaw.²²

Jeckeln probably suggested to Himmler the idea of setting up a concentration camp in Riga, because this not only offered a certain advantage for Jeckeln vis-à-vis the civil administration, but also increased his own power. The HSSPF Ostland was able to forgo the ghetto premises, because using them would have entailed an abundance of legal questions concerning the ownership of nationalized and private non-Jewish properties. But why the order establishing Concentration Camp Riga did not define the inmates more precisely remains a mystery. At any rate, none of this bothered the general commissar enough to keep him from once again entrusting County Commissar Riga City and Commissarial Mayor Hugo Wittrock with the administration of the ghetto on 3 May, an endeavor that was to prove completely unrealistic in the weeks to come.²³

For the time being, however, it was up to the county commissar to produce a prospective ghetto budget, for which 13,200 Jews were assumed as the basis for the estimate. In the future, the county commissar was supposed to feed 8,000 hard laborers and 5,000 laborers, there being 600 people unable to work among the 5,000 "normal rations." The breakdown of this budget item shows that the administration intended to make do with RM 126.44 per person annually. In addition, each person was to be allocated 600 grams of washing powder per year.²⁴ Wittrock's field of responsibility had seemed clearly defined since the meeting between the general commissar's office and the Security Police on 8 April 1943. The county commissar had to look after the ghetto's internal needs, such as food and housing maintenance, as well as see to labor deployment. All invoicing for Jewish forced laborers would be processed by the Finance Department, whereas the Security Police would turn over to the general commissar the ghetto workshops and all of the Jews who were not working. The SD employer card index was also to be transferred to the general commissar.²⁵

However, this division of duties to the civil administration's advantage was to exist solely on paper, for just as Himmler had striven to gain power of disposal over the working Jews, the local Security Police now began to intervene in the deployment of labor. In early May 1943, the general commissar was forced to complain to Rudolf Lange, the chief of the Regional Command of the Security Police and SD Latvia (KdS Latvia), because the HSSPF had ordered the Security Police to have the civil labor administration provide Jewish workers for construction work on behalf of the Waffen-SS

Latvian Legion. Jeckeln refused to detach Jews from the Security Police's contingents for this purpose. However, after the requested Jewish workers had been mustered from other commands, they were not picked up, which produced considerable disgruntlement on the part of Paul Seeliger of the Labor Office's Bureau for the Deployment of Jews. Despite prior approval, the Security Police also blocked a barracking of Jewish workers at the AEG peat works in Olaine (Olai), because officials at the site had not deployed the workers during the Easter holidays, but had let them rest between Good Friday and Easter Monday.²⁶

That same month, it became clear that the Security Police intended to have a decisive say in all new allocations. After the captured munitions center in Riga-Cekule and the Army Clothing Office (*Armeebekleidungsamt*, ABA) reported their need for workers to the Bureau for the Deployment of Jews and 216 Jews had to be placed with these two Wehrmacht offices, the new ghetto commandant, SS First Sergeant Eduard Roschmann, announced that the new request for Cekule had been rejected, and that the ABA was requesting an "old unit" once again. On the other hand, there were no objections. Seeliger's report on this incident was clear: "SS Sergeant [sic] Roschmann declared that he was in agreement with the placement of 93 female and 23 male workers for the ABA by explaining that this was an old unit and stressed again that another placement of Jewish workers, no matter what kind or to which office, would not be considered. Likewise, SS Sergeant [sic] Roschmann is asking that my papers for new allocations be submitted, for whatever reason is unknown to me. With this, I have been placed under ward and ask my superior to clarify the matter with the SD and to give me additional instructions."²⁷ For its part, the Wehrmacht's Armaments Commando Riga accepted the changes being initiated at this time – apparently without much objection; faced with the threat of having its Jewish workers withdrawn, it immediately entered into direct negotiations with KdS Latvia.²⁸

As already mentioned, these new forms of intervention took place against the backdrop of a massive restructuring of worker distribution in favor of the peat industry so that Schmutzler, the head of County Commissariat Riga City's Labor Department, immediately seconded them and then met with Lange a short time later.²⁹ This conversation, however, unfolded along the lines of Lange's aims, because Schmutzler was forced to recognize that despite the strained labor situation, Security Police-related concerns could also lead to a situation in which a circular swap of civilian workers would have to be made possible. Schmutzler's only success in these negotiations was that Lange agreed to direct all future allocation applications only to the Labor Office on Aizsargu St. (Yorck St.), where decisions were supposed to be made. However, the Security Police had negotiated with the Wehrmacht

and commerce and industry for more than a year and was most familiar with the assignments and the location of manufactures important to the war effort. The police could always raise objections if it did not approve of a work detail or barracking. It did not matter where a decision was made, whether it was at the Bureau for the Deployment of Jews in the ghetto or at the Labor Office in the city center. Finally, Lange and Schmutzler agreed that inspections concerning the expediency of deployments should be carried out on site.³⁰

When officials within General Commissariat Latvia debated how far the restitution of private property should go, and whether ghetto property was to be included, Dr. Willy Neuendorff of the Finance Department voted against the reprivatization of property in the ghetto. He argued that the ordinance on the reestablishment of private property made an exception where reprivatization ran counter to the public interest. The ghetto, however, had been founded in the public interest and was not expected to be dissolved any time soon. KdS Latvia, Neuendorff added, had also reported its unwillingness to approve the reprivatization of this property due to Security Police-related considerations.³¹ Thus, with regard to the ghetto, the civil administration completely failed to see what was happening; the imminent withdrawal of workers, as had occurred in Warsaw, was not recognized as such.

On 21 June 1943, however, Himmler intervened again:³² "1) I order all Jews who are still on-hand in the territory Ostland to be collected in concentration camps. 2) I forbid any Jews being taken outside concentration camps to work, effective 1 August 1943. 3) A concentration camp is to be established near Riga, to which all of the clothing and equipment manufactures that the Wehrmacht today has outside the camp are to be transferred. All private companies are to be shut down. The enterprises are to be purely concentration camp enterprises. The head of the SS Economics-Administration Main Office is to see to it that no reduction in the necessary manufactures for the Wehrmacht takes place as a result of the reorganization. 4) As large a share of the male Jews as possible is to be taken to the concentration camp in the oil shale area for the exploitation of oil shale. 5.) The unneeded members of the Jewish ghettos are to be evacuated to the east. The deadline for the reorganization of the concentration camps is 1 August 1943."³³

The Security Police immediately began withdrawing those commandos made up of Jewish concentration camp inmates whose deployment it did not view as important to the war effort and whose departure would not produce widespread protests. When the Security Police tried to withdraw six Jews working for the company Kopperschmidt & Söhne, a Wehrmacht enterprise, an agreement was quickly reached. Kopperschmidt & Söhne received twenty-one instead of six Jews, and negotiations with the Wartime

Economics and Armaments Commando Riga ensued on the “deployment of Jewish workers ordered by the Reichsführer-SS in a [concentration] camp or the establishment of a [concentration] camp in manufacturing shops.”³⁴ Now, County Commissar Wittrock was simply pushed aside. Likewise, the Security Police inmates from the labor correctional camp Salaspils at the airport construction site Spilve were promptly replaced by 200 male and female Jews – a large part of whom were craftsmen – from circa 160 various details. In the Security Police workshops on Washington Square and Pētersalas St. (Peterholmsche St.), fifty-one Jewish craftsmen were barracked without the labor administration being informed.³⁵ Whenever Seeliger protested, it was said the Jews were being used for a “Security Police deployment.”³⁶

From the perspective of the Security Police, this phase of the uncompromising implementation of its prerogatives vis-à-vis the civil administration was to force the latter to recognize the new conditions. This would best happen if the Reich Commissariat would move beyond the stage of silently acknowledging its impotence to itself and inform its subordinate offices of the new state of affairs. On 7 July 1943, on invitation from Lange, a representative of the RKO, two department chiefs from General Commissariat Latvia, Schmutzler of County Commissariat Riga City, and SS Second Lieutenant Kurt Migge met at the headquarters of KdS Latvia. The unsigned, highly confidential report for the files drawn up by the labor administration of County Commissariat Riga City clearly shows that circumstances had changed completely. After Lange explained the dispute over the 160 disbanded details by referring to Himmler’s concentration camp order, he declared that in the future he would be setting up concentration camps with an occupancy of no fewer than 1,000 people each. Lange and Hans-Otto von Borcke, the RKO’s representative, urged the lower-ranking offices present to quickly locate enterprises that were in a position to establish barracking camps on such a scale. However, Lange understood that this would not be possible by Himmler’s deadline of 1 August. During the meeting, the Army Clothing Office, the general commissar’s workshops, the captured munitions center in Riga-Cekule, and the Spilve airport were all mentioned. Lange declared that he was willing to have the craftsmen in Spilve placed again elsewhere, but according to the protocol, he ordered that these workers not be transferred back to their previous workplace. Finally, County Commissariat Riga City asked that the representatives of the senior offices on hand make recommendations for large-scale barrackings in the shortest possible time.³⁷

At this meeting, the civil administration essentially recognized the new planning authority of the Security Police in General Commissariat Latvia. In historical retrospect, all further disputes are to be seen merely as the

usual conflicts over interpretation that arise between government agencies, with the civil administration having nothing more in the hand than its promises to keep armaments production constant.³⁸ On this point, however, it was first and foremost the Wartime Economics and Armaments Commando that supervised the maintenance of Wehrmacht production in Riga, and since 14 July, it had been part of a joint commission with the Security Police and the Labor Office.³⁹ The remarks made by General Commissar White Ruthenia Wilhelm Kube, RKO Main Department Economic Affairs head Martin Matthiessen, and Deputy Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Meyer at a large meeting on labor deployment in Berlin on 13 July 1943 are to be understood in this context. But Fritz Sauckel, the general plenipotentiary for the deployment of labor, refused to provide the workers needed to replace the 50,000 Jews who were to be resettled to concentration camps. The civil administration had lost the initiative at every level.⁴⁰

If one looks closely at the surviving monthly reports for July 1943 from the Security Police and the civil administration in General Commissariat Latvia, one sees that the question that had been left open since autumn 1941 – namely, whether the “final solution of the Jewish question” was a economic-political issue or a Security Police matter – had clearly been resolved in favor of the Security Police. In his report, Lange was able to note with satisfaction that immediately after the arrival of Himmler’s concentration camp order KdS Latvia had promptly introduced all of the necessary measures. All of the Jews employed in 312 enterprises had been withdrawn without exception in the course of the month; at 153 enterprises, employers had carried out job cuts affecting 50–70 percent of the Jewish workforce. All of the measures had taken place in coordination with “a representative of the Wartime Economics Commando,” and there had also been cooperation with the “Labor Office with the County Commissariat Riga City.” In July, wrote Lange, almost 3,000 Jews had been confined to concentration camps or accommodated in a similar fashion.⁴¹

By contrast, Schmutzler could only document in his situation report that he did not know how things could continue. In an unchanged economic situation, an enormous strain on the labor situation had emerged, because the “SD” had recalled the Jews, a loss that was not to be made up for by placing indigenous, non-Jewish workers. He could not exactly say whether the Security Police approved barrackings and under which circumstances. It was only clear that the Jews were to remain under the permanent control of the Security Police.⁴²

As if to test one more time whether it was really impossible for the civil administration to intervene in any meaningful way, Lohse, on 10 August 1943 instructed the general commissars to see to it that Jewish work details

in large or small concentration camps really “are disappearing from the streets of the cities of Ostland.”⁴³ Shortly thereafter, the general commissar for Latvia sent these instructions to Lange, making reference to the latter’s July situation report, in which it had been noted that 153 offices had merely reduced the number of Jews in work details, and asking for a statement on this matter. Lange promptly presented both letters to Friedrich Panzinger, the new territorial commander of the Security Police and SD for Ostland, who in turn demanded that Lohse withdraw the decree. On 14 October, Friedrich Trampedach, the head of Lohse’s Department IIa (Political Affairs), informed the general commissars that this decree was “only to be regarded as an informational briefing” and added: “The Security Police is exclusively responsible for the concentration [of Jews]. The implementation of this measure, which was ordered by the Reichsführer-SS, is also monitored by the central office in Berlin,” by which the SS Economics and Administration Main Office was meant.⁴⁴

Although the changeover to concentration camp administration in General Commissariat Latvia did not run as smoothly as Raul Hilberg believed, it was successful.⁴⁵ When Himmler addressed the top national and provincial party leaders – the *Reichsleiter* and *Gauleiter* – in Posen on 6 October 1943, he was able to note, despite the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising: “You will believe me [when I say] that I had enormous difficulties with many economic establishments. I have cleaned out large Jewish ghettos in the rear-area territories.”⁴⁶

Notes

1. Nuremberg Document NO-1020, Abschrift. III B. Niederschrift über Besprechung zwischen SS Oberguppenführer Heydrich und Gauleiter Meyer in Anwesenheit von Min. Dir. Schlotterer, Reichsamtseleiter Dr. Leibbrandt sowie SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Ehlich am 4. Oktober 1941, 11 Uhr.
2. YIVO, Occ. E 3-40, Der Gen.-Komm. für Weißruthenien, Abtl. II a, an den RKO, betr. Jüdische Facharbeiter, 10 July 1942; YIVO, Occ. E 3-41, Der Gen.-Komm. für Weißruthenien, Abtl. Gauleiter, an den RKO, betr. Partisanenbekämpfung und Judenaktion im Generalbezirk Weißruthenien, 31 July 1942; RGVA, 504-1-7, 1, Der Gen.-Komm. für Weißruthenien, Abtl. IIA, an den RKO sowie den HSSPF, 8 September 1942. For an overview, see Jürgen Matthäus, “‘Reibungslos und planmäßig’: Die zweite Welle der Judenvernichtung im Generalkommissariat Weißruthenien (1942–1944),” *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 4 (1995): 254–274. For an overview that includes the involvement of Rear Area Army Group Center, see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 683–774.
3. On Ukraine, see Pohl, “Schauplatz Ukraine, Der Massenmord an den Juden im Militärverwaltungsgebiet und im Reichskommissariat 1941–1943,” 135–173, in particular 157.

4. BA Berlin, NS 19/1757, 1, printed in *Faschismus – Ghetto – Massenmord*, doc. no. 229, 303.
5. BA-MA, RH 53-23/16, Monatsbericht der OFK Warschau v. 16.7.-15.8.1942.
6. *Ibid.*, Monatsbericht der OFK Warschau v. 16.8.-15.9.1942.
7. See the commentary in *Dienstkalender*, entry for 9 July 1942, when Himmler at a meeting with HSSPF Krüger and SSPF Globocnik agreed on the further course of action in the General Government, 483, fn. 35.
8. BA-MA, RH 53-23/66, Wehrkreisbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement, O.Q./ Qu. 2, an das OKW-W.F.St. betr. Ersatz der jüdischen Arbeitskräfte durch Polen, 18 September 1942. Also in BA Berlin, NS 19/352, 2–4, and in *Faschismus – Ghetto – Massenmord*, doc. no. 354, 444–446.
9. *Ibid.*
10. BA Berlin, NS 19/352, 11–12, RFSS, 9 October 1942; also printed in *Faschismus – Ghetto – Massenmord*, doc. no. 355, 446–447.
11. For a detailed examination of this episode, Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, 290–333.
12. On this conversation from Himmler's point of view, BA Berlin, NS 19/352, 20–21, Reichsführer-SS an den HSSPF Krüger, 11 January 1943. Also printed in Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, 180–181. The conversation from Colonel Freter's point of view is in "Rüstungskommando Warschau an den Rüstungsinspekteur der Rü.In. im GG, Krakau," printed in *ibid.*, 315–316.
13. BA Berlin, NS 19/1740, 8, Der Reichsführer-SS an den Chef des WVHA, SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl, 16 February 1943.
14. On Division D of the Economics and Administration Main Office, see Johannes Tuchel, *Die Inspektion der Konzentrationslager 1938–1945*. On the tasks of the SS Economist with the HSSPF in General Government and the occupied eastern territories, see BA Berlin, NS 19/3909, 33, Der Reichsführer-SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei, betr. Neugliederung der Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsdienststellen bei den Höheren SS- und Polizeiführern in den besetzten Gebieten einschl. GG, 18 June 1942. Also printed in *Archives of the Holocaust*, v. 22, doc. no. 95, 204.
15. In response to an inquiry from the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RmbO) dated 23 October 1942, Kube wrote a month later: "In the course of the first year of civil administration, Jewry in the general district has been reduced to about 30,000 in the entire general district." See Der Gen.-Komm. in Weißruthenien an das RmbO, betr. Judenfrage. Bezug: Ihr Erlaß I/20/710 v. 23.10.1942. Both documents – the RmbO inquiry and Kube's answer – are in YIVO, Occ. E 3-45. See also LVVA, P 1026-1-3, 331, KdS Strauch an den BdS Riga, 6 November 1942: "There are 27,660 Jews in the overall, White Ruthenian deployment of labor."
16. On Riga, see BA Berlin, R 91/164, Bericht des Geb.Komm., Abtl. Aso, betr. Judeneinsatz im Monat Dezember 1942, 9 January 1943. For the number 13,200, see below. On County Commissariat Liepaja (Libau) / Kurland, see BA Berlin, R 92/1157, Geb.-Komm. Libau, Arbeitsverwaltung, II a, an den Gen.-Komm., betr. Einsatz jüdischer Arbeitskräfte im Gebiet Kurland. On Gen.-Komm. Mitau, see *ibid.*, Statistik v. 5.1.1943. On Gen.-Komm. Daugavpils/Dünaburg, see *ibid.*, Statistik v. 9.1.1943.
17. YIVO, Occ. E 3-45, Der RKO, Abtl. Politik, Vermerk: "The solution of the Jewish question in Reich Commissariat Ostland has been transferred exclusively to the Security Police. Alone questions of belonging to Jewry and the treatment of half-breeds are worked on in the Political Affairs Department at the Reich Commissar's office or at the general commissars' offices [paragraph of RKO Political Affairs Department chief Friedrich Trampedach]. For the files, Political Affairs (Racial Policy, Jewry)." After a meeting with Rosenberg on 22 October 1942, Gottlob Berger, Himmler's liaison to the RmbO, conveyed his impres-

- sion that Lohse might seek to raise with Hitler the possibility of subordinating the police to the RKO, see BA Berlin, NS 19/1976, 1–4, Berger an Himmler, 22 October 1942.
18. Cf. chapter 12, this volume.
 19. Cf. chapter 9, this volume.
 20. On this, see the daily reports from the office of the Wehrmacht Territorial Commander Ostland on the partisan situation in the RKO for November and December 1942, LVVA, P 70-5-42.
 21. RGVA, 504-2-8, 170, Erlaß, RSHA, IV C 2, 2 April 1943: “Regarding: Concentration Camp (Labor Camp) Riga. With the approval of the Reichsführers-SS and the Chief of the German Police, the Concentration Camp (Labor Camp) Riga has been established. For the time being, the camp will not be considered a camp for confinement. The address is: To the Commandant of the Concentration Camp Riga in Riga, Weidendamm 31. It is to be reached by telex via the Regional Commander of the Security Police and SD in Riga. A telephone connection is not yet available and will be announced later. SS Major Sauer has been deployed as camp commandant. As soon as the aforementioned camp is considered a camp for confinement, additional information will follow. This decree is not meant for the county and local police authorities.”
 22. The transformation of the POW camp Lublin into a concentration camp on 9 April 1943 also took place “by order of the Reichsführer-SS and the chief of the German police,” see *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 22, doc. 102, 218.
 23. See chapter 12, this volume.
 24. BA Berlin, R 91/30, Budgetanschlag über die Ausgaben für den Lebensunterhalt der Insassen des jüdischen Ghettos zu Riga für ein Jahr. For the figure of 13,200 Jews, see BA Berlin, R 91/2, Lagebericht des Geb.-Komm., 3 June 1943.
 25. See Chapter 12, this volume.
 26. BA Berlin, R 92/1157, Der Gen.-Komm. in Riga, Abtl. II Aso, an den KdS, betr. Zusammenarbeit der Dienststellen des SD und der Arbeitseinsatzverwaltung, hier: jüdische Arbeitskräfte (2 Anlagen), 6 May 1943. Lange had approved the allocation of Jews to the AEG peat camp on 14 April, because the camp was secure, see BA Berlin R 92/1158, 45, Der Gen.-Komm. in Riga, III Aso, Vermerk betr. Torfwirtschaft, hier Einsatz von Juden.
 27. *Ibid.*, 68, Bericht 2 2 e 2/a, Judeneinsatz, Betr. Gestellung jüdischer Arbeitskräfte für die Munitionsanstalt Cekule und für das ABA, 21 May 1943. On the labor commando in Cekule, see *ibid.*, 62, Feldzeugdienststelle A, Abwicklungs.-Kdo, an den WBO/O.Qu., Betrifft: Jüdisches Arbeitskommando in der Beute-Munitions-Anstalt Cekule, 28 April 1943.
 28. BA-MA, RW 30/69, 20, entry for 23 April 1943.
 29. BA Berlin, R 92/1158, 59, Schmutzler an den Gen.-Komm. in Riga, 21 May 1943: “I consider it intolerable that at certain intervals subordinate offices of the SD repeatedly try to thwart the agreements made and go their maverick ways. I would welcome it if a corresponding change were brought about for once and for all.” On the relevance of the Jewish workers in the peat industry, see chapter 11, this volume, and BA Berlin, R 92/1158, 57, Gen.-Komm an den Geb.-Komm, betr. Einsatz von jüdischen Arbeitskräften – Torfwirtschaft, 30 April 1943. In April 1943, 942 workers were withdrawn from the work details, see BA Berlin, R 91/101, Der Geb.-Komm. - Arbeitsverwaltung, Fachgebiet 2, an den Gen.-Komm., Arbeitsverwaltung, betr. Arbeitslagebericht für den Monat April 1942. Over 400 Jews were subsequently employed in the peat works of County Commissariat Liepāja, see LVA, P 69-2-81, 73–80, Der Geb.-Komm. Libau, Arbeitsverwaltung, Monatsbericht für den Mai 1943.
 30. BA Berlin, R 92/1157, Der Gen.-Komm. in Riga, Abtl. III e Aso, Vermerk über Besprechung zwischen KdS Dr. Lange und Reg. Rat Schmutzler, gez. Droysen, 26 May 1943.
 31. BA Berlin R 92/509, 26–27, Abteilung Finanzen an die Abteilung III Treu. im Hause, betrifft: Reprivatisierung der im Ghetto befindlichen Grundstücke, gez. Dr. Neuendorff.

- A copy of this letter with marginalia from the Trust Administration Department is in BA Berlin, R 92/1215.
32. Two days earlier, during a visit with Hitler at Obersalzberg, Himmler had given a presentation on the Jewish question. Hitler had made clear "that the evacuation of the Jews is to be carried out in a radical manner over the next 3–4 months despite the turmoil that will arise and will have to be endured," see BA Berlin NS 19/1432, 2, Aktenvermerk, Himmler regarding his presentation to Hitler on 19 June 1943.
 33. BA Berlin, R 91/3, Abschrift. Tgb.-Nr. Kdo.-Stab RFSS, Ia Nr. 1754/43.
 34. BA-MA, RW 30/70, 8 and 24, entry in war diary for 5 July 1943.
 35. BA Berlin, R 92/1157, Seeliger an den Geb.-Komm., Abtl. Arbeitsverwaltung, betr. Liquidierung von 160 Marschkolonnen, 6 July 1943.
 36. BA Berlin, R 91/164, Vfg. Der Geb.-Komm. Riga, Arbeitsverwaltung, an den Gen.-Komm. Betr.: Einsatz jüdischer Arbeitskräfte, 6 July 1943. A copy is also in BA Berlin, R 92/1158, 80.
 37. BA Berlin, R 91/164, Der Geb.-Komm. in Riga – Judeinsatz. Bericht (streng vertraulich), Betr.: Umsetzung der Juden in Lager nicht unter 1,000 Mann. Vorgang: Verhandlung am 7.7.43 von 10.00 bis 12.30 bei dem Herrn Sturmbannführer Dr. Lange im Beisein des Herrn Dr. Dr. von Borcke (Reichskommissar), ORR Wurthmann vom Generalkommissar-Arbeitseinsatz, RR Droysen vom Generalkommissar-Arbeitseinsatz und Ustuf. Migge. Hans von Borcke was actually the head of the general commissar's Main Department Economic Affairs, but he is referred to in this report as well as in a draft as the RKO's representative.
 38. After another meeting between the Security Police and the civil administration on 13 July 1943, the general commissar's labor administration tried to initiate at least a joint informational flyer for employers. Not long thereafter, however, this was "outdated," see BA Berlin, R 92/1158, 81, Gen.-Komm. in Riga, Vermerk betr. Judeinsatz.
 39. BA-MA, RW 30/70, 10, Gruppe Z. Beitrag zum KTB für 11.-17.7.1943.
 40. Nuremberg Document NO-1831, Sitzungsvermerk v. 20 August 1943 des ORR Hermann über eine Tagung am 13.7.43 im RmbO zum Thema: Arbeitseinsatzfragen des Reiches unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse in den besetzten Ostgebieten. During the meeting, Meyer pointed out the 22,000 Jews "to be resettled" and the 50,000 Jews to be registered in concentration camps. For an approximate breakdown of these numbers for the RKO, see Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, 402 (Vilnius: 20,000; Kaunas: 17,000; Šauliai: 5,000, Riga/Latvia: 15,000; Minsk: 8,500; Lida: 7,500). The meeting with regard to Kube and conditions in General Commissariat White Ruthenia is covered in Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, 736–737.
 41. YIVO, Occ. E 3-b -29, excerpt from the monthly report of the KdS Latvia for July 1943. According to marginalia, BdS Ostland Friedrich Panzinger presented this document to RKO Lohse personally. See section "Gegnerkreise," item "Juden."
 42. BA Berlin, R 91/1001, Der Geb.-Komm. in Riga, Arbeitsverwaltung, an den Gen.-Komm. Abtl. Aso, betr. Arbeitslagebericht für den Monat Juli 1943, 3 August 1943.
 43. LVVA, P 69-1a-6, 29, Der RKO, Abtl. I Politik, an den Gen.-Komm. in Reval, Riga, Kauen, Minsk, 10 August 1943, betr. Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern.
 44. Lange's response to the general commissar: Der KdS Lettland, Abtl. IV B 3, an den Gen.-Komm., betr. Zusammenfassung von Juden in KZ-Lagern, 15 September 1943, in LVVA P 69-1a-6, 130. Trampedach's memorandum: Der RKO, I Politik, an die Gen.-Komm. in Reval, Riga, Kauen, Minsk. Betrifft: Zusammenfassung von Juden in Konzentrationslagern. Bezug: Mein Erlass vom 10.8.43, in LVVA P 69-1a-6, 127. A copy is also contained in BA-DH, ZA I 12045, Akte 4.
 45. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, Bd. 2, 407.
 46. Heinrich Himmler, *Geheimreden 1933 bis 1945 und andere Ansprachen*, 163–183, 170.