# IMPLEMENTATION PROPOSAL

## Centre for Documentation of the German Occupation of Europe in the Second World War (ZWBE)

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DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM

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# KNOWLEDGE AND RESPONSIBILITY

The Second World War and German crimes taking place in its context have left a lasting mark on Europe. Around 230 million human beings in what are presently 27 European states lived under German occupation stamped by extreme violence. Most of the many millions of dead were civilians. The violence was grounded in a radical ideology of "race" whose genocidal execution has no historical parallel.

In Germany at present, outside of specialized academic contexts there is little well-grounded knowledge about the German occupation of Europe in the Second World War. This offers a strong contrast to the fundamental importance the occupation continues to have for both countries previously subject to it and population groups that were the target of violent persecution. Fulfilling a crucial educational function, the documentation centre focused on the occupation in its various historical dimensions will help overcome this contradiction in a significant way. Located in Berlin, the centre will give new, and deeper, expression to the resolve of both the German Bundestag and German government, under the aegis of the German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum; DHM), to maintain a critical and productive confrontation with the country's National Socialist past.

On 9 October 2020, the Bundestag decided to initiate the centre's planning, foregrounding three basic aims: documenting the German occupation of Europe, imparting knowledge about the historical events, and offering space for commemoration of the victims. In doing this, the German parliament took up numerous initiatives on the part of civil society, academia, and the political sphere meant to comprehensively assess the enduring impact of experiences in German-occupied Europe, 75 years after the Second World War's end. With this decision, the German government was authorized to prepare a practical proposal for establishing the new documentation centre. On 4 January 2021, German culture minister Monika Grütters commissioned the DHM to undertake this task.

To that end, the DHM formed a project group working closely with the DHM president, Professor Raphael Gross; together they are responsible for seeing through this project.

At the same time, two groups of experts were formed to regularly accompany work on the project planning. One working group consisted of historians specializing in National Socialism, the Second World War, the Holocaust, and the German occupation of Europe. In the other working group, directors of already-existing German memorial-centres placed their experience and expertise at the project's disposal.

In order to see through the project planning, the DHM devoted a great deal of effort to establishing a dialogue with victim-support organizations and civil-society initiatives

throughout Europe. Inaugurated through a series of Open Forum meetings (to be discussed below), this dialogue will be consolidated and carried forward in the framework of a Forum for European Memory.

The Centre for Documentation of the German Occupation of Europe in the Second World War (Dokumentationszentrum "Zweiter Weltkrieg und deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft in Europa"; henceforth ZWBE) will thus find its place in the Berlin area's existing memorial landscape and will work alongside its various already-established institutions. The Centre's basic contours are outlined in the following pages. As envisioned by the project group, the new Centre will support the work of these existing institutions, with their unique characteristics as historical locations. Consequently, together with these places of historical memory, it will strengthen the engagement of civil society with Germany's National Socialist past and the crimes perpetrated by Germany throughout occupied Europe. The German Historical Museum is prepared to continue its support for the new centre.

# ABSTRACT


## KNOWLEDGE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Based in Berlin, the ZWBE documentation centre will present the history of Germany's occupation rule in Europe. Its main focus will be on the experience of its victims and the suffering they endured. This perspective will encourage a new and better understanding of present-day Europe.

## A HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

To that end, the centre will feature a permanent exhibition focused on the 1939-1945 period. Complementary temporary exhibitions will address dimensions of this history extending into the present period as well as into preceding years.

The **permanent exhibition** will offer a perspective unique in Germany and, more broadly, Europe, by presenting a differentiated history of occupied Europe in its full geographical scope for the first time. It will contrast the ideologically motivated action of the German occupiers with the reactions of those they were occupying. In the exhibition, the occupation will thus emerge as a central experience of Germany's European neighbours.

The approach taken in the permanent exhibition will be transnational, with thematic organization. This will underscore the different experiences of occupied societies. Groups of perpetrators will become recognizable as such, together with the different dimensions of their National Socialist ideology.

The **temporary exhibitions** will focus on the dynamic memory-history of the Second World War and both the prehistory of Germany's European occupation and its effects. At the same time, themes presented in the permanent exhibition will be explored in greater depth.

Through a multilingual range of printed and online material, the ZWBE will address a broad international public.

## B EDUCATION

The ZWBE will offer an educational program oriented especially toward students and taking account of the demands of a multi-cultural society. This will be supplemented by an outreach program to historical sites and their supervising memorial centres in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, by advanced-training opportunities tailored for specific groups, and by an assortment of online educational material. All formats will adhere to basic principles of inquiry-based learning, multilingualism, and inclusive access. The ZWBE will organize a multifaceted events-program for the general public.

## C RESEARCH

The core mission of the ZWBE will be research on the history of countries occupied by Nazi Germany between 1939 and 1945. For the related exhibits, the Centre will need to develop a collection of its own—a process benefiting from the new institution's close ties with the DHM and its already-existing historical collection.

Broadened and deepened through international research tied to the Centre, knowledge of the history and consequences of the Second World War will likewise lead to an—urgently needed—greater understanding of the European present. One important tool in this respect will be an international fellowship-program; the knowledge-exchange promoted in this way will itself serve as a catalyst for the work of the ZWBE. The documentation centre will organize conferences and make its collection, archives, and library accessible within this international-research framework.

## D REMEMBRANCE AND COMMEMORATION

The ZWBE will develop a concept for individual, on-site reflection and commemoration. At the same time, it will offer possibilities for direct participation in commemorative activities by European civil society and, in particular, associations of victims and their descendants under the auspices of a Forum for European Memory.

## E STRUCTURE

The German Bundestag will establish the ZWBE documentation centre as a subsidiary foundation under public law; it will be placed under the aegis of the German Historical Museum (DHM) Foundation. The board of trustees of the DHM Foundation will likewise be responsible for the ZWBE Foundation. It will appoint a ZWBE Foundation director at the suggestion of the DHM Foundation president to independently lead the ZWBE. At the suggestion of the DHM Foundation president, the board of trustees will appoint members of a ZWBE academic advisory body and of the Forum for European Memory.

The ZWBE will have its own premises outside the DHM in central Berlin. The Centre's space-allocation plan anticipates 15,000 m2 of floor-space, providing rooms for a permanent exhibition, temporary exhibitions, events, conferences, and an educational program, as well as for its administration, employees, and fellows.

## F IMPLEMENTATION

The DHM will prepare the establishment of the subsidiary ZWBE Foundation; following budget-allocation, the DHM will see to timely start-up of the ZWBE.

# A HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

## A 1 The Permanent Exhibition

Because of the complexity of its subject, the permanent exhibition will need to take a thematic-analytic approach that works with examples. The examples offered in the following sections are not meant to anticipate curators' decisions but rather to suggest a conceivable path forward. We do not outline an exhibition plan but rather describe the historical context from which themes for the future permanent exhibition may emerge. The permanent exhibition's thematic program begins with an introduction and ends with an epilogue. The exhibition's main part is divided into two cross sections and nine thematic focal points:

1. Introduction: Europe 1939–1945
2. Cross-section: Ideology and Violence
3. Thematic Focal Points:

3.1 Forced Labour
3.2 Camps
3.3 Plunder
3.4 Cultural Destruction
3.5 Hunger
3.6 Murder of Patients
3.7 Holocaust
3.8 Genocide of Sinti and Roma
3.9 Voluntary and Involuntary Participation

4. Cross-section: Resistance
5. Epilogue: The Legal Accounting after 1945

### 1. INTRODUCTION: EUROPE 1939–1945

The introduction will present a panorama of the continental European countries invaded and then occupied by Germany in the Second World War. The dimensions of this violent German rule over circa 230 million human beings will be clearly outlined. In the various affected countries, German warfare and occupation took different forms, constantly changing over time. With its breaks and upheavals, the course of the war played an important role—something manifest in the varying intensity of the Wehrmacht's crimes while advancing and retreating. Different objectives for different European regions led to different forms of occupation rule: civil or military administration, anne-

xation, formal maintenance of state structures or their complete destruction. Beyond forms of violence resulting from military expansion and occupation, transnational exterminatory measures grounded in "racial" ideology were aimed against Jews as well as against Roma and Sinti.

In the German-occupied countries, the vanishing of traditional security was accompanied by life-determining anxiety, extreme danger, and arbitrariness. In foregrounding this, the exhibition's focus will be explicitly on the experiences of those who were occupied. In this way, programmatically the guiding concept of violent occupation will be placed alongside the guiding concept—dominant in Germany—of war. Most crimes committed by German forces and German authorities during the Second World War were not acts of war but were perpetrated in the context of German occupation and the radical execution of "racial" ideology. Most of those killed were civilians. This was also the case in areas where the war was omnipresent, for example on the eastern front in Russia. Especially use of terms such as "anti-partisan operations" when referring to actions carried out by German units in Poland and the occupied Soviet territories, but also in Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, and France, was often simply a way of covering up massacres perpetrated on local populations.

The systematic, transnational murder of entire population groups in German-occupied Europe—the Holocaust perpetrated upon European Jewry; the genocide of the Sinti and Roma—constituted an unprecedented mass crime; it could not have been executed without the war and the resulting expansion of the Nazi German state's power throughout Europe. These crimes were singular in nature, being motivated not by power and oppression but, exclusively, by annihilatory intent. For this reason, the Holocaust and the genocide of the Sinti and Roma will be discussed when presenting each thematic focal point as well as within their own independent framework.

The historical events tied to the Second World War and unfolding in German-occupied Europe between 1939 and 1945 cannot be reduced to a single concept. Highly different forms of violence and the exercise of power were at work here. In their complexity and taken as a whole, they cannot be adequately illustrated through either Max Weber's approach to rule or traditional military-historical terminology. The desire to murder all the Jews of Europe, the extermination of Poland's elite, of human beings with intellectual or physical disabilities, of putative enemies and opponents, cannot be explained or understood using classical conceptual categories: new, distinctive museological approaches are called for. The ZWBE documentation centre will thus need to develop new exhibition concepts and visual possibilities—this in a process of close exchange with researchers and museums throughout the world.

## 2. CROSS-SECTION: IDEOLOGY AND VIOLENCE

National Socialist ideology and violent German rule over Europe were closely connected. The Nazi world view was composed of a series of hate-filled ideas determining the varying intensity of violent crimes perpetrated in Europe, both as a totality and within each occupied country.

The basis for violent German expansion in Europe was National Socialism as a war-oriented ideology. At its core was a delusion: the existence of different human "races" with specific, immutable characteristics. This was accompanied by an assertion of German superiority understood to justify a right to territorial expansion and subjugation of neighbouring countries. In an inversion of the actual facts, National Socialism postulated an internal and external existential struggle of Germany against the Jews, declared to be aggressors. Among the tropes informing this world view were antisemitism, anti-Communism, hatred of the Sinti, the Roma, the Slavic peoples, and racism. Also included were specifically Nazi ideas concerning labour, together with a eugenics-based claim to definitional authority over the value of each individual life, beyond all ethical norms. The inherently annihilatory character of both Germany's military effort and violent occupation rule was grounded in this elementary ideological juncture.

The goal of German war planning was a radical new European order according to "racial" ideological criteria. The formula of securing "lebensraum in the East" offered a connection with the demand—already a consensus in German society before 1933—for revision of the Versailles Treaty. At the same time, that society was now being prepared for war, step by step, its economy being purposively oriented toward rearmament. The war of aggression launched against Poland in 1939 was falsely staged as an act of defence and prevention. Disinformation concerning alleged Polish crimes and criminal orders by the Wehrmacht leadership during the war catalysed excesses of violence from the start.

Nazi ideology also played a role in respect to who would become perpetrators. This will draw the visitor's attention back to German society, whose centre was already marked by widespread *völkisch* thinking before 1939—indeed before 1933. The country's elites, for instance within the medical and legal professions as well as the universities, gradually prepared the ground for a radicalizing of violence in the war against Europe. In its execution, the Reich Security Head Office, created on 3 September 1939, played an important role, spreading this criminal escalation over all of occupied Europe. This topic suggests a reference to the permanent exhibition in the Topography of Terror Foundation's documentation centre.

In respect to German military conduct and its legitimacy, the Second World War was different from all previous wars in Europe. Putatively justified through Nazi "racial" ideology, the German military leadership deliberately annulled the categorical distinction between civilians and combatants. In a violation of international law, both occupied nations and prisoners of war were potential victims of German mass murder—the

exterminatory character of this war of aggression emerging with special clarity in the German treatment of Soviet POWs. Jewish soldiers and Soviet political officers were selected for murder by units that moved up precisely for that purpose immediately after capture. The Wehrmacht made no preparations for the great majority of POWs, largely leaving them without medical care, sufficient food, or clothing, and frequently outdoors to themselves. In the winter of 1941/42 alone, two million persons in German custody died in these circumstances. Of the nearly 5.7 million soldiers in German custody, 3.3 million did not survive.

The criminal planning and execution of this annihilatory war was manifest from the very first day. On 1 September 1939, Wieluń in central Poland became the first city bombed in the war; Warsaw and 156 other locations followed soon after. The attacks were on non-military, civilian targets. German soldiers burned down entire villages in the war's first days. When the invaders encountered Jewish communities, they inflicted unrestrained violence. To offer one among countless examples: on 8 September 1939 in the town of Będzin, a few kilometres east of the Reich's border, a German *Brandkommando* ("incendiary detachment") set the synagogue alight, let the flames reach adjacent apartment buildings, and shot people trying to flee the flames. Up to 200 Jewish women, men, and children died in the first days of German rule over the town. The basic pattern was for Wehrmacht units to be followed by security police and SD *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile killing squads; literally "deployment groups" or "task forces") and other units of, for instance the regular police force. On the basis of the so-called "Special Prosecution Book—Poland" these killing units hunted down Poland's elites and other population groups; by the end of 1939, they had murdered ca. 60,000 civilians. By July 1941, in the Palmiry woods alone, near Warsaw, the Germans had murdered another 1,700 women, men, and children.

The permanent exhibition will explain this history of violence using a three-part approach: it will connect ideological origins (1) with concrete groups of perpetrators and their motives (2), and will offer a complex perspective by presenting the experiences of victims (3), thus moving past a sole focus on perpetrators.

The exhibition will likewise make use of three analytic levels in approaching the subsequent radicalization of German military action and occupation policy. In 1940, the Wehrmacht proceeded to march into Denmark and Norway, then the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg, and finally France. In the Balkan campaign of spring 1941, German rule was extended to Yugoslavia and Greece. Finally, the attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 was preceded by comprehensive impunity guarantees for violent crimes. The Germans now inflicted violence marked by unprecedented intensity; leading in itself to the death of 14 million civilians, it marked the implementation of a "Holocaust by bullets" aimed at both Jews and Roma. German Jews were themselves first murdered in occupied Soviet territory (or else in territory, now in German hands, that the Soviets

had themselves previously occupied). The intentional starvation of millions of Soviet POWs had its counterpart in violence inflicted on the civilian populace: Vitebsk and Kharkiv, for example, were sealed off as so-called "hunger ghettos", the residents left to starve and die. The exhibition will here also focus on less known sites, such as those of the massacres in Greece and of the mass violence in the Soviet Union encapsulated in a euphemistic cipher, "scorched earth".

The exhibition will document the different structure of Nazi violence in Western and Northern Europe when compared to the mass violence inflicted on Eastern and Southern European populations. The basis for this distinction was, again, the occupiers' "racial" ideological hierarchy, which accorded Western and Northern Europeans higher value. Despite this "racial"-cultural privileging, evident in, for example, preliminary plans to "Germanize" the Netherlands, the Northern and Western European countries were themselves subject to rule grounded in force and exploitation. The Nazi phantasm of "racial" superiority for inhabitants of those European areas excluded the Jews, the Roma, and the Sinti. They were deported to the east, where they were murdered—a fact making clear that the widely held thesis of an absence of mass violence in the west does not hold true for all population groups there. In this context, the fact that the German occupiers practiced hostage-killing everywhere they ruled takes on special importance

The exhibition will open a special perspective on occupied European territory immediately bordering on Germany and annexed to the Reich either de jure (e.g. Alsace and Upper Silesia) or de facto (e. g. Luxemburg). In these areas, the Germans applied practices of persecution already established before 1939 within Germany. Included here among other measures was the systematic persecution of homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses, groups not methodically targeted in other occupied (non-annexed) regions.

## 3. THEMATIC FOCAL POINTS

The exhibition will introduce viewers to individual forms of violence practiced by the German occupiers. The focus will be on locations, time-frames, and victims, with information presented on perpetrators' motives, genesis of the events, and victims' experiences. The following main topics will be covered:

### 3.1 Forced Labour

*Forced labour was the central experience of violence that people endured throughout Europe. More than 10 percent of the continent's occupied population was directly affected by it. Indirectly, however, the experience of forced labour took in a far greater portion of occupied European society, for example through destruction of families and friendships. In Germany, the omnipresence of slave labourers made the violent nature of occupation rule impossible to ignore. The theme of forced labour will point to the way broad social strata profited from the practice in Germany and bore responsibility for it.*

Up to 26 million people in the German-occupied countries worked for the German economy—for the most part as slaves. Half of these individuals, around 13 million of them, were abducted to Germany, where in the summer of 1944, at the highpoint of armaments production, they constituted a quarter of the workforce. In the summer of 1943, foreign civilians represented half of agricultural workers in Germany. In this way, occupation crimes became an aspect of German everyday urban and rural life that could not be ignored.

A further 13 million people were enslaved outside the German Reich for labour on behalf of Germany; the nature of the work here varied from forced labour in one's home country to being transported for such work straight through Europe. For example, the Wehrmacht abducted ca. 93,000 Soviet POWs for slave labour in up to 500 camps located in Norway. The production relocation of German firms to occupied regions represented a distinct connection between labour, exploitation, and extermination, the branch of the IG Farben corporation located in Auschwitz-Monowitz exemplifying this process.

The situation in France illustrates the step-by-step displacement of boundaries between free labour relations, mandatory work, and slave labour. As in many other European countries, the occupation was followed by mass unemployment, something not desired by either the French labour administrations or the German military governor. For affected French workers, what the Germans offered initially seemed highly attractive. At first, French citizens even reported voluntarily to work in Germany, although far less than had been hoped for: salaries and working conditions largely corresponded to those of the German workforce; but most ended up working below their qualification-level, and the camp-accommodations placed limits on their freedom. The Vichy regime tried to fulfil German demands for workers by supplying foreigners interned in labour camps, for instance Communist refugees from Spain and Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, from 1941 it became increasingly clear that the voluntary labour supply was insufficient, so that finally both the Germans and French resorted to force. September 1942 thus saw the introduction of mandatory service, taking in men between 18 and 50 and single women between 21 and 35. In February 1943, *Service de travail obligatoire* followed, as an instrument for the mandatory transfer of skilled French workers to Germany. It thus becomes clear that in response to the course of the war and the German need for workers, there was a cumulative shift from voluntary to forced labour—which was tied in the worst cases to a high risk of death. In total, however, 98 percent of the French men and women forced to work in Germany would survive. This constitutes a marked contrast with the high mortality rate of, for example, Soviet and Polish Jewish POWs used for slave labour and prisoners in the many so-called "labour education camps" located throughout the Reich and German-occupied countries.

As roughly outlined in this manner, in respect to affected groups of people (men, women, young people, children), places of deployment, assigned activity, methods of recruitment, accommodation, provision, and living conditions, the spectrum of what can be defined as forced labour is extremely broad. The exhibition will convey this complexity to visitors through a depiction of forced labour in occupied areas (e.g. "forced labour camps for Jews" in the so-called *Generalgouvernement*), within various countries (e.g. the mentioned forced deployment of Soviet POWs in Norway), and in the German Reich (e. g. the forced removal of military status from Polish POWs for the sake of slave-labour deployment). Voluntary enlistment will be considered alongside violent abduction through raids in public spaces and private companies, with clients including a wide range of industrial firms, small-scale enterprises, and producers in the agricultural sector, together with municipalities and private households. Visitors will be informed about the role of various German ministries and employment offices in the functioning of the forced labour system; they will see how the type of accommodation offered (camps, company facilities, farms, households) furnished possibilities for both retreat and being at the mercy of abuse and sexual assault. Suggesting itself in this context is a reference to historical site in Berlin: the Nazi Forced Labour Documentation Centre in the Schöneweide district; the Italian POWs interred there might here serve as a thematic bridge. Furthermore, through focus on a concrete example of compulsory payments inflicted on a forced labourer (social compensation charges, payments tied to assigned tax-bracket, transfer of paid wages to land of origin as extraordinary state revenue), visitors will gain an understanding of how state actors, above all the fiscal and social security authorities, participated in a process of multileveled economic exploitation.

An additional exhibition theme will be the increasing disciplinary regime inflicted on forced labourers, implemented by employers, police and security, the judiciary, and the Gestapo. Here euphemisms such as "labour education camps" masked the specific nature of Nazi persecution and stigmatized its victims—often far beyond the war's end. In the war's final phase, even small rule-violations by forced labourers could be punished by death. Here visitors will be offered concrete examples of Nazi forced labour's radical inhumanity: the complete absence of occupational safety measures, substandard medical treatment of accidents, the near total lack of air raid protection, the deployment of sub-camp inmates to clear bombing-rubble from German cities, and finally the Wehrmacht's abuse of local forced labourers as living mine detectors.

Through these presentations, the exhibition will show how there was more to forced labour than the work itself: it involved a break with one's previous life, abduction, disenfranchisement, deprivation of freedom, and a permanent threat of violence extending to mortal danger. German forced labour took in children and adolescents. Lacking any rights, the labourers were open to assault, including sexual assault; as a rule, pregnant

foreign forced labourers were forced to abort, or else their infants were taken to so-called "foreign children care homes" where they starved to death in torment.

Most forced labourers were young. Often they tried to maintain contact with those at home, to form new networks, and find niches where they could escape German control. This is clear from letters, photographs, and a range of everyday objects. Legal files in turn show how quickly these efforts led to conflicts with the ideas of both the German authorities and private persons.

### 3.2 Camps

*Everywhere in occupied Europe, camps were part of the reality of Nazi Germany's violent rule. This thematic field is focused on dimensions, typologies, and victims, hence on camps as a specifically National Socialist element of crimes perpetrated by the German occupiers.*

Just after the Second World War and his direct experience of the Holocaust, the Polish-Jewish historian Filip Friedman recognized the need for a new historical discipline: *Obozologia*, "camp science," meant to study the countless camps set up by the Germans in occupied areas with genocidal intentions. Once the perspective is broadened to take in the innumerable persecutory and criminal contexts involved in German occupation rule, an impression of fathomless complexity is confirmed. This will be the starting point for the exhibition's approach to this topic; the intention is to open a perspective on the camps to visitors who often will have only viewed one or two memorials located at historical sites.

There are already more than 3,800 entries in the register of detention-locations of the Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility, and Future set up by the German government after 2000 to make compensation payments available to survivors of forced and slave labour as well as other victims of Nazism. But the actual number may well be significantly higher, and the exhibition will convey an awareness of the vast dimension involved here. Taking a typological approach, the exhibition will tie the spatial and temporal camp dynamic to actual German crimes. This will illuminate the various functions of the camps: functions that sometimes overlapped, changed over time, and radicalized, in a process of isolation, repression, labour, and extermination.

Two examples offer a clear picture of how this process worked: first, the extermination camps—which continue to be inadequately acknowledged publicly in Germany—set in operation in the context of "Operation Reinhardt"; second, the increasing number of facilities of all sorts for forced labourers throughout the Reich. These included the sprawling disciplinary facilities established throughout the Reich such as the "labour education camps" and so-called "expanded police prisons", marked by steadily increasing mortality rates. With the help of "camp biographies" depicting the odyssey of abducted persons from one place of imprisonment to the next, visitors will, on the one

hand, gain a sense of the complexity of the camp-system in occupied regions and Germany and, on the other hand, gain insight into the question of fluid camp-genres—and this also from the perspective of the victims.

In this context, the exhibition will draw on and expand received ideas concerning Auschwitz, the dominant Western cipher for the Holocaust, locating the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex as a distinct camp-cosmos in the occupation framework. On 27 April 1940, Heinrich Himmler ordered the construction of the seventh German concentration camp in the small Polish town of Oświęcim, annexed by Germany under the name of Auschwitz; this would be the main camp of a larger complex, Auschwitz I. Determining the choice of location was a well-preserved former Polish army barracks area alongside a rail hub connected in all directions. The first transport, with 1,000 Polish political prisoners from Tarnów, arrived on 14 June. Aside from a small number of German prison-functionaries (*Kapos*), in this early period the prisoners would nearly exclusively be Polish, including Jews—in 1941, 1,255 of 17,270 prisoners. Their arrest was in any case not yet based on "race", but was as "political" as that of the non-Jewish prisoners and thus as amorphously motivated. The prisoners in Auschwitz I included members of the Polish intelligentsia haphazardly rounded up and arrested as "hostages"; many died from torture, starvation, or shooting.

In 1941, Himmler decided to raise Auschwitz's prisoner capacity; IG Farben now had SS-paid inmates construct both a buna (synthetic rubber) plant and a new camp; located in the nearby town of Monowitz, it would come to be known as Auschwitz III. September 1941—following the German invasion of the Soviet Union—saw the first try-outs of Zyklon B for mass murder in Auschwitz, with hundreds of Soviet POWs and around 250 main-camp inmates murdered in the cellar of a barracks. In October, 10,000 Red Army POWs arrived with the order to build a barracks camp in nearby Brzezinka with room for 100,000 of their fellow war prisoners; this would be Auschwitz-Birkenau, Auschwitz II. Parallel to this a decision had been reached to murder all the European Jews, and Auschwitz was to play a central role in this process. In early 1942, camp-*Kommandant* Rudolf Höß thus had two building in Auschwitz-Birkenau converted into gas chambers. The first victims were Jews from neighbouring areas—Upper Silesia, the *Generalgouvernement*, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Starting in March 1942, the industrial mass murder of Jews from nearly all German-occupied regions—extending from Norway to Greece—and from Germany proper began with transports from Slovakia and France. In total, an estimated 1.3 million women, men, and children were deported to Auschwitz, with 900,000 being directly murdered upon arrival, without registration. Eventually 200,000 additional human beings would die at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp from exhaustion, disease, or gassing, 90 percent of these victims being Jews.

Starting in 1943, the so-called "family camp" was located on that camp's grounds,

in "block BIIb"; here men, women, and children brought over from the Theresienstadt concentration camp lived together—a contrast with the usual arrangement. Of these 18,000 individuals, 10,000 would be murdered. "Block BIIe" was the location of what was called "Gypsy-camp Auschwitz", a branch camp for Sinti and Roma, most of whom had been deported from Germany and Austria. When this camp was dismantled on 16 May 1944, the prisoners offered strong resistance, as a result of which the men and women capable of working (and thus of resisting) were deported to other camps. On 2 August 1944, the last of these transports left Auschwitz, the 4,300 human beings remaining in the sub-camp being murdered in the gas chambers of crematorium V that same night. Consequently, since 2015, 2 August has been marked in Europe as Holocaust Memorial Day for Sinti and Roma. 22,600 of these individuals were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau; 19,300 of them did not survive.

The Auschwitz camp system included ca. fifty sub-camps for slave labour, located in the nearby or more distant vicinity. In addition, POW camps were ser up around the buna plant. And at times, a Gestapo "Auschwitz labour education camp" was operational for above all Polish labourers, used in industry and Upper Silesian mining. Alongside all this, Auschwitz steadily served as a location for carrying out all sorts of death sentences. Together with the clear prominent role Auschwitz had in the industrial murder of Europe's Jews, that camp system's history points to occupation-related crimes extending from forced "Germanization" to slave labour. Furthermore, the Europe-wide transport of human beings, involving numerous actors, as well as the location within the Reich's violently expanded borders, refutes the idea of a crime secretly carried out "in the East".

Such an approach to the camps will acquaint visitors with a seemingly familiar theme in a manner opening new perspectives. These will offer insight into the situation of those imprisoned—the conditions of detention and labour; the provisions offered; the radically unequal chances to survive. The presentation's focus will be on the experience of the prisoners and the high visibility of the camps in their various surroundings.

The approach will also make clear why the actual camp locations, as historical sites of compressed violence, belong to Europe's heritage and should be preserved. Consequently, this part of the ZWBE exhibition will strongly support the idea of long-lasting, sustainable maintenance and development of memorial sites at historical locations throughout Europe.

### 3.3 Plunder

*Plunder by the occupiers was part of Nazi German military policy; it represents an experience belonging to the reality of formerly occupied countries, for example in respect to questions of restitution and reparations. Everything was plundered that could be useful for the wartime economy, for supplying the Wehrmacht and the German populace: food; oil,*

*minerals, and other natural resources; gold reserves; state assets; infrastructure; artworks; land; human beings.*

*Die Deutsche Wochenschau* (the Reich's centralized weekly newsreel) no. 632 from October 1942 was presented in a Thanksgiving framework. Among other things, the cinema audience viewed a train's arrival in the German capital, its wagons bearing signs indicating "first Ukraine-Berlin food delivery." Each of the fifty wagons contained 200 centners of food, meaning 500 tons in total, including 2,000 chickens and 230,000 eggs. In the war's fourth year, the newsreel observed, nourishment of the German Volk had improved substantially. The alleged donation was in any case part of a comprehensive and ruthless system of plunder at work throughout German-occupied Europe. In Ukraine—"stripped bare" even according to the German authorities—the food plundering led to mass death through starvation. Food needed for Ukraine's survival was being gladly eaten in Berlin's military hospitals, messes, and company canteens.

Before its violent conquest of Europe, justified in terms of "racial" ideology, the German state stood on the edge of bankruptcy. The comprehensive rearmament program and cost-intensive social-political measures undertaken in the 1930s produced economic pressure that placed exploitation of occupied areas on the agenda. The ensuing policy of plunder began with the systematic confiscation of Jewish property. Alongside the German state's authorities, many individual social actors helped execute the policy. Reich administrators sent to the occupied countries furnished their confiscation-acquired apartments with plundered furniture; with so-called *Reichskreditkassenscheinen*—certificates replacing the Reichsmark—the Reichsbank created the basis for pseudo-legal foreign-exchange transactions at the expense of the occupied countries; German firms and private persons used criminal means to purchase companies there or had themselves installed as putative "trustees."

At the same time, art historians placed their expertise at the services of a continent-wide plundering of art: a process recently brought to partial public awareness in the context of restitution debates resulting from the Washington Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art (1998)—although here as earlier the awareness is predominantly tied to the persecution of German Jews before 1939. This will be the starting point for the ZWBE exhibition's approach, which will, however, document Nazi Germany's plundering of art throughout occupied Europe. The plunder took in private art collections and state museums; art plunder in Western Europe will be placed alongside that in Eastern Europe—for example the private museum of a Polish noble family, the Lanckoroński Palace in Vienna. Here the German claim to a cessation of Polish statehood served as the plunder's basis; in this way the exhibition can point to trans-territorial connections.

This dimension of the German plunder also informs the history of the famous Gent Altar—a revolutionary artwork by the brothers Jan and Hubert van Eyck, created in

1432—during the Second World War. The altar already had an eventful history behind it when in 1940, with the German invasion of Belgium, its continued physical existence became uncertain. The Belgian government thus ordered its immediate evacuation; individual panels were now loaded onto a truck and, accompanied by a convoy, transported toward southern France, in the process crossing through part of the front. The intact convoy reached the Pau Chateau at the foot of the Pyrenees, a storage location for the Paris Louvre. This destination appeared removed enough to offer protection from German hands, which turned out a mistaken assumption. In a complex process involving participation by many German and French offices and art historians, the altar was transferred to the Neuschwanstein Castle in 1942; in 1944 it was transferred further to the Altaussee salt mines. Finally, in the spring of 1945, mainly by coincidence, members of the U.S. army's Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section heard about this storage location, following which the altar was returned to Gent—via temporary stays in Munich's "Central Collecting Point" and the Brussels Royal Museum—in November 1945.

This special case shows the power German art historians exercised during the war. The wartime biographies of these individuals reveal an unscrupulous readiness to participate in a campaign of predation throughout Western and Eastern Europe, a campaign they defined as *Kunstschutz*, "art-protection". Simple soldiers were also participants—for example removing individual inlays from the Amber Room in Leningrad's Catharine Palace as souvenirs. In general, both German soldiers and their relatives made considerable profit from economic exploitation in the occupied countries. The soldiers plundered property belonging to occupied persons or bought up all sorts of goods and sent them to Germany. In the course of the plundering process, people suffering occupation—among those persecuted on "racial" grounds, the Jews above all—endured a fundamental experience: losing the inviolability of their own dwelling, before losing that dwelling altogether as a further step toward murder. Connected to this, German occupation rule was accompanied by a sweeping corruption that affected broad social strata. In occupied Warsaw, the amount of bribery money required in German street-roundups to avoid being abducted for slave labour was even the subject of a popular song. In turn, there was robbery and self-enrichment by guards in concentration camps and death camps.

In approaching this thematic focal point, the ZWBE exhibition will strive to deepen visitors' insight by tying examples from the broad spectrum of participants, crimes, and motives to the experiences of occupied individuals. Additional cases will be connected to concrete places, periods, and personae. The interest-free loan Greece was forced to pay Germany in 1942 to cover "occupation costs" will itself be contextualized in this framework, offering a perspective on how such exploitative practices and policies continue to resonate today.

### 3.4 Cultural Destruction

*National Socialist plans for a future Europe under German rule left no place for human cultures and forms of their expression that Nazi ideology denied a right to life. This led, on the one hand, to mass murder and, on the other hand, to a destruction of material and immaterial cultural goods. Alongside millions of human beings, memory of their cultural achievements was meant to be extinguished.*

The German occupiers imposed "racial" standards not only on human beings but also on their cultures. German art historians, for example, assumed a right to deny some nations and peoples cultural agency. This was the context for declaring art treasures found in Eastern European collections to be German cultural goods, then plundered. The largest cities located in the Soviet Union, Moscow, Leningrad, Kyiv, were meant to be levelled. In destroying cities such as Warsaw, Minsk, and Belgrade, Rotterdam and Coventry, the Germans deliberately targeted structures of cultural value. In north-western Russia, entire town centres were destroyed, many libraries and museums intentionally razed. In the German public's postwar memory, this aspect of the war has been practically overwritten by memory of the bombed German cities.

In the course of the Holocaust, Jewish material culture was particularly subject to violent profanation, plundering, and destruction. Synagogues were burnt to the ground or converted into stables or garages; ritual objects were plundered and melted down, gravestones broken off and used as building material. In occupied Czech territory, in the so-called "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia", a paradoxical project served to preserve remnants of Jewish material culture—as opposed to those who had sustained it. Starting in 1940 or 1941 the Prague "Jewish Central Museum of the SS" was developed, an institution under the supervision of Eichmann's office. When the Germans ordered the closing of all synagogues in the "Protectorate" in March 1942, the Prague Jewish Community called on all the area's congregations to inventory their property—including photographs of their buildings, cemeteries, and surrounding ghettos—and send this material to Prague. Documentation and rescue were evident motives— for the 44 Jewish scholars seeing to this project, it was tied to a hope for better survival chances. But the reasons for German approval of the museum are unclear, as is whether Berlin knew about the plans. The occupation authorities did so, for in late November 1942 they approved an exposé of the first exhibition with the title "Jewish Life from the Cradle to the Grave": retrospectively a macabre reflection of the then-ongoing Holocaust. On 6 April 1943, the exhibition opened in the restored main synagogue; there was an absence of any defamatory commentary. What followed were three additional exhibitions and preparation for viewing of the other synagogues around the old Jewish cemetery. All of this was, however, off limits to the public, suggesting that the purpose was SS and SD instruction.

The deportations in the summer of 1943 meant ever-increasing mortal danger for the Jewish exhibition-assistants; following the arrest of the curator, work on the fifth exhibition had to be stopped. On 4 January 1945, Hana Volavková, the only still surviving assistant, would undertake a final cataloguing before being deported to the Theresienstadt camp immediately after. By then, nearly 100,000 objects from 153 Jewish communities had been collected, extending from candlesticks to Torah scrolls to entire archives. This unique collection consequently both documents the Jewish life extinguished in the Czech lands while also offering an idea of the dimension of destruction of Jewish material culture elsewhere in German-occupied Europe. In any event, the non-material culture of occupied population-groups was also violently suppressed or destroyed, again to highly different degrees. Preventing education, with the goal of creating subaltern populations for exploitation, was concretely initiated; in many ghettos the Germans forbade any education whatsoever.

Occupied populations responded to this mass crime. They tried to protect their cultural goods and maintain their cultural production. This was also the case for religious practice and education (e.g. underground schools and places of higher education in occupied Poland) and media (an underground press).

### 3.5 Hunger

*Hunger was a defining experience under German occupation. The differences here at work both between different occupied countries and within various societies were very large—for hunger was not only a result but also a weapon of war, one which the Germans consciously and methodically deployed. The experience of constant hunger in the occupied countries stood in sharp contrast to the reality of life in Germany.*

In the Netherlands, over the course of the German occupation the authorities were able to manage food-distribution in a way allowing most of the population to avoid real hunger. After the Allies liberated the country's south in September 1944, the Dutch government-in-exile called a railway strike planned from afar. For their part, the Germans cut provisions to the western Netherlands via the waterways. Starvation spread quickly. In their need, people stormed the soup kitchens and exchanged all they had for food. Tulip bulbs, having been declared edible, arrived on the menu—a Europe-wide experience of eating what was not meant to be eaten. By April 1945, up to 22,000 people starved to death in the Dutch "hunger winter." This hunger, endured shortly before liberation, became a defining experience for broad strata of Dutch society, its mark felt until today. Starting in 1945, the long-term "Dutch Famine Birth Cohort Study" traced the effects of the hunger inflicted under German occupation. One of the study's findings was that the short, intensive starvation period continued to have a health impact two generations down the road—one more illustration of the devastation left behind by the German occupation.

The food rations, the basis for food-provision everywhere in occupied Europe, always followed the occupier's "race"-based ideological premises. The amount of rations fixed by the relevant German offices corresponded to "racial" hierarchy, leading to social inequality. Albeit to differing degrees, the occupied populations were forced to go hungry in favour of both the German occupiers and those at home in Germany. Physical results of the inadequate food-supply extended from enduring hunger to death by starvation. The Litzmannstadt ghetto in occupied Polish Łódź can serve as one example among many for deliberate policies of impoverishment and starvation.

Such deliberate policy was also at work in occupied Soviet cities. In order to depopulate the desired "*Lebensraum* in the East" for Germany, the plan was to have millions of Soviet citizens starve to death. During the nearly three-year siege of Leningrad, 1.2 million Russians died from starvation and connected disease; up to 3.3 million Soviet POWs were intentionally starved to death by the Wehrmacht and under its watch.

An additional criterion in food distribution under occupation was the economic usefulness of each individual food-consumer, even within the "racially" grounded stratification. Male "heavy workers" thus tended to receive priority, while children, women, the old, the ill were strongly disadvantaged. Furthermore, food distribution frequently took place at different times and in different places according to "racial" criteria, with disadvantaged groups facing even greater hardship as a result. In extreme cases, they did not receive their in any case inadequate rations because of only being allowed to make the purchases when the little food delivered had long-since been sold. Against this backdrop, the criminalization of unofficial food-acquisition had an especially severe impact on these groups, drastically lowering their chances of survival while social inequalities grew even further. It was often necessary to violate restrictions such as curfews for the sake of daily shopping; even purchase of staple items could thus lead to abuse, arrest, or abduction.

### 3.6 Murder of Patients

*This exhibition section will treat the murder of patients perpetrated in German-occupied Eastern Europe. Otherwise than is the case with the so-called euthanasia program, at present the German public hardly knows about these crimes. In a special way, they reveal the connection between the inhumane Nazi German world-view and genocidal practice.*

In the context of crimes by the German occupiers, health was a central category in a number of ways. Within the German medical profession, the Nazi world-view was popular and was tied to "eugenic" convictions tying health to value. In this way judging someone "ill" shifted from an individual diagnosis to a cipher for purported inferiority, understood above all "racially" in respect to occupied populations. Inversely, this assumption meant that only those who purportedly possessed value had a right to protec-

ted health. In the occupied countries, health care and its withdrawal developed into a differentiating means of rule. For those who were marginalized, e.g. persons who were handicapped or chronically ill, this often led to pauperization or murder.

Professional historians have paid attention to the ties between "euthanasia" and mass murder, and to the personal continuities at work between the so-called "*Aktion T4*" (the murder of nearly 11,000 ill and disabled people in the "euthanasia" program) and "Operation Reinhardt". Far less attention has been paid to the sweeping murders carried out in psychiatric hospitals and homes for the intellectually disabled in occupied Poland and the occupied Soviet territories. Nine thousand individuals were murdered in Soviet Ukraine's larger facilities alone. What took place at a psychiatric hospital in the Ukrainian city of Vinnytsia—with 1,800 beds, it was one of the largest such hospitals in the region—makes the connection between the murder of patients and the Holocaust especially clear. Following the city's occupation on 19/20 July 1941, German mobile killing squads and police carried out mass shootings of Jews. Then, on 5 September, the German military commander ordered the clinic director he had installed to replace the previous Jewish director to murder all Jewish patients within two weeks. To that end, the personnel used injections with distilled water or cyanide solution. Next, on 21 September five members of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion shot the remaining 36 Jewish patients together with four Jewish employees at the hospital, raising the number of Jewish victims in the Vinnytsia psychiatric hospital to 412. Finally, starting in October an additional 600 patients were starved to death, killed by injection, and shot to death while being forced to move out of the hospital—the Wehrmacht had requisitioned it for use as an officers' casino. After liberation Soviet officials estimated a total of 1,800 murdered people.

The German occupiers left a similar number of murdered victims in the psychiatric hospitals and homes in the Northern Caucasus. The murder-routes of the two mobile killing units in the region have been closely documented. In October 1941, already shortly before the city of Taganrog was captured, 34 patients the personnel could not release were shot to death in the local psychiatric hospital; an additional 83 residents were murdered in two psychiatric homes outside the city.

The following year, German units returned with a mobile gas van, which they used on 3 August 1942 to murder 72 psychiatric patients in the hospital in Rostov-on-Don. Likewise, between 5 and 10 August 632 patients in the Stavropol psychiatric hospital were killed in this way, another 28 in October. On 22 August, the Germans murdered all 320 psychiatric patients in Krasnodar, in early September 42 children and adolescents with epilepsy in the village of Tretya Rechka Kochety. On 7 September, the Germans murdered the first residents in the Beresanskaya psychiatric home. Although the Novocherkassk psychiatric hospital had hurriedly tried to save as many patients as possible through dismissal, on 21 September 10 Jewish patients were initially abducted, the

remaining 85 patients then being murdered as well on 6 October. By the year's end, the two German units involved had also engaged in murders in the children's homes in Yeysk and Teberda and searched for patients left behind in the remaining relevant psychiatric facilities.

German military physicians were responsible for the planning, visiting each facility a few days before the mobile killing units. In the concentration and death camps in occupied areas as well, German physicians likewise decided who was to be classified as "fit for work", who not, and thus over life and death. In unbounded self-empowerment and unlimited by any ethical principles, they also tormented camp inmates with pseudo-scientific experiments often leading to painful deaths.

Epidemics were also intertwined with genocidal German policies in a specific way. On the one hand, alleged disease-control served as an excuse to ghettoize the Jews and Roma while also increasing resentment in local populations. At the same time, the inhumane packing of human beings into ghettos and camps, together with undernourishment and drastically inadequate medical services, led to a form of misery directly causing local epidemic outbreaks. During the hunger years of occupation, the medical services in, for example, Greece struggled with similar problems.

Presenting the perspective of local actors, the ZWBE exhibition will trace efforts of those who were occupied to confront crimes, pauperization, and hunger or at least to document what was happening. Visitors will also be informed about the ambivalent role of the different Red Cross organizations.

Finally, this exhibition section is suitable for referring visitors to the memorial in the former Sachsenhausen concentration camp and the T4 memorial in Berlin, located at the place where the Reich planned its "euthanasia" program; both memorials are tied to themes presented in this section.

### 3.7 Holocaust

*Starting in the summer of 1941 at the latest, the extermination of all Europe's Jews was a central German war aim. The defeat on the horizon since Stalingrad led to a process of increasing radicalization that continued until the war's end; by 1945 circa six million European Jews had been murdered as a result.*

The German war effort was aimed at Europe's radical demographic reshaping. For the continent's east, this meant, in the medium term, enslavement, expulsion, the death of millions of people living in the "*Lebensraum*" that Germany coveted. But in the short term, the German authorities moved to realize the Holocaust, their mass extermination of Europe's Jewish population.

The exhibition will offer visitors insight into the Holocaust's implementation, in the summer and fall of 1941, by the German government and its offices in occupied Europe,

accompanied by the start of mass shooting of Jews by mobile killing squads, so-called *Einsatzgruppen*, in the course of the attack on the Soviet Union and the areas it itself had occupied in 1939  Around half of the circa 6,000,000 victims of Germany's "final solution to the Jewish question" were murdered through these mass shootings, the most well known being the massacre at the Babyn Yar ravine in Kyiv, during which nearly 34,000 Jewish women, men, and children were murdered in the course of three days. Less known are the murder activities of mobile killing squads in northern Macedonia and Transnistria—areas not occupied by German military units.

At the same time, already in autumn 1941, gassing vans were deployed in the annexed part of Poland in the framework of local initiatives; they were used to murder Jews in the German death camp in Chełmno and Nerem (Kulmhof). Beforehand, between January and July 1940, in annexed Polish territory named the "*Warthegau*", the Sonderkommando Lange had systematically murdered patients in hospitals and old people's homes, using converted trucks—disguised with signs reading "Kaiser's Coffee Business"—into which carbon monoxide was pumped from steel cylinders. Starting in December 1940, in Chełmno nad Nerem three vehicles as large as moving vans were deployed; these had additional technical features. The vehicle fumes were now directly pumped into a cargo area into which up to 120 Jewish men, women, and children could be crammed. The corpses of those murdered were transported in the same vehicle to a forest area around two kilometres away, where they were buried. In Chełmno nad Nerem, a total of around 150,000 Jewish adults and children were murdered in this way.

Trucks converted into mobile gas chambers were deployed in various places in Germany-occupied Europe. For example, in Serbia between March and June 1942, 7,500 Jewish and Roma persons were suffocated in trucks moving through central Belgrade. Use of such gas-vans has also been documented for Maly Trostenets outside of Minsk, for Kyiv, and for other locations in Ukraine.

Beginning in autumn 1941, already existing concentration camps in occupied Poland and Belarus were furnished with gas chambers (e.g. in Auschwitz-Birkenau); in the course of "Operation Reinhardt", three complexes in Bełżec, Treblinka, and Sobibór were constructed exclusively meant to murder as many people as possible with poison gas in the shortest possible time. In these three death camps, exhaust fumes from permanently installed motors were pumped into gas chambers crammed with victims.

The mass murder of Europe's Jews was perpetrated throughout Germany's realm of power. Germany's Jewish population was also murdered in occupied East Europe; deportations began in October 1941 with transports from Munich, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Cologne, and Berlin to Lithuania's Kaunas, among other places. From 1942 onward, systematic deportations were carried out all over Europe, eventually including, for example, remotely located Aegean islands. Initially, Europe's Jews were deported into the German-established ghettos, above all in occupied Poland, for the most part via rail.

From the ghettos, they were transported to the extermination camps and usually murdered within a few hours.

In its section on the Holocaust, the ZWBE exhibition will include references to relevant historical locations in the Berlin area, including, for example, the Sachsenhausen memorial and former concentration camp, the Topography of Terror, the House of the Wannsee Conference, and the information centre of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.

### 3.8 Genocide of Sinti and Roma

*The genocide of Sinti and Roma in occupied Europe was perpetrated in a parallel process to the Holocaust. This genocide adhered to different "racial"-ideological criteria and involved fewer absolute numbers. But this minority as well suffered systematic ostracizing and deprivation of rights after the Nazi accession to power. With the war and occupation of Europe in 1939/40, the persecution steadily expanded; genocidal radicalization set in following the attack on the Soviet Union in 1941.*

The Nazi image of "Gypsies" emerged from a centuries-long tradition of stereotypes and prejudice; that tradition already formed a basis for institutionally criminalizing the Sinti and Roma. With the active participation of German physicians and anthropologists, the tradition was now radicalized and invested with "racial"-ideological content.

The mix of criminalizing discrimination inflicted on the Sinti and Roma and "racial" ideology led to highly disparate forms of persecution in the areas Germany conquered in 1939/40. In Poland, for example, Sinti and Roma were among those murdered immediately after the invasion; in France they were initially held in camps, at times with extremely high mortality rates. With the attack on the Soviet Union and the shift to genocide, at least 30,000 women, men, and children were murdered by German mobile killing squads. The 9 December 1941 mass shooting in Simferopol on the Crimean Peninsula, with over 800 victims, is the largest known mass murder of this sort.

In occupied Serbia, on "race"-ideological grounds the German authorities tended to persecute Jews and Roma together from the start. When following the attack on the Soviet Union activities by Communist partisans noticeably intensified, the Germans reacted with mass atrocities: hostage killings initially meant to compensate for partisan killings in a ratio of either one to a hundred or one to fifty. But partly from consideration of the occupied majority population, they increasingly chose Jews and Roma as hostages; by the end of 1941 nearly all male Roma in Serbia had been murdered. In the adjacent German satellite state of Croatia as well, the *Ustaše* (Croatian fascist) regime also set about persecuting Roma on Germany's behalf: in the Jasevonac camp, 30,000 of the ca. 120,000 murdered persons were Roma—alongside Auschwitz-Birkenau this was the camp with the highest number of Roma victims.

In December 1942—after already starting in May 1940 roughly 2,500 Sinti and Roma of various ages were deported from different German regions to occupied Poland—Himmler order the abduction to Auschwitz-Birkenau of all those remaining in Germany as well as those living in a number of occupied Western European countries. In that death camp, the Sinti and Roma were imprisoned as family groups in a separate area; most of the men, women, and children died from starvation and slave labour, through arbitrary murder, and through poison gas, as well as through experiments by SS physicians. As indicated earlier, after the closure of this "family camp" failed because of prisoner resistance, on 16 May 1944 the younger and stronger prisoners were transported to other camps, the remaining 4,300 being gassed to death that night.

With its relatively large Roma population, Eastern Europe was the geographical centre of this genocide. While the murder of Roma in gas vans in the Chełmno nad Nerem (Kulmhof) death camp has been well documented, the ghettoization of this minority in Warsaw and in the Litzmannstadt ghetto in occupied Łódź is relatively unknown, as is the use of the death camps set up in the course of "Operation Reinhardt" to carry out this genocide. The mass shootings of Roma above all in the Soviet Union—in occupied Estonia, for example, nearly the entire Roma population was murdered—have not been sufficiently researched. On this incomplete basis the estimated total of Roma victims of the German genocide has varied between 200,000 and 500,000 persons.

The role played by Sinti and Roma in the resistance in various areas of occupied Europe has likewise received insufficient attention. Alongside the revolt in Auschwitz-Birkenau, other examples of such resistance are partisan units in occupied Yugoslavia, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

A decades-long struggle was required for societal recognition of the genocide perpetrated on the Sinti and Roma. In its closing report of 2021, one proposal of the Independent Antiziganism Commission was for acknowledgment and appraisal of the "second persecution": the "grave injustice inflicted by West Germany's state authorities and other social institutions (e.g. the police, the judicial system, public administration, foreigners' registration and social service offices, schools, child protection services, churches, and charities)". One way for the ZWBE to honour this proposal would be an exhibition treating the postwar aftermath of the genocide of the Sinti and Roma.

This section of the permanent exhibition will draw attention to the Memorial to the Murdered Sinti and Roma of Europe in Berlin and the Documentation and Cultural Centre of German Sinti and Roma in Heidelberg.

### 3.9 Voluntary and Involuntary Participation

*The perfidious nature of Germany's occupation rule in part lay in making use—to differing degrees and with different means—of the participation and complicity of ruled populations. In the formerly occupied countries, this reality continues to be tied to great pain;*

*society's confrontation with that reality is both firmly established and accompanied by heated controversy. For this reason, one responsibility of the ZWBE exhibition will be to foreground strategies adopted by the German occupation authorities.*

The ZWBE exhibition will make clear that in establishing and maintaining their rule, the Germans depended on participation by local actors in occupied society throughout Europe. In the phase where rule was being established, the occupiers depended on ideological and practical support from extreme right-wing and fascist movements in each area in question. Beyond this, the Germans counted on local participation in many different ways, gaining it through force and violence on the one hand, and offer of ideological and material benefits on the other. As a rule, the attraction of such benefits had deprivation and the permanent threat of violence as its backdrop. In this way the Germans created constellations in which occupied persons were forced to respond in some way to the crimes being perpetrated against their neighbours. The scope of this response extended from efforts to rescue those affected to active collaboration in mass murder. While paying due attention to this historical reality, the permanent exhibition will place the German occupier's policy of violence and intimidation at the forefront, in the framework of a focus on the occupation authority's criminal responsibility.

One possible example aimed at deepening visitors' insight into the complex dynamic of local populations' voluntary and involuntary participation in occupation crimes: the efforts by the German occupation authorities to make use for their ends of groups defined as *volksdeutsch*, ethnic German, or who understood themselves as such for various reasons. Another example might be the "divide and rule" strategies through which the Germans tried—sometimes disregarding their own ideological aims—to mobilize specific population groups to participate in their crimes. Also relevant here is the ambivalent strategy aimed at recruiting citizens in occupied countries for service in the SS and other such organizations.

It is important that in approaching this topic, the ZWBE exhibition avoid invalid and inaccurate generalizations. To that end, visitors will be presented with carefully chosen examples combined with a precise focus on both concrete situations and the constellations emerging under violent occupation rule.

### 4. Cross-section: Resistance

*Resistance to the German occupation was understood above all as a national undertaking. It was represented by, for example, the different London-based governments-in-exile, each of which called for resistance in its occupied homeland. Jewish and Communist resistance structures also defined themselves in this national framework. The ZWBE exhibition will supplement this perspective with a thematic presentation of the role of minorities in the resistance movements. Examples of this could be the contribution of the Roma to the resis-*

*tance in various occupied areas and the FTP-MOI resistance group in France, which took in (Communist-oriented) foreigners from all over Europe.*

Every person living in an occupied country was forced to confront German crimes. With Germans having an impact on all areas of everyday life, reaction was unavoidable, decisions necessary. Against that backdrop, the resistance spectrum was very broad; among other activities it included hiding persecuted and hunted persons, transmitting information, and contributing to secret educational services. In this cross-view exhibition section, these activities will be presented and contextualized—without limiting the concept of resistance, at the outset, to armed action against the German occupiers.

The exhibition will, however, take up the widespread view of what constitutes resistance by documenting the revolts that were organized in many areas of German-occupied Europe. The range of such revolts extended from actions in individual camps, for example in the Sobibór death camp on 14 October 1943, to those within cities, for example the Warsaw uprisings of 1943 and 1944, and further to entire countries, as in Slovakia in 1944.

### 5. Epilogue: The Legal Accounting after 1945

*In response to crimes perpetrated by the German occupiers, the Allies began to prepare for prosecution and punishment while World War II was still underway. The Moscow Declaration of 1943 furnished a basis for Europe-wide prosecution; in August 1945 in London, the statutes were agreed on for the trial of the Nazi regime's leadership at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. Beyond the Allied efforts, investigations were conducted in all the formerly occupied countries, national courts convicting German perpetrators. But in 1947/48, with the start of the Cold War, Europe-wide prosecution ebbed.*

In respect to such postwar prosecution, the ZWBE exhibition's focus will be on the relatively hesitant and sluggish prosecutorial activity in the German Reich's three successor states: West Germany, East Germany, and Austria. The legal accounting in these states was stamped, in different ways, by amnesties, massive dismissal of proceedings, mild verdicts, and exculpatory legal interpretations.

In Austria, until mid-1948, two-thirds of the convictions were made by so-called *Volksgerichte* (lit. "people's courts"), which were active until the Allied withdrawal in 1955. A wave of pardons and certificates of rehabilitation followed, with scarcely more than one trial a year; in 1975 the legal accounting completely ended. In East Germany as well, following the trials in Waldheim, Saxony in the 1950s, prosecutions rapidly ebbed; between 1955 and 1989 there were no more than 120 convictions. Furthermore, in East Germany's legal reckoning with German crimes in occupied Europe, from the start distance from a process of political purging and propaganda was often hard to discern.

In West Germany, a nearly complete absence of prosecutions was likewise manifest in the 1950s; this pattern was, however, broken by establishment of the Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Ludwigsburg. Initiated by a minority of engaged jurists such as Fritz Bauer, the Attorney General of Hesse, the most active phase of prosecutorial activity began in the 1960s with the first Frankfurt Auschwitz trial. But already in the 1970s, these efforts again died down.

All told, then, the three successor states' postwar legal reckoning with the recent past was hesitant and selective, and downplayed the import of what had occurred. The case of Heinz Reinefarth is exemplary in this respect. As a lieutenant-general in the Waffen-SS and commander of several German units, Reinefarth was responsible for the massacre in the Wola municipal district during the crushing of the 1944 Warsaw uprising. At his orders, ca. 30,000 non-combatant civilians were shot to death in the streets and a nearby factory. Polish neighbours were forced to burn the bodies in the open. After the war, not a single SS or Wehrmacht member who took part in crushing the Warsaw uprising saw justice. In the case of Reinefarth, in 1948, West Germany turned down a Polish extradition request; German judicial investigations of his conduct were ended in the 1960s. Nothing more then stood in the way of his smooth reintegration into West German society: Reinefarth had an illustrious career as a deputy in the Schleswig-Holstein parliament, and later as the mayor of the town of Westerland on the island of Sylt.

In this cross-section, the crimes presented to exhibition visitors will be concretely illuminated once again, but now from the perspective of postwar legal accounting, with consideration of individual perpetrators' careers in the postwar period. This perspective will be enlarged through statements of victims—whose reports on the different trials that took place are particularly significant. Often, complaints against perpetrators filed by formerly persecuted persons and Jewish survivors, either individually or through supporting organizations (e.g. the Central Committee of the Liberated Jews; the International Auschwitz Committee), served as the first impetus for investigations. Personalities such as prosecutor Fritz Bauer, initiatives such as West Germany's Action Reconciliation Service for Peace, and a declaration issued by the Polish bishops in 1965 serve as examples of juridical, political, and social attempts to acknowledge the crimes, appraise and work through them, and offer indemnification for them.

## A 2 Temporary Exhibitions

A multi-faceted program of temporary exhibitions will supplement the permanent exhibition; it will focus on two substantive goals: first, **to deepen the historical perspective by foregrounding specific events** and problems insufficiently addressed, or not at

all, in the example-focused permanent exhibition; second, to present the history of the postwar West German, East German, and Austrian reckoning with crimes perpetrated during Germany's European occupation.

Deeper historical perspective will be offered by considering concrete historical events such as the 1944 massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane in France, together with thematic areas not explicitly documented in the permanent exhibition—e.g., childhood under occupation rule; art-production in the occupation period. Temporary exhibitions will also make use of different types of source material such as occupation-period diaries, and will consider contexts of artwork-production in occupied Europe, as manifest for instance in Dmitri Shostakovich's Leningrad Symphony.

The temporary exhibitions will serve as the central ZWBE venue for examining the post-history of Germany's war of annihilation, above all from a comparative transnational perspective. The theme of legal confrontation with occupation-related crimes, limited in the permanent exhibition to the German Reich's successor states, will be expanded through documentation of postwar trials held on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The focus here will be on survivors whose testimony tied them to the trials in an essential way. Victims' emerging organizational structures play a role in this context, something that could be documented through the history of the International Auschwitz Committee, or else of victims' groups considered within a European perspective. Likewise, a temporary exhibition may focus solely on the important international competition for an Auschwitz memorial held in 1957-58, a competition marked by controversy; such an exhibition would serve to illuminate the question of how to approach historical sites tied to the German occupation and crimes perpetrated in its context. Finally, focus on the European reception of key works treating dimensions of the occupation—for example Claude Lanzmann's film *Shoah* or Anne Frank's diary—will complete the ZWBE temporary-exhibition program.

One important goal of the program will be to emerge internationally as a partner for presenting the most recent research findings to the general public. The ZWBE's fellowship program, the systematic development of cooperative structures, and the applied in-house research will serve as key contributors to developing this international partnership.

In developing a temporary exhibit program, the ZWBE will strive for **synergy** with the work of existing Berlin-area memorials and museums. In this manner the region will offer both visitors and researchers a rich store of interconnected thematic material with strong international appeal.

## A 3 Publications

The ZWBE will develop suitable publication formats for documenting its exhibitions and research, both in print format and online. To this end, the documentation centre will make **multilinguism** a basic element of its publication program.

# B EDUCATION

The ZWBE will develop an **educational program** grounded in inquiry-based learning, multilaterality, and multilingualism. Corresponding to the European orientation of the documentation centre, the program will work closely and over the long term with established educational institutions in Germany and abroad. Here cooperation with foundations, future funds, and binational *Jugendwerke* will be particularly important.

Forms of **museum education**, assisted by guides and oriented toward specific groups, one-day or more extended seminars held in several languages, will work with the exhibitions' themes and presentations, thus helping viewers explore historical context. Special content for pupils, taking the form of, for example, dialogue-based guided viewing and workshops, will encourage an engagement with the past that is both critical and takes account of multiple perspectives. With this goal in mind, the ZWBE will emphasize joint development with teachers of formats aiding targeted preparation of and follow-up to its educational presentations.

To accommodate the needs of a **multicultural society**, the ZWBE will develop formats taking account of migration both from outside and within Europe. The dialogue over history this involves will do justice to the importance that occupation rule had for German-occupied societies, and thus for present-day Germany as well. Experiences of other institutions have shown the extent to which Germany's majority society profits from contact with varied minority perspectives and that the minority communities in turn respond positively to these opportunities. Cooperation with relevant Berlin-based cultural institutions tied to formerly occupied countries will be a goal.

The educational program will place special emphasis on strengthening relevant historical locations and there supporting institutions in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. To this end, in cooperation with partner institutions in Germany and abroad, the ZWBE will develop **outreach programs** suitable for bringing greater public attention to previously neglected places and increasing their European visibility.

In respect to German society, a particular educational mission of the ZWBE will be purposively addressing specific professional groups through certified **advanced training**. This possibility will be open to persons in the German civil service (e.g. diplomats, teachers, military personnel, police officials, and officials in the federal and state ministries of finance, transportation, and agriculture), together with members of other professional groups (e.g. legal and medical professionals; architects; urban planners).

The ZWBE will develop comprehensive and multilingual possibilities for **online education**. The documentation centre will here follow the basic principle of preparing content in open access formats to the greatest extent possible; and the centre's collections, archives, and library will be made generally accessible in a framework of inquiry-based

learning. Together with the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, the centre will work toward further development of the *Gedenkstättenportal* and of a digital memory lab for historical places tied to German occupation rule in Europe.

The ZWBE will develop an **events program** for the general public, supporting events that will draw attention to the centre's openness beyond exhibition visits. Sufficient space will be given to conversational and dialog formats, so that participants can play an active role. Formats offering medial access to the history of German occupation rule are especially suitable: not only film, but also workshop conversations on the development of exhibitions or the presentation of individual collection objects.

The ZWBE **library** will make available the main scholarly literature on the German occupation and its continued impact, including source editions and memoirs. It will be open both to employees of the centre and participants in its educational program. We hope for membership in relevant library associations.

# C RESEARCH

The ZWBE will consider research to be an essential element of the European dialogue on the history of Europe's German occupation in the Second World War; the centre will engage in its own research, oriented toward use in exhibitions, the educational program, and events.

In order to strengthen international dialogue between researchers, the ZWBE will develop a **fellowship program**, the centre thus serving as a place for encounter and conversation. A group of six invited researchers will spend a year at the centre, each conceiving, developing, or completing a project pertaining to the history of the Second World Ear and its impact. The fellows will be integrated into the ZWBE's work. Alongside a submitted project's research potential, the choice of fellows will be based especially on internationality and generational interchange. The fellowship support will be internationally competitive and family-oriented; the facilities offered will guarantee the possibility of realizing the fellowship project. Experiences of other institutions have shown that in this manner, enduring internationalization and development of a sustainable worldwide network is possible with relatively modest financial outlay.

The ZWBE will understand itself as part of an international research landscape and community. The ZWBE's employees will participate in conferences and workshops on relevant themes, and the centre will develop its own **conference formats** to strengthen steady exchange with relevant disciplines and museums in Germany and abroad.

The documentation centre will have its own **collection**, which will also function as an **archive**. As the basis for exhibition work, museum education, and other educational projects, and as the object of in-house research as well as that by fellows and outside specialists, the collection will have central importance for the ZWBE. This is all the more the case in that over the next decade, archival transfer from private holdings is very likely to increase throughout Europe.

In developing its own collection of documents and objects, the ZWBE will take care not to enter into purchasing competition with institutions in formerly occupied countries. The collection will also need to have the required resources for sustained expert restoration and conservation of its objects and documents.

As an important element in the collection, the ZWBE will develop an **oral history archive**, with special emphasis on occupation-related second- and third-generation reports. This will support research into the long-term intergenerational effects of German occupation rule in Europe.

In addition, a **house archive** will document the work of the ZWBE.

# D REMEMBRANCE AND COMMEMORATION

Through both its presence and its program of exhibitions, education, events, and publications, the ZWBE will serve as a highly visible expression of the need to commemorate the victims of the violent German rule over large parts of Europe during the Second World War. The centre will understand its core task as serving, on the basis of documentation, research and discussion, as a dynamic forum for active, consistently new confrontation with that history. European society which will soon consist of those born after the war and occupation. In this context, dialogue and exchange are needed for the sake of taking on responsibility that stems from awareness of what took place and of the victims.

In discussions, held in the Open Forum framework, with victims' groups, leaders of civil society initiatives, and memorial sites throughout Europe, two major concerns were articulated: on the one hand, that the ZWBE might perpetuate national historical narratives, something that would contradict the call to render "previously neglected groups of victims" visible, meaning to take account of groups of victims located outside national categories. At the same time, strong reservations were expressed regarding ritualized commemoration in the German capital, something that would work against an active engagement with victims and their descendants and with the violent history of the German occupation. Consequently, the consensus was that places of historical suffering, both in Germany and in the formerly occupied countries, are the proper venue for commemoration of a ceremonial nature.

In full accord with the suggestions and wishes of Open Forum participants, the ZWBE will develop a sheltered space for individual reflection and victims' commemoration, as a counterpoint to the permanent and temporary exhibitions.

Furthermore, the ZWBE will render the multifaceted commemoration of victims throughout Europe (and beyond) visible to visitors, and European civil society will be invited to take part in this process.

# E STRUCTURE

In view of the historical events in question, on the one hand, their continued significance, on the other, a publicly prominent institution will be established that does justice to both these dimensions.

## E 1 Legal Form; Executive and Administrative Bodies

The German Bundestag will establish a s**ubsidiary federal foundation under public law integrated into the Foundation of the German Historical Museum**. The president of the Foundation of the German Historical Museum will also be the president of the new foundation. The board of trustees of the DHM, in which the German Bundestag, the German federal government, and the German states are represented, will support the activities of the new documentation centre closely. Five years after its establishment, the organisational form of the subsidiary foundation is to be evaluated.

The new foundation will be advised by an **advisory committee** of experts, consisting of twelve members active in relevant international academic disciplines and thematically related museum departments. Each member will be appointed for a six-year period upon nomination of the president of the DHM, with agreement of the board of trustees. The advisory committee will choose a chairperson and a deputy. The president of the DHM and director of the ZWBE will be ex officio members of the advisory committee.

For consultation regarding individual projects, the ZWBE director will be able to convene expert advisory committees for the project's duration.

At the suggestion of the president of the DHM, the expert advisory committee will appoint a total of eighteen members to the **Forum for European Memory**, each member serving for four years; the members will be chosen from the different associations of victims of German occupation rule, their advocacy groups, civil society initiatives, and regional projects of remembrance. The Forum for European Memory will advise the ZWBE in shaping its programs and international cooperation. The forum will choose its chairperson, the deputy being chosen ex officio by the DHM president. The director of the ZWBE will belong to the forum ex officio.

## E 2 Management

The director will be appointed by the board of trustees at the suggestion of the president of the DHM Foundation; the director will guide the documentation centre's work.

## E 3 Departments

The ZWBE management will develop departments responsible for, respectively, the academic program, events, education, research, communication, and international cooperation. Central services will be made available by the DHM's management. Legal supervision will be provided by the German government's Commissioner for Culture and Media.

## E 4 Site and Space Allocation

The commitment of the German Bundestag to further confront the history of National Socialism will have its expression in a building of high architectural and aesthetic quality. The ZWBE will thus have its own site separate from the DHM's buildings, located in central Berlin. Estimated space allocation is 15,000 $m^2$, covering spaces for the permanent exhibition, temporary exhibitions, events and conferences, library, collection and archive, management, staff, and fellows.

# F IMPLEMENTATION

The German Bundestag will commission the president of the DHM Foundation to implement the approved foundation-law and prepare establishment of the subsidiary Foundation "Second World War and German Occupation Rule in Europe" Documentation Centre.

The president of the DHM Foundation will be supported by a project group at the DHM tasked with establishing the future documentation centre; as the nucleus of the future centre, the existing project group will be immediately expanded. Care should be taken to furnish the DHM with the necessary resources to fulfil the additional responsibilities involved.

The president of the DHM Foundation will offer the DHM board of trustees personnel suggestions for constituting the advisory committee of experts and the Forum for European Memory.

The DHM will immediately begin to prepare the curatorial process of designing the permanent exhibition and initial temporary exhibitions. Developing the ZWBE's own collection will begin at the same time, for which suitable resources (e.g. storage facilities) will need to be made available; the recording of accounts by second- and third-generation survivors and affected persons will begin at this time as well.

The DHM Foundation will produce a feasible concept for gaining an Internet presence offering continuous information on the documentation centre's developmental process while also being suitable for smaller online exhibitions.

The task with the highest priority is determining a site in cooperation with the relevant federal and state offices

# G APPENDICES

## G 1 Space Allocation

### General Space Requirements

Different spatial characteristics will be needed for varying requirements and functions of the ZWBE, the goal being an enduring foundation for reappraisal and encounter, remembrance and information.

To this end a barrier-free existing or new building will be necessary. Because of the numerous criteria that here need consideration, a historical structure with an evident relationship to German occupation rule can only come into question to a limited degree. An alternative to this would be a new building, necessitating a search for a suitable site and arranging a planning competition that follows current guidelines

### Spatial Requirements

In respect to floor space, as things presently stand we assume the spatial requirements listed below. The basis for our calculation was an estimate of 756,000 visitors to the ZWBE annually, 2,100 daily, and a maximum of 700 visitors on the premises at any given time (e.g. with exhibition openings).

At present, no information can be furnished regarding construction, technical, and circulation areas.

**ROOMS AND DESIGNATIONS**

| **Visitors' Services** | **ca. 1,380 m²** |
|---|---|
| Foyer with information und ticketing (incl. storage area) | 450 |
| Bookstore (incl. storage area) | 180 |
| Cloakroom and lockers | 150 |
| Café/Restaurant (incl. seating area, kitchen, storage area and adjoining rooms) | 520 |
| WC facilities with baby-changing area | 80 |
| **Exhibition** | **ca. 6,460 m²** |
| Permanent exhibition | 4.000 |
| Temporary exhibitions | 2.000 |
| Seminar and workshop areas for education | 240 |
| Storage areas for exhibition technology and education | 90 |
| Break room for supervisory staff | 30 |
| Changing room with shower for supervisory staff | 40 |
| WC facilities | 60 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Remembrance and Commemoration** | **ca. 400 m²** |
| Space for individual remembrance and reflection | 400 |
| **Events** | **ca. 1,200 m²** |
| Auditorium with translators' booths | 800 |
| Conference areas | 300 |
| Storage area for events | 60 |
| WC facilities | 40 |
| **Library** | **ca. 1,530 m²** |
| Reading room | 600 |
| Collection, oral history archive and stacks | 900 |
| WC facilities | 30 |
| **Personnel Management and Departments** | **ca. 1,760 m²** |
| Entrance (controlled-access area and key hand-out) | 20 |
| Director's office | 40 |
| Hall to director's office | 20 |
| Office, director's staff | 40 |
| Offices for departmental staff | 1,030 |
| Conference rooms | 180 |
| House archive | 50 |
| Photocopy room with paper-storage area | 20 |
| Storage room for office supplies | 20 |
| Offices, fellowship program | 150 |
| Kitchenette with seating | 30 |
| WC facilities | 40 |
| First aid room | 20 |
| **Logistics** | **ca. 2,205 m²** |
| Deliveries | 75 |
| Interim storage space | 250 |
| Main storage space | 1,350 |
| Storage room for climate-controlled containers and frames | 100 |
| Restoration/workshops | 250 |
| Space for forklifts and pallet trucks | 30 |
| Freight elevator | 25 |
| EDP and server space | 40 |
| Trash and cleaning-material room | 50 |
| Security (fire- and intruder-alarm systems; emergency exit system) | 35 |
| **Total** | **14,935 m²** |

## SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS:

### Visitors' Services (ca. 1,380 m²)

Alongside its distributing function for the different areas of the ZWBE, the foyer needs to offer space for cashier and information services, space for issuing audio guides, a cloakroom, and lockers including group containers (in order to limit personnel costs, a good number of lockers will be required). Together with individual visits, we anticipate frequent visits from school and seminar groups.

In addition both a visitors' café/restaurant—also serving as an employees' canteen, its kitchen usable for catering conferences and workshops—and a bookstore with international literature on the German occupation's history and posthistory will be needed.

### Exhibition (ca. 6,450 m²)

As the core of the ZWBE, the permanent and temporary exhibitions need generously proportioned, flexibly dividable exhibition areas with a minimum ceiling height of 6 m, variable light and climate-control requirements (e.g. for exhibited material and digital uses), an extraordinarily high weight tolerance (1000 kg/m2), and acoustic shielding for projections.

Seminar and workshop spaces will be located adjacent to the exhibition areas. These will need to be supplied with multimedial equipment and good, non-echoing acoustics. We here envision several rooms (or possibly one larger area with mobile, sound-absorbing room-partition walls), in order, for example, to have parallel programs for several classes or divide up larger groups.

Separate rooms for storing exhibition material (lighting-systems, bases, partition-walls, cabinets, stand-up displays, capacitors, etc.) and seminar/workshop material (trolleys for hands-on material etc.) will need to be adjacent to the exhibition areas, together with a break room and changing room with shower for supervisory staff.

### Space for Individual Remembrance and Reflection (ca. 400 m²)

A sheltered space for individual reflection and commemoration of victims will need to be prominently placed in direct proximity to the permanent exhibition. A design competition will be responsible for finding a form doing justice to such a space.

### Events (ca. 1,200 m²)

International networking and communication of ongoing historical research on German occupation-rule over Europe will constitute an important area of responsibility for the ZWBE. Consequently the building should have available space for organizing events with different formats, ranging from small workshops (10-20 participants) to major symposia (300 participants or more). An auditorium will here be necessary, with no less

than six translators' booths, together with various large conference rooms (or possibly one larger area with mobile sound-absorbing room-partition walls) with multimedia equipment, flexible darkening options, and very good acoustics.

A directly adjacent room will be needed for storing events-related material (stands for flyers, media technology, lighting, speakers, mobile panels, podiums, desks, chairs, capacitors, etc.

### Library with Reading Room, Oral History Archive, and Stacks (ca. 1,350 m²)

A library with reading room (18 general workplaces; at least 1 microfiche workplace; acoustically separable individual and group workplaces) will constitute a core element in the documentation centre, together with an extensive archive and stacks (possibly incl. compact shelving and adequate floor-load capacity, alongside lighting and temperature technology). The reading room will need to also offer the possibility for use of an oral history archive and holdings from the ZWBE collection.

### Personnel Management and Departments (ca. 1,750 m²)

Differently sized offices will be needed for the ZWBE management and departmental employees, at least 6 additional workplaces will be required for the international fellowship program (Reserve space for project-related additional demand).

At least two different large meeting rooms are also needed, as well as space for a house archive with adequate floor-load capacity, where the ZWBE's files and printed matter will be saved and registered from the beginning.

Based on workplace regulations of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, a kitchenette with seating and a first aid room must also be included in the building plans.

### Logistics (ca. 2,205 m²)

For exhibit transport and general maintenance and waste-disposal needs delivery is needed with temperature control, rain-protection, trucking access, and interim storage space. Furthermore, space for forklifts and pallet trucks will be needed.

The main storage area and climate-controlled containers and frames need to be accessible via barrier-free object-conveyance routes; in addition the storage rooms have to be provided with exhaust systems. The main storage area can be located in external premises.

For preparing exhibitions and maintaining exhibited material, space will be necessary for restoration work, with corresponding light and climate-control requirements, together with water supply.

All ceiling and door heights (including those in the freight elevators) have to corre-

spond to those of the exhibition and storage areas; uniform lighting conditions need to be assured. All routes on the floor surfaces must offer manoeuvring room. Planning will also need to include various in-house technical needs .

## G 2 Documentation Open Forum

### 1. NEEDS AND GOALS

Starting in May 2021, the DHM began to receive inquiries concerning a project undertaken by civil-society organizations active in areas corresponding to those focused on by the ZWBE. Bilateral discussions took place in this context, and a wish was expressed for further discussion and exchange. The project group at the DHM answered positively, initiating plans for the Open Forum: a platform for structured exchange with representatives of victims' associations, local historical projects, memorials, the academic world, and civil society in Germany and all the formerly German-occupied countries and regions. The Open Forum will have three central goals:

- conveying information on the interim report of May 2021, the status of work on the implementation proposal and following process;
- more far-reaching discussion of selected problems that are tied to the interests of the participants in a special way or whose understanding would benefit from participative exploration;
- coming up with ideas for continuing the dialogue begun with the Open Forum.

### 2. PLANNING

In August 2021, planning began for the Open Forum, with support of the German Federal Foreign Office via the cultural departments of embassies in all the formerly occupied countries: an area extending over 27 present-day European countries and parts of North Africa. In September 2021, the cultural departments conveyed their suggestions for possible guests to the project group, with the number of nominations strongly varying from potential country to country. The team reserved contact with guests and invitations for itself.

On the basis of the embassies' responses, the DHM's own research, and existing contacts the team identified ca. 145 individuals, organizations, and institutions inside and outside Germany whose participation in the Open Forum seemed especially relevant. In the context of pandemic-related travel restrictions and limited temporal, financial, and organizational this number made it necessary to plan the Open Forum as an online

event-series. A total of seven 2.5 hour events were thus arranged for the second half of October 2021 (calendar weeks 42 und 43) as Webex meetings; English was agreed on as the working language, one German-speaking session excepted. In order to emphasize esteem and obviate marginalization tendencies, European representatives of the Sinti and Roma were offered a session of their own—this with support of the German Sinti and Roma Documentation and Cultural Centre.

The invitations were sent out ca. two weeks in advance by email. To help participants prepare for the discussions, the invitations included three questions referring to central aspects of the requirements for the implementation proposal formulated in the Bundestag resolution:

- Which themes in the history of the occupation do you consider essential and necessary elements of a future exhibition? Which aspects of this history have been neglected in Germany in particular?
- What would you consider suitable forms of remembrance and commemoration in a museum context? What specific needs should we bear in mind?
- Are you interested in continuing our dialogue during the long process of establishing the documentation centre? What format would you envision for such participation?

## 3. RESONANCE

Planning for the Open Forum was received with great interest by the embassies in the different formerly German-occupied countries. At the same time, there were first indications that the theme of German occupation rule possesses different degrees of relevance for civil society in the affected countries. For example, in the Western Balkans the recent history of violence is superimposed on experience from the time of Yugoslavia's occupation in the Second World War. This notwithstanding, the invitations were met with a highly positive response; it should be noted that the proportion of acceptances from Germany was higher than those from other countries.

## 4. IMPLEMENTATION

Participants in the Open Forum meetings were based in Germany and the following formerly occupied countries: Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Greece, Italy, the Channel Islands, Kosovo, Latvia, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine, and Hungary. Guests from Croatia also participated. The following countries were not represented in the discussion sessions: Albania, Belarus, Monaco, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, San Marino, and Tunisia. Subsequent written exchange was possible with some of the invitees from these countries.

All meetings had the same arrangement. Initially the project group introduced themselves and their work on the implementation proposal. It offered information about the project's early phase and roughly outlined its probable further course following handing in the proposal. This was followed by discussion of the above questions. Participants whose responses to one or another question could not be taken up during the discussion responded positively to the suggestion of further contributing by email. The meeting concluded with the announcement that in the spring of 2022, the team would again contact participants to resume the conversation.

## 5. RESULTS

Open Forum participants supported all central points of the October 2020 German Bundestag resolution and the ongoing work of the DHM. In particular, the following aspects of the planning received unanimous and enthusiastic approval:

- **Permanent Exhibition**: The basic principles informing the future permanent exhibition were strongly and unanimously approved. The suggestion of thematic organization was likewise agreed on unanimously—the guests all felt that taking account of commonalities and differences from a European perspective was only possible in this way. There was also strong approval for an approach to the history of Germany's violent occupation that follows three interconnected lines: its anchoring in Nazi ideology; the perpetrators and the social groups to which they belonged; and—just as importantly—the experiences of those who were occupied.
- **Remembrance and Commemoration**: Participants in the Open Form responded critically to the approach taken to remembrance and commemoration in the Bundestag resolution. Concern was expressed regarding possible political cooptation of the ZWBE and demotion of its primary function as a documentation centre; the site's lack of historical connection was frequently emphasized, nearly all participants viewing the places of historical suffering as the sole proper place for commemoration. One—German—participants did propose open-air artistic commemoration of the occupation's victims. There was, however, a unanimous feeling that individual commemoration should be possible within the centre. There was strong approval for the idea, suggested independently by various participants, of a room for individual contemplation—as it were a counter-pole to the permanent exhibition's grim contents. Furthermore, many participants expressed the view that worthwhile commemoration involves, above all, a dialogical confrontation with the crimes. For this reason they saw the educational program and research as areas especially suitable for commemorative activity.
- **Participation**: All participants expressed appreciation for the Open Forum invitation and a desire to stay informed about the project's continued progress. Many sig-

nalled strong interest in actively participating in the project; in line with the diverse backgrounds of the guests, the spectrum of offered support was here very wide. In respect to the participatory format, preference was expressed for content-based cooperation. Only two guests voiced a wish for a more formalized framework.

The participants' many suggestions and pointers also constitute important results of the meetings:

- Various participants suggested **temporary exhibits** concerning childhood and occupation and offered an assurance of support in this regard. Among the suggested themes were "stolen children and Germanization," "'Lebensborn' in the occupied regions", and "children of occupation".
- Especially participants from non-EU countries expressed the wish for development of both digital and analogue **outreach formats** for the future documentation centre. This would open up participative and dialogical possibilities for bilateral and multilateral groups in Berlin and in the formerly occupied countries. At the same time, it would bolster historical locations in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Meanwhile, established and regionally networked educational providers have signalled their support.
- Representatives of memorials and research institutions expressed their strong interest in **cooperation in both planning and application-oriented research**. In this context, many invitations were extended to the DHM.
- Many participants offered concrete support for the documentation centre in **developing its collection**, something everyone considered an important task.
- Various participants called for **reflection on how to approach art** in the context of the future documentation centre. Three focal points were named here: art from the occupation period in the permanent and temporary exhibitions; postwar artistic representation of the occupation; and space for contemporary artistic interventions.

## OVERVIEW: INVITATIONS TO THE OPEN FORUM

- Christoph Heubner, International Auschwitz Committee
- Stanisław Zalewski, Polski Związek byłych Więźniów Politycznych Hitlerowskich Więzień i Obozów Koncentracyjnych, Poland
- Roman Kwiatkowski, Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce, Poland
- Władysław Kwiatkowski, Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce, Poland
- Prof. Dr. Sławomir Kapralski, Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce, Poland
- Aleksandra Leliwa-Kopystyńska, Stowarzyszenie Dzieci Holocaustu w Polsce, Poland
- Jerzy Kalwary, Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, Poland
- Janusz Maksymowicz, Związek Kombatantów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i Byłych Więźniów Politycznych, Poland
- Zbigniew Galperyn, Związek Powstańców Warszawskich, Poland
- Anna Stupnicka-Bando, Polskie Towarzystwo Sprawiedliwych Wśród Narodów, Poland
- Światowy Związek Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej, Poland
- Jacques Fredj, Mémorial de la Shoah, France
- Bruno Boyer, Mémorial de la Shoah, France
- Alain Chouraqui, Camp des Milles, France
- Odile Boyer, Camp des Milles, France
- Raphaël Esrail, Union des déportés d'Auschwitz, France
- Marie-France Cabeza-Marnet, Comité International de Ravensbrück/ «Résurrection», France
- Dr. Lise Foisneau, France
- Dr. Gilly Carr, Cambridge University, Channel Islands
- Tom Renfrey, Guernsey Deportees Association, Channel Islands
- Richard Heaume, German Occupation Museum, Channel Islands
- Piet Veldeman, Fort Breendonk, Belgium
- Claire Pahaut, Groupe Mémoire, Belgium
- Tomas Baum, Kazerne Dossin, Belgium
- Regina Suchowolski-Sluszny, Forum for joodse organisaties, Belgium
- Claude Wolf, Comité pour la mémoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, Luxemburg
- Guy Dockendorf, Fondation nationale de la résistance, Luxemburg
- Joseph Lorent, Féderation des Enrôlés de force, Luxemburg
- Marc Schoentgen, Comité Auschwitz, Luxemburg
- Benoît Niederkorn, Musée National d'Histoire Militaire, Luxemburg
- Henny Granum, Danske Krigsbørn, Denmark

- Arne Øland, Danske Krigsbørn, Denmark
- Karl Christian Lammers, Saxo-Institutet, Denmark
- Frihedsmuseet/Nationalmuseet, Denmark
- Søren Tange Rasmussen, Besættelsesmuseet i Århus 1940–45, Denmark
- Janusz Møller Jensen, Dansk Jødisk Museum, Denmark
- Helga Arntzen, Den Norske Buchenwald Foreningen, Norway
- Torill Torp-Holte, Jødisk Museum i Oslo, Norway
- Prof. Guri Hjeltnes, HL-senteret, Norway
- Prof. Claudia Lenz, HL-senteret, Norway
- Benjamin Geissert, HL-senteret, Norway
- Gunnar D. Hatlehol, Norway
- Dr. Erik Somers, NIOD, the Netherlands
- Dr. René de Kok, NIOD, the Netherlands
- Emile Schrijver, Joods Cultureel Kwartier Amsterdam, the Netherlands
- Dr. Raymund Schütz, Stadtarchiv Den Haag, the Netherlands
- Wiel Lenders, Vrijheidsmuseum Groesbeek, the Netherlands
- Christine Gispen-de Wied, Stichting Sobibor, the Netherlands
- Athanasios Papadopoulos, Network of Martyr Cities and Villages, Greece
- Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece, Greece
- Prof. Dr. Moysis Elisaf, Jewish Community of Ioannina, Greece
- Panos Poulos, Filoxenia, Greece
- Artemis Alcalay, Greece
- Dr. Eugenia Alexaki, Hellenic Open University/University of Western Macedonia, Greece
- Prof. Nikolaos Apostolopoulos, witness project "Memories of the Occupation in Greece", Free University Berlin, Greece
- Orlando Materassi, Associazione Nazionale Ex Internati, Italy
- Prof. Silvia Pascale, Associazione Nazionale Ex Internati, Italy
- Enzo Orlanducci, Associazione Nazionale Reduci dalla Prigionia, Italy
- Enrico Pieri, Associazione Martiri Sant'Anna di Stazzema, Italy
- Dario Venegoni, Associazione Nazionale Ex Deportati, Italy
- Gianfranco Pagliarulo, Associazione Nazionale Partigiani Italiani, Italy
- Tiziano Zanisi, Associazione Nazionale Divisione "Acqui", Italy
- Prof. Isabella Insolvibile, ANDA, Italy
- Prof. Federico Goddi, ANDA, Italy
- Prof. Andrea Pető, Central European University, Hungary
- Marcell Kenesei, Bálint Ház Budapest, Hungary
- Magyarországi Zsidó Hitközségek Szövetsége, Hungary
- Angelika Anoschko, International Social Association "Understanding", Belarus

- Dr. Aliaksandr Dalhouski, "Leonid Lewin" history workshop, Belarus
- Dr. Yuliya von Saal, IfZ, Belarus
- Prof. Oleg Budnickij, HSE Moscow, Russia
- Prof. Ilya Altman, Holocaust Research and Education Centre Moscow, Russia
- Prof. Pavel Polian, Russia
- Dr. Natalija Timofeeva, Regional Centre for Oral History/VIHT, Russia
- Milovan Pisarri, Centre for Public History, Serbia
- Jadranka Ivkovic, ERIAC Serbia, Serbia
- Robert Sabados, Association of Jewish Congregations, Serbia
- Marijana Stankovic, Kragujevac Memorial Museum, Serbia
- Zuvdija Hozic, SUBNOR, Montenegro
- Dragan Mitov Djurovic, SUBNOR, Montenegro
- Tea Gorjanc Prelevic, Human Rights Action, Montenegro
- Adela Demetja, Tirana Art Lab, Albania
- Nehari Sharri, Forum of Civil Peace Service, Pristina, Kosovo
- Leke Rezniqi, Friendship Association Kosova-Israel, Kosovo
- Dr. Vladimir Prebilič, Defence Research Centre/ Ljubljana University, Slovenia
- Boris Hajdinjak, Maribor Synagogue, Slovenia
- Robert Waltl, Jewish Cultural Centre Ljubljana, Slovenia
- Prof. Janez Žmavc, Association of Stolen Children, Slovenia
- Michal Schuster, Institut Terezínské iniciativy, Czech Republic
- Ondřej Matějka, ÚSTR, Czech Republic
- Eduard Stehlík, Lidice Memorial, Czech Republic
- Michal Stránský, Institut Terezínské iniciativy, Czech Republic
- Dr. Martin Korčok, SNM-MŽK-Múzeum holokaustu v Seredi, Slovakia
- Andrej Čierny, Antikomplex, Slovakia
- Sandra Polovková, Post Bellum, Slovakia
- Borys Sabarko, All-Ukrainian Association of Jews—Former Camp and Ghetto Inmates, Ukraine
- Roman Schwarzmann, Regional Association of Jews—Former Ghetto and Concentration Camp Prisoners, Odessa, Ukraine
- Nadezhda Slesareva, Ukrainian Association of Prisoners and Nazi Victims, Kyiv, Ukraine
- Markian Demydov, Ukrainian Association of Prisoners and Nazi Victims, Kyiv, Ukraine
- Tetiana Storozhko, Youth Agency for the Advocacy of Roma Culture "ARCA", Ukraine
- Natali Tomenko, Youth Agency for the Advocacy of Roma Culture "ARCA", Ukraine

- Vova Yakovenko, Youth Agency for the Advocacy of Roma Culture "ARCA", Ukraine
- Dr. Ihor Shchupak, Ukrainian Centre for Holocaust Research & Museum for Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine, Dnipro, Ukraine
- Kamilė Rupeikaitė, Vilniaus Gaono žydų istorijos muziejus, Lithuania
- Ronaldas Račinskas, International Commission for the Evaluation of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania, Lithuania
- Rūta Matimaitytė, Lithuania
- Solvita Vība, Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Latvia
- Dr. Gints Apals, Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Latvia
- Pēteris Kalniņš, Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Latvia
- Ilya Lenski, Jewish Museum Riga, Latvia
- Lolita Tomsone, Zanis Lipke Memorial, Latvia
- Martin Andreller, Estonian Institute for Historical Memory, Estonia
- Meelis Maripuu, Estonian Institute for Historical Memory, Estonia
- Ajaloomuuseum, Estonia
- Jewish Community of Estonia, Estonia
- Jacob Lellouche, Dar Edhekra, Tunisia
- Bibijana Papo Hutinec, Croatia
- Dr. Danijel Vojak, Croatia
- Romeo Franz, European Parliament, Germany
- Timea Junghaus, ERIAC, Germany
- Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka, ERIAC, Germany
- André Raatzsch, Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum
- Jan Kreutz, Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum, Deutscher Sinti und Roma, Germany
- Frédéric Bonnesoeur, KONTAKTE-KOHTAKTbI e.V., Germany
- Florian Wieler, Initiative Gedenkort für die Opfer der NS-Lebensraumpolitik, Germany
- Kamil Majchrzak, Internationales Komitee Buchenwald-Dora und Kommandos, Germany
- Bildungswerk Stanisław Hantz e.V., Germany
- Jutta Weduwen, Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste e.V., Germany
- Dr. Axel Drecoll, Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten/Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen, Germany
- Dr. Andrea Genest, Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück, Deutschland
- Prof. Jörg Ganzenmüller, Stiftung Ettersberg, Germany
- Dr. Axel Doßmann, Geschichtsort Villa ten Hompel, Germany
- Gedenkstätte für Zwangsarbeit, Leipzig, Germany

- Jens Nagel, Gedenkstätte Ehrenhain Zeithain, Germany
- Andreas Ehresmann, Gedenkstätte Lager Sandbostel, Germany
- Oliver Nickel, Gedenkstätte Stalag 326 (VI K), Senne, Germany
- Dr. Katja Happe, Gedenk- und Begegnungsstätte Ladelund, Germany
- Daniel Botmann, Central Council of Jews in Germany, Germany
- Rüdiger Mahlo, Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, Germany
- Lukas Welz, AMCHA Deutschland e.V., Germany
- Philipp Sonntag, Child Survivors Deutschland e. V., Germany

**Overview: Participation in the Open Forum**

- Władysław Kwiatkowski, Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce, Poland
- Prof. Sławomir Kapralski, Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce, Poland
- Aleksandra Leliwa-Kopystyńska, Stowarzyszenie Dzieci Holocaustu w Polsce, Poland
- Bruno Boyer, Mémorial de la Shoah, France
- Alain Chouraqui, Camp des Milles, France
- Marie-France Cabeza-Marnet, Comité International de Ravensbrück/ "Résurrection", France
- Dr. Gilly Carr, Cambridge University, Channel Isles
- Claire Pahaut, Groupe Mémoire, Belgium
- Regina Suchowolski-Sluszny, Forum for joodse organisaties, Belgium
- Claude Wolf, Comité pour la mémoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, Luxemburg
- Joseph Lorent, Féderation des Enrôlés de force, Luxemburg
- Henny Granum, Danske Krigsbørn, Denmark
- Arne Øland, Danske Krigsbørn, Denmark
- Prof. Claudia Lenz, HL-senteret, Norway
- Dr. Erik Somers, NIOD, the Netherlands
- Christine Gispen-de Wied, Stichting Sobibor, the Netherlands
- Artemis Alcalay, Greece
- Dr. Eugenia Alexaki, Hellenic Open University/University of Western Macedonia, Greece
- Orlando Materassi, Associazione Nazionale Ex Internati, Italy
- Prof. Silvia Pascale, Associazione Nazionale Ex Internati, Italy
- Prof. Isabella Insolvibile, ANDA, Italy
- Prof. Federico Goddi, ANDA, Italy
- Marcell Kenesei, Bálint Ház Budapest, Hungary

- Dr. Aliaksandr Dalhouski, “Leonid Lewin” history workshop, Belarus
- Prof. Pavel Polian, Russia
- Dr. Natalija Timofeeva, Regional Centre for Oral History /VIHT, Russia
- Milovan Pisarri, Centre for Public History, Serbien
- Nehari Sharri, Forum of Civil Peace Service, Pristina, Kosovo
- Leke Rezniqi, Friendship Association Kosova-Israel, Kosovo
- Dr. Vladimir Prebilič, Defence Research Centre/ Ljubljana University, Slovenia
- Boris Hajdinjak, Maribor Synagogue, Slovenia
- Prof. Janez Žmavc, Association of Stolen Children, Slovenia
- Sandra Polovková, Post Bellum, Slovakia
- Tetiana Storozhko, Youth Agency for the Advocacy of Roma Culture “ARCA”, Ukraine
- Dr. Gints Apals, Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Latvia
- Pēteris Kalniņš, Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, Latvia
- Martin Andreller, Estonian Institute for Historical Memory, Estonia
- Bibijana Papo Hutinec, Croatia
- Dr. Danijel Vojak, Croatia
- André Raatzsch, Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma, Germany
- Jan Kreutz, Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma, Germany
- Frédéric Bonnesoeur, KONTAKTE-KOHTAKTbI e.V., Germany
- Florian Wieler, Initiative Gedenkort für die Opfer der NS-Lebensraumpolitik, Germany
- Kamil Majchrzak, Internationales Komitee Buchenwald-Dora und Kommandos, Germany (also representing: Stanisław Zalewski, Polski Związek byłych Więźniów Politycznych Hitlerowskich Więzień i Obozów Koncentracyjnych, Poland)
- Dr. Axel Doßmann, Geschichtsort Villa ten Hompel, Germany
- Andreas Ehresmann, Gedenkstätte Lager Sandbostel, Germany
- Dr. Katja Happe, KZ-Gedenk- und Begegnungsstätte Ladelund, Germany

# G 3 Orientation Points for a Cost Estimate

## Construction Costs

On the basis of 15,000 $m^2$ of floor space, the costs for a suitable new building for the ZWBE documentation centre will run to ca. 120 million euros (8,000 euros per 1 $m^2$). The costs for suitable architectural reworking of an alternative existing structure will depend on the concrete object and thus cannot be estimated in a reliable way.

## Implementation of the Permanent Exhibition

The costs for implementing the permanent exhibition will run to ca. 14 million euros. The basis for this estimate is a planned exhibition surface of 4.000 $m^2$, with implementation costs of 3,500 euros per 1 $m^2$.

Included in these costs are expenditures such as the following: exhibition architecture, light, graphics, and media (hardware); connected architectural fees; transport of material on loan; production of reproduced material/facsimiles/digital exhibits/audioguides. Not included are: personnel and ancillary costs (contracts, workshops, business trips, etc.); expenditure for marketing and accompanying publications.

## Operating Costs

*Personnel Costs*

A minimum of 6 million euros in personnel costs for permanent staff must be assumed for an institution of the size outlined. Additional costs will emerge from temporary positions for projects (for example temporary exhibitions).

*Fellowship Program*

In order to assure international competitiveness, a minimum annual fellowship of 100,000 euros needs to be assumed per fellow. At 6 fellowships annually, the minimum costs amount to 600,000 euros.

*Implementation of the Temporary Exhibitions*

The costs incurred by temporary exhibitions are highly varied. Photo-exhibitions would involve ca. 500 euros per square meter, a mix of objects and documents ca. 900 euros, exhibitions with heavy use of new media ca. 650 euros. With a 2,000 $m^2$ surface area and 2 temporary exhibitions annually, the annual costs amount to between 2 million and 3.6 million euros.

Included in these costs are expenditures such as the following: exhibition architecture, light, graphics, and media (hardware); connected architectural fees, transport of

material on loan; production of reproduced material/facsimiles/digital exhibits/audioguides. Not included are: personnel and ancillary costs (contracts, workshops, business trips, etc.); expenditure for marketing and accompanying publications.

The first three temporary exhibitions will in any case be significantly more cost-intensive: a stock of exhibition architecture and lighting (cabinets, podiums, lighting, etc.) needs to be built up to be available for later temporary exhibitions. At 3,500 euros per square meter, the costs for these first 3 temporary exhibitions will amount to ca. 21 million euros.