

**THE JEWS IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS
DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION
1940-1945**

by

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THE JEWS IN THE OCCUPIED CHANNEL ISLANDS 1940-45

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Foreword

This documentary paper on the Channel Islands under Nazi occupation during the War, with special reference to the Jewish community, is thoroughly researched and deeply moving and an important contribution to Holocaust literature.

The author is to be congratulated on his painstaking research, opening an invaluable insight into a relatively new department of Holocaust literature.

The material should prove useful to Holocaust historians and researchers, and be of enormous practical use especially to Jewish schools and Holocaust departments at universities the world over.

This darkest chapter of Jewish history may now be over half a century old, but its documentation and its relevance to future attitudes by Jews and non-Jews alike becomes ever more vital, especially in understanding the mystique of Jewish survival and reconstruction.

Lord Immanuel Jakobovits
Emeritus Chief Rabbi

Appreciation

The author wishes to express his sincere thanks to a number of individuals.

Joe Miere the retired curator of the German Underground Hospital in Jersey has steadfastly endeavoured to record for posterity the details of all those who suffered during the Occupation, for whatever reason, regardless of their nationality or religion. He has collected a substantial Occupation archive and all those who study this period owe him an incalculable debt of gratitude for his strenuous and determined efforts over so many years.

Richard Heaume, the owner of the German Occupation Museum and Major Edwin Parks a reporter at the Guernsey Evening Press have also made key contributions to recording the fate of the Jews in Guernsey and both made their archives available to the author.

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The Esther Pauline Lloyd diaries are now held in the collection of the Wiener Library

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Part 2

**Jewish forced labourers transported to the Channel
Islands during the German Occupation**

Jewish forced labourers transported to the Channel Islands during the German Occupation

Introduction

Throughout occupied Europe the Germans rounded up Jews and pressed them into forced labour.¹ This text is intended to chronicle the experiences of the Jewish forced workers transported to the Channel Islands during the Occupation and to place this within the context of the experiences of forced workers of all nationalities and religions.² Sources used include survivor testimony and interviews, together with documents at the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Moscow State Archives, Yad Vashem, the Jersey and Guernsey Archive Services and the Public Records Office.

Much of the source documentation of the Organisation Todt, Wehrmacht and SS was destroyed in the final months of the war.³ However important records have recently resurfaced, including General Basilov's report on the atrocities in Alderney submitted to the [Soviet] Emergency State Commission for the Investigation and Establishment of Fascist Crimes in April 1947. This report, uncovered by Madeleine Bunting, was declassified by the Moscow State archives in 1993 and includes the only known surviving copy of Major (then Captain) Theodore Pantcheff's 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney' completed after interrogating 1,500 German Prisoners of War in Guernsey, 1,200 in Jersey and 500 in Alderney. This report is the most important document in this area of research and significantly, it confirms the accuracy of many of the statements of horrific torture later made by survivors.

¹ Estimates of the total number of OT workers of all nationalities and religions transported to the Channel Islands vary. A German memorandum dated June 1942 lists 11,800 in the Islands at that time. Other German records list 16,000 in total comprising 6,700 in Guernsey, 5,300 in Jersey and 4,000 in Alderney in May 1943. In November 1943 another list records 2,890 in Guernsey, 3,746 in Jersey and 2,233 in Alderney. In July 1944 a list records 489 in Guernsey, 83 in Jersey and 245 in Alderney: Cruickshank, *The German Occupation of the Channel Islands*, pp.203-5.

² Other accounts of the fate of forced workers can be found in Bunting, *The Model Occupation*; Pantcheff, *Alderney Fortress Island*; Bonnard, *Alderney at War*.

³ Organisation Todt (OT) was established under the direction of Dr Fritz Todt in the 1930s to provide labour for public construction projects in Germany. During the war it became the administration for providing forced, slave, conscripted and voluntary labour for many projects of the Reich including the construction projects in the Channel Islands. Organisation Todt did not formally take over control of the fortification and engineering projects in the Islands until between July-November 1941; Joe Miere, the former curator of the German Underground Hospital, remembered workers transporting documents for burning just before the end of the Occupation.

Despite the rediscovery of this report no definitive figure is available of the total number of workers who lost their lives either through ill-treatment in the Islands or subsequent to their transportation from the Islands by the Germans. Surviving burial lists record the graves of only around 750 workers who died in Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney.

The post-war war crimes investigations linked to the perpetrators of the crimes carried out during this period are not fully covered here.⁴

Forced workers arrive in the Channel Islands

In the spring of 1941 the Germans began an immense construction program of military defence structures in the Channel Islands. The workers transported to the Islands to construct these fortifications comprised a number of specific categories including conscripted, voluntary, forced and slave workers. Known Jews were in the forced or slave worker categories.

On 19 March 1941 Leslie Sinel in Jersey, noted in his diary the arrival of *'Labour Corps and conscripted labour'*. Two weeks later Sinel wrote: *'there are working in the Island 100 labourers of various nationalities subject to Germany'*.⁵

The Reverend Douglas Ord in Guernsey recorded in August 1941: *'More rumours: the airport is to be doubled in extent. A thousand Frenchmen, Poles, Czechs and other nationalities enslaved by the Germans are to be brought over to do the job'*. In October Reverend Ord noted: *'Numbers of young Frenchmen are being brought over to labour on the fortifications. They look more than half starved already.'*⁶ In the following month Leslie Sinel wrote: *'Germans are absolutely pouring in, including civilians'* and in December he noted: *'Thousands of foreign workers are being poured into the Island; these are of all nationalities ...; the majority of these workers are very poor specimens – badly clad and shod, and all of them terribly hungry ... if they got the chance they are always ready to beg for a bit of bread; the Germans keep strict supervision over them ...'*⁷

The first Jewish Forced Workers transported to the Channel Islands

Many Jewish forced workers were included in these early groups of forced labourers transported to the Channel Islands. Many of the forced workers who began the tunnelling works in mid-1942 on what become

⁴ The war crimes investigations are covered in Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, and Pantcheff, *Alderney Fortress Island*.

⁵ Leslie Sinel diary entry, 31 March 1941

⁶ Reverend Ord diary entry, 30 Oct 1941

⁷ Leslie Sinel diary entries, 7 Nov 1941 and 31 Dec 1941

known as the German Underground Hospital in Jersey were Jews from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Alsace-Lorraine.⁸

Pomar Pascal a founder member of the 'Federation Nationale Deportés Internes Résistants Patriotes' wrote to the administrators of the German Underground Hospital in Jersey commenting on the museum displays:

'In the history of slavery practised by the Nazis, there are omissions because you mention only Russians'⁹...

Now, I am in a good position to assure you that the first deportees to work on this site were Spanish Republicans, also a group of Polish, Czecho-Slovak and Alsatian Jews [from Alsace-Lorraine] arrested in the Toulouse area.

These deportees imprisoned in Fort Regent, which the Germans called 'Lager Ehrembrestein' were transferred by lorry and worked from 4.00am to 7.00pm, so it was they who opened the first galleries.

When the Russians arrived at the end of 1942, the work had progressed well. It is true that many Russians were employed in these tunnels and in inhumane conditions, which were the same for us all, but the first victims were Spanish and Jews (French, Polish etc.)

So, in respect to all these victims and to history, it is indispensable that Spanish and Jews should be mentioned ...'¹⁰

As there are no known Jewish survivors of this group of forced workers we must turn to an account by non-Jewish Ukrainian to describe the conditions encountered at the time. Vasily Marempolsky, now a Professor of Literature in Zaporozhye, eastern Ukraine was transported to Jersey as a forced worker in August 1942 at the age of 16:

'After we landed on Jersey, I was taken to Lager Immelman on the west coast near St Ouens. The camp consisted of only six huts and was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire. In the huts there were three wooden platforms, one on top of the other, which served as beds; there was a bit of straw on them, but no blankets. There were about five to six hundred people in the camp, and we were organised into working units of fifty men. We

⁸ The area now known as the German Underground Hospital, St Lawrence, Jersey comprises a substantial labyrinth of tunnels begun in 1942 probably partly as an ordnance depot. Later part was designated as a hospital for the German forces but it was never completed.

⁹ The forced workers generally referred to as 'Russians' usually comprised many nationalities including Ukrainians and Poles.

¹⁰ Pomar Pascal sent two versions, the first in French on 7 Sept. 1970 and a later English translation dated 10 Sept. 1970.

nicknamed the guard who was in charge of our unit 'Cherni' - 'the Black' - because he had black hair.

We got up at five o'clock and had dirty black water called coffee. After breakfast, we heard the whistle and we had to stand to attention for the Germans; those who were slow were beaten. We were building a railway and we had to level the ground. Sometimes we had to crush rocks. Between one and two o'clock we had a lunch break and we were given turnip 'soup'; it was water with a tiny lump of turnip in it. We usually worked for twelve or fourteen hours a day. The Germans watched us from behind, and as soon as anyone paused to straighten their back, they would beat him. We had to stay bent over and pretend to work all the time. Then the Germans got wise to that and watched to see if we were working hard enough. If they decided we weren't, the Germans would beat us.

At the end of the day, we all received tiny cards with 'supper' printed on them. This entitled us to half a litre of soup and 200 grams of 'bread' which had bits of wood in it. Every second Sunday we had a day off and then we didn't get any food because we weren't working.

Sometimes as we marched back to camp, we would steal a turnip or a beetroot. Sometimes an Islander would put out some bread or proper soup for us. I never knew the islanders' names but we knew they had a lot of sympathy for us. Within a few months of arriving, my jacket had disintegrated. As we marched past a farm I saw some people waiting by a gate. One of them was an island girl and she had a big jacket and she threw it over my shoulders. It was very useful.

Lice were a great problem because there was no disinfectant. People began to catch illnesses like typhus and dysentery and many people died of exhaustion.¹¹ By the end of October I couldn't walk, I was so weak from exhaustion and dysentery, but my friends helped me. One day I had stayed behind when the others went to work and I went to the camp medicine post. A Spanish doctor and nurse at this post took me to a hospital the Spanish had set up for the foreign workers. A Spaniard took pity on me and nursed me back to life; his name was Gasulla Sole. A Jersey woman also came to the hospital to give me bread.

¹¹ A typhus epidemic is recorded amongst foreign workers in the Islands in late 1941 (Alan and Mary Wood, *Islands in Danger*, London 1965, P159). The Reverend D. Ord refers to other epidemics in Sept 1942 and Feb 1943 amongst 'foreign workers' in Guernsey resulting the deaths of thirty.

When I was better I had to go back to Lager Immelman. The men had begun work on the underground hospital. We thought it might be some kind of mine but it had no coal. We had to march from the camp to the underground hospital every day. About a quarter of our brigade died, and they were replenished by men from another camp on Jersey.

It was barely light when we began the march to the underground hospital. We were very young boys, we were thin, exhausted, dressed in torn clothes and blue with cold. The worksite was a huge labyrinth of tunnels. I was terrified. The roof was supported by wooden props in some places and we could hear running water and smell damp. It felt like a grave. The walls were rough-hewn and there was mud underfoot. Everywhere there were people working like ants. It was hard to believe all these tunnels had been dug out by the weakening hands and legs of these slaves. People were so frail, they could barely lift a spade. The future for everyone was the same - death.¹²

In an autobiographical account of his experiences, published only in Ukrainian, Vasily Marempolsky recounted the kindness shown to him by a Jersey farming family and indicated how this had sustained him during periods of despair:

'The farmer moved a chair to a table under a big tree and offered me a seat. The farmers wife brought a plate of mashed potato and some pieces of white bread. I looked incredulously at the farmer, his wife and their daughter, and they were nodded their heads inviting me to eat. Never in my life had potato with butter tasted so wonderful! Then I remembered about "Black" who would be looking for me any minute and quickly used the fork. I quickly drank a quarter of milk and put the bread in the pocket.

*"Spasibo!(*"thank you" in Ukrainian) Merci! Danke shon!" I bowed to the hospitable owners who were looking at me with pity.*

The landlord was saying something to me, waving his hand. Even though I did not understand the language I guessed by his intonation and honesty that I was being invited to visit them again. I nodded my head, agreeing, and run to the embankment of the road.

¹² Author's correspondence with Vasily Marempolsky 1998-9; Madeleine Bunting interview with Vasily Marempolsky (The Model Occupation, p. 155-158)

During the two and a half months that I suffered in “Immelman” nobody spared any kind words. Everyday I only saw the raging eyes of “Black”, heard his endless swearing, and endured his kicks and blows. Exhausting 22 hours work (sic), continuous hunger and nonstop thoughts about food! And yet it seemed that even there on that half-wild island there lived people who sympathised with a poor slave. And each new day the work was no easier: the same labouring with the crowbar, collecting rocks into the trolley, pain in the waist, crazy shouting by “Black”, who was always beating somebody over the shoulders ... but I was far away from it. Inwardly I was thinking of a farmer and his wife and daughter’.

Marempolsky’s account of the kindness shown to him by Islanders was not unique. John Dalmau wrote *‘I shall never forget the kindness shown to me and the other slave workers by the people of Jersey’*. Many Jersey men and women hid escaped forced workers and some paid for their compassion with their lives. One, Louisa Gould died at Ravensbrück having been denounced for sheltering a forced worker.¹³

Jewish forced workers were also among the workers transported to Guernsey in late 1941 and 1942. Further groups of Jewish slave workers were recorded in Guernsey in September 1943.¹⁴

Elie Binder a Jew who had been rounded up in Luxembourg was transported to the Islands as a forced worker and worked on German fortifications in both Jersey and Guernsey.¹⁵ It is also probable that Jews were amongst the forced workers transported to Sark as a Yellow Star marked ‘Juif’ was found in the Island after the war.¹⁶

The Reverend Douglas Ord’s diary records to *‘foreign slaves’* in Guernsey on a number of occasions and he witnessed transportations from *‘Continental’* cities in April 1942. In May 1942 Ord wrote: *‘Many are now in a most repulsive condition. All are treated like cattle by their German taskmasters ... [they are] at work on a light railway ... It is repulsive to note the squalor of these poor wretches’*.

¹³ A German order of Nov. 1942 stated ‘the public are warned not to come into close contact with these foreign workers’; Louisa Gould’s brother, also deported for aiding a slave worker, was the sole British survivor of Belsen

¹⁴ Julia Tremayne ‘War on Sark’ Webb and Bower, Exeter, 1981 notes Jewish forced workers in Guernsey in 1943 (p.151 entry for 1 Sept 1943)

¹⁵ Author’s interviews with Max Geshaft and John Miller

¹⁶ A number of fortifications were constructed in Sark, including works in the area of the harbour and tunnels near Stocks Hotel. A group of forced workers were transported to the island at this time and the proprietor of the Sark Occupation museum stated that they were housed near the prison. The Yellow Star is now on display at the Sark Occupation Museum..

The Medical Officer of Health in Guernsey noted in his 1941 report that 'foreign slaves' were held in overcrowded and insanitary conditions in St Peter Port. In September 1942 Reverend Ord recorded the departure of 'Hundreds of foreign slaves' in terrible physical condition. In the following week he noted the arrival of replacement workers. Reverend Ord records the arrival of further groups of forced workers in February 1943.¹⁷

In Jersey, Superior Council member Edward Le Quesne witnessed forced workers being transported back to the European mainland to an unknown fate.

'14 September 1942 – A terrible sight was witnessed today. Several Russian prisoners being returned to France passed down the pier. These men definitely seriously ill were without boots or stockings and were compelled to drag themselves along with seven German bullies hurrying them on as if they were cattle'

Perhaps however, Edward Le Quesne's most poignant diary reference relates to an event he witnessed on 19 February 1943

'not Russia or Poland but Jersey. A Russian in the pillory at Morville, St Ouens with two branches of trees tied tightly round his neck and attached to two trees., the man just able to touch the ground with his toes.... Some of us had imagined that the tales we had heard of similar atrocities in Russia were simply for propaganda purposes. Now we have witnessed them in Jersey we are less sceptical'.

Gordon Prigent a non-Jewish forced worker at Norderney estimated that workers remained in the Islands for only nine months after which they were in such poor condition that they were largely incapable of work and were transported back to the European mainland. Gasulla Sole, a Spanish worker testified that sick prisoners 'were taken off Jersey in Belgian boats which had been used for transporting cement'. Statements by SS Obersturmführer Kurt Klebeck and SS Hauptsturmführer Maximilian List confirm that large numbers of exhausted forced workers were transported to extermination camps in Occupied Europe.¹⁸

¹⁷ Rev Ord diary 11 Sept 1942: Rev. Ord noted on 16 Dec. 1942 that many 'foreign slaves' were poorly 'housed' in George Street, St Peter Port.

¹⁸ G. Sole's recorded testimony at the Imperial War Museum; The courts-marshal documents of SS Obersturmführer Kurt Klebeck at SS Hauptsturmführer Maximilian List held at the Berlin Document Centre confirm that many 'worked out' and sick workers were sent back to the European mainland for 'extermination'.

However some members of a group of sick workers were spared. In late 1942 news of the 'inhumane treatment' of the prisoners in Alderney reached Guernsey and orders were sent to

Jewish Forced Workers in Alderney

Transportations of labourers to Alderney, including Jewish forced workers, began in early 1942. Many of the Jews in the early transportations had been arrested in the Paris area. Together with German political prisoners they laboured at the docks, in building machine shops and in making the Lower Road. These workers were housed in vacated Islanders homes in a wired off section of Newtown.

Four main camps were constructed for OT workers in Alderney: Norderney, Helgoland, Borkum and Sylt, in addition to a smaller camp, Citadella.¹⁹ Sylt, came under the control of the Totenkopfverbank (Death's Head) section of the SS in March 1943. The camp was designated SS Baubrigade 1 and formed a sub-camp of Neuengamme concentration camp in north Germany. 1,000 prisoners were initially transferred to Sylt from Sachsenhausen concentration camp including 500 Russians, 130 Poles, 60 Dutch, 20-30 Czechs, 20 French, and 180 German 'work-shy', criminals and political prisoners. During the

Oberst Zuske the Alderney Commandant to instigate an inquiry. St. Feldw. Kurt Busse stated that together with, Wilhelm Reinhold and a Medical Officer he inspected Lager Helgoland. Ob. Feldw. Roeder and two other officers inspected Lager Norderney.

An MI 19 interrogation report of a number of Russians brought back from Cherbourg in 1944 states that as a result of this inquiry 800 sick prisoners in Alderney were transported to France. The Russians stated to MI 19 investigators that on arrival in France 450 of the sick prisoners were hospitalised and others put to 'lighter' work.

However Albert Pothugine, a survivor of the transportation ships Xaver Dorsch and Franka, stated that the transportation became stranded on the Alderney rocks and for fourteen days the prisoners were kept below deck without food or water in appalling conditions without adequate sanitation, around 15 died.

The inspection commission had little long term effect, brutality and undernourishment escalated. SS Baubrigade 1 arrived at Sylt in March 1943 and transportations to extermination camps commenced in July. (PRO WO 208/3629 and WO 199/2090B-50157; Moscow State Archives V1 PW 15(H) LDC/477; Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives; Trial Documents of Maximilian List and Kurt Klebeck; Statement of POW Walter Schuller WO 208/3629

¹⁹ PRO WO 208/3629: St. Feldw. Kurt Busse in a statement to war investigators stated that the first Russians arrived in Alderney in June/July 1942, some being sent to Norderney, others to Helgoland. Prior to that Dutch and French were held at Helgoland. Dutch workers were also held at Borkum; T. Pantcheff in his 1946 report held at the Moscow State Archives records that in 1943 Borkum was used primarily for German conscripted OT workers. Pantcheff also noted that in July 1942 a group of about 1,000 Russian, Pole and Ukrainian forced workers were transported to Alderney followed by a further two groups totalling 1,800 in August 1942; PRO WO 208/3629: Grenadier Walter Schuller stated that Norderney and Helgoland were completed by mid 1942. He stated that a number of Spanish Republicans were held there. At the end of 1942 German workers were transferred to Borkum.

transportation to Alderney the prisoners were forced to work clearing bomb damage in Düsseldorf and Hamburg.²⁰

Other prisoners were transferred to Sylt from other camps in Alderney as a punishment. OT Bauleiter Leo Ackermann testified to war crimes investigators that SS Hauptsturmführer Maximilian List and OT Oberbauleiter Cardinal who was based in Cherbourg, had agreed to the transfer to Sylt of prisoners due for punishment from the other camps in Alderney. OT Haupttruppführer Johann Hoffmann, Commandant of Helgoland camp stated that in early 1943 70-75 'Russian' prisoners were transferred to Sylt. When released in December they were in a 'terribly emaciated' state and 10 to 15 died. Between May and August 1943 sixty forced workers were transferred from Norderney to Sylt.²¹

At Sylt horrific atrocities are recorded; a British Intelligence report stated:

'Any Russian defaulter was liable to transfer to this camp. One such was crucified on the camp gate, naked and in midwinter. The German guards threw buckets of cold water over him all night until he was dead. Another was caught by bloodhounds when attempting to stow away to the mainland. He was hanged and crucified on the same gate. His body was left hanging on the gate for 5 days as a warning'.

Another report recorded:

*'In mid-May 1943 four 'Russians' cut up a lamb to stave off hunger and for this they were bound by their hands to the main gates and the camp guard beat them ... many camp prisoners were starving and underwent terrible, wicked treatment. Witness statements show that many prisoners would walk around the rubbish pits of the slaughter house and pick up the offal. Six dogs were kept in the camp to frighten prisoners ... At work the prisoners were beaten every day, the majority by the Meister. There were frequent deaths of prisoners at work, in the harbour and returning from work.'*²²

Considerable information is available on the Jews transported from France imprisoned at Norderney camp from mid-1943. However with

²⁰ Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives; PRO WO 199/3303 notes that 948 prisoners were sent to Alderney on 3 March 1943.

²¹ PRO HO 144/45; Pantcheff, Alderney Fortress Island, Chichester, p.32; PRO WO 208/3629 Interrogation of Johann Burbach - confirms that some of the prisoners transferred to Sylt from other camps in Alderney had been transferred for 'crimes such as the theft of food'. They were accommodated in a hut separate from the other prisoners .

²² PRO WO 106/5248B (interview 2253); Moscow State Archives, V1 PW 15(H) LDC/477.

fewer survivors, less information is available on the Jewish forced workers in other Alderney camps. Only a few survivor accounts are available complemented by various references to Jewish workers in MI 19 interrogation reports.²³

Although the exact number of Jews held at the Sylt camp is unknown the Basilov/Pantcheff report and Pantcheff's own published account provide a few references relating to the period after March 1943 when the camp was under the control of the SS. Major Pantcheff details the feud over authority between the senior Organisation Todt official in Alderney, OT Bauleiter Leo Ackermann²⁴ and SS Hauptsturmführer Maximilian List, senior officer at the Sylt camp. Ackermann, although well known for his brutal treatment of OT prisoners, complained to island Commandant Zuske about the way the SS '*beat their [Sylt] prisoners*' whilst working on the Organisation Todt work sites '*so that their capacity for work might be adversely affected*'. Pantcheff wrote:

*'[Ackermann] then protested in writing to Fortress Engineer Staff, who referred the protest back to the SS. One of the beaten prisoners had been a Jew and so Ackermann now found himself the object of a counter complaint by the SS that he was soft on Jews. He had the good fortune to have this firmly resisted by the senior OT engineer in the Cherbourg Oberbauleitung and the matter was not proceeded with.'*²⁵

Reuven Freidman, a Norderney Jewish forced worker, also remembered the OT officers and the army having constantly disagreed over questions of authority over prisoners.

A. Wegmann, a German prisoner of war in Allied hands in 1945, further confirmed that Jews were amongst the prisoners at Sylt. Further, Wilhelm Wernegau, a German prisoner at Sylt stated that he knew of one Jewish

²³ PRO WO 106/5248B contains a report on the interrogation of two Guernsey men who had worked in Alderney. They stated that Helgoland was the main camp for Jewish workers. MI 19 interrogation report on interviews with three Russian OT workers also stated that Jews were held at Helgoland before being transferred to Norderney in Feb. 1944. However, whilst there may well have been individual Jewish prisoners in the camp it is unlikely that it was specifically a Jewish camp.

T. Misiewicz stated that he and other prisoners had been moved from Norderney to Helgoland to make room for the French Jews who arrived at Norderney in mid 1943. OT Haupttruppführer Johann Hoffmann stated that 'between September/October 1943 and January 1944, all the Russians except about 20 were evacuated from Helgoland Camp ... In March 1944, Helgoland camp was disbanded and transferred to Norderney'.

²⁴ Pantcheff noted 'During the second half of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 the Bauleiter was Johann Buthmann ... After two brief periods between March and September 1943 the post was held by Leo Ackermann until the final withdrawal of the OT in summer 1944': Alderney Fortress Island, p.7.

²⁵ Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives; Pantcheff, Alderney Fortress Island, p.31.

political prisoner transferred in the initial contingent from Sachsenhausen concentration camp. He stated that this prisoners religion was not known to the SS.

A number of those broadly classified as 'Russians' were in fact Jews. Norbert Beernaert, a Belgian non-Jew, testified '*The Russians were all Ukrainians, one of whom was Jewish. He was revealed by the Ukrainians to the Germans and he was dead within a couple of days. I do not know how he died.*'²⁶

John Dalmau a Spanish forced worker in Alderney in 1943 encountered many Jewish forced workers including a Romanian Jew. Jews were also amongst the North African prisoners held in Alderney.²⁷ A yellow star found in Alderney after the war emblazoned with the word 'Jude' rather than the French 'Juif' would suggest that it likely belonged to a Jewish forced worker of other than French nationality.

In July, August, October and December 1943 the main transportations of Jewish forced workers from France to Alderney took place. Serge Klarsfeld, the foremost authority on the fate of French Jewry during the Holocaust, has identified 700 French Jews sent to Alderney. It would seem that the total number transferred was around 1,000.²⁸

Two Guernsese men who escaped to England in April 1944 and who had previously worked as fishermen in Alderney, stated in an MI 19 interrogation report '*There are about 1,000 Jews working for the Germans. These are mainly French and wear the yellow star with the word JUIF across it.*'²⁹

The Jews transported from France at this time were predominantly middle-class well educated professionals, including many doctors, lawyers, musicians and teachers. In addition to French Jews the transportations included Jews originating from other countries occupied by Germany including Poles, Czechs and Russians.³⁰ The majority of the Jews transported from France to Alderney at this time were married to non-Jews and thus classified as '*Conjoint D'Aryenne*'. Many of the July/August 1943 Jewish transportees were first held at Drancy transit camp outside Paris; Serge Klarsfeld identified one transportation to from

²⁶ PRO WO 199/3303 (a)D15/86 MI19 intelligence report, 20 April 1945; Steckoll, *The Alderney Death Camp*, pp.81, 177.

²⁷ Dalmau, 'Slave Worker'; Advocate Anita Regal met a Jewish North African survivor of Alderney when attending the Alderney Memorial service in 1970; Steckoll records Moroccan prisoners at Citadella camp (p.27)

²⁸ Solomon Steckoll concluded 900 French Jews, Theodore Haenel 800-900.

²⁹ PRO WO 199/2090A (interview 50157)

³⁰ Theodore Haenel interview with author 9/10 May 1998.

Drancy to Alderney on 15 July 1943. This comprised 307 Jews, of whom 300 were '*Conjoint D'Aryenne*'.³¹

David Trat, then a 26 year old industrial designer was arrested in March 1943 in a round up of Jews and held at Drancy for four months before being transported by cattle wagon to Alderney via Cherbourg: '*It was madness then. The worst thing was that I was arrested by Frenchmen and held in Drancy by Frenchmen*'.

On arrival in Alderney the Jewish forced workers were sent to a special section of Norderney camp.³² Trat remembered:

*'I was part of the first batch of French internees to be sent to Alderney. Our task there was to build the island's concrete fortifications. We were put into a barracks where we slept on flea-infested mattresses. There were fleas and lice everywhere, in your hair even in your eyebrows. We tried to kill the insects when we could, before we went to bed, but we were exhausted.'*³³

Albert Eblagon, grandson of the former Chief Rabbi of Crete, was a publisher's salesman prior to his arrest. He was transported to Alderney from France in August 1943: '*We arrived at night and disembarked on 15 August 1943, at three o'clock in the morning. In the darkness we were forced to run the two kilometres to Camp Norderney, while the German guards continuously stabbed into our backs with their bayonets while also kicking us all the time*'.³⁴ After the war Eblagon became President of 'Les Amicales des Anciens Deportees de Li'ile Anglo-Normande d'Aurigny', the Alderney survivors association.

Theodore Haenel was transported to Alderney on 1 October 1943. Born in Alsace-Lorraine, he and his family had been first deported to camps in southern France when their region was 'cleared' of Jews. Being fit and healthy he was selected for forced labour and sent to a camp in Cherbourg in September 1943. He was then included in a transportation of around 400 Jews bound for Alderney. Of this transportation approximately 300 were '*Conjoint d'Aryenne*'. Haenels' family were transported to Auschwitz where they perished.³⁵

³¹ Klarsfeld, *Le Calendrier de la persecution des Juifs de France*, p.846.

³² Norderney had been constructed with wooden barracks supplied by the Belgium firm De Cuhn of Courtrai and erected principally by Belgium workers.

³³ Trat stated that he had arrived in Alderney on 10 July 1943; he may therefore have been in of a different transportation than that noted by Klarsfeld.

³⁴ Steckoll, *The Alderney Death Camp*, p. 95.

³⁵ Haenel, interview with author, 9/10 May 1998; OT Bauleiter Ackerman confirmed under interrogation that 250 Jews and 150 'criminals' arrived at Norderney in Oct. 1943: see Pantcheff, *Alderney Fortress Island*, p. 9.

Reuven Freidman, born in Lille, was arrested there in a round up of Jews by the French police and sent by train to Cherbourg in November 1943. On 17 December 1943, at the age of 17, he was included in a transportation of Jews bound for Norderney camp. Freidman testified:

*'We arrived in the middle of the night, and didn't know where we were ... The officer of the camp took out his machine gun, put in on the table and began to read out the camp regulations. In addition to wearing the yellow patch, we had a white stripe the full length of our trousers on both sides ... In the camp there were about 800 Jews.'*³⁶

Henri Uzan another Jewish forced labourer in Alderney, testified to French War crimes investigators in 1944:

'In August 1943, we were loaded onto boats with kicks and shouts. The Germans spat on us from the bridge above us. We stayed like that for twenty-four hours. It was a very rough crossing for everyone. A German, Heinrich Evers, greeted us with slaps, kicks and threats of his revolver. I was carrying two suitcases, and a soldier grabbed them from my hands. We had to march to the other end of the island. These were among us many who were more than sixty years old and who were ill. We were put to sleep in barracks without straw or blankets - only some dried leaves to sleep on. In the morning we discovered that we were covered with lice.

*All our luggage was taken except one blanket, one shirt, one pair of trousers and shoes. The German doctor came for twenty-five minutes to inspect four hundred men; he picked out the unfit. There was a quick interrogation by the German company to which I had been assigned. They asked if I had any skills. I said I was a doctor, and the German just dictated to the secretary that I was a 'labourer, unskilled'. I was assigned to carry fifty kilos of cement. It was the same for a deputy, a famous lawyer, a pianist of world reputation, a lieutenant colonel.'*³⁷

³⁶ Freidman testified that in addition to the Jews arrested in the round ups, other prisoners included black-marketeers, criminals and foreigners with inadequate registration papers. Reuven Freidman, written testimony (Hebrew), Yad Vashem: One of the Guernsey fishermen interrogated by MI 19 in April 1944 stated 'The Jews wear ordinary civilian clothes with white stripes painted down the outside of their trouser legs. They also wear the yellow star on their left breast. The politicals [political prisoners referred to as 'Stripers'] wear blue and white striped prison garb like pyjamas. The coat, also striped, buttons up to the neck.' Other categories of workers were marked with a variety of coloured squares, letters, triangles and other markings. PRO WO 106/5248B

³⁷ Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, p.183.

Kirill Nevrov, a non-Jewish prisoner at Norderney remembered the arrival of the Jewish forced workers:

*'It happened just before we were taken to the Continent. There were a few Russians and Ukrainians left, most had died, but some had already been taken to France ... A few huts were separated from the rest by barbed wire. Special gates were made. It was a camp within a camp, designed specially for the Jews. They were fed separately. In front of the gate two barrels with paint were placed - one with white and the other with yellow paint. The white paint was used to renew the stripe on their trousers every day, the yellow, the star on their backs. Once the Russians noticed that the Jews were hiding something in the pile of wood lying beside one hut. Somebody managed to get there, and dug out golden rings, watches and other precious things. It was but natural to hide the jewellery; the Germans took everything away. Some of the dishonest people benefited at the expense of the Jews.'*³⁸

Georgi Ivanovitch Kondakov recounted:

'Later on, already in France, I got into a camp situated close to the harbour [Cherbourg]. The first person I saw there was Levka Pilshikov dressed very stylishly. He had on a fine brown felt hat, a grey suit, a snow-white silk shirt with beautiful cuff-links, a tie and glittering black shoes with long narrow toes. I stared at him in a kind of shock. He looked like a cock on a fence. Looking at me with amusement, he told me that he had found a suitcase with all those fine clothes. It turned out that just before the Russians disembarked from Alderney, a group of Jews had arrived there. The Jews were ordered to leave all their things on the ground. They certainly obeyed, and were transported to the camp.

*Then the Russians arrived. Some of them also had baskets and suitcases that looked quite miserable in comparison with those standing on the quay. The quickest prisoners changed their poor cases for the rich ones. Levka was very quick and managed to take two suitcases at once, one of them was made of very good leather. It was in there that he discovered these wonderful clothes.'*³⁹

³⁸ Kirill Nevrov stated that in view of his appearance 'The Germans ... always wondered if I was a Jew', Georgi Kondakov, *The Island of Dread in the Channel*, (Stroud, 1991), pp. 98, 111.

³⁹ Kondakov, *The Island of Dread in the Channel*, p.112.

Albert Eblagon recounted the appalling treatment he received:

'There were many men among us over seventy years of age but nobody was spared. Work, hard physical work for twelve and fourteen hours a day, every day, building the fortifications. Every day there were beatings and people's bones were broken, their arms or their legs. People died from overwork. We were starved and worked to death, so many died from total exhaustion.'

David Trat remembered:

'They would hit us on the shoulder with planks of wood, just to encourage us to work a little harder. One day I was in the hospital where I saw this man whose wrist had been broken in two places by a beating. He had still been forced to work with a shovel all day before being allowed to have treatment. But the worst thing was the hunger. I was always hungry, I felt as if I could eat non-stop. I was starving night and day. The staple diet was a clear soup, with the occasional small piece of beetroot or sausage and some bread. If you found something solid in your bowl, it was a real cause for celebration.'

Many other survivor accounts similarly detail the harsh treatment metered out to both Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners. One Norderney prisoner testified:

*'Every day the Camp Commander made a habit of beating any man he found not standing properly to attention or who had not made his bed properly or did not execute a drill movement properly. The beatings were carried out on the head, face or body with a stick about 2 1/2 centimetres in diameter. The Camp Commander's assistant also beat workers daily with a stick of the same thickness on all parts of the body until their faces were covered with blood and they could not rise from the ground, when he would call on the prisoner's mates to carry the prostrate body away.'*⁴⁰

The Jewish section of Norderney camp was under the command of SS Untersurnführer/OT Haupttruppführer Adam Adler and OT Meister Heinrich Evers. Theodore Haenel remembered the camp being guarded by approximately a dozen men predominately recruited from '*Russian and Ukrainian*' units under German command.⁴¹ Norbert Beernaert

⁴⁰ Pantcheff, Alderney Fortress Island, p. 13.

⁴¹ PRO WO 106/5248B (50157) confirms that 'Several Russians were employed as guards. These hand picked villains were sent to Paris for a special warden's course before being posted to a camp. They were armed with lengths of sand-filled rubber hosing with which

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witnessed Heinrich Evers '*beat people to death many times*' and other survivor testimony and interrogation reports confirm his brutality.⁴²

Three Russian OT workers imprisoned at Norderney stated to MI 19 interrogators in July 1944 '*The German camp guards beat ... [the forced workers] up pitilessly and for no reason. When the guards got drunk at night all the prisoners were dragged out of doors, paraded and beaten up with the handle shafts of pickaxes. This went on until the shaft broke. Many Russians died under the blows. Frequently the business end of the pickaxe was used.*'⁴³

Gordon Prigent, an 18 year old non-Jewish prisoner sent from Jersey to Alderney at the end of 1943, described daily life in Norderney:

'Roll call 06.00; marched to work on stone quarry, dock work or agricultural work; 12.00 - cabbage leaf soup and 1 slice of bread; 12.30 - back to work; 18.00 - march up to 3 miles back to Norderney; ladle of cabbage soup and 1 slice of bread; 19.15 - roll call; 20.00-23.00 - more work'

Prigent detailed the barrack arrangements where workers slept on three tier bunks with only straw on wooden boards. Burials occurred on '*several days each week*'. He witnessed prisoners being whipped whilst marching to and from work. Prigent's own teeth were knocked out when he was hit in the face with a rifle butt by a Norderney camp guard.⁴⁴

The Basilov/Pantcheff report confirmed that '*workers were treated atrociously*'. The report detailed the regime at Norderney and Helgoland:

breakfast was half a litre of [ersatz] coffee without milk or sugar, lunch was half a litre of watery cabbage soup plus 1 kg of bread between 5-6 people. Two or three times a week 25gr of

they beat their wards unmercifully': Reuven Freidman stated that Adler would boast about being number 33 in the Nazi party. Freidman remembered well the commandant's brutality: Adam Adler ('General Allgemeine SS' not 'Deathhead SS'; Nazi Party number 330237) also held the rank of OT Haupttruppenführer: PRO WO 208/3629 confirms that Adler sometimes wore an SS uniform and at other times an OT uniform; Adler and Evers were tried at the Tribunal Militaire Permanent de Paris at Caserne de Reuilly in Sept. 1949 for subjecting Jews to 'superhuman work' and 'systematic ill-treatment'. For their crimes against Jews they were sentenced to ten and seven years imprisonment respectively.

⁴² WO 106/5248B (2253), MI 19 Intelligence report, refers to Evers as 'the chief torturer of the Jews'..

⁴³ PRO WO 106/5248B (2376).

⁴⁴ Taped interview with Gordon Prigent, Imperial War Museum; Prigent repeatedly referred to the guards at Norderney as being SS and those at the Soldatenheim as 'regular army'. He also stated that as the Allied invasion approached rumours circulated that the advancing Americans had shot a number of SS guards at a camp in France and in consequence the SS in Norderney changed their uniforms to those of the army and navy. He may have confused the SS uniforms with similar Ukrainian uniforms or he may have been referring to Adler's SS uniform.

butter was distributed, very rarely, if at all, sausage, cheese or fresh vegetables, meat and sugar never ... foreign workers were not given any additional clothing in winter. Foreign workers worked 12 hours a day hard construction work. At midday there was a short break of 10-30 minutes. This regime continued 7 days a week ... only 1 Sunday a month they had a half day.

Whilst food rations were poor for all workers, Jewish forced labourers received less food than other groups of workers.⁴⁵ Reuven Freidman testified that on occasional Sundays there was no work and on these days no food was issued. Like many other prisoners he contracted what became known amongst the prisoners as 'flea fever'. Freidman was treated by a Jewish doctor named Rosenfeld and recovered.⁴⁶

John Dalmau witnessed Jews working unloading boats: '*[the Jews] had reached such a degree of starvation that it was a pastime for the Germans to throw them pieces of carrot and see the pitiful wrecks fighting for it. The human part of the body appeared to be dead but the instinct for survival remained ... Cases of cannibalism were mentioned to me by an elderly Rumanian Jew ... Some of the octopuses and congers [caught whilst fishing] we gave to the Jews who ate them raw.*'⁴⁷

Kirill Nevrov, referred to above, recounted the deprivations he suffered at Norderney:

*'We worked sometimes for as long as sixteen hours a day, building concrete walls around the island. Often we worked for twenty-four hours at a stretch, and we were then given half a day's rest before resuming work. My only wish was to rest; it was completely exhausting. I didn't even have the strength to move my hand. On one occasion we were working with the huge concrete-mixing machines and one man was so exhausted he lost his balance and slipped into the concrete. We told the German supervisor that someone had fallen in, but he said it was too complicated to stop the machine. It carried on pouring concrete over him. Many people died at the construction sites.'*⁴⁸

⁴⁵ PRO file WO 106/5248B.

⁴⁶ Friedman stated that for accounting purposes the workers were technically paid RM 1 per day but that once a month this money was taken back from the prisoners.

⁴⁷ Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, p.183; During 'concrete pours' frequently work did not stop until the work was complete: Gordon Prigent, IWM interview; Dr J.M. Bloch another Jewish prisoner at Norderney stated to French investigators in 1944 that a number of work teams had to work sixty hour shifts with only twelve hours rest.

⁴⁸ Albert Eblagon also witnessed the Germans throwing a fellow prisoner into the wet concrete: Interview with Solomon Steckoll. However, burial within the structure of the fortifications was not a usual method of disposal of prisoners.

After two or three months people started to die at the rate of about twelve men a day. There was a yard in the centre of the camp where people were shot for stealing cigarettes. In the morning many people were found dead in their beds, and the naked corpses were loaded into trucks. A truck would tip the corpses at low tide into pits dug in the beach fifty to a hundred metres off the shore. There would be about twelve people in each pit. You could never find the grave after the tide had been in and out because sand had been washed over it. I saw the bodies being buried with my own eyes, because I was working about fifty metres away on a concrete wall.

[Georgi] Kondakov and I have discussed many times why the corpses were naked. Perhaps it was because people came from work in clothes which were soaking wet, and they would take them off to sleep naked and then die in the night. We also took off our clothes to get some relief from the parasites at night. People stole blankets, but they wouldn't have bothered to steal clothes, because they were no more than rags.

I was nothing but skin and bones, and I had only the clothes I was wearing when they rounded me up in Russia the previous summer, which quickly fell apart. We made replacements out of old cement sacks; we cut off the corners to make holes for the arms and I used a rope as a belt. We used cement sacks for everything: blankets, leggings and even hats. We slept in cement powder because it was softer than our beds. We were covered in cement day and night and our hair got cemented. There was nowhere to wash it off, but it did give us some protection against parasites. My trousers went so stiff with cement that when I took them off they remained standing. I used to be able to jump from my bunk into my standing trousers.

Our huts were about thirty metres long, with men sleeping on either side on two levels of planks. At first it was one blanket per person, but after people began to die they gave us more blankets. When you lay down you fell asleep immediately; there was no time to feel cold. It was the sleep of a dead man.

There was a passageway about one and half metres wide down the middle. At either end there were doors. There was a rail along the ceiling which the guards would beat with a hammer to wake everyone up. The last to leave the hut was beaten by the guards. We went to the canteen for breakfast, which was only a cup of herb tea that tasted of copper. There was about thirty minutes for lunch, which was cabbage soup; it only took a few

minutes to drink it. Supper was more soup and bread. There was a one-kilogram loaf to share between seven people. The flour had been mixed with bonemeal and sawdust, so it wasn't like proper bread, and it was as hard as a brick. Occasionally we got 10-15 grams of margarine. Going to the toilet during work was a farce; a German guard would hold out the spade for me to do it on.

... Alderney left a mark on the lives of all of us. Each time I go to bed or have a spare minute, I remember the things that happened on Alderney. I want people to know what it was like and to remember what happened.⁴⁹

A German officer stationed in Alderney, despite claiming that the OT workers were 'voluntary' labourers, described their suffering: 'I saw that they were vegetating under the most miserable conditions, really you couldn't call that living ... many of the labourers died through malnutrition weakness and exhaustion.' He also confirmed that rations due to workers were stolen by their guards.⁵⁰

Francisco Font was a former soldier in the Spanish Republican Army. Sent as a forced worker to Norderney he witnessed the Jewish prisoners in prayer:

'I remember watching how some of the Jewish prisoners would pray. They were not allowed to do this by the Germans. When the barrack Kapo went to another hut to be together with the other Kapos, two men would stand at the doors at both sides of the hut. Then they would pray. Always, there were tears on their faces when they prayed. We used to watch it. This was on Saturdays, some Saturdays. Somehow they managed to put some cloth from shoulder to shoulder, some kind of sacramental thing. I don't know how they managed to keep it and hide it. This was the amazing thing. Somehow they managed also to have the black skull cap that they were not allowed to wear, which they put on their heads, you know, and after the praying was done they used to take it away and hide it, I don't know where. A lot of them joined in the praying and there were tears on their faces. I think their prayers were in Hebrew, as I could not understand the words. It was not French. The majority of them were older men. The younger ones sometimes used to join in but they were more casual.

⁴⁹ Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, p.165-7.

⁵⁰ Interview with Paul M., June 1990.

*On Friday afternoons some lit candles ... I don't know where they found the candles or the matches, it was a mystery to everybody. They lit them on Friday night, very quiet, very secluded, with somebody standing guard at both doors, Jewish persons, while they had the little ceremony.'*⁵¹

Some of the Jewish forced workers were drawn towards their Jewish heritage whilst imprisoned in Alderney and Reuven Freidman recounted that he had given a talk to other Jewish prisoners about his dream of emigrating to Palestine after the war.⁵²

The forced workers at Norderney were subjected to many terrors. Dr. H. Uzan, Dr J. Bloch, a French Jew, and Gordon Prigent each independently described how at the time of the Allied landings in France the prisoners of Norderney were forced to assemble in the 'Arch Bay' tunnel near the camp. A machine gun was trained on them and they were told they would be shot if the Allies landed in Alderney. Franz Doktor testified to war crimes investigators that '*all prisoners should be killed if Allied forces landed on Alderney*'. Josef Kranser provided similar testimony.⁵³

The transportation of many of the Jewish forced workers from Norderney, destined for Neuengamme.

In early April 1944 the German command in Paris signed an order effectively inaugurating the final stage of the deportation of Jews from France. All Jews of French nationality were to be seized, only the '*Conjoint D'Aryennes*' were to be spared deportation to death camps. Even they were to be sent to OT camps to replace Jews who had been deported. In this final phase More than 6,000 Jews were deported from mainland France mainly to Auschwitz-Birkenau.⁵⁴

As the Allied invasion of German occupied Europe became evident the Germans planned the transportation of the Jewish forced workers at Norderney to Neuengamme concentration camp.

OT Haupttruppführer Johann Hoffman stated '*In Norderney Camp almost all the Russians were withdrawn between September-October*

⁵¹ Steckoll, The Alderney Death Camp, p.87.

⁵² Reuven Freidman emigrated from France to Israel in 1948.

⁵³ Prigent, taped interview, Imperial War Museum and The Observer, 1981; Basliov/Pantcheff report, Moscow State Archives.

⁵⁴ The order to transport the remaining French Jews was signed by Bds Standartenführer Knochen and Hauptstrumführer Brunner on 14 April 1944

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*1943 and January 1944. In June 1944, after the invasion, all the Jews, Frenchmen and Moroccans were evacuated.*⁵⁵

The International Red Cross have records of two groups of Jews and North Africans, each of around 200 men, '*transferred from Norderney Camp to an unknown destination because they were unable to work*' in January and March 1944.⁵⁶

Serge Klarsfeld recorded the arrival of 39 Jewish forced workers from Alderney at Saint-Lo (Manche) via the Hospice Rothschild on 19 January 1944. Klarsfeld recorded another transport of 97 Jews from Alderney, arriving at Drancy transit camp via the Picpus annex on 17 April.

Other Jews from Alderney already being held at the Picpus annex were ordered for transfer to Drancy on 14 July in order to establish whether they were fully Jewish or '*Conjoins d'Aryenne*'; those categorised as the former were designated for onward transportation to concentration camps. In a statement made after liberation an administrator at Picpus claimed that he had prevented the transfer of three ex-Alderney Jewish forced labourers to Drancy. He claimed that three transportees, Solomonvitch, Moskowitz and Kous, had been in danger of being categorised as full Jews.⁵⁷

The main transportation of around 800 Norderney Jews left Alderney on 6/7 May 1944. David Trat, Reuven Freidman and Theodore Heanel were included in this convoy. They were put in cattle wagons at Cherbourg on a train routed initially to Boulogne and destined for Neuengamme concentration camp.

David Trat persuaded a railway worker to give him a hammer and chisel, which he used to cut a hole in the floor of the wagon. He dropped through the hole down onto the track: '*My companion was injured jumping onto the track and was spotted and picked up by the Germans. I just lay there on the track underneath the wagon until the train moved on*'. Trat succeeded in making his way back to Paris.

Theodore Haenel remained on the train on a journey that lasted 13 days in locked cattle wagons with little water. The railway lines were

⁵⁵ Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives; Pantcheff, Alderney Fortress Island, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Steckoll, *The Alderney Death Camp*, p.104; Gordon Prigent estimated that as the allied invasion of France approached around 300 of the 1,000 prisoners still at Norderney were transported from Alderney: Imperial war Museum, taped interview with Prigent.

⁵⁷ Schendel report, Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, primarily detailing the final round up of Jewish children in France; Bds Standartenfuhrer Knochen and Hauptstrumfuhrer Brunner had ordered that a special watch must be kept on Jews sent to Drancy. A number had escaped in earlier transportations and they recommended that Jews be tied to one another with a long rope.

frequently bombed and the train was shunted backwards and forwards as the Germans attempted to find a railway route to Neuengamme. A number of prisoners attempted to escape between Cherbourg, Lille and Hazebrouck. Some succeeded in their escape, those recaptured were shot.⁵⁸

The train stopped at Hazebrouck where the older prisoners taken to an interment camp at the Marette school in Boulogne. The younger prisoners were transported to Dannes work camp near Camiers where they were put to work repairing damaged German coastal fortifications in the Boulogne-Calais-Dunkerque area.

In early September 1944, in a final effort to transport the Jews to Neuengamme they were forced to march for three days before being put once again on a train. On 4 September 1944 the convoy arrived at Diksmuide in Belgium. When the Belgium resistance realised that the transportation comprised Jews destined for Neuengamme, they blew up the railway line leading out of the town to prevent the train travelling further. The Belgium resistance ordered the German train guards to release the prisoners and a number of Red Cross representatives assisted the weak Jewish prisoners. The residents of Diksmuide co-operatively cared for the Jews, providing them with shelter, food and clothing until the town was liberated by the Canadian forces a few days later.⁵⁹

The transportation of most of the remaining Alderney forced workers on 24 June 1944

In December 1943 most of the prisoners in Sylt had been transported back to the French mainland. However a change of plan resulted in the return of the majority to Alderney only a few weeks later.⁶⁰

On 24 June 1944, after D-Day, the Germans began the mass evacuation of most of the SS Sylt prisoners together with many workers from other Alderney camps. Cherbourg had been cut off by the advancing Allies and the prisoners, including the remaining Jewish forced labourers, accompanied by SS guards and personnel from Sylt concentration camp

⁵⁸ Theodore Haenel, interview with author, 9/10 May 1998: Notes prepared by Colin Partridge, entitled 'The War of 1939-1945- Historical Facts on Alderney'.

⁵⁹ Klarsfeld, *Le Calendrier* 1995 and Theodore Haenel, interview with author, 9/10 May 1998. Haenel escaped from Dannes work camp on 1 Sept. 1944; Freidman testimony, *Yad Vashem*: Freidman stated that the Belgium resistance would have stormed the train under cover of night if the German guards had not agreed to an early release.

⁶⁰ PRO WO 106/5248B and WO 199/2090A; OT Bauleiter Leo Ackerman stated to investigators that the prisoners at SS Sylt were first transported back to France in December 1943 however after three weeks a reduced number were returned to Alderney, Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives

were transported to Guernsey and Jersey. After a few days they were transported on to the French port of St Malo.⁶¹

The Reverend Douglas Ord recorded the arrival of the transportation of Sylt prisoners in Guernsey:

'25 June 1944 - we heard a curious shuffling sound as of many feet in sabots. We went down the drive to the gates and there we saw a dreadful sight. Coming down from the harbour was a column of men in rows of five. All were in striped pyjama suits of sorts and their footgear varied from wooden sabots ... to pieces of cloth bound round the feet. Others were barefoot. There were more than the 1000 of them – political prisoners brought away from Alderney and being fetched down by their guards to an open field at Blanc Bois. They were shaven-head and in varying degrees of weariness or lameness ... Scattered thorough the column among men of sub-human criminal type were others obviously intellectuals, men of superior calibre who had offended the brutal Nazi regime. It tore the heart to see the effects of this systematic and deliberate degradation of human beings. At the head of the column marched five evil-visaged SS men armed with automatic guns. At the rear of the column and along its flanks on both sides and at a distance of about a dozen feet from each other were more of these brutes, similarly armed, and all on alert for any attempt at a break-away. I have never seen such brutality written on human countenances ... Occasionally a man would make the 'V' sign to us as he went by. All the emotions of pity, sympathy, sorrow, anger and horror surged through us as we watched ... All day long the stench of their poor, wretched, unwashed bodies and clothes hung about the route they had followed.'

On the following day Reverend Douglas Ord noted the arrival of the workers from other Alderney camps:

'26 June 1944 - After breakfast we had to witness another sorry column – about 1,400 strong – of degraded human beings coming up from the harbour. This time they were a marvellous lot of foreign workers of all races as it seemed ... Their impoverished clothing was beyond description, while some had scarcely rags enough to cover their naked bodies.'

⁶¹ PRO WO 199/3303 Robert Prokop a Czech who had both been transported to Sylt in March 1943 testified that the evacuation of Sylt camp on 24 June 1944 comprised 527 prisoners

27 June 1944 - Town was full of all kinds of foreign workmen and Germans obviously back from Alderney, or possibly even from Cherbourg ... Twelve boats left harbour last night. The prisoners were taken away together with the foreign women (camp followers for the most part)'.

Leslie Sinel recorded the arrival in Jersey of the prisoners including many of the remaining Jewish forced workers:

*'28 June 1944 – In the morning six fair sized vessels, with an escort, arrived with 1,500 persons of all nationalities. It was learned that they were foreign workers from Alderney, prisoners from a concentration camp in that Island, a few evacuees from Cherbourg and some foreign workers from Guernsey, military and naval personnel also arrived, as well as Jerseymen who had been working in Alderney. The prisoners were taken under armed escort to Fort Regent; some were in a pitiable state, and many were garbed in a blue and white striped uniform - Jews, Poles, Russians, and even German political prisoners. There were many Frenchmen among them, and it was estimated that about half the number from Alderney was taken to the Fort. The others, including many women, were lodged at some of the larger hotels, and quantities of mattresses and blankets were taken into West Park Pavilion. During the day these people swarmed all over the town and German armed guards were posted outside cafe entrances. About 8.00 p.m. all the morning's arrivals were taken to the harbour to be taken on to France, but, after waiting about, they were sent back to their billets as it was found that the weather was too rough. Many local people congregated near the harbours, and, when the guards were not looking threw cigarettes to the men who, in reply, gave the V-sign. The guards treated them very roughly, and harrowing tales of life in the Alderney concentration camp have been told by local workers who returned from that Island.'*⁶²

The ex-Alderney forced workers were transported back to occupied France in a number of convoys. Sinel noted one attempt to transport the 'Foreign workers' to France on the evening of 29 June. They were unable to embark and were 'taken back to their billets or to the Fort Regent prison...at night [30 June] they embarked again, and this time the boats went by a different route – some by the eastern and others by the western

⁶² Leslie Sinel, 'The German Occupation of Jersey. A Complete Diary of Events June 1940-June 1945', Jersey Evening Post, 1945. Fort Regent was the site where many of the early Jewish forced workers brought to Jersey in 1941-2 had been held.

*passage. They reached their destination except for one vessel which ran aground between here and St Malo and was forced to return.*⁶³

In another convey on the night of 3 July 1944, approximately 500 workers, including a number of Jewish forced workers, were loaded onto the SS *Minotaure*. The convey, escorted by four escort vessels came under Allied attack. Denis Le Cuirot a Jersey hospital worker who had stowed away on the *Minotaure* recounted the tragedy to Military Intelligence: *'[British MTB's ordered the] convey to stop. The Germans refused to stop and tried to run ... In a quarter of an hour the four escort vessels were sunk and we had a torpedo in the bows and a shell aft'*. After the war Le Cuirot stated *'of the 500 passengers about half lost their lives when the crowded ship was hit'*.⁶⁴

On 24 July one convoy of 300 ex-Sylt prisoners and 30 SS guards arrived at Tours, where they were forced to clear unexploded bombs. On 26 July eighteen prisoners were shot by the SS at Breuvannes as they attempted to escape. Other died at Rennes. Jan Woitas, a Polish ex-Sylt prisoner described the punishment administered to two prisoners recaptured after an escape attempt at Rennes:

'Several Russians were bound hand and foot and were beaten so hard that by the evening they were dying. Wolf returned in the evening and hit the three boys with the butt of his rifle until they fainted. Then he pumped them with bullets. They stayed 24 hours in the truck with us.'

The ex-Sylt prisoners were transported, via Lyons, to Kortemark in Belgium where they were forced to work on the V1/2 construction sites before being moved on to Sollstedt concentration camp in northern Germany.

Dutch Red Cross records show that in early April 1945 they were marched from Sollstedt towards Berlin via Grunewald and Wittenberg.

As the Allied forces neared, the survivors were transported via Kladrav Pilsen, Katowice and Budweis to Mauthausen concentration camp. In the first days of May 1945, in one of the final death marches of the war, the ex-Sylt prisoners were marched out of Mauthausen. However the

⁶³ The log book of the German ship Gerfreid confirms the dates of some convoys of those evacuated from Alderney to Guernsey, Jersey and finally France, arriving in St Malo at 09.50 on 1 July 1944, Pantcheff, Alderney Fortress Island, p. 37.

⁶⁴ Jersey Evening Post June 1945: A number of accounts have stated that all the workers on the *Minotaure* were Jews. However, although there were undoubtedly a number of Jewish forced workers on the *Minotaure* the majority of the transportees on the ship were non-Jews.

American army were only a few miles away and on 5 May the survivors were finally liberated at Remingsdorf-Steyr.⁶⁵

Worker deaths

The conditions experienced by all forced workers were extremely harsh, brutality was commonplace and many died from disease, starvation, overwork and beatings. Workers were subjected to 'hard labour' however, the camps in Alderney were not 'mass extermination' camps of the form of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka or Sobibor. Consequently worked out forced labourers were returned to mainland Europe. Many perished in other work camps, concentration camps and extermination centres in mainland Occupied Europe.

Reverend Ord and Deputy Le Quesne had both witnessed worked-out labourers being returned to France. Gordon Prigent estimated that forced workers were so starved and incapable of work, they only lasted in Alderney for around nine months before their onward transportation.

Before the evacuation of Alderney in 1944 transportations of 'worked out' prisoners had taken place from Sylt to Neuengamme. One transportation left Alderney in July 1943 comprising 200 prisoners suffering from '*festering sores, TB and dysentery*' and according to SS Obersturmführer Kurt Klebeck '*not working and ... thus useless.*' SS Hauptsturmführer Maximilian List stated that he had ordered their transportation to Neuengamme concentration camp for '*extermination*'. They were so weak that by the time they left Cherbourg on 6 July 1943 50 were already dead.⁶⁶

The approximately 450 identified foreign worker graves in Alderney, 140 in Jersey and 120 in Guernsey do not represent the total of those who died in the Island, however the exact figure is unlikely ever to be known.⁶⁷ As the cost of the burial of workers was usually the responsibility of the contracting firm to whom they had been assigned

⁶⁵ Solomon Steckoll *The Alderney Death Camp* P.83, P.96; Madeleine Bunting, *The Model Occupation*, London 1995, P. 189, testimony of Wilhelm Wernegau; At Toul a monument records 'Here are buried seventeen victims of Nazi brutality – July 1944': PRO WO 199/3303 interrogation reports of Leonid Winogradov, a Russian radio engineer previously an inmate of Sachsenhausen concentration camp and Robert Prokop a Czech who had both been transported to Sylt in March 1943; Maj T Pantcheff stated that the prisoners were renamed SS Baubrigade 5 in Germany;; Brian Bonnard, *Alderney at War*, P.70

⁶⁶ An attempted escape occurred during this transportation. In consequence List and Klebeck were court-martialed. They were acquitted their Nov. 1943 Berlin trial records have survived: Berlin Document Centre; Steckoll, *The Alderney Death Camp*, pp.167-71.

⁶⁷ Brian Bonnard identified 437 graves but estimated the total deaths in Alderney exceeded this figure, Conversation with author, 25 April 1998.

many workers were buried where they fell. Many dead workers were thrown into the sea. V.I. Rosslova testified: *'A lorry loaded with corpses would go to the end of the breakwater which stuck out 500 meters into the bay, dumped its horrible load and came back.'* Georgi Kandakov, and T. Misiewicz also each independently record having seen bodies of prisoners being thrown off the Alderney breakwater. John Dalmau testified that when he dived near the breakwater *'among the rocks and seaweed there were skeletons all over the place'*.⁶⁸ Kirill Nevrov and Ivan Sholomitsky both independently stated that they had seen prisoners buried in the sand at low tide.

Johann Burbach, a German engineer in Alderney told British interrogators in 1945 that he had seen corpses being transported across the Island; *'they were completely emaciated consisting of skin and bones'*⁶⁹ Otto Tauber stated to war crimes investigators *'I often saw corpses on the street [in the winter of 1942/3] people were dying from hunger. I saw corpses so thin, you could see the outline of their ribs. I saw 12 corpses completely naked'*.⁷⁰

Dr Anthony Glee, the Home Office advisor on war crimes stated *'I should be surprised if the numbers killed by the Nazis [in Alderney] did not run into thousands.'* One British Intelligence report stated: *'during the informants [18 month] stay on the island, out of 2000 Russian labourers 843 died, very few of them from natural causes'*. A MI 19 interrogation report of July 1944 estimated that of the 1,600 'Russians' transported to Alderney between April and August 1942 around half had died through undernourishment and exhaustion. The Basilov/Pantcheff report confirms that the total number of deaths likely substantially exceeds the identified graves.⁷¹

⁶⁸ V.I. Rosslova also stated that OT Frontführer Lucian Linke stopped this practice as 'Russian corpses were littering the sea.': Account by Georgi Kondakov, Alderney magazine, 1989; T. Misiewicz stated 'I frequently saw how the dead were carried, several in a box and dumped into the harbour. That box was used over and over again'; Grenadier Walter Schuller under interrogation confirmed that he had seen false bottomed coffins in use: PRO WO 208/3629; After the war a reusable two man false bottomed coffin was found in Alderney by the British forces. Dalmau stated that bodies were sometimes weighted down with stones: Dalmau, Slave Worker, p.19; Pantcheff, Alderney Fortress Island, p.85

⁶⁹ Bunting, The Model Occupation, p. 289; Daily Telegraph, 20 Nov. 1996.

⁷⁰ Otto Tauber was in Alderney Dec. 1940-Jan. 1945: Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives.

⁷¹ Dr Glee estimated that in total 16,000 workers were brought into Alderney during the Occupation, Bonnard, Alderney at War, p. 78; PRO WO 106/5248B (2376); One witness Brian O'Hurley stated that 700 had died over the winter of 1942/43 alone. The surviving prisoners estimated that as many as 3,220 died excluding those who died under the SS at Sylt and those lost on the Minotaure: Steckoll, The Alderney Death Camp, p.104; Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives; George Pope stated to war crimes investigators that in 1942 two thousand Ukrainians arrived of whom 1,778 died. Alan and Mary Wood, Islands in Danger, p.162

John Dalmau testified that political prisoners and Jews were shot especially after Allied raids on German towns:

'The news of any heavy bombing of German towns was the occasion for a 'dance'. Organised by the SS, the 'dance' consisted of gathering 50 or more political prisoners or Jews and making them jump, firing bullets at their feet. When one was hit and fell, another bullet, this time in the head, finished him off. This frightful affair continued until the last man fell.'

Otto Spehr, a worker in Alderney between June 1943 and June 1944 confirmed that SS Hauptsturmführer Maximilian List and Lagerführer Puhr had ordered the shooting of many workers.⁷²

Some workers in Alderney were thrown into mass graves. Prekshatt, a German who had worked under Commandant Zuske stated *'a truck collected the naked corpses which were taken off the truck with pitchforks and thrown into a general grave'*. Major Pantcheff confirmed *'two multiple shootings accounting for nearly 50 prisoners in all'*. Solomon Steckoll recounted that British forces uncovered two mass graves in Alderney in May 1945, containing 83 and 48 bodies. The British forces erected a memorial over the latter: *'Here lie forty-eight unknown Soviet Citizens who died during the German Occupation 1941-1945'*. Rev. Ord also witnessed forced workers being interred at Foulon cemetery in Guernsey *'several in each grave'*⁷³

As was the case at German concentration camps throughout occupied Europe, the lists of the causes of death at the Sylt camp were often purposely misleading. The remaining death certificates provide little useful indication of the 'real' causes of death. Verwaltungsoberspektor Hans Spann stated:

'When a foreign worker died, the OT Frontführung sent a copy of the death certificate ... It was already my opinion at that time that not too much reliability could be attached to such a

stated that George Pope had claimed to have a record of 1,000 deaths in Alderney which he failed to present to investigators when requested to do so. The 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney' at the Moscow State Archives also casts doubt on the reliability of Pope as a witness; PRO WO 199/2090B-50157, MI 19 Interrogation report on a number of Russians brought back from Cherbourg by the Allies in 1944.

⁷² WO 199/3303 Report on MI 19 interrogation of Otto Spehr, 13 Dec. 1944

⁷³ Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives, testimony of 'Perkshatt'; In Guernsey Rev. Ord diary entries 29 Jan. 1942 and 16 Nov. 1942; The 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney' at the Moscow State Archives states that investigators had found 58 graves on the north side of St Annes Church, the majority marked with a cross. Most were 'Russian' with five French and Dutch graves. A memorial plaque was placed in the north wall of St Anne's church inscribed '1941-1945 – near this place are buried 45 Soviet citizens who died in Alderney. Their names are recorded in the States Office'

*certificate ... I was struck by the disorder [in the cemetery] and marked lack of dignity with which the corpses had been buried ... I am extremely doubtful if the names on the individual graves were correct'. The clerk to the Fortress doctor in 1944 stated 'The death certificates of Sylt camp consisted of a printed form on which the cause of death, which was always heart failure or faulty circulation, was typed in. The cause of death was filled in by the SS. The death certificate was then presented to the Fortress Doctor for signature.'*⁷⁴

Major Pantcheff stated:

'the German records in Alderney were so confusing that one cannot but doubt whether those traditionally so renowned for meticulous and efficient administration were in this instance really aiming at clarity. There are death certificates, sometimes manifestly misleading; there are executive reports, which do not always tally with the certificates; there are names on crosses, out of chronological sequence, in nine cases bearing two different names on the same grave with one body, and in 22 cases marking two graves in different places with the same names and dates of birth ... Some were reported dead but with no known grave marked with their name'.

Even the graves of those who had been buried in the Alderney forced worker cemeteries were desecrated by Germans. War crimes investigators received testimony confirming that crosses had been torn up and burnt and the ground levelled.⁷⁵

The identified Jewish graves

As previously stated, the exact number of Jewish forced workers who died either in the Channel Islands or after their transportation back to the occupied European mainland is unlikely to ever be known.

OT Bauleiter Leo Ackermann who had arrived in Alderney on 20 August 1943 admitted under interrogation that 'several' of the 250 Jews and 150

⁷⁴ Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives; Pantcheff, Alderney Fortress Island, pp. 66, 68.

⁷⁵ Testimony given to war crimes investigators stated that 'Richta' had torn up and burnt crosses of workers in the cemetery and levelled the ground: Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives.

'criminals' who arrived during his administration in October 1943 had died as a result of the '*incurable diseases they had brought with them*'.⁷⁶

Eight graves containing the remains of Jewish forced workers transported to Alderney in May-December 1943 were identified after the war buried in the north-west corner of Longis Common. In 1945 the British Army erected a board adjacent to the graves inscribed '*Here lie the bodies of eight French nationals of the Jewish faith who died during the German Occupation 1941-1945*'. The graves were marked with individual plaques in the form of the two conjoined tablets of the 'ten commandments' inscribed with the deceased's name.

The following are the eight identified Jewish graves::

Robert Perlestein, died 22 Dec 1943

Lucien Worms, died 7 Jan 1944

Wilfred Gordesson, died 26 Feb 1944

Chaim Goldin, died 7 Dec 1943

Seib Becker, died 30 Dec 1943

Henri Lipmann, died 2 Mar 1944

Isaac Streskoski, died 8 Feb 1944

Shmuel Kirszenblat, died 26 Apr 1944

Theodore Haenel noted that the names of two of the Jewish forced workers at Norderney known to him to have died in Alderney do not appear in this list. One an 18 year old was killed when a container of concrete fell on his head.⁷⁷

The remains of Robert Perlestein, Lucien Worms and Wilfred Gordesson were exhumed and reburied by their families prior to 1961. However under an agreement between the Allies and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1959 it was decided that the dead forced workers should be '*counted to the German war dead*'. Thus along with the remains of other forced workers who had died in Alderney the bodies of the five remaining Jewish forced workers were exhumed by the 'Volksbund Deutscher Kriegsgraberfursorge' (German War Graves Commission) and reburied at Mont de Huisnes German Military Cemetery at La Manche, France in 1961.

'Les Amicales des Anciens Deportees' naturally raised strong objection to the burial of the five Jewish forced workers in a German military

⁷⁶ Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives

⁷⁷ Theodore Haenel estimated that approximately 10-12 Jews from the Jewish camp at Norderney died during the period Oct. 1943-May 1944 but added that others died after they left Alderney: Interview with author, 9/10 May 1998. Reuven Freidman provided similar testimony.

cemetery and consequently on 19 May 1963 the bodies of Chayim Goldin, Seib Becker, Henri Lipmann, Isaac Streskoski and Shmuel Kirszenblat were reburied at the Cimatiere de Saint Ouen, Seine-St Denis in one vault in the 36th division North, 1st row North No. 25.

War-crimes investigations

Investigations concerning the perpetrators of war-crimes against foreign forced workers followed an unproductive path.

In July 1943 Jersey labourers returning from periods of work in Alderney had brought back eye-witness accounts of the atrocities committed there against Jews and Russians. In April 1944 Guernsey labourers provided similar accounts.

By March 1944 '*awful tales*' of atrocities in German concentration camps on the European mainland were circulating in the Islands. The Germans printed propaganda articles in the Jersey Evening Post refuting these rumours.

Reverend Ord in Guernsey heard stories specifically relating to the mistreatment of Jewish forced workers in Alderney. He noted in his diary on 16 April 1944 '*Jews received negligible rations. They are forced to work from 5am to 10 pm, or till they dropped. One of them fainted in a field. The Germans drove the plough-tractor over him.*'

Within a few days of the end of the war reports of atrocities in Alderney appeared in the national British press.⁷⁸

Many of those who had subjected prisoners to mistreatment including OT Bauleiter Leo Ackermann and OT Johann Hoffmann fell into British hands in 1945, but they were released without formal charge.⁷⁹

The initial enthusiasm for war crimes prosecutions waned when the British government realised that as most of the victims of the atrocities in Alderney had been Russian, the Soviet Union would have to mount any trial.

⁷⁸ 'The Occupation of Jersey Day by Day – The personal diary of Deputy Edward Lee Quesne', La Haule Books, Jersey 1999, entry 20-24 July 1943; Rev. D. Ord diary, 16 April 1944; Jersey Evening Post, 4 March 1944; Articles had recently appeared in the British national newspapers. Typically, 'Huns whip slaves to death on British soil' the Daily Mirror 23 Feb 1944 detailed the mistreatment of forced workers in Guernsey.

⁷⁹ In 1949 a Russian was sentenced to 25 years hard labour for war crimes committed whilst a Kapo in Alderney. SS Lagerfuhrer Puhr who had served in Alderney was executed in 1963 in East Germany for war crimes not specifically committed in Alderney; Johann Hoffmann who arrived in Alderney in Jan. 1943 was Commandant of Helgoland; Maj. Carl Hoffmann had been Island Commander July 1941-Dec. 1941 and remained in the Island until Nov. 1943: see Capt. T. Pantcheff 'Official British government report about the atrocities on Alderney', Moscow State Archives and PRO Home Office files HO144/45.

The only war crimes trials specifically relating to the mistreatment of Jews by Germans in the Channel Islands took place at Caserne de Reuilly, France in September 1949. SS Untersurnführer/OT Haupttruppführer Adam Adler and OT Meister Heinrich Evers, the commandant and deputy commandant of the Jewish camp at Norderney were sentenced to ten and seven years imprisonment respectively for subjecting French Jews to '*superhuman work*' and '*systematic ill-treatment*'.

Memorials to the Forced Workers

A memorial plaque in Hebrew to the Jewish forced workers who perished in Alderney is included in the Hammond Memorial near Longis Common. This memorial plaque was established at the instigation of Mr Alfred Herzka of London and unveiled by Cpt. S. Herivel, CBE, DSC, President of the States of Alderney on 13 August 1969. Prayers were led by Rabbi E. Gastwirth as the representative of the Chief Rabbi. A delegation from the Jersey Jewish Congregation attended both the dedication and many subsequent annual services.

At Westmount, St Helier, Jersey a memorial to the forced workers who perished in the Island was established initially incorporating just a plaque to the Russian workers. However other plaques were subsequently added recognising Spanish, French and Polish workers.

In 1998 the Jersey Jewish Congregation with the consent of the States of Jersey added a plaque to the Westmount memorial dedicated to Jewish forced workers who suffered in all the Channel Islands. This plaque reads '*To the Jews who suffered during the Occupation 1940-1945*'. An annual memorial service is held at the Westmount memorial on Liberation day.

Perhaps however, the most poignant memorials to the suffering of Jewish forced workers in the Islands is the simple 'Star of David' cut by a Jewish forced labourer into the shuttering of a German bunker in Alderney together with the yellow 'Star of David' clothing badges marked 'Jude' and 'Juif' found in Alderney and Sark.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The forced worker Stars of David are on display at the Guernsey Occupation Museum and the Sark Occupation and Heritage Museum.

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