

Marta Zawodna-Stephan, PhD
Department of Sociology,
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan

***The female community in death zones.
Prisoners in the women's camps at KL Bergen-Belsen***

In this paper I will describe the objectives of a project devoted to the community of female prisoners held at KL Bergen-Belsen (in the tent camp, the small women's camp, and the large women's camp) between August 1944 and its liberation by British troops on 15 April 1945. In that time Bergen-Belsen partly served as a transit camp for women who would be sent to work at the subcamps, but it was also a place of final stay for sick or pregnant female inmates and mothers of infants, who were designated as unfit for work. During that period it became a *Sterbelager* – a camp for dying prisoners, both male and female. The goal of the project is, first, to describe the life of the female prisoners, the relations between them, and their attitude to dead bodies. Secondly, making use of my earlier research, I aim to compare the community of women at Bergen-Belsen with the male communities of concentration camp inmates living in similar conditions. This comparative study aims to identify the characteristic features of prisoner communities existing in the death zones, which I name *necrocommunitas*.

Death zones during the period of economisation of the camp system

In the last year of the war, the Nazi concentration camps were subordinated to the Third Reich's war economy. This process was defined by Stefan Hördler (2015) as the "economisation" of the camp system, and led to a rise in the number of prisoners, which by 15 January 1945 exceeded 714,000. There was a significant increase in the number of women among the inmates: at the end of 1944 there were more than 200,000 of them, accounting for 28% of the total prisoner population. A large number of them were Jewish (Wachsmann 2015: 502-504, 595). Consequences of the economisation of the concentration camp system included overcrowding in many of the camps, and deterioration of the conditions there in terms of accommodation, food and hygiene.

During the period when the concentration camps served as a reservoir of slave labour for the Third Reich's armaments industry, prisoners of both sexes were divided during a selection process into those deemed fit for work (*arbeitsfähig*) and those who were unfit (*arbeitsunfähig*). The former were sent for often onerous and exhausting work in the numerous subcamps that were set up to serve arms factories or construction projects, while the latter were either killed or sent to the places that are called in the literature death zones (*Sterbezonen*) and camps for dying prisoners (*Sterbelager*). Because of the terrible conditions in which the people imprisoned in the camps lived and worked, the proportion of them who were sick, weakened and unable to work became ever higher. This process intensified even more as a result of the liquidation of the large camp complexes in the east, such as Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, and Stutthof, and the evacuation of male and female prisoners on death marches towards camps in the interior of the Reich.

The death zones, to which the prisoners deemed unfit for work were sent, contained what Wachsmann (2016: 617) vividly describes as "shit blocks" where inmates with diarrhoea would lie in pools of their own excrement, "death blocks" for those with typhus, and "convalescent blocks" where weakened and emaciated prisoners were left to fend for themselves. There were also blocks for inmates suffering from tuberculosis, such as block 39A at the Dora-Mittelbau camp (Kiosze, Steger 2020). From the end of 1944, however, there were so many sick and dying prisoners that the expanding quarantine camps within the main camps became places of death on a massive scale. There were also separate camps that took on the same function. Historians giving accounts of this refer to the little camp (*Kleines Lager*) at Buchenwald, the Jewish camp (*Judenlager*) at Stutthof, the Uckermark youth camp (*Jugendschutzlager Uckermark*), being a subcamp of KL Ravensbrück, the Boelcke-Kaserne camp, being a subcamp of KL Dora-Mittelbau, the Vaihingen camp, a subcamp of KL Natzweiler, and the Wöbbelin camp, a subcamp of KL Neuengamme. In 1945, the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, which had partially served this function since March 1944, became the largest camp for dying prisoners within the concentration camp system of that time. Due to the changed composition of the camp prisoner community in 1944, there were very many female inmates, including Jewish women, in the death zones.

The conditions in these places were catastrophic. Inmates died there not so much from deliberate violence as from neglect on the part of the camp personnel. Those who were not working received reduced food rations, and in the final stage the provision of food sometimes ceased altogether. Prisoners lacked suitable clothing, which was changed only sporadically. They also suffered constantly due to the presence of rodents, lice and fleas. The greatest

problem, however, was overcrowding. Because of the lack of space to house inmates, from mid-1944 tent camps began to be established, where inmates lived without the facilities needed for a basic level of existence, even through the winter. Women and men confined in the death zones could expect virtually no medical assistance, due to a lack of medicines, equipment, and medical staff. Diseases, including contagious ones, spread throughout these zones, leading to epidemics. Tens or even hundreds of inmates died every day, and their corpses lay in piles in front of the blocks. Many of the camp crematoriums became inoperative towards the end of the war, and so bodies were often buried in mass graves. Sometimes in these places prisoners who were sick and incapable of working were killed, for example by injection of poison. Mass murders are known to have taken place at least at Ravensbrück, Buchenwald, and Bergen-Belsen (Orth 1999; Hördler 2015; Wachsmann 2015).

The notion of *necrocommunitas*

My previous research on such places as the little camp in Buchenwald has shown that a community came into being within the death zones, to which I apply the term *necrocommunitas* (see Zawodna-Stephan 2019, 2023). The notion of *communitas* was introduced to the social sciences by the anthropologist Victor Turner (2008). He used it in the context of “rites of passage” (van Gennep 1960), where individuals, in changing their social position, pass through a liminal phase (from Latin *limen* – threshold), a phase in which they lose their social attributes (roles, positions, property, secular clothing indicating rank or role, position in a kinship system, and to some extent gender characteristics). The *communitas* – the society of the liminal period – is devoid of structure or retains only a vestigial structure, individuals are equal or differ only to a small degree, and interpersonal contact is usually direct. In Turner’s view, a *communitas* may exist not only in the liminal phase of rites of passage, but also outside the ritual space. The *communitas* is a transitional state that arises between longer and more stable phases, in which interpersonal relations take the form of *societas* – a structured, hierarchised and differentiated society. Significantly, liminality has been compared – among other things – to “[...] death, [...], to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness [...]” (Turner 2008: 95). These terms well reflect the situation in the zones for dying inmates and the state of the camp communities existing there. I treat the notion of *communitas* not as a rigid theoretical framework, but as an inspiration enabling the description and understanding of the way of functioning of a community in which not only the social rules of the outside world had ceased to operate, but even the structures previously formed within the concentration camp system were now disintegrating.

In my conception I have transformed Turner's notion of *communitas* into that of *necrocommunitas*. The Greek word *nekrós*, meaning dead, when used as the first element of compound words, indicates that those words have semantic relations with death and graves, but also with a dead body. I have two reasons for applying this term to the communities that I describe. First, the majority of members of these communities are very seriously ill or dying, many of them (both male and female) being *Muselmänner*, and I aim to understand their everyday life in the camp and their mutual relations. Second, in these communities the living coexist with dead bodies; hence the *necrocommunitas* is a community of (still) living (people) and dead (bodies), between whom persistent relations are formed and boundaries are constantly crossed.

Women at the Bergen-Belsen camp

The beginnings of the Bergen-Belsen camp are linked to the establishment of a residence camp (*Aufenthaltslager*) for Jews who had dual citizenship or citizenship of a neutral country, and might in the future be exchanged for German citizens interned in hostile countries. Because of its function, the camp is often referred to in the literature as the exchange camp. There were women in this camp, but it served primarily to hold families. The story of the female prisoners there does not lie within the scope of my project.

The Bergen-Belsen camp began to fulfil new functions in March 1944, when a men's camp for sick prisoners was established, euphemistically named "recuperation camp" (*Erholungslager*). Men who were incapable of work were sent there, thus creating another death zone within the concentration camp system. The conditions were so bad that out of the first transport of 1,000 men that arrived at Bergen-Belsen from the Dora satellite camp of Buchenwald concentration camp, only 57 would live to the end of the war (Wenck 2020: 340).

From mid-1944 Bergen-Belsen became a transit camp for female prisoners who were sent on to work in the subcamps. After the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in August of that year, Polish women were sent there together with their children, many of them later being assigned to outside work squads (Wiedemann 1996). Other arrivals at that time included sick and weakened Jewish women from Hungary and Poland, who had been held at Auschwitz. The camp was therefore already receiving not only female prisoners who were intended to be exploited as slave labour, but also women who were deemed unfit for work.

The first women who arrived at Bergen-Belsen were placed in the tent camp (*Zeltlager*), which consisted of eleven large tents and seven tarpaulin shelters. Most of them remained there for only a short time – a few days or weeks. Conditions at the camp were extremely poor: the women slept jammed together on bare ground or straw; there were no lights, washrooms, or

toilets; water was provided once a day from a hose; and holes in the ground served as latrines (Wenck 2020: 343–344). In spite of these extreme conditions, more and more women and girls were sent to the tent camp; they included Anne Frank (Schnabel 1958; Lindwer 1990). The makeshift nature of the site was demonstrated by the events of 7 November 1944, described in the following way by a camp orchestra member from Auschwitz, Anita Lasker-Wallfisch (2006: 24):

There were some 3,000 people on our transport, and there were simply no barracks there for us. We were herded into vast tents, completely exhausted, and just flopped down on the bare ground. [...] And then came the famous storm, the tents collapsed on top of us, in the middle of the night. How we survived that night I shall never understand. Somehow we managed to scramble free and just stood there in the pouring rain and howling storm.

After the storm, in which many women had died or been injured, and some of the tents had been destroyed, a site was established for the remainder called the small women's camp (*Kleines Frauenlager*). It was located in the former clothing storage blocks numbered 43 to 50 (one of them had been partially destroyed) and continued to function until the arrival of the British. It housed mainly women who did not have children with them. It lacked its own kitchen, but had two latrines and washrooms. The blocks, which were not solidly built, were supposed to hold around 100–150 female inmates. However, towards the end of the existence of Bergen-Belsen, ever larger numbers of women lived there (Plattner 1994: 34–35; Wenck 2020: 346–347). During the camp's liberation in April 1945, British officer Derrick Sington (1946: 46) described one of the blocks as follows:

The scene in some of the overcrowded blocks [...] resembled Dante's Inferno. Block 48 in the smaller women's camp contained 600 Jewish women from Poland, together with about 80 Frenchwomen. There were 110 beds, so the women had put a blanket or some rags underneath themselves, and lay row upon row in their worn overcoats. In some parts of the room they overlapped each other and women lay with their heads pillowed on the stomachs or legs of others. [...] A nauseating smell of months-old sweat and dirty rags rose from the diseased and pain-ridden bodies littered there.

As a consequence of the evacuation of the camp complexes in the east, especially Auschwitz, increasing numbers of male and female prisoners arrived at Bergen-Belsen. In January 1945, in the blocks of the former POW hospital, what was called the large women's camp (*Grosses Frauenlager*) was set up. It contained 36 blocks, in which women of all ages were placed, as well as children (Waltzer 2014). It had three kitchen and three bathroom blocks.

The blocks were more solidly built than those of the small camp; they had stone foundations and bunk beds, although they lacked heating and light. Some of them had washrooms and toilets, although the sewerage system stopped working during the late period of the camp's existence (Wenck 2020: 351-352). In a special block called the children's home (*Kinderheim*) a group of Jewish women, led by the physician Ada Bimko, took care of 150 orphans, out of whom by the time of the camp's liberation only one infant had died (Rosensaft 2004; Waltzer 2014).

Pregnant women and mothers with newborn babies

A group of inmates that deserves particular attention is the pregnant women and mothers with infants, who were classed as unfit for work and treated in a similar way to the sick female prisoners. In view of the poor physical condition of the inmates and the impossibility of contact between female and male prisoners, we know that women did not become pregnant at the camp itself, but were pregnant on arrival there (Rahe 1994: 150–151). The pregnant women who arrived at the camp were primarily Hungarian and Polish Jews, as well as Poles who had been taken prisoner following the Warsaw Uprising. Many Jewish women who had survived Auschwitz reached Bergen-Belsen because it had not been noticed earlier that they were pregnant; that condition would have condemned them to death in the gas chamber. The largest number of pregnant women and mothers with infants came to Bergen-Belsen in 1945, when that camp became the final destination for such women. Previously, they had been sent to the Auschwitz and Ravensbrück camps (Gring 2020: 48, 54).

Pregnant women arrived at Bergen-Belsen individually on transports with other prisoners, if they had succeeded in keeping their condition secret. Some were also sent in larger groups, as occurred on 2 March and 26 March 1945, when two large “unloading transports” (*Entlastungstransporte*) arrived from Ravensbrück, containing significant numbers of pregnant women and mothers with infants (Gring 2020: 56-58). The journey to Bergen-Belsen is described in the following way by one of the women who arrived on the second transport, Ludmiła Lwowska-Pachowicz (State Archives in Warsaw, sig. 72/1702/0/-/92):

We travelled more than a week without food or a drop of water [...] The mothers were completely out of milk. They had reached a state of exhaustion. Babies were dying, mothers were dying. [...] Women gave birth on the floor of the cattle trucks, with parched lips, without a drop of water for mother or child [...]. At some of the births we bit through the umbilical cord.

Women also arrived at the camp on what were called “exchange transports” (*Austauschtransporte*), where pregnant women were sent to Bergen-Belsen from subcamps, which at the same times reported the desire to receive new female labourers who were capable of working (Gring 2020: 55).

The conditions in which the pregnant women lived did not differ from those experienced by the other female prisoners. They were plagued by hunger, lack of hygiene, overcrowding, cold and damp, lice and rats, roll calls that lasted many hours, disease, and constant co-existence with dead bodies. They often gave birth in the blocks where they lived. Helena Dubner-Heliczer (Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, sig. BT 790) left the following account:

One night one of our colleagues gave birth to a child. It was terrible. A thin, gaunt woman, there was no way to tell she was pregnant. She had her child on a dirty floor, there wasn't a drop of water or a slice of bread for the mother. The child, wrapped in some dirty rag, was too weak even to whimper. The mother was given the best place in the room, which was on a table. After a few days the child died.

Women also sometimes gave birth in the camp hospital, where pregnant women lay together with those with infectious diseases (Gring 2020: 59). Finally, in early 1945, when the number of transports to Bergen-Belsen significantly increased – including those containing pregnant women – a special maternity block (*Entbindungsblock*) was set up. It was described by a Hungarian gynaecologist who worked there from March 1945, Giselda Perl (1987: 161–162):

Surrounded by mountainous heaps of rotting corpses and by ditches full of bodies, some of which still retained a breath of life but not the strength to climb out from under their dead companions, stood Block III, the “maternity block” of Belsen Bergen. From concentration camps all over Germany, pregnant women were sent here to bear their children in this torture chamber of Hell [...] Their tremendous stomachs, swollen to a bursting point with child and hunger, did not permit them to move, and their moans, their screams, their helpless cursing filled the building with a constant deafening cacophony. Lice covered their bodies in thick layers – hungry, persistent, insufferable lice sparing nobody, not even the faces and hands of the doctors.

Perl recalled that she had no possibility of helping the exhausted women: “what can two empty hands do to relieve the indescribable suffering of hundreds?” (Ibid.: 163). The inmates in the maternity block suffered from typhus and diarrhoea, which led to contamination of the whole block, where there was also a lack of water and medicines. Perl wrote: “I fought on with bare hands, cut my shirt into rags to wipe the hot, moist, soiled faces of my patients, tried to smile at them through the layer of filth that covered my own face and whispered hoarse, unconvincing words of comfort” (Ibid.: 162). According to the researcher Diana Gring (2020: 47), around

200 children were born at the Bergen-Belsen camp during the time of its existence, although few of them survived.

Bergen-Belsen as a camp for dying prisoners

The situation at Bergen-Belsen changed in late 1944 and early 1945 as a result of the arrival of numerous transports of prisoners from the east. On 1 December 1944, when Joseph Kramer became commandant of the camp, it held 15,257 prisoners. By 1 January 1945 there were 18,465, by 1 March there were 41,520, and at the moment of the camp's liberation on 15 April 1945 it housed approximately 53,000 prisoners (*Bergen-Belsen* 2010: 258–259; Wenck 2020: 352). In these final months of the camp's existence, as a result of the vast overcrowding and extremely poor living conditions, it became the largest camp for dying prisoners in the concentration camp system of that time.

There was also a dramatic worsening in the situation of the women there, who in March 1945 accounted for two-thirds of the total 41,520 prisoners (Wenck 2020: 352). Although some of the women were still working – for example, in the camp kitchen, as cleaners in the SS barracks, or in the weaving workshops of Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH – most of them had nothing to occupy them. Maria Jaworska recalled: “We never went to work, because there was no longer anywhere to go” (Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, sig. BT 993). The women spent their time in the increasingly overcrowded prisoner blocks or standing at roll calls that lasted for many hours. The whole of the prisoner community, including the women, suffered from a lack of food. As Gizelda Fudem recalled: “There, such a strong hunger had already practically begun [...] at Bergen-Belsen by now [...] there was [...] very little bread, the soup was some scalded swede, without salt, without anything, practically inedible” (Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, sig. BT 826). Finally, in the last days of the camp's existence, the water supply was damaged by bombing. Then some of the female prisoners drank contaminated water from the fire ponds.

The concentration of a huge number of people in a small area, the lack of food, and the inability of the prisoners to maintain basic hygiene led to an epidemic of typhus. Based on the accounts that I have analysed, it appears that almost all of the female inmates who survived to see the liberation of Bergen-Belsen had suffered from that disease. They were among the minority who survived the camp. According to a letter of 1 March 1945 from camp commandant Joseph Kramer to Richard Glücks, Inspector of Concentrations Camps, between 250 and 300 prisoners were dying daily (Rolf, Marienfeld 2002: 161). According to Jacob de Heer, a total of 18,168 prisoners died in March (Rolf, Marienfeld 2002: 164–165). The situation was only

getting worse day by day. The staff looked into the camp less and less often, fearing disease, and cases of cannibalism were reported among the male and female inmates. The physician Giselda Perl, who has already been mentioned, recalled: “Those who had enough vitality left to want to live on resorted to cannibalism. They opened the bodies of the recently dead and ate their liver, their hearts, their brains” (1987: 159). For many women who had survived other camps and were liberated at Bergen-Belsen, this was the worst of the camps, described as a “disorganised hell” (Renate L A as cited in Schnabel 1961: 142):

Understand me rightly: Auschwitz had been a fantastically well-organized, spick-and-span hell. The food was bad, but it was distributed regularly. We had kept our barracks so clean that you could have eaten off the floor. Anyone who died in the barracks was taken away first thing in the morning. Anyone who fell ill disappeared also. Those who were gassed did not scream. They just were no longer there. The crematoria smoked, but we received our rations and had roll calls. The SS harassed us at roll call and kept guard with machine guns from the watchtowers, and the camp fences were charged with high-tension electricity, but we could wash every day and sometimes even take showers. If you could forget the gas chambers, you could manage to live. In Belsen it was different. We scarcely saw the SS guards. There were no roll calls and no order, nothing but the heat and hunger and people as fluttery from starvation as a flock of chickens, and there was neither food nor water nor hope, for it no longer meant anything to us that the Allies had reached the Rhine. We had typhus in the camp, and it was said that before the Allies came the SS would blow us all up.

Living with dead bodies and liberation

The community in which the female prisoners lived was a community of the living and the dead, where the boundary between the two was constantly being crossed. Both one and the other existed within the same limited space. The living sometimes “used the help” of the dead bodies to survive – for example, by taking bread or clothing that had belonged to the deceased. The following account is from a witness who as a child had been with her mother at the camp, Ceija Stojka (2022: 145):

At that time, there were already two big piles of corpses in this camp section. They also brought the dead from other camp sections to ours. They got to be more and more; the piles became higher and higher. If the dead hadn't been there, we would have frozen. My mother said, “It's better to crawl into the dead bodies. The wind won't reach you in there, and anyway, you don't have any fear!” So I crawled in, with my head stuck outside and my feet stuck inside. It was nice and warm inside. Some even had a pullover on, or an old blanket or an old vest. We always made sure to take that off them. They didn't need it anymore, but we urgently needed it. Within fourteen days, however, this pullover or skirt we had taken off them was also falling apart. I then covered that person with the disintegrating rags so that they didn't have to be embarrassed as a dead person.

Towards the end of the camp's existence, there were so many dead bodies that they were to be found practically everywhere. Even before the liberation, on 11 April 1945, an attempt had been made to remove them. Two thousand prisoners of both sexes were assigned to bury the bodies, accompanied over four days of macabre procession by the camp orchestra. Maria Jaworska recalled that the dead and living participants in this ceremony looked no different from each other: all of them resembled skeletons (Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, sig. BT 993). Despite these efforts, when the British took over the camp on 15 April 1945, they discovered 10,000 corpses there.

On the following days, some of the prisoners searched for food and tried to improve their living conditions – for example, Frenchwomen who had been sent from Ravensbrück took tents from the SS stores and escaped from the dirty and overcrowded blocks (Kolb 1962: 165). However, most of the inmates were in very poor condition, and many of them, such as Joanna Kiaca-Fryczkowska, were almost unaware of the liberation or reacted to it with indifference (Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen, sig. BT 981). By 20 June another 14,000 people had died at the former camp (Seybold 2017). At the time of the liberation there were around 53,000 prisoners at Bergen-Belsen: 38,000 in the main camp and 15,000 at the nearby Wehrmacht barracks (Bergen-Belsen 2010: 258–259). When the British counted the prisoners who were still alive, there were around 25,000 women among them. Of these, 18,000 were Jews from Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and the Netherlands. There were also approximately 2,000 Russian women, a few thousand women from Yugoslavia, Poland, France, and Belgium, and an unknown number of Sinti and Roma women (Plattner 1994: 39). Many of them died over the following days, and those who survived remained for many more days under the care of doctors and nurses in a hospital that was specially set up following the liberation.

Bibliography

Bergen-Belsen. Wehrmacht POW Camp, 1940–1945. Concentration Camp, 1943–1945. Displaced Persons Camp, 1945–1950. Catalogue accompanying the permanent exhibition, Göttingen 2010.

van Gennep, A., *The Rites of Passage*, London 1960.

Gring, D., *Schwangerschaften und Geburten im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen*, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung* 1 (2020).

Hördler, S., *Ordnung und Inferno. Das KZ-System im letzten Kriegsjahr*, Göttingen 2015.

Kiosze, P., Steger, F., *The Everyday Life of Patients With Tuberculosis in the Concentration Camp of Mittelbau-Dora (1943–1945)*, “Frontiers in Medicine” 2020.

Lasker-Wallfisch, A., *A Survivor’s Memories of Liberation*, in: *Bergen-Belsen 1945. New Historical Perspectives*, Suzanne Bardgett, David Cesarani (eds.), London, Portland 2006.

Lindwer, W., *Anna Frank – die letzten sieben Monate: Augenzeuginnen berichten*, Frankfurt am Main 1990.

Orth, K., *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte*, Hamburg 1999.

Perl, G., *I Was a Doctor in Auschwitz*, Tamarac Fl. 1987.

Plattner, S., *Die Frauenlager im Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen*, in: *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern: Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück*, C. Füllberg-Stollberg, M. Jung, R. Riebe, M. Scheitenberger (eds.), Bremen 1994.

Rolf, K., Marienfeld, W., et. al. (eds.), *Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen. Berichte und Dokumente*, 2 vol., Göttingen 2002.

Rosensaft, H., *Yesterday. My story*, Washington 2004.

Schnabel, E., *Anne Frank, Spur eines Kindes*, Frankfurt am Main 1958.

Seybold, K., *The Dead of Bergen-Belsen. Number and Burial Places of the Victims of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp*, https://www.stiftung-ng.de/fileadmin/dateien/GBB/FoDok/2017-Seybold_The_dead_of_Bergen-Belsen.pdf

Sington, D., *Belsen Uncovered*, London 1946.

Stojka, C., *Am I Dreaming I’m Alive? Liberated from Bergen-Belsen. Memoir*, in: *The Memoirs of Ceija Stojka. Child Survivor of the Romani Holocaust*, translated with an Introduction and Annotations, by Lorely E. French, Cambridge 2022.

Turner, V., *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*, New Brunswick, London 2008.

Wachsmann, N., *KL. Historia nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych*, Warszawa 2015.

- Waltzer, K., *History and Memory, Children and Youths at Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen*, in: *Das soziale Gedächtnis und die Gemeinschaft der Überlebenden. Bergen-Belsen in vergleichender Perspektive*, J. Doerry, T. Kubetzky und K. Seybold (eds.), Göttingen 2014.
- Wenck, A., *Zwischen Menschenhandel und "Endlösung". Das Konzentrationslager Bergen-Belsen*, Berlin 2020.
- Wiedemann, W., *Polnische Frauen aus dem Warschauer Aufstand als Häftlinge und Kriegsgefangene in Bergen-Belsen*, in: *Der Warschauer Aufstand: 1. August – 2. Oktober 1944. Ursachen – Verlauf – Folgen*, J. Mikado (ed.), Warszawa, Hannover 1996.
- Zawodna-Stephan, M., *Necrocommunitas. Badanie obozów koncentracyjnych w fazie przejściowej*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 2019, No. 2.
- Zawodna-Stephan, M., *Strefy umierania w systemie niemieckich nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych na przykładzie Małego Obozu*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 2023, No. 1