

# Introduction

In April 1943, the eleven-year-old Simon Gronowski was helped by his mother as he jumped from the 20th deportation train to leave Belgium. The train was intended to take them from the Mechelen assembly camp to Auschwitz. Well in advance, Simon had practised jumping from the train together with other children, often leaping from their bunk beds in Mechelen.<sup>1</sup> By the time the 20th deportation train had reached the German border, a total of 232 prisoners had managed to escape by breaking open the freight railway carriages with smuggled knives and tools.<sup>2</sup>

I met Simon Gronowski in 2006 and heard the story of his escape. According to his account, many Jewish prisoners fled from this moving deportation train, acting exactly as they had planned in advance. In the following months, I attempted to discover whether this mass escape was an outstanding, isolated incident, or whether such escapes were a widespread phenomenon and therefore a hitherto unresearched chapter of the Holocaust.

During the initial investigation process, it quickly became clear that throughout Europe, countless persecuted Jews had attempted to flee from deportation trains.<sup>3</sup> They usually made their escapes while still in their home countries and it was rare that they tried to flee once they were inside the German Reich. That was regarded as too dangerous since the German population was presumed to be hostile.<sup>4</sup> However, in other European countries occupied by Germany, fleeing from a deportation train also involved risking one's life. Many who dared to jump from the carriages were then hit by the train or crushed, while others were seriously injured. Most escapees died because teams of guards shot at them and many of those who managed to flee were recaptured later on.

## The State of Research

Jewish prisoners fleeing from deportation trains are occasionally mentioned in research literature (such as in the standard works by H. G. Adler

and Raul Hilberg), but they have not been categorized as an autonomous phenomenon.<sup>5</sup> For instance, in his book *Sonderzüge nach Auschwitz* (1981), Raul Hilberg reproduced a document on a mass escape from a transportation train heading to Belżec, without discussing it further in the text.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the above-named publications form the underlying basis of this study.<sup>7</sup> Only the work by Reuben Ainsztein in 1974, which examined armed Jewish resistance in Eastern Europe, described, albeit briefly, escapes from trains as a relatively common phenomenon, in the chapter ‘Flucht als Widerstand’ (‘Flight as Resistance’), defining it as a form of Jewish resistance.<sup>8</sup> Ainsztein wrote: ‘Escape attempts were so common that the train lines to the death factories were covered with the bodies of those who were mown down by the machine guns of the Ukrainian and German guards.’<sup>9</sup> In a rather brief report on an escape, Yehuda Bauer also described the act as a form of resistance.<sup>10</sup> Finally, Saul Friedländer touched on the theme of this study in his publication *Die Jahre der Vernichtung. Das Dritte Reich und die Juden 1939–1945*, assessing it as follows: ‘With respect to the “freight” itself, it caused no notable problems. Naturally there were the usual suicides and a number of attempted escapes before boarding the trains and sometimes during the transportation.’<sup>11</sup>

The theme has not been studied in France, with the exception of an essay written in 1974 by Adam Rutkowski.<sup>12</sup> There is, however, a pioneering study by Ahlrich Meyer entitled *Täter im Verhör*, in which selected cases of escapes from deportation trains in France are presented in one chapter.<sup>13</sup>

The attack by Resistance fighters on the 20th deportation train on 19 April 1943, which was unique throughout Europe and resulted in seventeen prisoners escaping from their wagons, was described in an essay by Lucien Steinberg in 1968.<sup>14</sup> Before the criminal proceedings against the former ‘Judenreferent’ (officer for Jewish affairs) Kurt Asche, Maxime Steinberg researched significant documents and presented them in his *Dossier Bruxelles-Auschwitz. La police SS et l’extermination des Juifs de Belgique*, published in 1980.<sup>15</sup> It devotes an entire chapter to the raid on the 20th deportation train and the subsequent escapes. In 1982, Steinberg and Serge Klarsfeld published a volume of further research evidence in preparation for the Asche trial. For the first time, it quantified escapes from trains. Klarsfeld and Steinberg counted 343 escapes at the time.<sup>16</sup> In 1984, Konrad Kwiet and Helmut Eschwege pointed out the large number of escapes in Belgium.<sup>17</sup> Between 1984 and 1986, Steinberg published a three-volume paper on the extermination of the Jews in Belgium, focusing on Jewish resistance.<sup>18</sup> In this work, which is still relevant today, Steinberg meticulously reconstructed the escapes from the 20th deportation train.<sup>19</sup>

The 2009 study by Insa Meinen on the persecution of Jews in Belgium includes a chapter that examines the lives, strategies for avoiding deportation and eventual fates of the prisoners on the 21st transportation train. Escapes from that deportation are described as one of several individual survival strategies.<sup>20</sup> In 2002, Marion Schreiber, the then *Spiegel* Brussels correspondent, described the raid on the 20th deportation train in her book *Stille Rebellen. Der Überfall auf den 20. Deportationszug nach Auschwitz*.<sup>21</sup>

Underlying research by the historian Laurence Schram on deportations in Belgium should also be noted. Thanks to her work, I was able to draw from a list of all Belgian train escapees. Research by Schram produced, among other works, a four-volume edition on the deportation of Jews in Belgium entitled *Mecheln-Auschwitz 1942–1944. De vernietiging van de Joden en zigeuners van België. La destruction des Juifs et des Tsiganes de Belgique. The destruction of the Jews and Gypsies from Belgium*, co-written with Maxime Steinberg.<sup>22</sup> It was possible to draw from a number of references to escapes in the book. In 1965, Jacques Presser laid the academic foundations for the theme of Jewish extermination in the Netherlands with his study *Ondergang*, but mentioned escapes from deportation trains in only one sentence. He presumed that only few prisoners fled, since it would have jeopardized the ‘wagon elders’ responsible for the arrival of all prisoners.<sup>23</sup> The volume *Een gat in het prikkeldraad* (‘A Hole in the Barbed Wire’) was published more recently by *Westerbork Cahiers*. It describes escapes from the Westerbork camp and includes portraits of two train escapees.<sup>24</sup> The situation in the wagons during the deportation journey was analysed extensively for the first time in 2009 by Simone Gigliotti in her study *The Train Journey. Transit, Captivity, and Witnessing the Holocaust*, which also includes a short chapter on the phenomenon of escapes from the wagons.<sup>25</sup>

Although the extermination of European Jews is a prominent theme of contemporary history, there has not yet been a focus on escapes from deportation trains. Their relevance, however, is obvious, not least with respect to debate on Jewish resistance. This study aims to close that gap in Holocaust research.

## Questions and Methods

To reach meaningful results, the field of study had to be limited sensibly, providing a comparison between the countries of France, Belgium and the Netherlands. In choosing these countries, I followed the Most Similar Systems Design approach,<sup>26</sup> which involves the comparative study of one aspect on the basis of similar research subjects. There are several similari-

ties between the study's three Western European countries. For instance, the Wehrmacht occupied them simultaneously, anti-Jewish policy was implemented in similar steps, the deportation systems had comparable structures and the deportation journeys were roughly of the same distance, all crossing the German Reich.

During the study, I chose two questions as leading research factors: firstly the question of overriding structural factors that enabled or hindered escapes regardless of the situation, and secondly the key incidental factors inside the wagons with respect to the decision whether or not to attempt an escape.

The first question arises from clear findings early on in the research process that the number of identifiable escapes in the three countries does not correlate with the respective share of Jewish deportees compared to the overall size of the Jewish population. Based on that fact, I studied the factors in the three Western European countries that aided or hindered escapes from the wagons.

In social sciences, comparisons are made either to examine the general applicability of one's own research results using an additional comparative group (control group) or to derive the typical, relevant, identical or different aspects of two or more cases with respect to a previously defined question. Depending on how the research is designed, a decision is made either in favour of cases that contrast strongly (Most Different Systems Design) or in favour of cases that are similar (Most Similar Systems Design).<sup>27</sup> This study uses the latter approach, since individual factors can be studied comparatively in most similar systems – in this case the three Western European countries. The individual factors are those that influenced the decision whether or not to attempt an escape. The factors must be selected with respect to significance and operative practicability, and limited in terms of their numbers, since no significant statements are possible if there are too many factors. In a second research step, the factors are compared to establish differences and common aspects. Since the study is designed as a three-stage process (description, classification, comparative analysis), the actual comparison is presented at the end.<sup>28</sup>

During the course of my research, I identified factors that aided or hindered escapes. In this respect, Helen Fein's study *Accounting for Genocide. National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust* proved very helpful. In it, Fein addresses the question as to which factors influenced the different chances of survival of the persecuted Jews in the different countries. The key factors she identified included:

- The size and identifiability of the Jewish population and its residence status

- The nature and state of a country before its German invasion with respect to the religion of the majority, the existence of a nationally defined solidarity and the success of anti-Semitic movements
- The type of occupation regime, the time when the occupation and deportations began, increasing awareness of annihilation
- The level of state cooperation in anti-Jewish measures including deportation and the respective willingness to collaborate
- The reactions to occupation, Jewish persecution and deportation, acceptance of different degrees and levels of resistance
- Jewish reaction to the persecution, opportunities to go into hiding, the actions of the *Judenrat* and the self-defence movement
- The local conditions such as open escape corridors out of ghettos or across national borders.<sup>29</sup>

This list of factors is also important for this study. To be able to answer the question of structural factors for the significantly different numbers of escapes in France, Belgium and the Netherlands, the concluding observations first name the factors that emerged as relevant after reconstructing escape cases, before comparing their effectiveness in the respective countries. The factors can be classified on three different levels: the micro-level, on which the motives and actions of the people involved became effective; the structural and organizational meso-level; and the macro-level, including factors that became virulent in a greater social context.

The starting point for the second question is the situation of the wagon. What occurred in the wagons when the intention to flee became apparent? Which incidental factors aided or hindered the escapes? Since the deportees in the wagons often interpreted their situation very differently, there were conflicts as individuals expressed their intention to escape. One extremely effective measure was the regularly announced threat when deportees boarded the trains that if anyone was missing at the point of arrival, all others would be shot dead as punishment. The theme is present in almost every escape story. Very often, it is reported that in view of the threat to execute deportees, panic broke out and serious conflicts erupted in the wagons if someone intended to flee. Those who decided to escape despite the threatened consequences therefore found themselves in a moral dilemma. Based on this insight, I investigated the following two questions: What happened in the wagons when it became clear that deportees intended to escape? Which strategies were pursued to prevent escapes or to enable them?

Recurring patterns of action have been categorized into several motivational situations and strategies.

## Structure

Chapter 1 provides a general overview of deportations of Jews from France, Belgium and the Netherlands. The focus lies on the respective circumstances, the invasion and occupation, deportation bureaucracy, the function of the Jewish transportation administration and the official language used to conceal the actual aim of the deportations. The chapter also contributes to underlying research on Nazi criminals through its investigation of the deportation train guards, since the as yet only poorly researched complicity of the teams of guards, who mainly consisted of members of the Schutzpolizei, is studied with respect to the Holocaust.<sup>30</sup> The existing sources are analysed on the basis of the following questions: What did the teams of guards know of the situation in the wagons? What did they know about the fate of the people they were guarding? What characterized the actions of the accompanying guards? The chapter ends with an outlook on the later judicial and social handling of the former Schutzpolizei officers.

Chapters 2 to 4 are each dedicated to one country: France, Belgium and the Netherlands respectively. The chapters have three parts. They begin with the initial situation, the underlying conditions and the actions of the persecutors and persecuted.<sup>31</sup> Among other aspects, the study then deals with the agents of Jewish persecution in each country and the resistance groups relevant to the escapes described later on. This is followed by a reconstruction of the 'method of deportation',<sup>32</sup> which includes the presentation of the camps, the actual process of deportation, the situation before boarding the trains, the function of the wagon elders, the type and condition of the wagons used, the situation of the prisoners in the wagons, the composition and actions of the accompanying guards and a count of the deportations. For each country, this introduction is followed by a section on Jewish prisoners' escapes from deportation trains.

In Chapter 5, the summary, the structural supra-incident escape factors are identified and analysed on a micro-, meso- and macro-level. The question with respect to incidental factors inside the wagon is also answered. The concluding observations chapter considers why the phenomenon of escapes has remained unresearched to date, including an outlook on possible further research.

This study focuses on escapes by Jewish prisoners from wagons of deportation trains leaving the major assembly camps in France, Belgium and Netherlands, heading for the extermination camps and centres. Attempted escapes from feeder trains or buses bound for the central assembly camps are not included in the study,<sup>33</sup> because such transfers within one country were not regarded to be as threatening or as final as deportations to destinations outside the country. Escapes by non-Jewish deportees, for

instance political prisoners or civilians displaced to perform forced labour, are also excluded from this study, although they included a number of people who were Jews as defined by National Socialist doctrine but were not recognized as such and were not treated accordingly.<sup>34</sup>

## Sources

This study is based on the premise that written history is always the subjective reconstruction of the past using sources that have been passed on to us.<sup>35</sup> As researchers, we must attempt to break down the site-dependency of our perspective by posing the question of other possible interpretations.

The validity and applicability of sources used must be assessed by an academic process of historical research. Sources do not reflect the past without bias or in an unadulterated way and are instead artefacts created by people. They therefore require an interpretation and must be questioned critically. In doing so, the intentions with which they were or may have been produced should also be examined. One key criterion for examining the reliability of a source is the question of whether its author may have given false evidence or omitted relevant material. A second important factor is plausibility. How plausible is a source if one relates it to other sources or the current state of research?

Different types of sources were relevant to this study: contemporary sources, judicial sources from investigative proceedings or criminal court cases after the war, compensation files and individual testimonies by survivors, which may have been produced in different ways, such as an oral history review or a written autobiography.

### *Contemporary Sources*

For the purposes of the study in France, reports by officers in charge of the transports and correspondence between Schutzpolizei officers, the Paris Jewish Department of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service SD (Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes, BdS), and the Reich Main Security Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA), which were archived in the Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (CDJC) in Paris, proved to be especially informative. It was possible to find individual evidence of escapes along the train route in France in regional archives.

Almost no documents of the BdS in Belgium, especially files from the Jewish Department of the RSHA branch in Brussels, exist today. Some documents from this institution could be found in the Reich Main Secu-

riety Office or the office of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service in Paris. However, a large number of documents on Jewish persecution in Belgium do exist, produced by the authority of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France (Militärbefehlshaber in Belgien und Nordfrankreich, MBB).

There are some documents that provide information on the victims, for instance deportation lists and the 'Family and Personal Archives' in the Joods Museum van Deportatie en Verzet (JMDV) in Mechelen, containing documents that Jews carried with them when they entered the Mechelen camp. In some cases, files of the Aliens Police (Ausländerpolizei) proved useful in retracing the paths of persecuted Jews.

In the Netherlands, there are deportation lists compiled by the camp administration of Westerbork, while the central file of the Jewish Council and the file of the 'youth transit camp' in the Vught concentration camp are also fully extant.<sup>36</sup> The Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies (NIOD) in Amsterdam stores, among other things, files of the General Commission for Security Matters, Higher SS and Police Officer North West (Generalkommissariat für das Sicherheitswesen, Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Nord-West) and the list of prisoners in the Westerbork youth transit camp, which provided great insight into this research theme. The archive of the Westerbork Memorial Center owns a number of transcribed interviews and a database of individuals containing, among other documents, digitized index cards of the *Jüdische Rat*, which also furthered this study. Countless documents from various camp administrations providing information on the subsequent fate of deportation train escapees could be found in the archives of concentration camp memorial centres or in the archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Bad Arolsen.

Underground publications are archived in the Paris CDJC, the Brussels Centre d'Études et de Documentation Guerre et Sociétés contemporaines/Studieen Documentatiecentrum Oorlog en Hedendaagse Maatschappij (Cegesoma) and in the Amsterdam NIOD.

In contemporary sources, aside from simple copy errors, for instance in the production of deportation lists, other sources of errors are conceivable. It may be that some escapes were never reported because the officer in charge of the deportation did not wish to undertake the time-consuming process of an investigation or suffer possible negative consequences for his career. It is especially plausible that reports to superior officers were aimed at making the authors appear in a good light.

### *Compensation Files*

To study escapes in Belgium, personal dossiers proved helpful. These were produced by the Brussels War Victims Office in the Ministry of Health,

the Direction générale Victimes de la Guerre/Directie-generaal Oorlogsslachtoffers (SVG), following the country's liberation. The War Victims Office had several functions. People for whom a dossier was produced had been persecuted by the National Socialists as Jews and/or as political opponents. The SVG acted as a search service, and therefore collected information on the fate and the whereabouts of those persecuted. Secondly, compensation applications could be submitted there. Relevant correspondence, witness testimonies, arrest confirmations and so on are filed in the personal dossiers.

This evidence is particularly relevant to the reconstruction of escapes by Jewish deportees in Belgium. It includes copies of the index cards of the register of Jews by the Security Police and Security Service (Sipo-SD), as well as search service documents of the International Red Cross in Arolsen, birth, marriage and death certificates, copies from the concentration camp administration and proof of forced labour by a number of Belgian Jews at construction sites for the Atlantic Wall, working for a company contracted by the Organisation Todt.

When analysing these personal dossiers, the possible drawbacks lie in the purpose for which they were produced. The War Victims Office used the official classification of 'Politically Persecuted', which was relevant for compensation. One condition for such classification was patriotically motivated resistance to the German occupiers. It is easy to recognize that this requirement led to an initial structuring effect on the cognitive interest of employees at the War Victims Office. From the perspective of Jews applying for compensation, this requirement influenced some statements justifying their respective applications.

### *Testimonies and Interviews with Witnesses*

Of the total of eleven interviews I carried out for this study, nine were guideline-structured interviews with former train escapees held in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Israel and Germany. Two further interviews and five conversations with witnesses were carried out in the relevant countries with resistance fighters and Holocaust survivors. I found further sources in, among others, the archive of Yad Vashem, the archive of the JMDV, the Wiener Library, the collection of interviews by David Boders entitled 'Voices of the Holocaust', the Visual History Archive (VHA) and the CDJC. Documentary films in which contemporary witnesses make statements were also used.

For a long time, 'self-testimonies' by survivors were received with great reservation by Holocaust researchers. All sources of this kind have the common aspect that they were produced retrospectively. They reflect their author's subjective perspective and interpretation of the described events. That is their strength.

Such sources must be critically questioned with respect to the following sources of errors. The motivation behind the testimony may lie in an intention to serve a present purpose. This can have effects on the choice of theme and the way in which something is presented. The time at which testimony is given also has an influence on the narrative. It is significant how long ago the testified event took place or to what extent a specific orientation towards the fierce political debate (on commemoration) and metanarratives on the Holocaust can be detected. Another problem must also be considered: according to Michael Pollak, in accounts by concentration camp survivors, self-censorship due to conventional moral persuasions and the fear of appearing to be implausible are possible motives for highly selective accounts.<sup>37</sup> Omissions can also be caused by trauma, as a result of which survivors may no longer have access to some of their memory and are therefore unable to describe their experiences fully.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, with respect to self-testimony, it must be taken into account that grasping one's life history coherently is essential for one's own identity. Coherence is achieved by connecting events in a meaningful way.<sup>39</sup> Events that are extremely harmful to one's own sense of shame, dignity and integrity, making it impossible to structure them meaningfully into a continuum, are therefore problematic for one's own identity.<sup>40</sup> Coherence is sometimes achieved at the price of suppressing painful events, breaks that cannot be integrated or contradictions. This may lie behind the rather brief or completely absent description of the situation in deportation trains in many testimonies by survivors. There are often statements that the experience can hardly be described in words. For instance, the survivor Heinz Salvator Kounio writes: 'The journey took eight days. It is impossible to describe the life we experienced in those wagons'.<sup>41</sup> H. G. Adler calls the deportation an 'inextinguishable trauma'.<sup>42</sup>

It should also be noted that the plausibility test for the past defined by Theodor Lessing as 'logificatio post festum' applies not only to the 'great' writing of history, but also to subjective historical accounts. Since history is made by people, one is always reliant on 'guessing the so-called motives', as Lessing put it.<sup>43</sup> The usual, yet unrealistic reduction to a mono-causal explanation always merely 'reflects the rough approximation of the underlying processes'.<sup>44</sup>

### *Judicial Sources*

Various types of documents from judicial bodies proved helpful for this study. In addition to witness testimonies, indictments, investigation results and prosecution withdrawal orders, statements by former officers of the Schutzpolizei, who had guarded Jews on trains to prevent their

escape, were especially interesting. These papers can be found in the files of law enforcement authorities, which are archived in the branch of the Federal Archive in Ludwigsburg. The context of a witness testimony, for instance, in connection with an investigation or a criminal or civil court case, strongly determines the result in advance and therefore has consequences for its usability in an academic historical study.<sup>45</sup>

The former Schutzpolizei officers were not questioned as the accused, but as witnesses, and they will have had no interest in changing that position. This fact had consequences for their statement behaviour. Andreas Kunz addresses the problem of many witnesses who had been close to crimes or those accused in Nazi trials:

They lied, denied, played down, distorted, glossed over. Formulaic and at times detectably dishonest statement behaviour characterizes most of the questioning records. Often, specific defence and exoneration strategies were used by placing responsibility onto perpetrators who had already died, by referring to 'orders from above' or claiming that one had no choice but to carry out such orders. The gravest consequences came from simply suppressing a fact.<sup>46</sup>

Some of the named strategies can also be found in the complex investigations that were relevant to this study. For instance, there was the strategy of admitting to crimes that were classified as less severe and could no longer be prosecuted since the limitation period had passed. This reduces the plausibility of the guarding Schutzpolizei officer at the time and the statements' value as a source. In this constellation, a further problem was that policemen often questioned their own colleagues, who were either still in service or retired. Solidarity within the force repeatedly had the effect that witnesses were questioned in an unmotivated manner. Kunz comments as follows:

A particular problem was the existence of insider relationships and conspiratorial cartels between police officers who had been involved in the crimes and found their way back into police duty after 1945. In many places, the police apparatus confronted the investigations with insecurity, antipathy and passivity; it was the exception to openly address the investigation, support it and cooperate.<sup>47</sup>

When assessing the written recordings of witness questioning in investigation processes, it should also be noted that three authors contribute to the production of this type of source: the witness himself with his statement, the questioning investigation officer, who guides the dialogue with his questions, and the person producing the protocol, thereby filtering out all linguistic characteristics such as dialect, pauses and so on, and shortening or clarifying statements.<sup>48</sup> In countless reports, the statements are combined into a continuous text. However, despite all critical reservations

concerning sources, passages in a statement that may appear harmless can nevertheless be useful in reconstructing events.

Judicial witness statements by survivors at Belgian military courts and German law enforcement agencies flowed into this study to a far lesser extent. Generally, a judge's questioning in a criminal court case follows the logic of proof, while defence lawyers attempt to undermine its plausibility. Only the circumstances of the case are assessed in terms of their legally relevant facts, within the rigid framework of a court proceeding with its own aim and its own rules, so that any number of connections remain unaddressed. Witness testimonies placed a great emotional strain on survivors.<sup>49</sup>

In reconstructing escapes from deportation trains in the three countries, it was possible to draw from three different source types, depending on the country. The samples also differ from each other. In the case of France, where I was able to make a reasonable estimate of the number of escapes at the beginning of my research, I have documented as far as possible all escapes from trains by Jewish deportees. Due to the large number of escapes, I then made a selection of cases that reflected the different factors. In view of the many escapes in Belgium, from an academic perspective it was neither manageable nor sensible to study all cases. Thus, I formed a sample from the outset according to two criteria: firstly minimum and maximum differences and secondly the degree to which they represented their group. With respect to the minimum and maximum contrasting of people, I included those who stood out for instance due to their age, gender, economic or social status, and supplemented them with members of special groups (e.g. families) and strongly represented groups such as former prisoners of the Gurs camp, Polish and Austrian Jews, as well as Jewish forced labourers for the Organisation Todt (OT). The source situation was ultimately decisive in composing the sample. In the chapter on escapes from deportation trains in the Netherlands (Chapter 4), the small number of cases led me to present all escapes that I was able to document.

In order not only to classify the escapes, but also to appreciate the fates of those fleeing from trains, I have gone further than simply describing the escapes and have instead focused on the fleeing prisoners themselves, as well as the experiences and situations that motivated them to escape. Wherever possible, I have also documented their subsequent fate after their escape.

A few final notes: the racist ideological construct of a Jewish 'anti-race' is reflected in the use of terms such as 'Judenberater', 'Judenbeauftragter', 'Judenstern', 'Judenregister' and 'Mischling I. Grades'. Since it is evident that these concepts belong to National Socialist discourse, they do not require any stressing. Clear typing errors in the sources were corrected with-

out comment. Other errors and outdated spellings following the German spelling reform were retained. Unless otherwise indicated, the French and Dutch quotes have been translated by the author. English spoken passages in which interviewed persons only spoke English that was difficult to understand are retained in the original. All quotes that were originally German have been translated into English for this book.

## Notes

1. Interview with surviving witness Simon Gronowski in Wuppertal on 27 January 2006; see also Simon Gronowski, *Le petit évadé. L'Enfant du 20e Convoi*, Brussels n.d.
2. Maxime Steinberg, *L'Étoile et le fusil. La traque des Juifs 1942-1944*, Vol. II, Brussels 1986, p. 63 ff.; Maxime Steinberg and Laurence Schram, *Transport XX. Malines-Auschwitz*, Brussels 2008; Marion Schreiber, *Stille Rebellen. Der Überfall auf den 20. Deportationszug nach Auschwitz*, Berlin 2000.
3. For example, Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic, *Ich kann nicht vergeben*, Munich 1964, p. 296; Fabian Herbst et al., *Ich muss weitermachen. Die Geschichte des Herrn Joseph*, Berlin 2008; Zwi Fenster, Bericht über die Vernichtung (Juli 1941–April 1944), 2 August 1968, 1.2.7.8, ID 82188140, ITS Digitales Archiv; Ruth Altbecker Cyprys, *A Jump for Life. A Survivor's Journal from Nazi-Occupied Poland*, London 1997, p. 99 ff.; Jäcklein, Betrifft: Umsiedlung von Kolomea nach Belzec, 14 September 1942, cited in: Ernst Klee, Willi Drefsen and Volker Riefß, 'Schöne Zeiten'. *Judenmord aus der Sicht der Täter und Gaffer*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, p. 212.
4. Louis J. Micheels, *Doctor #117641. A Holocaust Memoir*, New Haven/London 1989, p. 64; Claire Prowizur-Szyper, *Instantanés d'ici et d'ailleurs*, Brussels 1982, p. 89 f.
5. H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt. Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft*, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1960, p. 52 f.; Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, Vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1997, pp. 520, 522 f.
6. Document printed in: Raul Hilberg, *Sonderzüge nach Auschwitz*, Mainz 1981, pp. 194–97.
7. They include H. G. Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch. Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland*, Tübingen 1974.
8. Reuben Ainsztein, *Jüdischer Widerstand im deutschbesetzten Osteuropa während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Oldenburg 1993 [1st ed. 1974], p. 80.
9. Ibid.
10. Yehuda Bauer, 'Forms of Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust', in: Michael R. Marrus (Ed.), *Jewish Resistance to the Holocaust*, London 1989, pp. 34–48, here p. 47.
11. Saul Friedländer, *Die Jahre der Vernichtung. Das Dritte Reich und die Juden 1939–1945*, Munich 2006, p. 520 f.
12. Adam Rutkowski, 'Les évasions des Juifs de trains de déportation de France', in: *Le Monde Juif. La Revue du Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine*, January–March 1974.
13. Ahlrich Meyer, *Täter im Verböhr. Die 'Endlösung der Judenfrage' in Frankreich 1940–1944*, Darmstadt 2005, pp. 247–69.
14. Lucien Steinberg, 'Un aspect peu connu de la résistance juive: le sauvetage à main armée', in: *Le Monde Juif* 52 (1968).
15. Maxime Steinberg, *Dossier Bruxelles-Auschwitz. La police SS et l'extermination des Juifs de Belgique*, Brussels 1980.
16. Serge Klarsfeld and Maxime Steinberg, *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de Belgique*, Brussels 1982, p. 57.

17. Konrad Kwiet and Helmut Eschwege, *Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand. Deutsche Juden im Kampf um Existenz und Menschenwürde 1933–1945*, Hamburg 1984 (*Hamburger Beiträge zur Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 19), p. 144.
18. Maxime Steinberg, 1942. *Les cent jours de la Déportation des Juifs de Belgique*, Brussels 1984; idem, *L'Étoile et le fusil. La traque des Juifs 1942–1944, Vol. I*, Brussels 1986; idem, *L'Étoile et le fusil, Vol. II*.
19. Steinberg, *L'Étoile et le fusil, Vol. II*, pp. 67–103.
20. Insa Meinen, *Die Shoah in Belgien*, Darmstadt 2009, p. 144 ff.
21. Schreiber, *Stille Rebellen*.
22. Ward Adriaens et al., *Mecheln-Auschwitz 1942–1944. De vernietiging van de Joden en zigeuners van België. La destruction des Juifs et des Tsiganes de Belgique. The Destruction of the Jews and Gypsies from Belgium, Vol. 1–4*, Brussels 2009.
23. Jacques Presser, *Ashes in the Wind. The Destruction of Dutch Jewry*, Detroit 1988, p. 481 (English translation of: *Ondergang. De vervolging en verdelging van het Nederlandse jodendom 1940–1945*, Gravenhage 1965).
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32. The term refers to the chapter of the same name in H. G. Adler's underlying study on the deportation of Jews from Germany: 'Der verwaltete Mensch' (Tübingen 1974).
33. Brunner and Knochen, Merkblatt, 14 April 1944, CDJC, CDXXXIV-10, cited in: Serge Klarsfeld (Ed.), *Die Endlösung der Judenfrage in Frankreich. Deutsche Dokumente. Dokumentationszentrum für Jüdische Zeitgeschichte CDJC Paris. 1941–1944*, Paris 1977, p. 227; written statement by Laure Danon on the escape of Robert Danon made to the author, 23 July 2009; Elie Rotnemer, Interview Code 32165, VHA, USC Shoah Foundation Institute; Josef Gottesmann, *Von Wien über Deutschland und Belgien nach Frankreich 1938–1942*, June 1958, Tel Aviv, Cegesoma, mic 122.
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