

AFTER THE BATTLE



THE FLENSBURG GOVERNMENT



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Front Cover: The Nazi hierarchy in custody. Here Albert Speer, Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz, head of the German Reich following Hitler's suicide, and Generaloberst Alfred Jodl are pictured under the watchful eye of a British Bren-gunner in the courtyard of the main police station in Flensburg.

Centre Pages: The striking US National D-Day Memorial at Bedford, Virginia.

Back Cover: *Der Untergang*, released in Germany in September 2004, recreated the last days in the Führerbunker in Berlin in April 1945. This is the award ceremony to boys of the Hitler Youth: top in reality and bottom the scene as filmed in *The Downfall*.

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Photo Credits: AWM — Australian War Memorial; BA — Bundesarchiv; BVA — Bundesmarine-Wehrgeschichtliches Ausbildungszentrum; IWM — Imperial War Museum, London.



Born in Grünau near Berlin on September 16, 1891, Karl Dönitz had joined the Imperial Navy in 1910, being commissioned as a Leutnant zur See in September 1913. When World War I broke out he was serving on the cruiser *Breslau*. In October 1916 he switched to the submarine arm, being taken prisoner in October 1918 when his U-Boat was forced to surface amid a British convoy near Malta. He stayed on in the Reichsmarine of the Weimar Republic, being given command of a torpedo-boat half-flotilla in 1928 and of the cruiser *Emden* in 1934. In September 1935 he returned to the submarine arm becoming commander of the 1. U-Boot-Flottille and in January 1936 Hitler appointed him Führer der Unterseeboote (Leader of U-Boats), charged with building up and expanding the new U-Boat fleet. In October 1939 his position was raised to that of Befehlshaber der Unterseeboote (Commander of U-Boats). Having led the U-Boats in war for over three years, on January 30, 1943, he succeeded Grossadmiral Erich Raeder as supreme commander of the Kriegsmarine being promoted to Grossadmiral at the same time. This picture of Hitler and Dönitz was taken in 1942 when he was still an Admiral.

On April 19, 1945, Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz, commander-in-chief of the German Navy, ordered his Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine (OKM) staff to evacuate its headquarters in order to avoid being overrun by the Soviet forces advancing from the Oder river. Since 1943 the OKM headquarters had been at a secret facility (code-named 'Koralle') between Bernau and Eberswalde, 20 miles north-east of Berlin, but now it was to move to a new location at Plön, some 50 miles north of Hamburg in the Schleswig-Holstein peninsula.

Dönitz himself stayed behind in order to be able to attend Hitler's 56th birthday at the Reich Chancellery in Berlin next day, April 20. That day, Hitler charged Dönitz with the defence of the northern zone of Germany. Five days earlier, he had issued a provisional order that, should the enemy advance cut the Reich in two, Generalfeldmarschall Albert Kesselring, the Oberbefehlshaber West, would command the southern zone and Grossadmiral Dönitz the northern zone. However, this order merely referred to civilian authority, not to the command of military operations. This would only be included in the zone where Hitler himself was not present, or in the event that he was isolated in Berlin.

The following day, at another meeting, Hitler instructed the Grand Admiral to leave Berlin quickly before the Russians surrounded it. Early on the 22nd, Dönitz reached his new command post which had been set up in the hutted camp of the Marine-Nachrichten-Abteilung near Plön (code-name 'Krokodil').

The next day, April 23, Dönitz received word from the Reich Chancellery about Reichsmarschall Herman Göring's 'attempted coup' from Bavaria and that Hitler had relieved Göring of all his posts, appointing Generalfeldmarschall Robert Ritter von Greim as the new C-in-C of the Luftwaffe.

On April 25, the Soviets closed the ring around Berlin, leaving Hitler isolated in his Führerbunker and cut off from the rest of the war (see *After the Battle* No. 61). That same day, with the junction of the US and Soviet forces on the Elbe near Torgau (see *After the Battle* No. 88) the Reich was cut in two. In accordance with Hitler's earlier directive, Dönitz now assumed the supreme command in both military and civilian matters in the northern zone, a vast territory which in addition to Schleswig-Holstein, about half of Prussia, and a number of Festungen in the East, included occupied western Holland, Denmark and Norway.

On April 30, 1945 Dönitz became Head of State of the German Reich and Supreme Commander of all armed forces, Hitler having named him his successor in his political testament drawn up the day before, a will that came into force when he committed suicide in his Berlin Führerbunker. The Dönitz government lasted for just 23 days, from May 1 to May 23 — exactly 60 years ago this month. From May 3, its headquarters was located at the Marine-Schule (Naval Cadet School) in Flensburg-Mürwik, right up on the Danish border in the Schleswig-Holstein peninsula. Here, Dönitz is seen leaving his headquarters building in the school grounds. On the left is his personal adjutant, Korvettenkapitän Walter Lüdde-Neurath. (IWM)

Dönitz was then 54 years old, a convinced Nazi and faithful adherent of Hitler. As commander-in-chief of the Kriegsmarine, he was determined not to see a repeat of the disgraceful 1918 collapse and revolution, and continued to enforce ruthless discipline within his service. His U-Boat campaign having collapsed, his main concern was now the supervision of the massive-scale evacuation of soldiers and civilians away from the Soviets over the Baltic. He was committing all his men and resources on evacuating troops and refugees from Eastern Prussia. Dönitz regarded the rescue of the German population in the eastern provinces as the one essential task the German armed forces still had to perform. The Allies' insistence on unconditional surrender meant that all German troop movements would cease the moment a capitulation was signed. Hence, so he reasoned, the Wehrmacht should go on fighting for as long as it could in order to save as many people from the Russians as possible.



THE FLENSBURG GOVERNMENT

On April 27, Dönitz travelled to Neu-Rooßen, south-west of Fürstenberg, to see Generalfeldmarschall Wilhelm Keitel, the chief of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command, OKW), and Generaloberst Alfred Jodl, the chief of the Wehrmachtführungsstab (Armed Forces Operational Staff), and appraise himself of the general military situation. Six days earlier, on April 21, to avoid being overrun by the Russians, the OKW had evacuated its permanent headquarters at Zossen, south of Berlin, initially moving to the Luftschuttschule (Air Raid School) in Berlin-Wannsee. The following day, with Hitler finally having decided to stay in Berlin, the OKW organisation had split up, the main part (called Führungsstab Süd) going south to Strub near Berchtesgaden in Bavaria, while Keitel, Jodl and a small core staff (Führungsstab Nord) moved north to Krampnitz near Rheinsberg, a few miles outside Berlin. Further Russian advances had necessitated another move north during the night of April 23/24, this time to Neu-Rooßen.

As Dönitz learned from Keitel and Jodl, the military situation was by now quite hopeless. In the east, Heeresgruppe Weichsel would not be able to resist the Russians for much longer. In order to keep his operational ports open in the Baltic and give room for the influx of refugees pouring into Schleswig-Holstein, Dönitz was particularly anxious that the Allied advance from the west be checked at the Elbe as long as possible, but it was clear that Heeresgruppe Nordwest could not hold on much longer either.

Also present at the conference at OKW headquarters was Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler. With his combined functions of leader of the SS, Chief of Police, Minister of the Interior and Commander of the Replacement Army, Himmler wielded enormous power and Dönitz was well aware that he

By Karel Margry

needed his co-operation in order to maintain effective control within his domain. Himmler, intent on preserving his position of power, was visiting Dönitz's HQ at Plön daily.



The same building, under repair when we photographed it in October 2004.

Funkspruch von <i>Ritter von Greim</i>		Blatt- und Streifen-Nr.	
offen		Boheim!	
abgegeben Ra	0327	Mr. des	1. Mai 1945
empfänger		Lübeckgruppe	
		0122/1/ag 25	
Ausgang (M Buchstabe Nr. 0)		Gru 2 a	
P E R			
P H Qu.:			
Mein Führer, meine Treue zu ihnen wird unabdingbar sein. Ich werde da-			
her weiter alle Versuche unternehmen, um sie in Berlin zu entsetzen.			
Wenn das Schicksal mich dennoch zwingt, als der von ihnen bestimmte			
Nachfolger das Deutsche Reich zu führen, werde ich diesen Krieg so zu			
Ende führen, wie es der einmalige Heldenkampf des Deutschen Volkes			
verlangt.			
- Großadmiral Dönitz -			
Verteiler: 4 Skl. <u>PEO</u> 1/5K2			

Dönitz's telegram to Hitler sent seven hours after he had learned that he had been appointed his successor. At this point in time, 0327 on May 1, Dönitz was still unaware that Hitler was dead. 'My Führer', he replied, 'My loyalty to you is without qualification. I will therefore do everything possible to relieve you in Berlin. When fate forces me to lead the German Reich as your appointed successor, I will put an end to this war in a way befitting the unique heroic struggle of the German people.'

Then, early on April 28, Dönitz received a radio telegram from Reichsleiter Martin Bormann, Hitler's Party secretary, sent from the Reich Chancellery in Berlin, informing him that Himmler had engaged in secret surrender negotiations with the Western Allies via Sweden — clearly an act of treason. That same day Hitler sent Ritter von Greim, the new chief of the Luftwaffe after Göring's downfall, to Plön to tell Dönitz to arrest Himmler. Greim arrived on the 29th, but Dönitz took no action. The following morning, April 30, Dönitz decided to travel down to Himmler's headquarters in Lübeck to question him about the matter, but Himmler lied in his face assuring him that the news of his treason was false.

Dönitz had hardly returned to Plön when, at 1835 hours, he received another telegram from Bormann in Berlin:

'In place of the former Reichsmarschall Göring the Führer has appointed you, Herr Grossadmiral, as his successor. Written authorisation underway. You are to immediately take any measures which the present situation demands. Bormann.'

Hitler had committed suicide at 1530 that afternoon, but Bormann omitted to make this clear, probably because he was planning to escape from Berlin, join Dönitz at Plön and by his presence retain his power. Dönitz, guessing that Hitler must have named him to clear the way for an officer of the Armed Forces to end the war honourably and not knowing that Hitler was dead, radioed back:

'Mein Führer, My loyalty to you is without qualification. I will therefore do everything possible to relieve you in Berlin.'

Dönitz was a military man without any political aspirations and the appointment as Hitler's successor came as a complete surprise to him. Until a few days ago, he had assumed that Göring would succeed Hitler or, if not him, then Himmler. In the last week, both men had been thrown out by Hitler but Dönitz was not sure whether Himmler would peaceably accept the new state of affairs. To find out, he phoned Himmler and asked him to come to Plön.

The Reichsführer-SS arrived shortly before midnight, accompanied by six bodyguards, but walked into Dönitz's office alone. Unsure about how Himmler would react, Dönitz had put his pistol under some papers on his desk. He brought out the telegram announcing his appointment as Hitler's successor and asked Himmler to read it. As Himmler did so, his face went pale. After a short silence, he said: 'In that case, please let me become the second man in your state.' Dönitz rejected the offer, saying: 'That is impossible. I have no job for you.' To his relief, Himmler accepted the new situation. They talked for an hour, then Himmler left.

The following morning (May 1) at 1053, Dönitz received a second telegram from Bormann:

'Testament in force. I will come to you as

quickly as possible. Until then, in my view, hold publication. Bormann'

This was the first indication Dönitz received that Hitler was actually dead. Confirmation came at 1518 when a third signal arrived, this time jointly signed by Bormann and Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels:

'Grossadmiral Dönitz. Führer died yesterday 1530. Testament of April 29 transfers to you the office of Reich President, Dr Goebbels the office of Reich Chancellor, Reichsleiter Bormann the office of Party Minister, Reichsminister Seyss-Inquart the office of Foreign Minister. By order of the Führer the testament has been sent out of Berlin to you, to Generalfeldmarschall Schörner and to assure its preservation for publication. Reichsleiter Bormann will try to reach you today to clarify the situation. Form and time of announcement to the troops and public is left to you. Confirm receipt.

Goebbels, Bormann'

At this point Dönitz's rule was limited to his own small area that included northern Germany, Denmark, Norway and western Holland; the two beleaguered enclaves in Kurland and around Danzig that he was trying to evacuate; and a completely separate southern area under the overall command of Generalfeldmarschall Kesselring that encompassed southern Bavaria, western Czechoslovakia and what remained of Mussolini's puppet state in northern Italy.

At 2226 that evening, in a short message broadcast by Hamburg radio station, Dönitz announced Hitler's death to the German public and that he had been appointed his successor. In his order of the day to the armed forces he said: 'Against the English and Americans I must continue the fight for as far and as long as they hinder me in the execution of battle against the Bolsheviks. . . The oath of loyalty which you gave to the Führer is now due from each one of you to me as the Führer's appointed successor. . .'

As he was now Head of State, Dönitz knew he would have to form some kind of government. Except for Propaganda Minister Goebbels, all of Hitler's cabinet ministers and state secretaries had escaped from Berlin and most of them were now at Eutin, 20 miles north of Lübeck and just ten miles from Dönitz's headquarters at Plön. The first to join him, on April 30, was Albert Speer, the Reich Minister of Armaments and War Production. Dönitz had always got on well with Speer and regarded him as a friend. He asked him to become his Minister for Industry and Production, a request to which Speer agreed.

German men and women, soldiers of the German Wehrmacht. Our Führer, Adolf Hitler, has fallen. The German people bow in deepest mourning and veneration.

He recognised beforehand the terrible danger of Bolshevism and devoted his life to fighting it. At the end of this, his battle, and his unswerving straight path of life, stands his death as a hero in the capital of the Reich. All his life meant service to the German people. His battle against the Bolshevik flood benefited not only Europe but the whole world.

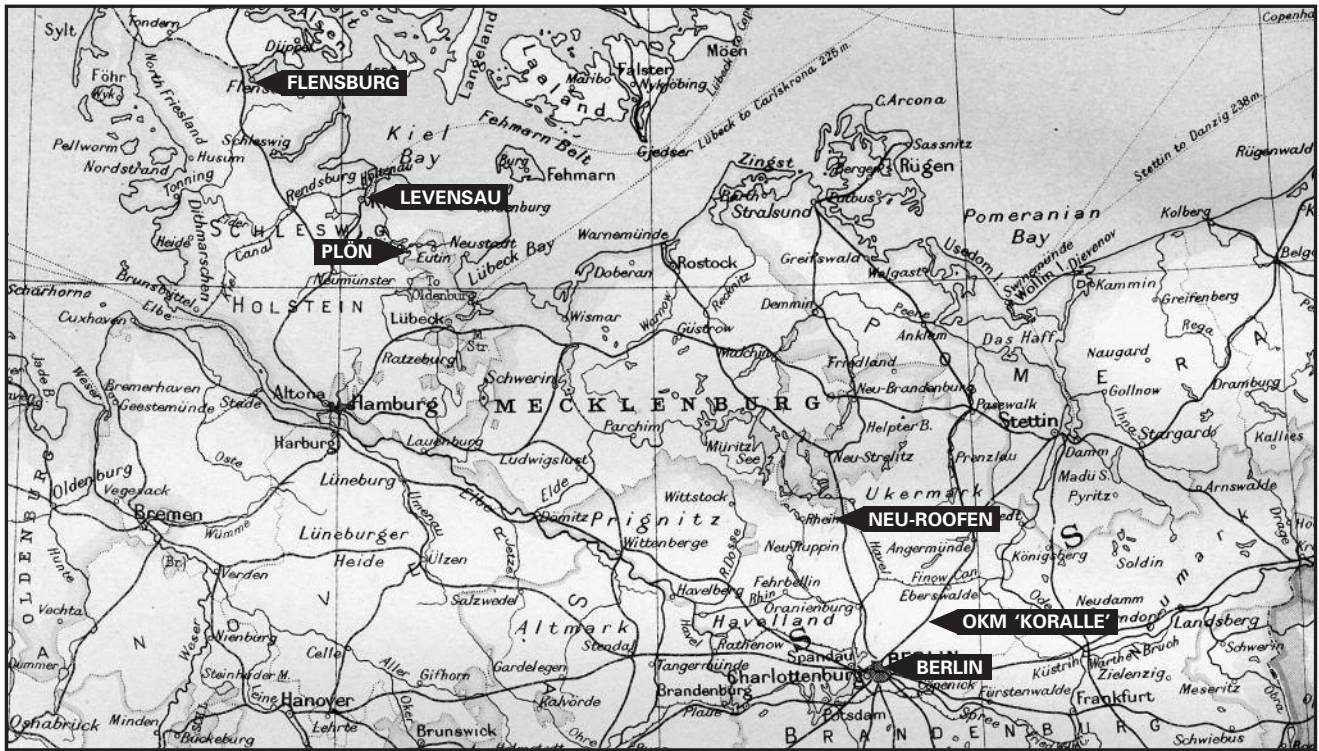
The Führer has appointed me as his successor. Fully conscious of the responsibility, I take over the leadership of the German people at this fateful hour. It is my first task to save the German people from destruction by the Bolsheviks and it is only to achieve this that the fight continues.

As long as the British and Americans hamper us from reaching this end we shall fight and defend ourselves against them as well. The British and Americans do not fight for the interests of their own people, but for the spreading of Bolshevism.

What the German people have achieved and suffered is unique in history. In the coming times of distress of our people I shall do my utmost to make life bearable for our brave women, men, and children.

To achieve all this I need your help. Trust me; keep order and discipline in towns and the countryside. If we do all that is in our power to do, the Lord will not abandon us.

GROSSADMIRAL KARL DÖNITZ,
BROADCAST TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE, MAY 1, 1945



Dönitz's route from April 20 to May 3: from 'Koralle' to Berlin and on to Plön, then via Levensau Bridge to Flensburg.

Then on May 1, Reich Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop came to see Dönitz, offering to stay on in the same position in the new government. Dönitz rejected the offer. Later that day, Johann Ludwig (Lutz) Graf Schwerin von Krosigk, the Reich Finance Minister since 1932, came down from Eutin to Plön to see Speer. At Speer's advice, Dönitz asked the count to become his new Foreign Minister. Reluctant to accept a prominent role at this stage of the war, Schwerin von Krosigk asked for 24 hours' consideration, then agreed. From then on he stayed on as Dönitz's chief political advisor.

However, the Grand Admiral's main pre-occupation now was the military situation. The previous evening, he had contacted the OKW-Führungsstab Nord (which had moved again and was now at Dobbin) and ordered Keitel and Jodl to come and see him at Plön. Before they arrived, he conferred with Generalfeldmarschall Ernst Busch, the Oberbefehlshaber Nordwest (C-in-C North-West), charged with the defence of northern Germany. Busch wanted to counter-attack the British forces advancing on Hamburg, but Dönitz was against any offensive action in this sector. Actions in the west should only continue in as far as they allowed the flow of refugees from the east to continue.

Keitel and Jodl arrived in the afternoon and immediately submitted their report to Dönitz. The overall situation looked utterly bleak. The attempt to relieve Berlin had

Earlier that night, at 2215, Korvettenkapitän Lütde-Neurath had telephoned Oberstleutnant Hermann Bruder Müller at the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command) HQ at Dobbin to pass on Dönitz's order for the chief commanders of OKW to report to him: 'Generalfeldmarschall Keitel and Generaloberst Jodl are to come to the Grand Admiral with all the papers of military command as soon as possible. The Führer has appointed the Grand Admiral his successor. This has been passed on by wireless. Please report time when Generalfeldmarschall Keitel and Generaloberst Jodl can arrive.'

failed and Heeresgruppe Weichsel was retreating in disorder. The army in the West was disintegrating. German forces in Italy had capitulated. The Kriegsmarine had suffered crippling losses in surface ships and the Luftwaffe had all but ceased to exist. Dönitz realised he would soon have to begin surrender talks with the western Allies and to this end he wired Generaladmiral Hans-Georg von Friedeburg, his successor as commander-in-chief of the Kriegsmarine and a skilful negotiator, to be prepared for a special mission.

The following day, May 2, Dönitz called another conference of his chief military and civilian advisors to choose between two courses — surrendering at once or continuing the attempt to save what they could from the Russians. That day Himmler returned to Plön and he was invited to stay for lunch with Dönitz and Speer.

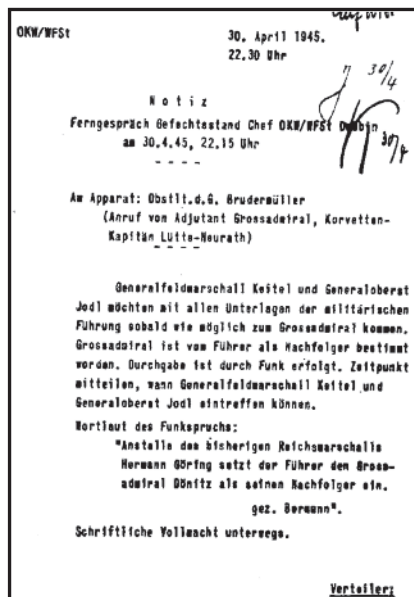
For over a week, Dönitz had been having problems with Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann of

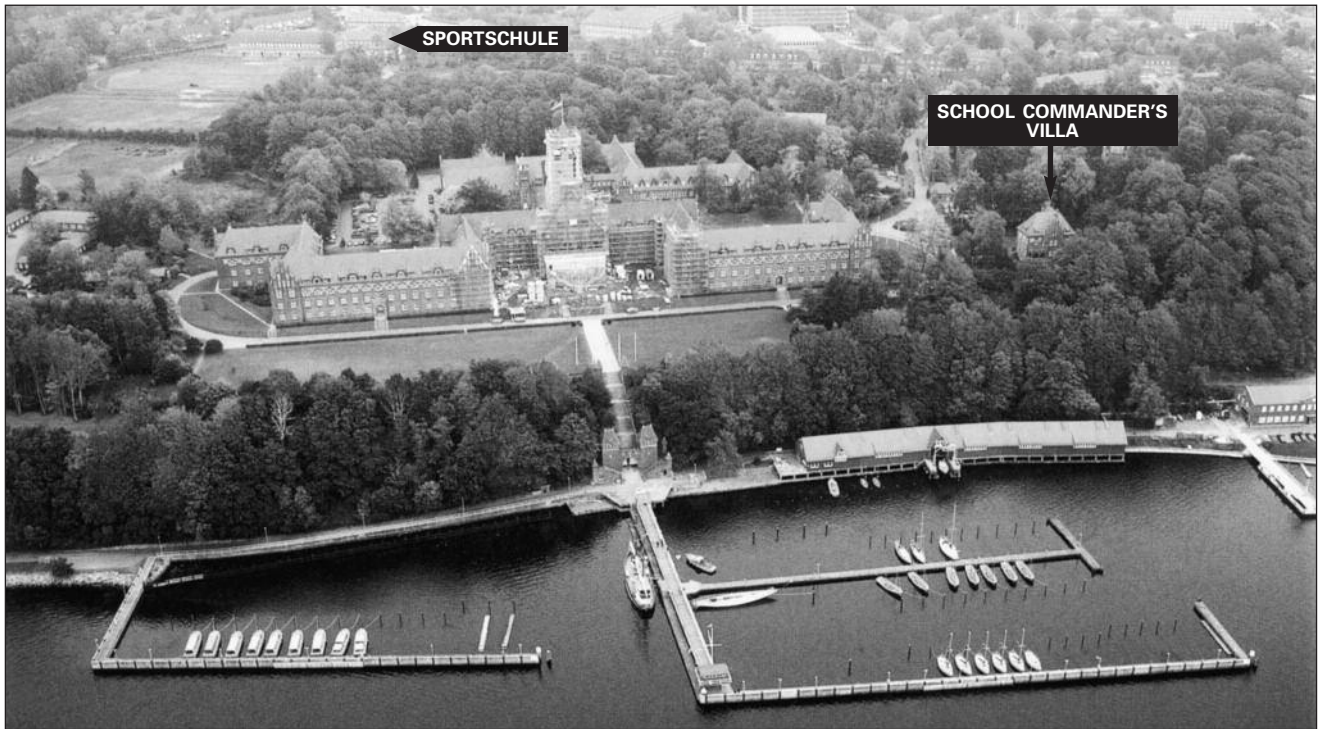
Hamburg. The city's combat commander, Generalmajor Alwin Wolz, had orders to fight for Hamburg but Kaufmann and Wolz both wanted to surrender the city to the British without a fight, the more so after the British had set an ultimatum that if Hamburg did not surrender it would be bombed more heavily than ever before. Speer offered to fly down to Hamburg to investigate. When he phoned back his report, Dönitz agreed to hand over the city without a fight.

That same day, May 2, the Allies broke out of their Elbe bridgehead at Lauenburg east of Hamburg and slashed through to Lübeck and Wismar on the Baltic coast, thereby closing the 'last gate' to the West for withdrawing troops and refugees (see *After the Battle* No. 88). On hearing the news, Dönitz made two decisions. Firstly, as it was now pointless to continue the fight, the time had come to bring an end to hostilities as quickly as possible to prevent further bloodshed. Thus he instructed Admiral von Friedeburg to take up contact with Field-Marshal Bernard Montgomery, the commander of the British 21st Army Group, and begin surrender negotiations.

Secondly, since the British at Lübeck were now only an hour's drive from Plön, he ordered his HQ to move north another 65 miles, to the naval port of Flensburg on the Danish border. The transfer took place during the night of May 2/3.

At 2100 that evening, on the way to Flensburg, Dönitz rendezvoused with Admiral von Friedeburg at the highway bridge over the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal at Levensau near Kiel and briefed him on his assignment. Von Friedeburg was to offer to Montgomery the surrender of all German forces in north-western Germany but also to try and negotiate that the remains of Heeresgruppe Weichsel be allowed to retreat to the west and surrender to the British. Von Friedeburg was to be accompanied on his mission by General der Infanterie Eberhard Kinzel, chief-of-staff of the OKW-Führungsstab Nord; Konteradmiral Gerhard Wagner, military representative on Dönitz's staff; and one OKW staff officer, Major Hans Jochen Friedel. After wishing von Friedeburg good luck, Dönitz motored on northwards.





During the night of May 2/3, Dönitz and his staff moved from Plön to Flensburg on the Danish border, setting up their headquarters in the Naval Cadet School in the suburb of Mürwik. Established by Kaiser Wilhelm II and opened in 1910, the Marine-Schule Mürwik was — and still is today — the central academy for the German Navy, having produced officers for the Kaiserliche Marine (1910-1918), the Reichsmarine (1918-1935), Hitler's Kriegsmarine (1936-1945) and since 1956 for the

Bundesmarine. Preparations for war produced a rapid expansion of the school, with many new buildings being added between 1934 and 1938, but the original main building on the banks of the Flensburg Fjord — known locally and in naval circles as the 'Red Castle on the Sea' — remained the school's prime landmark. Dönitz knew the Marine-Schule well, having been a cadet in 'Crew X', the class of 1910 that was commissioned in 1913. (BWA)

Arriving at Flensburg in the early hours of May 3, Dönitz set up his headquarters in the Marine-Schule Mürwik, the naval cadet school on the bluff overlooking the Flensburg Fjord in Mürwik, an eastern suburb of Flensburg. Moored along the quay within the school complex was the *Patria*, an 8,000-ton Hamburg-America Line passenger ship, and this is where the Grand Admiral set up his initial quarters. The following morning he was joined there by Keitel and Jodl and their small OKW staff and by Speer, who had returned from Hamburg.

Looking for a place to house his headquarters and the OKW staff, Dönitz turned to the commander of the naval school, Kapitän zur See Wolfgang Lüth, who immediately offered him the use of the complex's Sportschule (sports school building). A large red-brick

building of several wings, it included a gymnasium, classrooms, offices and dormitories. Lüth also offered Dönitz the use of two rooms in his Commander's Villa as personal quarters for the Grand Admiral and his adjutant, Korvettenkapitän Walter Lüdde-Neurath. The Marine-Wach-Bataillon 'Dönitz', a unit comprised of former U-Boat crews and commanded by Korvettenkapitän Peter Erich Cremer, formed a perimeter guard around the Marine-Schule with armed sentries at all entry roads.

Some four miles east of Flensburg-Mürwik was the village of Glücksburg with its 16-century castle, Schloss Glücksburg, built into a lake. The owner, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Holstein, offered the castle to Albert Speer to use as quarters, which Speer gladly accepted, and he took up residence there

with his adjutant Manfred von Posen, his aide Karl Cliever and secretaries Edith Maguira and Annemarie Kempf. Speer's family was then at Kappeln on the Baltic, 25 miles away to the east, and Speer drove down several times to see them.

Since Flensburg might be occupied by the British forces any day now, several people started pressing Dönitz to move his government to Denmark or Prague. Himmler in particular felt drawn to Prague. Dönitz refused to do so since he considered such a move pointless and dishonourable. Others were making plans for escape. Gauleiters Erich Koch of East Prussia and Hinrich Lohse of Schleswig-Holstein each demanded a submarine so that they could escape to South America, but Dönitz flatly refused both requests.



As headquarters for his new government, Dönitz was given the Marine-Schule's sports school building. Built as part of the academy's expansion programme from 1933 and completed in 1937, it comprised a gymnasium, a boxing hall, classrooms and dormitories. Located alongside the main road, next to one of the gates, it had easy access for vehicles.



A German eagle still adorns the building although the Nazi swastika has been erased following the Allied Control Council Directive issued in September 1946. (See *The Third Reich Then and Now*.)



On May 3, while von Friedeburg and his delegation negotiated with the Allies at Montgomery's headquarters on Lüneburg Heath, Dönitz held conferences with the commanders of the foreign countries still occupied by Germany. In the morning he met with Staatsminister Karl Hermann Frank, ruler of the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and with General-leutnant Oldwig von Natzmer, the chief-of-staff of Heeresgruppe Mitte that was fighting to hold the Sudetenland border region of Czechoslovakia. Frank suggested to attempt using Czech politicians to arrange a surrender to the Americans to prevent Czechoslovakia falling in the hands of the Russians. Dönitz had little faith in the plan but agreed that it was worth trying. Meanwhile Prague was to be declared an open city.

Later that morning he had a combined meeting with Reichskommissar Josef Terboven and General der Gebirgstruppe Franz Böhme, the civilian and military commander of Norway respectively, and with General-bevollmächtigter (general plenipotentiary) Dr Werner Best and Generaloberst Fritz Lindemann, their counterparts in Denmark. They reported on the food and supply situation in their area, the state of the German garrisons, preparations for demolitions, the chances of a possible civilian uprising, of an enemy landing by sea or an overland attack on Norway from Sweden, etc. The discussions centred on the question whether the forces in Scandinavia should continue the war or join in a possible part-capitulation. Dönitz gave instructions that for the moment the troops should stay on battle alert and commanders concentrate on keeping order in their fief.

In the afternoon, Dönitz conferred with Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart, the Nazi ruler in occupied Holland. On April 30 Seyss-Inquart had successfully concluded negotiations with the Allies over food relief for the starving Dutch population. Dönitz instructed Seyss-Inquart to pursue these contacts to see whether they could lead to a local part-capitulation. Meanwhile he forbade any further demolitions or inundations.

Just before midnight, Admiral von Friedeburg and Major Friedel returned to Flensburg from Lüneburg to report on their talks with Montgomery. The Field-Marshal, so they explained, had refused to accept the surrender of the armies withdrawing before the Red Army. Nor would he discuss the fate of the civilian refugees. All that had to be taken up with the Soviets. He was prepared to accept the separate surrender of northern Germany but had demanded that Holland and Denmark be included plus all warships and merchantmen.

Left: The actual offices were in the northern wing of the Sportschule, the one closest to the gate. As it was now the seat of government, the members of Dönitz's staff soon nicknamed it 'Wilhelmstrasse'. The sentries (in Wehrmacht grey) belong to the Wach-Bataillon 'Dönitz', a naval unit made up of U-Boat personnel under submarine ace Korvettenkapitän Peter Erich Cremer. (IWM) Right: When we visited Flensburg in October 2004, the Sportschule was just undergoing complete refurbishment.

Never before has a cultured people been smitten as grievously as the German people now. Never before has any land been so laid waste by the fury of the war as has Germany. You are all disheartened now and incensed. Instead of faith, desperation has entered your hearts; you have become tired and cynical. This must not be. The bearing of the German nation in this war has been such that, in times to come, future generations will look upon it with admiration. Let us not stop to cry out our eyes about the past. To work!

The havoc wrought by this war has only one parallel in history — the Thirty Years' War. Yet the decimation of the people by starvation and plagues must not be allowed to reach the proportions of that period. That, and that alone is the reason why Admiral Dönitz has resolved not to lay down arms. This is the only meaning of the continuance of the struggle to prevent the death of fleeing German men.

It rests with our enemies to decide whether they wish to grant to the German people the possibilities that lie open to a nation which is defeated but which has shown its heroic spirit in battle, and imprinted its reputation on the pages of history as a generous and decent opponent. Yet each one of us must contribute his share, and in the months to come devote our strength to the work of reconstruction. You must overcome your lethargy, your paralysing despair.

REICHSMINISTER ALBERT SPEER,
BROADCAST TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE, MAY 3, 1945



Dönitz being driven off in his Admiral's car. Note the guard commander giving the military salute, all Nazi salutes having been banned by the time this picture was taken. (IWM)



On May 4 the delegation sent out by Dönitz to negotiate with the Allies over a possible part-capitulation, signed the unconditional surrender of all German forces in Northern Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark at the headquarters of British Field-Marshal

Montgomery on Lüneburg Heath. Here the envoys walk away after the ceremony (L-R): Major Hans Jochen Friedel, Konteradmiral Gerhard Wagner, Generaladmiral Hans-Georg von Friedeburg, General der Infanterie Eberhard Kinzel and Oberst Fritz Poleck.

On the morning of May 4, Dönitz gave von Friedeburg full authority to accept Montgomery's conditions. Also, as soon as the surrender to Montgomery had been completed, he was to fly on to SHAEF headquarters at Reims to negotiate a separate surrender in the West. Dönitz's two emissaries returned to Lüneburg Heath taking with them another OKW staff officer, Oberst Fritz Poleck, and shortly after 1800 hours von Friedeburg, Kinzel, Wagner, Poleck and Friedel signed the capitulation of all German forces in Northern Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark, to come into effect at 0800 hours on May 5 (see *After the Battle* No. 48).

Even while this was going on, Dönitz ordered Heeresgruppen Mitte, Süd and Südost to fight on to prevent as many Germans as possible from 'Bolshevisation and slavery', calling for absolute obedience and iron discipline. On the other hand he ordered an immediate halt of all U-Boat warfare.

Meanwhile, the structure of Dönitz's new government was slowly emerging. On May 2, while en route to Flensburg, Dönitz had asked Schwerin von Krosigk, his Finance Minister and newly appointed Foreign Minister, to form a new cabinet. Schwerin von Krosigk agreed but to underline the temporary character of the new administration he insisted that it be called an 'acting Reich government' and that he himself would be titled 'Principal Minister' instead of Reich Chancellor.

For a number of days discussions went on about which of the old ministers could stay, who should be replaced and who should be invited from outside. On May 5 Schwerin von Krosigk presented his 'acting government'. It was designed as a 'non-political' cabinet made up of specialist ministers. Schwerin von Krosigk himself became Principal Minister, as well as Minister of Finance and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Albert Speer became Minister for Industry and Production; Dr Wilhelm Stuckart, who had been a State Secretary in the Ministry of Interior, became Minister of the Interior (in place of

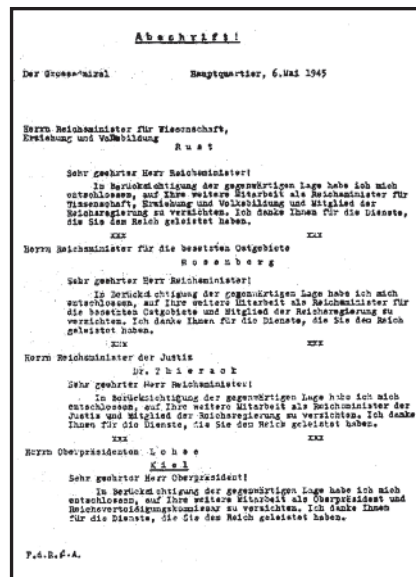
Himmler) and Minister of Culture; Dr Julius Dorpmüller, until then Minister of Traffic, became Minister of Post and Traffic; Dr

Franz Seldte, under Hitler Minister of Labour, became Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, and Dr Herbert Backe remained Minister for Food, Agriculture and Forests. Three ministries — the Propaganda Ministry, the Air Ministry and the Ministry for the Eastern Territories — were abolished.

It was decided that should either Goebbels or Bormann appear, they would be arrested, and Hitler's appointees Alfred Rosenberg, Reich Minister for the Eastern Territories; Bernhard Rust, Reich Minister for Science and Education; and Dr Otto Thierack, Reich Minister for Justice, were all formally dismissed from their posts. Dr Walther Funk, President of the Reichsbank and Reich Minister for the Economy; Dr Wilhelm Ohnesorge, Reich Post Minister; and Dr Hans-Heinrich Lammers, Reich Minister without Portfolio and Head of the Reich Chancellery, were advised to follow Göring's example and surrender to the Western Allies.

The most difficult question was what to do with Reichsführer-SS Himmler, who was still hovering about around Dönitz's headquarters. After several days of trying to devise a working formula, on May 6 Dönitz finally cut the Gordian knot and told Himmler that he was relieved from his posts as Interior Minister, Chief of the Replacement Army, and Chief of Police and had no need for him in his government. He also asked him to refrain for further visits to his headquarters. Thus deposed, Himmler lingered on in the Flensburg area for another two weeks, brooding over ways to escape arrest by the Allies. Though ousted, he still received official help, he and his escorting party being issued with naval identity documents with the ranks of petty officers and ratings, and the uniforms to go with them.

Meanwhile, from the late afternoon of May 5, Admiral von Friedeburg and his party were negotiating at SHAEF headquarters at Reims over a separate surrender in the west. The Supreme Allied Commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, was completely uncompromising and insisted on an immedi-



Meanwhile, Dönitz was forming his new cabinet. This letter shows that on May 6 he at one stroke dismissed three ministers and one Gauleiter considered too compromised by their long years of service to the Nazi regime: Bernhard Rust, Reich Minister for Science and Education; Alfred Rosenberg, Reich Minister for the Eastern Territories; Dr Otto Thierack, Reich Minister for Justice, and Hinrich Lohse, Gauleiter of Schleswig-Holstein and Reich Defence Commissar. All four dismissals were identically worded: 'In view of the present situation I have decided no longer to make use of your co-operation. I thank you for the service you have given to the Reich.'

German men and women, the High Command of the Wehrmacht has today, at the order of Grand Admiral Dönitz, declared the unconditional surrender of all fighting German troops. As the leading minister of the Reich Government which the Grand Admiral has appointed for dealing with the war tasks, I turn at this tragic moment of our history to the German nation. After a heroic fight of almost six years of incomparable hardness, Germany has succumbed to the overwhelming power of her enemies . . .

A government which has a feeling of responsibility for the future of its nation was compelled to act on the collapse of all physical and material forces and to demand of the enemy the cessation of hostilities. It was the noblest task of the Grand Admiral and of the government supporting him, after the terrible sacrifices which the war demanded, to save in the last phase of the war the lives of a maximum number of fellow-countrymen. That the war was not ended immediately, simultaneously in the west and in the east, is to be explained by this reason alone. In this gravest hour of the German nation and its empire, we bow in deep reverence before the dead of this war. Their sacrifices place the highest obligations on us. Our sympathy goes out above all to the wounded, the bereaved, and to all on whom this struggle has inflicted blows.

No one must be under any illusions about the severity of the terms to be imposed on the German people by our enemies. We must now face our fate squarely and unquestioningly. Nobody can be in any doubt that the future will be difficult for each one of us, and will exact sacrifices from us in every sphere of life. We must accept this burden, and

stand loyally by the obligations we have undertaken. But we must not despair and fall into mute resignation. Once again we must set ourselves to stride along a path through the dark future. From the collapse of the past, let us preserve and save one thing, the unity of ideas of a national community which in the years of war has found its highest expression in the spirit of comradeship at the front and readiness to help one another in all the distress which has afflicted the homeland.

In our nation justice shall be the supreme law and the guiding principle. We must also recognise law as the basis of all relations between the nations. We must recognise it and respect it from inner conviction. Respect for treaties will be as sacred as the aim of our nation to belong to the European family of nations, as a member of which we want to mobilise all human, moral and material forces in order to heal the dreadful wounds which the war has caused.

Then we may hope that the atmosphere of hatred which today surrounds Germany all over the world will give place to a spirit of reconciliation among the nations without which the world cannot recover. Then we may hope that our freedom will be restored to us, without which no nation can lead a bearable and dignified existence . . .

May God not forsake us in our distress, and bless us in our heavy task.

REICHSMINISTER GRAF SCHWERIN
VON KROSIGK,
BROADCAST TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE,
MAY 7, 1945.

iate and unconditional surrender on all fronts, including the Russian. On the morning of May 6 General Kinzel returned to Flensburg to report back to Dönitz. The Grand Admiral felt he could not accept Eisenhower's position and decided to send Jodl to Reims to try and get agreement to a surrender in two stages, first in the west, then at least four days later in the east, thus enabling more troops to get away from the Soviets.

Jodl tried to put off signing until May 8, but Eisenhower threatened to close the Allied lines to refugees and soldiers if he did not sign immediately. Dönitz saw no other option than to order Jodl to go ahead. At 0241 on May 7 Jodl — seconded by Admiral von Friedeburg and Jodl's aide, Major Friedrich Wilhelm Oxenius — signed the unconditional surrender of all German forces, effective from 0001 on May 9 (see also *After the Battle* No. 48). Still, Dönitz's evacuation efforts and delaying tactics at the negotiations had enabled some two million Germans to escape the Soviets.

At 1245 Schwerin von Krosigk broadcast to the nation, announcing the unconditional surrender, and was followed next day by Dönitz, who pointed out that the Nazi Party had stepped aside and that political power now rested with the occupying powers, who would decide whether or not he would remain in office.

On the evening of May 8, to assuage the Soviets, a repeat surrender ceremony was staged at Berlin-Karlshorst. Generalfeldmarschall Keitel was the main German signatory, with Generaloberst Hans-Jürgen Stumpf, the chief of Luftflotte Reich, signing for the Luftwaffe and Admiral von Friedeburg for the Kriegsmarine. The Germans signed at 2216 and the ceremony was completed at 2243 (Central European Time, Allied time was one hour ahead). The war in Europe was over.

Meanwhile, back at Flensburg, the new German government was doing its best to at least keep up the appearance of administrative activity. The cabinet ministers and their assistants spent their days writing reports and memoranda on the present state of affairs and on how Germany could be set on its feet again. Every morning at 1000 Schwerin von Krosigk chaired a cabinet meeting in the so-called Cabinet Room, a

former classroom in the Sportschule building, engaging in serious discussions on matters such as the food situation, traffic, finances and foreign policy. Many of those involved recognised the farcical aspect of it all. Speer in particular thought that the tragedy was turning into a tragicomedy. He was of the opinion that they were making themselves ridiculous by carrying on with this charade. He also noted that SS and other Nazi uniforms had vanished overnight, their wearers (such as Dr Stuckart and Dr Backe) suddenly appearing in civilian clothes.

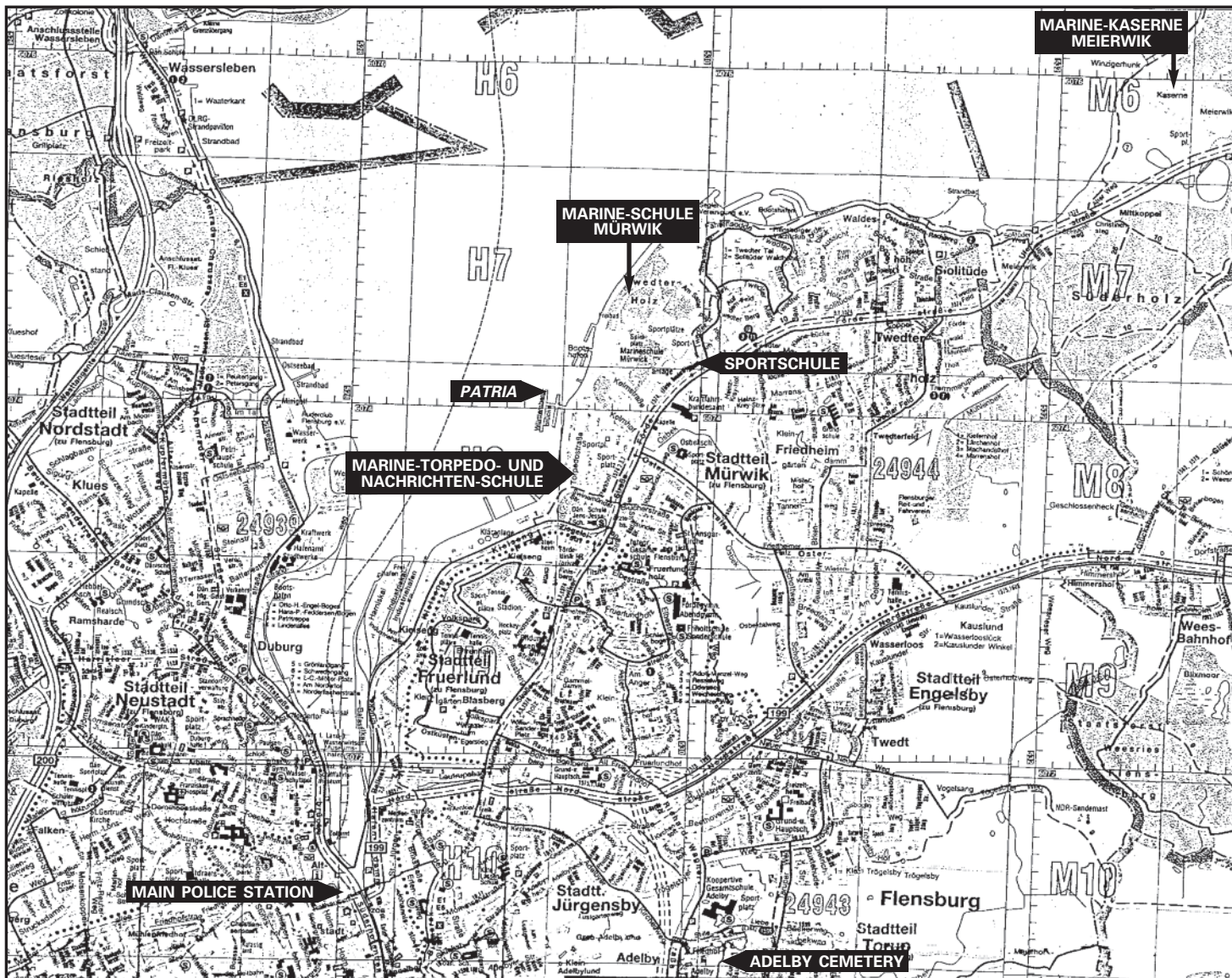
With Germany having capitulated, Speer and several others opinionated that the Dönitz government had done its job and should wind up its activities. However Schwerin von Krosigk and Stuckart took a different view, arguing that Dönitz must stay on to preserve the continuity of the German Reich and not imperil the legitimacy of a future German government. Dönitz agreed with them. He was still besotted with the idea that his government had to preserve 'the most beautiful and best that National Social-

ism has given us — the unity of our racial community.' The very idea that prominent democrats and trade unionist should be invited to take part in government was totally unacceptable to him and his entourage, for their experience of the Weimar Republic had shown democracy to be unworkable. Speer alone argued that it was essential to form a government acceptable to the Allies, but none of the others could believe that they had done anything wrong under Hitler or that the Allies could possibly object to them.

When confronted with the horrors of the concentration camps they merely replied that the German people knew nothing of these crimes. There was no hint of shame, or horror or of repentance at these monstrous crimes against humanity. Dönitz considered that where camp inmates had been treated inhumanely, the perpetrators should be dealt with by German courts, but in any case most of these people were 'hardened criminals', 'morally degenerate' or 'anti-social elements' that deserved to be incarcerated in such camps.



Glücksburg Castle, four miles west of Flensburg, residence of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Holstein. Albert Speer, Minister for War Production and Armaments under Hitler and Minister for Industry and Production in Dönitz's cabinet, had his quarters here.



On May 10, three days after the surrender at Reims, the British 11th Armoured Division arrived in the Flensburg area, having been tasked with the occupation of the northernmost districts of Schleswig-Holstein. Responsible for the sector around Flensburg was the division's 159th Infantry Brigade. Driving into town that morning, the brigade commander, Brigadier Jack Churcher, was faced with a bizarre situation. The streets were crowded with German staff cars filled with German officers. German army busses lurched through the town. The docks were patrolled by German naval and military police, fully armed. The Luftwaffe was still in charge of the airfield. The area was crawling with thousands of German troops who occupied every barracks and building they could get into.

Churcher found the Dönitz government still in being, set up within its own enclave, protected by armed German guards of the Marine-Wach-Bataillon. The German enclave, about four miles long and one mile wide, extended along the Baltic shore from just east of Flensburg town to and inclusive of Glücksburg. It was only a small area but it included three large military facilities: from west to east the Marine-Torpedo- und Nachrichten-Schule (Naval Torpedo and Signal School), the Marine-Schule Mürwik (Naval Cadet School), and the Marine-Kaserne Glücksburg-Meierwik. Also included, at the eastern end of the enclave, was the massive Schloss Glücksburg.

The enclave occupied by the Dönitz government from May 8 included (from west to east) the Naval Torpedo and Signal School, the Naval Cadet School at Mürwik, the Naval Barracks at Meierwik and the Glücksburg Castle.

As Dönitz's government and the OKW and OKM were apparently operating with Allied approval, and lacking orders from SHAEF to the contrary, Churcher decided that for the moment he would have to respect the enclave. He issued orders that his troops should in no way interfere with the functioning of the government and the military commands and not enter the German area. As the Germans had all the best barracks, Churcher set up his command post in the city's main police station at No. 1 Norderhofenden.

The existence of a German government beside the Allied military government soon led to problems. On May 11, Generalfeldmarschall Busch broadcast a message from the Flensburg enclave. Describing himself as OB Nordwest, he declared: 'By order of Grossadmiral Dönitz and with the agreement of the British occupation authorities I have taken command of Schleswig-Holstein and the areas occupied by the troops of Field-Marshal Montgomery. All German military and civilian authorities there are subordinated to me.'

Busch was referring to an agreement made on May 5 by which 21st Army Group established a German chain of command through which it could direct the initial disbandment of the enemy forces. However, his broadcast

brought heated protests from all over the Allied world. It gave offence because it conveyed the message that the Dönitz government took priority over the Allies and because it was sent from a transmitter in the Flensburg enclave, which British troops were not able to enter. In London, angry questions were asked in the House of Commons. General Eisenhower promptly ordered firm control over the Flensburg radio and censorship of all future transmissions. Brigadier Churcher sent a commando party of technicians to the transmitting station to remove the vital parts and ordered the station closed.

The incident gave Churcher an opportunity to enter the enclave and visit Dönitz's headquarters in the Marine-Schule. One of the first people he saw on entering, although he darted into a passage to escape recognition, was Himmler. Churcher demanded to see the senior German officer whereupon he was shown into the office of Generaloberst Jodl. When he asked Jodl about Himmler, the latter denied that the former Reichsführer-SS was there. Churcher proceeded to give Jodl instructions concerning the evacuation of German troops from the Flensburg area and the construction of POW camps. He stipulated the exact limits of the German enclave and limited the number of guards that Jodl was allowed to employ to 300.



Four days after the surrender at Reims, General Eisenhower ordered Major General Lowell W. Rooks, Deputy Chief of the G-3 Division at SHAEF, to establish a control party at Flensburg for the purpose of imposing the will of the Supreme Commander on OKW in the areas of Germany occupied by the Western Allies. General Rooks was to issue the necessary instructions, supervise their transmission through German command channels, and compile information about the German command system through the collection and safeguarding of all OKW documents at Flensburg. The Soviets were informed of this order and invited to send a similar party to Dönitz's HQ.

On May 12, Rooks and his deputy, British Brigadier E. J. Foord, the chief of operational intelligence of SHAEF's G-2 Division, arrived in Flensburg with a staff of 13 Americans and 10 British, and set up headquarters in the *Patria*, the moored luxury liner previously used by Dönitz.

General Rooks acted quickly to assert SHAEF's authority. In his first interview with Dönitz on May 13, he ordered the arrest of Generalfeldmarschall Keitel (who was wanted for war crimes) and his replacement by General Jodl. He explained that all subsequent instructions to the German forces would be in the name of the Supreme Allied Commander and that his control party were to have complete access to the offices and files of OKW. SHAEF, he said, would leave to its army group commanders the control of

affairs in its zones and would deal with OKW only in matters common to all three armed services and to all Allied zones.

Dönitz replied that he would co-operate, declaring that the German armed forces had taken an oath to him personally and would obey his orders. He grasped the opportunity to mention severe problems such as food, currency, and fuel which beset the German people and emphasized the need of a central German authority to keep order. General Rooks brushed aside this suggestion, making clear that the Western powers intended to function through Allied military government.

Later that day, Rooks also interviewed Generaloberst Jodl. With Keitel arrested and taken away he was now the chief OKW officer. Jodl assured Rooks that he would undertake to carry out SHAEF directives in the interest of maintaining order and saving the German people from catastrophe.

On May 12, Speer was working in his office in Schloss Glücksburg when he was approached by two Americans, Lieutenant George Sklarz and Tec Sergeant Harald Fassberg. They introduced themselves as members of the US Strategic Bombing Survey group, which was compiling data on the effects of the Allied bombing campaign, and asked him whether he would be willing to co-operate. Speer agreed and for the next week sat in the castle with various members of the USSBS — among them Franklin d'Olier, Henry C. Alexander, John Kenneth Galbraith, Paul Nitze and George Ball — discussing the effects, mistakes and peculiarities of the bombings on both sides, and providing the USSBS with important wartime reports. Major General Frederick L. Anderson, Deputy Commander of Operations at Headquarters, US Strategic Air Forces in Europe, came to Glücksburg to personally thank Speer for his co-operation and compliment him on his wartime achievements.

Despite these evidences of co-operation, there were several incidents which led to demands in the United States and Great Britain for the termination of the Dönitz government and the elimination of the enclave. Busch's controversial broadcast of May 11 had been the first incident. There was growing alarm over the fact that the Allies had no precise knowledge of the situation inside the German enclave. It was suspected that it contained a number of high-ranking officers and Reich ministers who were listed as war criminals and eagerly sought after by British Intelligence. The buildings they occupied were also suspected

to contain important documents of vital importance for future war crime trials.

One man who was wanted for war crimes and whom the Allies were sure was in the enclave was Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi party ideologist and former Reich Minister for the Eastern Territories. They knew because Rosenberg had himself informed them of his whereabouts. Due to a strained ankle, Rosenberg had been admitted into the main building of the Marine-Schule Mürwik which was being used as a hospital for 800 patients. Learning that the Allies were looking for him, he secured a medical certificate declaring him unfit to be moved and sent it to Montgomery's HQ believing it would save him from being arrested. On May 18, a British search party entered the enclave, cordoned off the hospital and, despite German protests, went in looking for Rosenberg. Found in bed in a state of drowsiness, it was feared he had taken poison but it turned out he was just drunk.

Brigadier Churcher found it increasingly difficult to work under the bizarre situation that confronted him. Early on he tried to get permission to arrest the Dönitz government. Unable to reach his divisional commander, Major-General G. P. B. Roberts, he rang his corps commander, Lieutenant-General Evelyn Barker of VIII Corps. Barker agreed that the situation was an intolerable one and promised to consult Montgomery.

There were worries on a higher level too. Though the Allies had accepted Dönitz as the authority responsible for arranging the German capitulation, arguments soon broke out in London and Washington whether he should be regarded as head of a government. Eisenhower had hoped that Dönitz headquarters would be useful in disarming the Wehrmacht but he was worried because he believed Dönitz was trying to make trouble between SHAEF and the Russians. To get a better insight into these two matters, Eisenhower sent his political advisor, American diplomat Robert Murphy, to Flensburg with orders to investigate them with General Rooks.

On May 17, Rooks and Murphy were received by Dönitz at his office in the Sportschule. Asked about his status as head of state, he showed them copies of the first two telegrams from Bormann that appointed him as Hitler's successor and informed him of the Führer's death. He implored them that he was merely trying to do his duty and to carry out orders from the authority which he considered legitimate. He went on to declare that all Westerners, including the Germans,



The ocean liner *Patria*, which served as Dönitz's initial quarters at the Marine-Schule after his arrival on May 3 and from May 12 as headquarters of the SHAEF Control Party at Flensburg. A former Hamburg-America Line passenger ship, during the war she lay permanently moored at the Marine-Schule's jetty being used to billet school cadets and other sailors. Note the camouflage netting. (BWA)



Left: Kapitän zur See Wolfgang Lüth, the commander of the Marine-Schule Mürwik and Dönitz's host, was accidentally shot by one of his own sentries when challenged in front of the school and failing to give the password during the night of May 12/13. A legendary U-Boat ace, holder of the Knight's Cross with Swords and Diamonds, he had been appointed School Commander in July 1944. (BWA) Right: He lies buried at Flensburg-Adelby Cemetery.

should work together now to prevent the Bolshevisation of Europe. He related how he had struggled to help as many Germans as to possible (including many useful scientists) to escape to the West.

Dönitz's remarks, made in all earnestness, convinced Rooks and Murphy that Eisenhower's suspicions — that the Germans were trying to create a rift between Anglo-Americans and Russians — were right. That same day they signalled to Eisenhower and Washington their recommendation to immediately abolish the Dönitz government and arrest its members. SHAEF pointed out that this action would have to be cleared with the Russians but ordered all steps short of arrest to assure that Dönitz and his staff ceased their executive functions.

As it happened, that same day (May 17) the Russian delegation, a 15-man party led by General Truskov, arrived in Flensburg and joined the SHAEF Control Party on the *Patria*. This made the required co-ordination with the Soviets much easier.

On May 19, Eisenhower directed the 21st Army Group to consult with the SHAEF Control Party and then arrest the members of the Dönitz government and the OKW. Their archives were to be seized and secured. Members of the Kriegsmarine HQ were for the moment to be exempted from the order.

The members of the US Strategic Bombing Survey group requested to keep the decision silent for a day or two as they had not yet finished their very useful discussions with Speer and his staff on the results of the Allied bombing. This was agreed.

Two members of Dönitz's cabinet — Backe of Food and Agriculture and Dorpmüller of Post and Traffic — could be

arrested early because they were away from Flensburg, having been asked to come to SHAEF headquarters in Reims for discussions of matters within their competence. Backe had left on the 15th and Dorpmüller on the 20th, and both were arrested on arrival. The Allies did not inform the German government of their arrest and, though there were rumours, no one in Dönitz's entourage knew what had happened to them.

The order of carrying out the liquidation of the enclave was given to Brigadier Churcher. His planning was dominated by one overriding concern: there was not to be any shooting. To accomplish this, Churcher reasoned, it was necessary to get rid of Dönitz and his chief military commanders, Jodl and von Friedeburg, before the British troops moved in. With their leaders absent, so he hoped, the German sentries would not open fire when his men advanced into the enclave. A major handicap for the planning was the lack of intelligence on the exact use of buildings within the enclave and on which personality was billeted where. As far as was known, the Dönitz government was housed in Glücksburg castle; the OKW in the Sportschule and two wooden hut areas (known as the Heinz-Krey-Lager and the Mützelburg-Lager) within the Marine-Schule Mürwik complex; and the OKM in another area of the Marine-Schule and in the adjoining Torpedo- und Nachrichten-Schule. Brigadier Churcher was especially worried about the massive Glücksburg castle. Built into a lake and with its thick medieval walls, it could prove a tough nut to crack and its many dungeons and crypts would need a skilled and ruthless search to weed out whoever was hiding there.

The final plan — worked out in consultation with General Rooks and code-named Operation 'Blackout' — was as follows.

In order to get the commanders out of the way at the critical time, Rooks was to summon Dönitz, Jodl and von Friedeburg to present themselves on board the *Patria* at 0945 hours on the 23rd. Here he would formally inform them of their arrest, meanwhile keeping them there long enough for Churcher's force to be able to move in on the enclave, disarm the German troops and round up the rest of the government and High Commands. This operation was to start at 1000 hours.

Tagesniederschrift 16.5.45.

10 00 Uhr Trauerfeier für Kpt.z.S.Lüth in der Aula der Marinekriegsschule. Gedenkrede des Großadmirals.

17 00 Uhr Ausseminister, Minister Speer. Speer berichtet über längere und eingehende Unterhaltung mit dem amerikanischen Luftwaffengeneral Henderson, der das amerikanische Bomberkommando in Europa führt. Unterhaltung drehte sich ausschließlich um zurückliegende Dinge (Auswirkung der Luftangriffe auf Verkehr, Wirtschaft und Produktion) und nicht über kommende Probleme.

17 15 Uhr Ausseminister.

1.) Die Lageentwicklung in Deutschland (s.Niederschrift vom 12.5) ist ständig Gegenstand größter Sorge. Da die Regierung weder selbst Maßnahmen ergreifen kann, noch die Möglichkeit hat, das Problem an maßgebender feindlicher Stelle anzuschneiden, andererseits sie aber unmöglich die Dinge einfach laufen lassen kann, entschließt sich der Großadmiral zum Empfang des britischen Berichterstatters Ward, um ihm offen die Lage zu erklären und vielleicht so die Brücke zur Fühlungnahme mit maßgebenden Stellen zu finden.

2.) Aussprache über eine Ausarbeitung Ohlendorf's über Aufbau und Aufgaben des Sicherheitsdienstes. Eine Weiterleitung dieses Berichtes an die Alliierte Militärregierung erscheint nicht zweckmässig.

17 30 Uhr Ausseminister, Gen.Oberst Jodl, Staatssekretär Wegener, K. Adm.Wagner, General v.Trotha: Weitere Nachrichten ~~von~~ ständig sich steigern ~~der~~ ~~Landes~~propaganda über Zustände in deutschen Konzentrationslagern machen jetzt eine öffentliche Klarstellung dahingehend erforderlich, daß weder die deutsche Wehrmacht noch das deutsche Volk von diesen Dingen Kenntnis hatten und von ihnen in aller Form abrücken. (s.Niederschrift 11.5. 12 11)

Right: From the official records of the Dönitz government. Diary of events on May 16: 10 a.m.: Memorial service for Kapitän zur See Lüth in the auditorium, remembrance speech by the Grand Admiral; 5 p.m.: Speer reports to Schwerin von Krosigk on his talks with General Henderson [sic] of the US Air Force on the effects of bombing during the war; 5.15 p.m.: Schwerin von Krosigk reports on difficult internal conditions; 5.30 p.m.: Schwerin von Krosigk, Jodl, State Secretary Wegener, Konteradmiral Wagner and General von Trotha discuss the further reports and steadily increasing propaganda about conditions in German concentration camps.



The end of the Flensburg government. May 23, 9.55 a.m., in the lounge of the liner *Patria*: Major General Lowell Rooks, head of the Allied Control Party at the OKW, flanked by his deputy British Brigadier E. J. Foord (at the far end) and Soviet General

Truskov (on this side of Rooks), informs Dönitz that his government is dissolved and that he and the two men with him, Generaloberst Jodl and Generaladmiral von Friedeburg, are now prisoners of war. (IWM)

While tanks of the 15th/19th Hussars moved up and covered the enclave's exits, two infantry battalions of 159th Brigade would enter the area. The 1st Hereford would go in from the west and occupy the Marine-Torpedo- und Nachrichten-Schule and the office of the Generalquartiermeister (Quartermaster General) in Mürwik. Since the battalion would already have a guard detail on duty at the *Patria* gangway on the day of the raid, it was also tasked with occupying the nearby School Commander's villa in the adjoining Marine-Schule complex. A party of Royal Marines would occupy the school's main building, the part that housed the OKM. The main task belonged to the 1st Cheshire who would occupy no less than three different objectives: the Heinz-Krey-Lager and the Mützelburg-Lager within the Marine-Schule Mürwik and the Glücksburg castle. The latter objective would be assigned to the battalion's Anti-Tank Platoon, whose six-pounder guns could be useful in case it was needed to force an entry. (For some unexplained reason, the Marine-Kaserne at Meierwik, halfway between Mürwik and Glücksburg, seems not to have been included in the assault plans.)

Once occupied, every building or complex of buildings was to be searched and every person found, irrespective of rank or sex, to be taken prisoner. Each unit was provided with a long list of 'wanted' persons, divided into four categories according to their importance. A number of Intelligence and Field Security officers and interpreters (from Nos. 41, 61 and 335 Field Security Sections) were attached to each unit to help identify the more important prisoners and handle and sort out documents. Throughout the cordon and search operation, a Royal Navy patrol of two destroyers would cruise along the Flensburg Fjord and watch the shore in case an attempt was made to leave the area by sea.

To escort the main characters into custody, Headquarters British Second Army, on

orders from SHAEF, sent a special detachment of four officers to Flensburg, who arrived on the 22nd. This party consisted of Major Guthrie Troup, the Second Army G-2 (Intelligence) and three of his Intelligence Officers: Captain Derek Knee, the IO (Order of Battle), Captain Mervyn Lowe, the IO (Documents); and Captain Hugh Williams, the IO (Photos). As detailed by Major Troup, Captain Knee was to escort Dönitz, Captain Lowe was assigned to Jodl and Captain Williams was to accompany von Friedeburg.

On May 22, General Rooks issued his summons to Dönitz, Jodl and von Friedeburg to present themselves aboard the *Patria* at 0945 the following day. The Grand Admiral had been expecting to be arrested for some time, so when his adjutant, Korvettenkapitän Lüdde-Neurath, informed him about the summons he had no illusions about what it meant. 'Pack your bags!' he remarked.

On the morning of May 23, Dönitz, Jodl and von Friedeburg left their respective billets, each in his own car and drove the short distance to the *Patria*, arriving there punctually at 0945 hours. As Dönitz's car reached the quayside, Lüdde-Neurath got out first and held the door open for Dönitz who was carrying his field-marshal's baton. Stepping on to the gangway the Germans noted that things were very different from what they had been on previous visits. The British lieutenant-colonel that was usually there to welcome them was absent. There was no presenting of arms by any of the guards. On the other hand there was a host of press photographers standing around.

On board ship, they were shown into the spacious lounge-bar. Before them was a long table, covered by a white tablecloth. Dönitz, Jodl and von Friedeburg sat down. Dönitz remarked: 'It's easy to guess why we've been asked here today.'

They sat alone in silence for six minutes, while their ADCs and other accompanying

officers paced the linoleum floor. (The Germans were kept waiting for several minutes to ensure they were still on board at 1000 hours when 159th Brigade moved in.) When the Allied Control Party entered, Dönitz and his commanders rose to their feet. There was no formal salute. General Rooks sat down opposite the Germans with Brigadier Foord and General Truskov on his right and left and an interpreter, Herbert Cohn, to one side.

Rooks immediately came down to business: 'Gentlemen, I am in receipt of instructions from the Supreme Headquarters, European Theatre of Operations, from the Supreme Commander, General Eisenhower, to call you before me this morning and tell you that he has decided, in concert with the Soviet High Command, that today the acting German government and the German High Command, with the several of its members, shall be taken into custody as prisoners of war. Thereby the acting German government is dissolved. This is now going on. Troops of the 21st Army Group are taking the several members, civilian and military, and certain records into custody. In conformity with instructions, each of you is to consider yourself a prisoner of war from this moment. When you leave this room an Allied officer will attach himself to you and escort you to your quarters where you will pack, have your lunch and complete your affairs, after which they will escort you to the airfield at 1330 for emplaning. You may take the baggage you require. That's all I have to say.'

When he had finished, Rooks asked Dönitz if he wished to say anything. The Grand Admiral, who had listened with a tight face but otherwise calm, merely retorted: 'Comment is superfluous'. Jodl, his face red and blotchy, let a sheaf of papers slip through his fingers on to the floor. Von Friedeburg, for whom this was his fourth capitulation in three weeks, just sat apathetically, tears in his eyes.

Meanwhile, the main operation to seize the enclave and arrest the other members of the Dönitz government and the OKW had started. At 0930 hours the assigned units had moved into position, stopping short and keeping out of sight of the German sentry posts. At 1000 hours sharp, Brigadier Churcher gave the signal for the troops to go in. The Cromwell tanks of the 15th/19th Hussars rolled forward and took up position at the enclave exits. The two infantry battalions and the Royal Marines party entered the German area and quickly closed in on their objectives. The whole enclave surrendered quickly. Not a single shot was fired.

The 1st Hereford had no trouble taking the Marine-Torpedo- und Nachrichten-Schule and the Quartermaster-General's building.

The 1st Cheshire likewise seized all its objectives. A Company under Major G. H. Routh-Jones, sped to the Heinz-Krey-Lager, crashed through a barrier on the road, overpowered a guard on the entrance of the Sportschule and within one minute seized the whole building. C Company, following close behind under Captain R. K. Rolfe, cleared the Mützelburg-Lager and the subsidiary OKW buildings. B Company under Major S. H. Cross set up perimeter piquets on all the exits of the Marine-Schule, sealing off the whole complex. The Reich war flag, which had been raised every day at the naval school, was taken down.

At the Sportschule building, Schwerin von Krosigk had just opened the daily session of the cabinet when suddenly the door flew open and British troops entered with fixed bayonets shouting 'Hands up!' Everyone in the room was told to stand with their faces to the wall. Then, to their disbelief, they were told to drop their trousers and everyone was subjected to an embarrassing physical examination. Meanwhile, elsewhere in the building, officers, soldiers, ministry officials, clerks and women secretaries were rounded up. All those found were paraded in the corridors with their faces to the walls while the rooms were searched. In the manner of soldiers from time immemorial, the troops looted freely. The prisoners were told to hand over watches and money. Caches of liquor and ham were emptied, cameras, radios and Nazi souvenirs taken.

Similar scenes unrolled all over the Marine-Schule complex. Many of the Germans were caught still asleep and had to line



With the German commanders out of the way, Operation 'Blackout' was launched. Sergeant Harry Oakes of the Army Film and Photo Unit was on the spot to picture troops of A Company of the 1st Cheshire storming the Sportschule building to round up the members of Dönitz's government. (IWM)

up in their pyjamas. One party of Herefords stumbled into a bathroom where a group of German female auxiliaries were having a shower and quickly retreated to allow the girls to cover themselves.

It was decided to place all the prisoners from the Marine-Schule in a nearby field and

to sort them into their categories there. The field soon began to fill up and by 1130 was holding about 5,000 prisoners. Field Security personnel started the job of identifying every prisoner, segregating them into their various categories, the troops themselves having very little idea whom they had arrested.



Left: The troops had orders to arrest not just the cabinet ministers and state secretaries, but every single person found in the building. (IWM) Right: The five rooms on the first floor of the Sportschule that were the cabinet room and offices of the



Dönitz government have been declared a historic site by the German authorities and to be kept in their original state. The refurbishment carried out in 2004 was only allowed to preserve but not to make any structural changes to the building.



At bayonet point, clerks and secretaries are put facing the wall with their hands on their heads. Note the portrait of Dönitz. (IWM)



Left: Every prisoner is subjected to a thorough search. Right: The naval officer in the foreground is a Korvettenkapitän. (IWM)

Meanwhile the Cheshire's Anti-Tank Platoon under Lieutenant F. B. Walker made its way to Glücksburg castle, deployed its six-pounder guns on the banks of the surrounding lake and stormed across the drawbridge that formed the castle's one and only entrance. Having been told that the castle was the seat of the Dönitz government, the platoon had expected to find many cabinet ministers there but this was not the case. However, they did catch one Grade I person: Albert Speer, who was found in a small cloakroom shaving. The British sergeant at the door said: 'Are you Albert Speer, sir?' At Speer's reply that he was, the sergeant stood at attention, said: 'Sir, you are my prisoner' and told him to pack his things. The catch at the castle further included 40 members of the German aristocracy, among them the Duke of Mecklenburg-Holstein and the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe.



Right: The scene in one of the corridors. It is difficult to judge whether the dishevelled state of these men's clothing is due to the 'drop your pants' body search that each person was subjected to or because they were caught asleep in their beds. Far right: The corridor being refurbished in October 2004.





The main prisoners are being led out of the building . . .



. . . and lined up outside. Note the female secretaries closest to the camera. (IWM)

The Allies had expected to find other top Nazis in the enclave, in particular Himmler, von Ribbentrop and also William Joyce, the traitor-broadcaster known throughout the UK as 'Lord Haw Haw'. However, despite an intensive search, they were not found. Himmler had in fact been captured near Bremen the day before, but would only be recognised that evening, after which he managed to commit suicide by taking poison (see *After the Battle* Nos. 14 and 17.) The others had for the moment evaded capture. Joyce would be caught with his wife near the Danish border not far from Flensburg on May 28. Ribbentrop would not be captured until June 14.

By 1200, all buildings within the enclave had been searched and all categories for arrest been taken. In all, nearly 6,000 people were crowded into improvised POW cages.



An intelligence officer of No. 335 Field Security Section taking the details of Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk, the principal minister in Dönitz's cabinet. Schwerin, 57, had been Reich Finance Minister since 1932, first under Franz von Papen, then under Kurt von Schleicher and from January 1933 under Hitler. He had reluctantly agreed to become Dönitz's Foreign Minister and leader of his cabinet. On his left is Franz Seldte, 62, Minister for Labour and Social Affairs under Hitler for 12 years and under Dönitz for three weeks. Charged before a Nuremberg International Court, Seldte would die in custody at Fürth on April 1, 1947. Schwerin would be sentenced to ten years in April 1949, released in January 1951 and live in Essen until his death on March 4, 1977. (IWM)



The Grade I prisoners ready to be taken away to the Flensburg police station. L-R: Franz Seldte, Generalmajor Erich Dethleffsen, chief of the Heeresführungsstab (Army Operational Staff); Konteradmiral Wagner, Schwerin von Krosigk; Paul Wegener, Gauleiter of Bremen and chief of Dönitz's civilian cabinet (Dönitz had divided his cabinet into a military and a civilian cabinet); Wilhelm Kritzinger, State Secretary at the Reich Chancellery; Gustav Adolf Graf Steengracht van Moyland, State Secretary in the Foreign Ministry; Werner Zschintsch, State Secretary of Education; Hans Joachim Riecke, State Secretary of Agriculture and Food; and Wilhelm Nagel, State Secretary of Post. Other Grade I prisoners captured in addition to these ten elsewhere in the enclave included General der Infanterie Hermann Reinecke, chief of the OKW General Office; Vizeadmiral Leopold Bürkner, chief of the OKW Foreign Department; SS-Gruppenführer Dr Karl Brandt, chief SS doctor (and for many years Hitler's personal physician) and General Inspector of Health. Grade I list personalities which the Allies failed to capture included State Secretaries of the Interior Dr Wilhelm Stuckart and Dr Leonardo Conti and State Secretary of Justice Kurt Klemm. (IWM)



Left: State Secretary of Education Zschintsch, followed by his colleague from Foreign Affairs, Steengracht van Moyland, being walked out the gate under guard. Right: Generalmajor Erich Dethleffsen follows suit. Before he became the chief of



Heeresführungsstab on May 10, Dethleffsen had been chief-of-staff of Heeresgruppe Weichsel, chief of the OKH-Führungsgruppe and deputy chief of the OKW-Führungsstab Nord, all in the space of two months. (IWM)



The same view from Fördestrasse today. The inner gate-post on the left has been removed.





Above: Meanwhile, just 500 yards away, another scene was unrolling at the School Commander's villa down at the other end of the Marine-Schule complex. Having been allowed to pick up his personal luggage from his rooms in the house, Dönitz, his adjutant Lüdde-Neurath (behind the Grand Admiral) and his driver/batman (on the right) descend the steps of the villa surrounded by Hereford troops. On the left (looking at Dönitz) is Captain Derek Knee, the officer assigned to escort Dönitz into captivity, and on the right Major W. A. P. Crofts of the 1st Herefords, whose A Company had been tasked with taking and searching the house. There is little in the photo to convey the tense atmosphere of the moment, emotions running high on the German side as they were refused to take more than one suitcase each and then took further offence at the disturbance caused to the mourning widow of Kapitän zur See Wolfgang Lüth, the school commander who had been accidentally shot nine days previously. (H. Williams) *Right:* The same steps today.



Left: The former Kommandeursvilla today houses the Wehrgeschichtliche Ausbildungszentrum (military history education centre), the central museum and historical archive of the German Navy. (BWA) *Above:* The two upstairs rooms used by Dönitz and Lüdde-Neurath now house part of the museum's World War II section.



Back at the Sportschule, AFPU Sergeant Oakes was still on hand to picture Generaloberst Jodl when he arrived at the building to pick up his gear. Jodl had his personal quarters in rooms Nos. 121-122 on the second floor. (IWM)

Meanwhile, back on the *Patria*, General Rooks had concluded his meeting with Dönitz and his commanders. As the Germans filed out on to the quayside, they found Major Troup and his three captains waiting to escort them back to their respective quarters. Already the Herefords on guard had removed the Reichsführer's flag and Admiral's pennant from Dönitz's car. The Grand Admiral stepped into the Mercedes and his chauffeur drove off without waiting for the Allied escorting officer. Captain Knee had to jump into his Jeep and speed after him — which, as Lüdde-Neurath noted, caused a soft smile on the Grand Admiral's face.

It was only a short drive to the School Commander's villa that served as Dönitz's quarters. While the Grand Admiral had been away, A Company of the 1st Herefords under Major W. A. P. Crofts had surrounded and occupied the house. Lüdde-Neurath sped up the steps to get the Grand Admiral's and his own three previously packed cases but when he came down with them Captain Knee said: 'You are not going on holiday but going to prison; you have the choice of one suitcase'. Lüdde-Neurath pleaded in vain but Knee would not budge. Dönitz was quite upset but had to choose one.

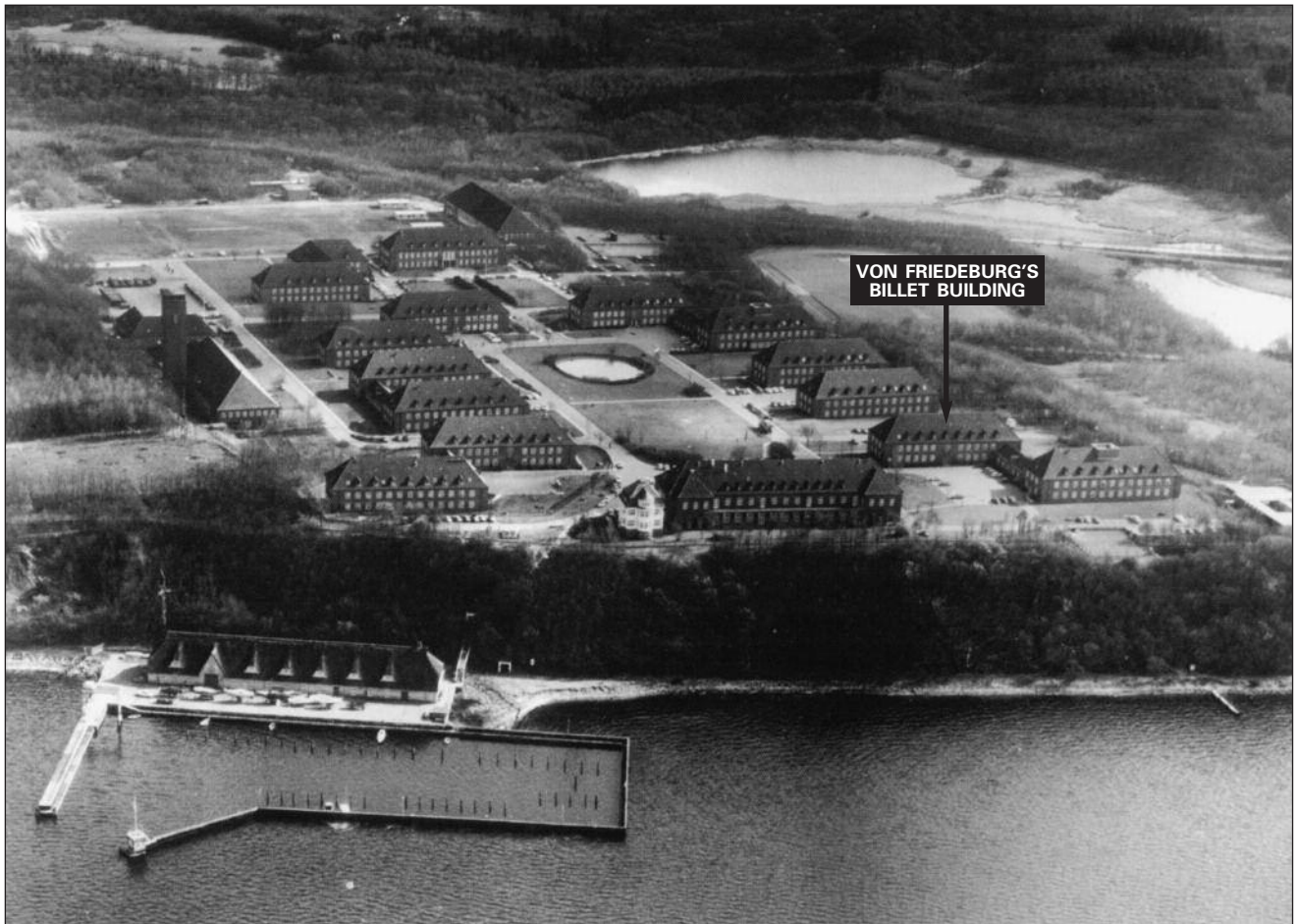
The Germans were further upset by the conduct of the British troops at the villa. Its resident, Kapitän zur See Lüth, had been accidentally shot by one of his own sentries on the night of May 13/14 and the household was still in mourning. Lüdde-Neurath politely asked the British to respect the widow's grief but this met with little heed. Frau Lüth was understandably distressed by the intrusion of foreign soldiers noisily searching her residence and came fleeing out in tears, holding her husband's war decorations. Lüdde-Neurath protested with the Allied officers present but the damage had been done. The incident left the Germans outraged and hurt.

A gloomy Jodl sits in his car awaiting to be taken away. (IWM)

Meanwhile, Generaloberst Jodl was driving back to the Sportschule to pick up his belongings from his two rooms on the second floor. By then the building was crawling with Cheshire troops so as soon as he drew up in front, he was apprehended by the soldiers (for reasons of security, neither the 1st Cheshire nor the 1st Hereford had been told that Dönitz, Jodl and von Friedeburg were to

be arrested on the *Patria* at the start of the operation). However, Jodl's escorting officer, Captain Mervyn Lowe, who followed shortly in his Jeep, quickly informed the troops that the General was already in custody and taken care of. Jodl picked up his luggage and Captain Lowe duly escorted him to 159th Brigade HQ in the centre of Flensburg.





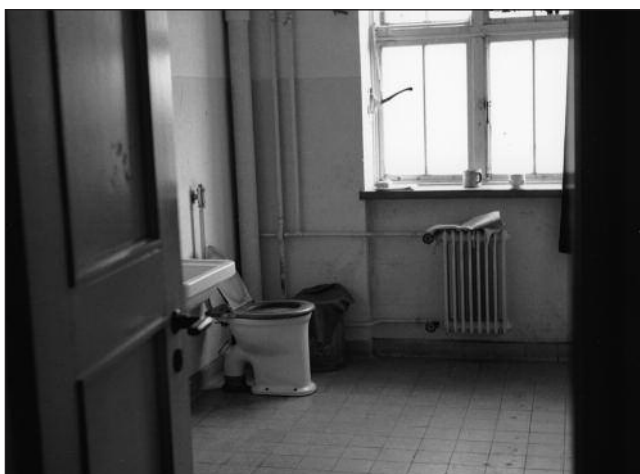
Generaladmiral von Friedeburg had his personal quarters in the Marine-Kaserne Glücksburg-Meierwik, two miles down the road from the Marine-Schule (see map pages 10-11). Completed in October 1939, during the war the barracks first served as naval NCO school, housing the 1. Marine-Unteroffizier-Lehr-Abteilung. In April 1942, with the growing demand for naval

officers, it became an annexe for the Marine-Schule Mürwik, taking in the cadets of the 2. Abteilung (Mürwik was the 1. Abteilung). Today, the Meierwik barracks houses the Flottilienkommando (Fleet Command) headquarters of the Bundesmarine. We have arrowed Admiral von Friedeburg's billet building.

In the bustle outside the *Patria*, Captain Williams had failed to find Admiral von Friedeburg and he was allowed to drive off unescorted. The experiences of the past three weeks had left von Friedeburg severely shaken and — as he disclosed to Dönitz during a short conversation outside the School Commander's villa — he had no intention of suffering the further humiliation of being taken prisoner. He had

decided to take 'the honourable way out' by committing suicide. So it appeared an incredible stroke of luck that he had been allowed to drive away on his own. However, as he made an intermediate stop at the Sportschule building, he was caught by Lieutenant R. B. Williams of the 1st Cheshire. Unaware that the Admiral had already been put under arrest on the *Patria*, Williams took him in custody. Von Friede-

burg was taken to the field where the other prisoners were being collected. The sights of his fellow officers being searched and rifled further strengthened him in his determination. After having his documents examined, he requested to be allowed to return to his private quarters to collect his belongings. Permission was granted and a small party of Cheshires led by Captain H. Davies was detailed to accompany him as an escort.



Left: With his assigned escort officer failing to pick him out at the *Patria*, von Friedeburg was allowed to drive off unaccompanied but he was caught by the Cheshires at the Sportschule, who then escorted him to Meierwik to get his things. However,



once there von Friedeburg still cheated his captors, taking poison in a corridor lavatory. Sergeant Oakes pictured the spot where he was found. (IWM) Right: Modernised since the war, this is the same toilet on the first floor.



Friedeburg's corpse pictured on the cot in his room. Shortly after these pictures had been taken, an embarrassing incident occurred when it was found that von Friedeburg's Knight's Cross with Swords of the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz* (of which only two had ever been awarded) had been stolen from around his neck. The Germans immediately filed an official complaint against this 'dishonourable treatment'. Everyone who had

been in the room was questioned but the culprit was not found. Although the looting of corpses had been common practice during the war, and soldiers had been appropriating war souvenirs from their prisoners all day, apparently the British authorities found the robbing of a dead admiral after surrender a different matter for this was the only case where the Germans received an official apology. (IWM)

Friedeburg's billets were not at the *Marine-Schule Mürwik* but at the *Marine-Kaserne Meierwik*, two miles up the road. Arriving at the billet building, Davies and his men escorted the Admiral up to his room on the first floor. While there, Friedeburg asked

Davies permission to go to the lavatory in the corridor. He had been there for only 45 seconds when the men outside heard a groan. Davies tried to enter the lavatory, but to his horror found that Friedeburg had locked himself in. Shouts to open the door had no

effect. He and his men broke down the door but the Admiral had already crushed a phial of cyanide and was lying on the floor, his eyes wide open and already unconscious. Within a few minutes he was dead. He was the only casualty of Operation 'Blackout'.



It is not known which were the exact rooms used by von Friedeburg but most likely it was room No. 208, today the office of the *Admiral-Arzt*, the *Bundesmarine's* supreme medical officer.



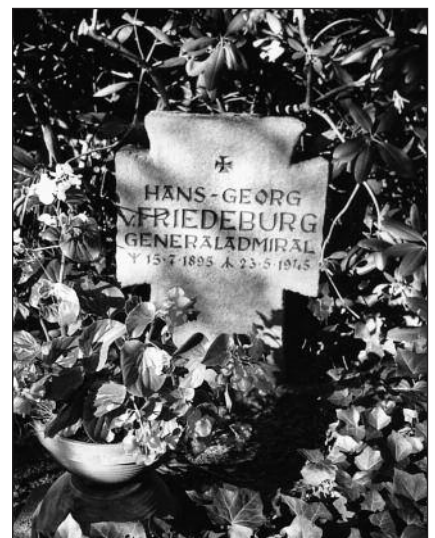
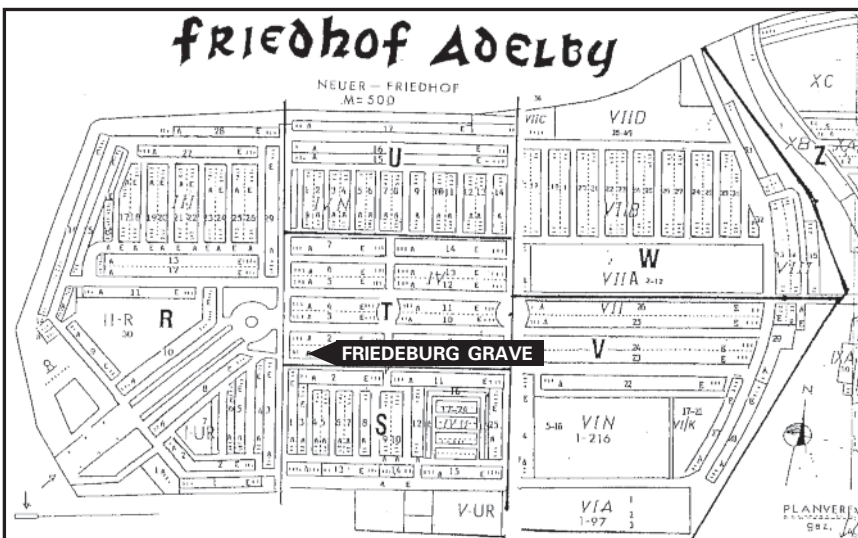
Left: The Admiral's body being carried out of the building by a German medic and a Cheshire soldier and placed into a British



army truck (below). Pictures by Sergeant Oakes. (IWM) Right: Six decades later, building 6B remains largely unchanged.



The complex seen in the background is the barracks' kitchen and canteen.



Von Friedeburg was buried in the Neue Friedhof section of the Gemeinde-Friedhof Adelby in Flensburg (see map pages 10-11),

next to Kapitän zur See Lüth. The Admiral is in Plot T, Row 1, Grave 2, and Lüth in Grave 1.



The Grade I prisoners were taken to the main police station at No. 1 Norderhofenden in the centre of Flensburg (see the map on pages 10-11). Formerly the Flensburger Hof hotel, the building had been a police and Gestapo station since 1935. On May 14, Brigadier Jack Churcher had requisitioned this building as headquarters for his 159th Infantry Brigade, sharing it with Royal Navy Captain Bell-Salter, commander of No. 1743 Naval Party at Flensburg.

That afternoon, Dönitz, Jodl and Speer and the other Grade I prisoners were taken to the 159th Brigade headquarters at the police station on Norderhofenden in the centre of Flensburg. There they were sat in a room, surrounded by their suitcases. One by one they were summoned to an adjoining room to be registered as prisoners, then taken behind a screened area in the corner where they were subjected to a full body search. No crevice was left unexamined.

Meanwhile their baggage was being searched, and all documents and valuables taken out. Examining Dönitz's suitcase, a Field Security officer found the Grand Admiral's field-marshal's baton and also his so-called interim baton. Emerging from behind the screen, he showed the field-marshal's baton to Captain Williams. Both men would have liked it as a souvenir, but they decided it must be handed over to the brigade commander, so the baton was taken to Brigadier Churcher's office and placed in his safe. (Two days later Dönitz wrote a formal protest, asking for the return of his two batons, but without effect. Brigadier Churcher was a King's Shropshire Light Infantry officer and so the baton eventually ended up in the KSLI regimental museum at Shrewsbury.)

The humiliating body search and the rifling of their luggage severely upset the Germans. Depending on their dispositions, they emerged from the room angry, insulted or depressed.

Shortly after, the three main prisoners — Dönitz, Jodl and Speer — were paraded to the rear courtyard of the police station where Brigadier Churcher allowed members of the Allied Press to film, photograph and question them. The three Germans took it calmly and stoically. Speer made an effort to give the impression that the spectacle did not concern him. One reporter tried asking Jodl a question but he icily replied: 'I am a prisoner of war and not required to say anything but my name and rank.' The reporter grinned and said: 'OK, give me those'. Jodl shot back: 'Generaloberst Jodl, chief of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht.'

Right: The inner courtyard of what is still today Flensburg's main police station. The passage in the background leads out to the main street.



Jodl arrives, escorted by Captain Mervyn Lowe. Picture taken by AFPU Sergeant Peter Norris. (IWM)



Dönitz, still holding his field-marshal's baton, is brought in together with his adjutant Lüdde-Neurath. (IWM)



Their persons and baggage having been thoroughly searched, the three main prisoners are taken to the police station yard to be presented to the Allied Press. Note that Dönitz's baton has been taken from him. Walking beside Dönitz is the 159th Brigade Quartermaster and beside him Lieutenant W. E. Pryor, the commander of the Brigade HQ Defence Platoon. Just visible between Jodl and Speer is Major Guthrie Troup, commander of the party of escorting officers from Second Army HQ, and behind him are two of his captains, Hugh Williams (left) and Derek Knee. Picture by AFPU Captain Bill Malindine. (IWM)





Above: The scene in the backyard, pictured by Sergeant Norris from the roof of a shed. Note the Bren gunner. (IWM)

Below: The left-hand building has been pulled down and replaced by a back gate, but the alcove on the right remains.





Tight-lipped and no doubt boiling inside over the minute search they have just undergone, the three men face the photographers and war correspondents. Apart from his field-marshal's and interim batons being taken from him, Dönitz's suf-

fered the further humiliation of being found to wear no less than eight pairs of pants. As the VIII Corps war diary commented, the Grand Admiral 'felt constrained to offer some explanation. He apparently suffers from a weak bladder'. (IWM)



All three men would later stand trial before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Speer would be sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. He was released from Spandau Allied Prison in 1966 and died in London on September 1, 1981, aged 76.

Dönitz received ten years; was released in 1956, and passed away on December 24, 1980, aged 89. (Pictures of their graves are included in *The Third Reich Then and Now*.) Jodl was sentenced to death and hanged on October 6, 1946, aged 56. (IWM)



Left: The passage on the right leads back to the inner courtyard of the police station. Above: A plaque on the wall (reproducing one of Captain Malindine's photos) records the event which occurred here on May 23, 1945.



Above: Their press confrontation over, Lieutenant Pryor escorts Speer, Dönitz and Jodl back across the inner courtyard. (IWM)

Below: Before taking the comparison, we put the garage doors in their original position of six decades ago.





Left: The captured Grade I prisoners arrive at Flensburg airfield. Photo by Captain Malindine. *Right:* Boarding the C-47 for the flight to 'Ashcan' — the Allied Detention Centre at Mondorf in Luxembourg. L-R: Seldte, Schwerin von Krosigk, von Steengracht, Dr Brandt (responsible for co-ordinating the Nazi



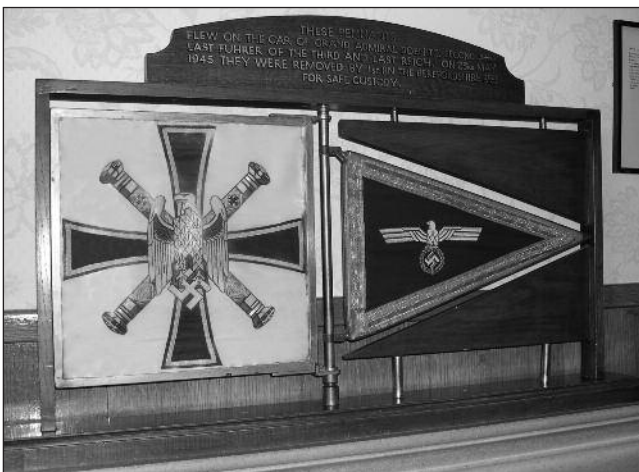
'Euthanasia' programme and medical experiments in concentration camps, he would be hanged by the Allies in June 1948); Speer (in background) and Dönitz. Both the Admiral and Jodl were allowed to take their adjutants; surprisingly, Friedeburg's adjutant was also taken along. (IWM)

That afternoon the Grade I prisoners were loaded on trucks and taken to Flensburg airfield where they were put aboard two C-47s and flown to the Allied Internment Centre at Bad Mondorf in Luxembourg. Dönitz's government had lasted just 23 days.

Two of the escorting officers, Captains Hugh Williams and Derek Knee, flew in the same aircraft with the Germans. Williams, today 87, recalls: 'We had a little trouble with the American crew who wanted to get autographs. We took off. After a while the little man seated opposite me rose, raised his Homburg hat and said: "Where are we going?" Not to be outdone, I got up, bowed and said: "I'm afraid I can't tell you." "Ah", he said. "It's a secret." "Yes", I said. As far as I was concerned it was a secret as no one had told us where we were going. The 159th Brigade Quartermaster had pushed two wooden crates aboard, one containing tins of corned beef and the other tins of biscuits. A little later my little friend rose again and we went through the bowing and hat raising. He said "Is this for us?" "Yes", I replied. Now one of the failings of the German government was that they never taught their politicians and senior Wehrmacht officers how to open tins of bully beef. So, standing in the middle of the plane at 200 knots, I demonstrated how to open a tin of corned beef. Dönitz said his wife had put some sausage in his briefcase, so could he have a knife. I gave him mine.'



The scene inside the C-47 during the flight to Mondorf, photographed by Captain Malindine from about the same position as where Captain Williams was seated. Dönitz can be seen sitting at the far end on the left. (IWM)



Souvenirs of Operation 'Blackout'. *Left:* The two pennants taken from Dönitz's car by troops of the 1st Hereford on May 23 are now on display in the Herefordshire Regiment Museum at the TA Centre in Hereford. On the left is the Admiral's pennant and on the right the Reichsführer's flag.



Above: Dönitz's field-marshal's baton is today at the Shropshire Regimental Museum at The Castle in Shrewsbury. Although the credit for arresting Dönitz properly belongs to the SHAEF Control Party, and his baton was first taken from him by a Field Security officer, it ended up at Shrewsbury due to the fact that Brigadier Jack Churcher, to whom it was passed on, was a King's Shropshire Light Infantry officer.



One of the members of the German delegation sent by Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz to take up surrender negotiations with Field-Marshal Bernard Montgomery on May 2, 1945 was General der Infanterie Eberhard Kinzel, the chief-of staff of the Führungsstab Nord (Operational Staff North) of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW, Armed Forces High Command).

Aged 47, Kinzel had been a professional soldier all his life. Born in Berlin-Friedenau on October 18, 1897, the son of Professor Karl Kinzel, he had entered Army service on October 16, 1914, two days before his 17th birthday. Joining Infanterie-Regiment 20, he had fought with them throughout the First World War, being wounded in May 1915, promoted to Leutnant in July that year, and finishing up as a battalion staff officer. After the war, he had stayed on in the military, first in the Freikorps von Oven, then in the Reichswehr of the Weimar Republic, and then in Hitler's Wehrmacht.

Under the new regime he had enjoyed a slow but steady career. From October 1933 to April 1936 he had served as Assistant Military Attaché in Warsaw. Then in November 1938, he was appointed section chief within the quartermaster branch of the Fremde Heere Ost (Foreign Armies East) department within the Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command, OKH), a position he held until May 1942. Thereafter he became Chief-of-Staff of the XXIX. Armeekorps in the southern sector of the Eastern Front, his corps taking part in the summer offensive towards the Caucasus but luckily missing out on being trapped at Stalingrad.



General Eberhard Kinzel, pictured on September 20, 1943 when he was Chief-of-Staff of Heeresgruppe Nord. The occasion for this official portrait by PK photographer Bieber was Kinzel's promotion to Generalleutnant, which had come through eight days previously. (BA)

THE SUICIDE OF GENERAL KINZEL

In January 1943 he had been made Chief-of-Staff of Heeresgruppe Nord (a position that brought with it promotion from Oberst to Generalmajor), which he remained until July 1944. In this position he oversaw the army group's battles at and final withdrawal from the Leningrad front. In September 1944, by then a Generalleutnant, he was given command of the 570. Volksgrenadier-Division, transferring to command of the 337. Volksgrenadier-Division the following month. After heavy battles in Poland and East Prussia his division was destroyed in January 1945, its remnants and the divisional staff, known as Gruppe Kinzel, carrying on for a while with the 35. Infanterie-Division.

On March 2, Kinzel was again appointed

Chief-of-Staff of an army group, this time Heeresgruppe Weichsel, the successor of Heeresgruppe Nord, which was defending the sector east of Berlin. Although nominally the army group's Chief-of-Staff, his job was really to take over the reins from its commander, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, who was totally incompetent in military matters. Kinzel led the army group until March 20, when Himmler was finally relieved by Generaloberst Gotthard Heinrici and Kinzel could revert to the role of Chief-of-Staff.

The following month, on April 15, with the Reich on the verge of being cut into two, Hitler nominated Kinzel as head of a soon-to-be-established Army General Staff for northern Germany. His appointment came into

By Karel Margry

effect on April 22, when the OKW organisation in Berlin was split up into a Führungsstab Süd and a smaller Führungsstab Nord, the former going south to Bavaria and the latter moving north towards Schleswig-Holstein. His transfer to Führungsstab Nord also brought an immediate promotion from Generalleutnant to General der Infanterie. Although officially with the OKW, Kinzel actually spent most of his time at the headquarters of Generalfeldmarschall Ernst Busch, the OB Northwest, who commanded the Wehrmacht forces in the northern zone of Germany.



Left: Twenty months later and Kinzel (right) is pictured in quite different circumstances as he leaves British Second Army headquarters at Häcklingen, just south of Lüneburg, on his way to surrender talks with Field-Marshal Montgomery on Lüneburg Heath. It is the morning of May 3, 1945. With him are (L-R)



Generaladmiral Hans-Georg von Friedeburg (receiving instructions from the British staff officer), Konteradmiral Gerhard Wagner and Major Hans Jochen Friedel. (IWM) Right: The estate that served as Lieutenant-General Miles Dempsey's headquarters is today a psychiatric hospital.



Colonel Joe Ewart, Montgomery's intelligence officer and interpreter, introduces the German delegation to the Field-Marshal, with Kinzel third from right. Every Allied press report of the time and virtually every account of the surrender published since the war wrongly describes Kinzel as being the Chief-of-Staff of Generalfeldmarschall Ernst Busch, the Oberbefehlshaber Nordwest (C-in-C North-West). In actual fact, although he spent much time at Busch's headquarters, Kinzel's formal position was not Chief-of-Staff of OB Nordwest — that was General der Infanterie Rudolf Hofmann — but of the OKW-Führungsstab Nord (Operational Staff North). (IWM)

When he appeared at Montgomery's headquarters on Lüneburg Heath at 1130 hours on May 3 — together with Generaladmiral Hans-Georg von Friedeburg, Konteradmiral Gerhard Wagner and Major Hans Jochen Friedel — it was Kinzel who made the most formidable impression on the British and others present. Montgomery's personal assistant, Canadian Lieutenant-Colonel Trumbull Warren, recorded: 'He was a magnificent looking officer, about 6 feet 5 inches, in his late forties, complete with monocle — a real professional Prussian.' One of the war correspondents present, Richard McMillan of United Press, wrote: 'His typical Germanic figure impressed us most. With a monocle plugged in his right eye, with his bloated face and bull neck, he looked the typical Nazi thug. Frightened too. They all seemed so terribly frightened.'

After the first two sessions with Montgomery, it was decided that two members of the German delegation — von Friedeburg and Friedel — would return to Flensburg to obtain and bring back from the OKW the necessary authorisation for signing the unconditional surrender of all German forces in Northern Germany, Holland and Denmark as desired by Montgomery. They were to return within 24 hours. The other two — Kinzel and Wagner — would remain behind at Montgomery's tactical headquarters.

During the night Kinzel had a long talk with Montgomery's Intelligence Staff Officer, Brigadier E. T. 'Bill' Williams, discussing the situation at hand. Among the details he disclosed was that the German forces to be surrendered would total over one million men, that there were 400,000 Russian prisoners of war in Schleswig-Holstein, plus some two million German refugees from the east, and that the area only had food supplies for ten days.

Friedeburg and Friedel returned on May 4, bringing with them the required authorisation and another OKW staff officer, Oberst Fritz Poleck. After the surrender ceremony, von Friedeburg and Poleck flew on to Reims to begin further capitulation talks at SHAEF, Wagner and Friedel returned to

Flensburg, and Kinzel remained at Lüneburg Heath to act as 'Chief of the German Liaison Staff' at Montgomery's headquarters.

Major-General Francis de Guingand, Montgomery's Chief-of-Staff, thrashed out the arrangements with Kinzel in a short con-

ference. Kinzel, with a small staff, was to be the channel through which British 21st Army Group would issue its orders to the German troops in its sector. The idea was to make use of the existing German headquarters to control and administer the defeated forces. Thus, 21st Army Group would deal with OB Nordwest (Generalfeldmarschall Ernst Busch), British Second Army with Armeekorps Blumentritt (General der Infanterie Günther Blumentritt), Canadian First Army with the 25. Armee (Generaloberst Johannes Blaskowitz) and the SHAEF Mission to Denmark with OB Danmark (Generaloberst Fritz Lindemann). As far as was possible, Allied corps, divisions and brigades were to work with the equivalent German formation headquarters in their area.

Kinzel immediately went to work. Shortly after midnight, he radioed the OKW in Flensburg asking for a Kriegsmarine officer and a Luftwaffe officer to be sent to join him, vested with authority to pass on orders to their respective services. Throughout May 5 he relayed radio communications between 21st Army Group and the OKW and between SHAEF and the OKW. The British were very pleased with Kinzel's efficient style of work. As Montgomery wrote to Field-Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, on May 5: 'Kinzel is a very able and very highly trained staff officer and I shall keep him at my Tac HQ with a team of German liaison officers to work between myself and Busch.'

On the morning of May 6 Kinzel flew back to Flensburg (together with a British German-speaking liaison officer to be attached to Dönitz's headquarters) to confer with Generalfeldmarschall Wilhelm Keitel, the chief of the OKW, and Generalfeldmarschall Busch on the composition and organisation of the German liaison staffs to British 21st Army Group and subordinate formations.



The low point of Kinzel's career as he signs the instrument of surrender at Montgomery's tactical headquarters on May 4. (IWM)



No. 1 Dethleffsenweg at Glücksburg, where Kinzel lived with his girlfriend Erika von Aschoff after his release by the British. It was from this house that the couple, determined to step out of this life together and at their own chosen moment, departed for their last trip on the morning of June 25. (E. Schmidt)

For the next three weeks Kinzel collaborated with the British helping to control, concentrate and disarm German troops and disband German units in the army group sector. Most of his dealings were with No. 104 Controlling Section, a sub-unit of 21st Army Group HQ. His own staff, named the 'German Liaison Staff at British Headquarters', grew to comprise 22 officers and 47 NCOs and men.

All this time Kinzel was weighed down with a personal heartache. A married man, many years previously he had fallen in love with another woman, Erika von Aschoff. The affair had turned into a firm relationship and the couple had been living together for quite a while, although the war had brought long periods of separation. Though he had never divorced his legal spouse, from whom he had two sons and a daughter, Kinzel had long since taken to generally presenting Frau von Aschoff as his officially married wife, a situation that was accepted and upheld by his family. Four years younger than he was, she had a son from an earlier marriage, a teenager named Ullrich. At 42, she was still as lively and beautiful as someone half her age.

A secretary by training, by April 1945 Erika von Aschoff was working as a female auxiliary at the headquarters of Generalfeldmarschall Busch — so Kinzel had been able to see her on a daily basis. When Kinzel was detached to 21st Army Group headquarters he soon missed her so greatly that he attempted to pull a few strings. As Major-General De Guingand recalled: 'Some of our liaison officers who had visited Busch's headquarters had reported seeing a beautiful blonde who worked in the German field-marshal's office. One day Kinzel asked whether he could have a PA (Personal Assistant) on his establishment, as he found the work rather heavy. I agreed to this, but shortly afterwards had to cancel the permission when I received information which showed that the beautiful blonde was the PA concerned.'

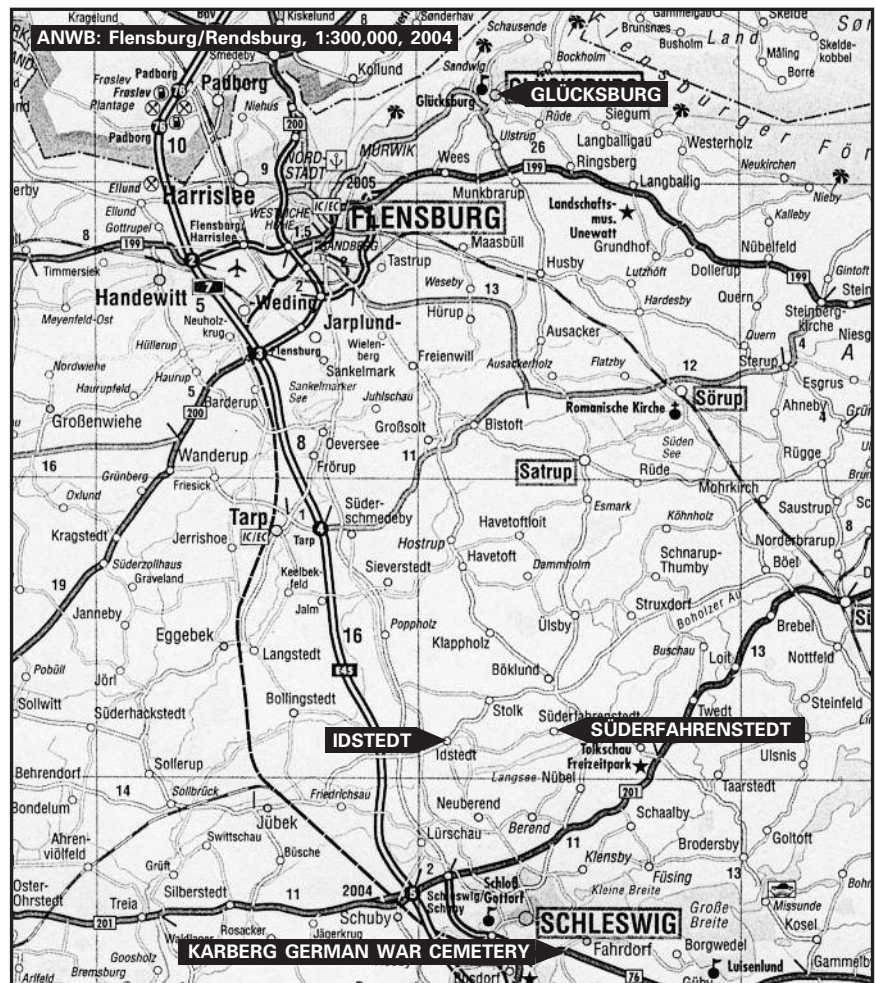
Right: Having predetermined the spot where they would commit suicide, and left instructions on where to find them, the pair drove 15 miles south to the small Langsee lake, just north-east of Schleswig town and turned on to the quiet country road that meanders along its northern bank from Idstedt to Süderfahnenstedt.

By the end of May, with most of its tasks done, the German Liaison Staff was wound up. Kinzel was released and, having been given permission to stay at Glücksburg, he moved in with Erika von Aschoff at lodgings at No. 1 Dethleffsenweg. His driver of many years, Oberfeldwebel Kurt Breitbarth, found accommodation in the nearby Hotel Ruhetal.

For three weeks the General and his lady lived quietly, although perhaps not peacefully and without worries. Most of Kinzel's wartime service had been on the Eastern Front and his great fear was that the Soviets might demand his extradition. He had no doubts about the treatment the Russians would have in store for him and presumed that he would eventually be executed. Kinzel and Aschoff worried about it daily and even discussed their anxieties with their landlady, Frau Claussen.

A first indication that things might change came on June 18, when No. 104 Controlling Section told Kinzel via OB Nord to remain at Glücksburg and await further orders from 21st Army Group. His anxiety grew further a day later when British VIII Corps, the occupying force in Schleswig-Holstein, ordered all German soldiers living within its district to report before the 20th. Complying with the order, Kinzel wrote a short note on the 19th giving his details and explaining that he had special authorisation from Field-Marshal Montgomery, 21st Army Group and No. 104 Controlling Section to stay at Glücksburg with his wife. Then, on June 24, Kinzel received an order from VIII Corps District instructing him to report to an Allied internment camp within two days. All his fears appeared about to come true.

On June 26, Oberfeldwebel Breitbarth went to Kinzel's house intending to drive the General to the internment camp. To his surprise the General was not in. Frau Claussen, the landlady, told Breitbarth that Kinzel and Aschoff had driven off in the General's BMW car at 11 a.m. and handed him an envelope, which the General had asked her to give to him. It contained a letter from Kinzel written on the 24th from which it appeared that he and his partner intended to commit suicide.



My dear old big brother,

This will be a goodbye letter. By the time you receive it we shall already be dead.

I had already told you we had no intention of surviving an unhappy end to the war for long. At the end our joint decision was to carry on for as long as a tolerable life together seemed possible. That hope is now irretrievably lost. I only face an interminable imprisonment, permanent separation from Erika and a future disconsolate and wretched.

You will understand that I could not talk to you about these things. What other option would you have had than to prevent me with all means from carrying out our plan – and we were and are firm in our determination.

You must not be sad. I have had a lovely life, elevated by unbelievable luck above the common crowd. The best of it was Erika, then you and Detta. I owe you a lot and think of you with affection. You may see Detta again, if you do, tell her all that. Also our very dear Grandma Aschoff when you, which I would like to believe, get in touch with her in the near future. You must also give my regards to Margreth and to Gisi, Jochen and Frau Bittmann, whom you two ought to treat better.

I now have a large number of request. There will be quite a few things left behind which may be taken care of by you alone. I trust I may express a few 'last wishes'.

1) One suitcase contains articles for Grandma Aschoff (Mrs Olga von Aschoff, Hindenburgstrasse 32, Gauting near Munich) They are for her or Erika's son: jewellery in a reddish-brown jewel-case; dark-brown handbag containing 4,000 Reichsmark (and a small gold watch); silver brush; the Botisatva from Ayutschya near Bangkok; the Russian miniature of Admiral Lazarev and wife; a round soldered tin containing 5 kg of coffee; a brown sports-jacket; a suit (without waistcoat); a pair of brown shoes; a light-brown attaché case.

If you are unable to get in touch with Munich within a reasonable period of time or should find out that the Aschoff family is dead, then all these things are at your disposal. Erika's son is named Ullrich Seldner.

2) The remainder is to be divided as you see fit between you and your family, bearing in mind the following: 2/3 of the foodstuffs are yours, 1/3 Julia Clausen's.

For Hellmut or Gunne, should they turn up, are: the silver cigarette case (1918 from Hauptmann von Doehn, as I got the Hohenzollern before he did); the silver cup (Charles); copy of Faust; 2 wristwatches; one of the two typewriters; 4,000 Reichsmark.

For you particularly I had in mind: the white suit (dirty, but quite new); the fur coat; the felt boots (warm feet even in the worst winter); the ring with the blue stone (father's old wedding ring, the dates on it are partly old, partly a mistake by the jeweller); my underclothes (practically new, mostly worn just once. The dirty ones Gisi will surely accept).

3) At my batman's home (Adam Kalbfleisch at Liederbach, Kreis Alsfeld near Kassel) are still and at your disposal: a very valuable fur coat, a present to me from Marshal Mannerheim; my pocket watch; jackboots and other articles of clothing.

4) Please put the two Zichy pictures from Russia that were recently brought to you in the suitcase for Grandma Aschoff.

5) I ordered a pair of spectacles from Optician Magnussen, halfway up Flensburg's main street on the left, but was unable to fetch them. Please pay him so that he will not suffer any loss.

That is the most important, my dear, dear old brother. I thank you for everything you meant to me in my life. Erika, too, thanks you for your kind welcome to her in your home. Do not blame her for my decisions.

*Your loving brother,
Signed Kinzel*

PS: Please keep up the story to everybody that Erika and I were married.

LETTER FROM GENERAL EBERHARD KINZEL
TO ADMIRAL WALTHER KINZEL, JUNE 24, 1945

The letter left no doubt about Kinzel's motives: 'Being an old soldier you will understand that I cannot admit now being separated from my wife, to go into endless British captivity and afterwards, when it really should, to face a hopeless future. You know how I have tried by all means to prevent this fate and to live on in peace at Glücksburg.' The letter also included instructions on where Breitbarth could find the car taken by Kinzel and Aschoff: along the road from Idstedt to Süderfahrenstedt, about 15 miles south of Flensburg.

The General had also left a letter to his landlady, dated June 24, which said: 'We made all endeavours in order to avoid you to remark anything. As a result of what we have been speaking about you will understand that I am not willing to take part in an indefinite long captivity and again a separation from my wife and the prospect of nothing in the future.'

There were also poignant farewell letters to Kinzel's elder brother, retired Vizeadmiral Walther Kinzel, and to Generalfeldmarschall Busch, his last superior. The letter to his brother contained detailed instructions for the disposal of Kinzel's private possessions.

Breitbarth immediately reported the letters and their contents to the British authorities. They instructed a German Army judge and Army medical officer, Oberfeldrichter Dr Held and Oberarzt Dr Stöck, to drive down with Breitbarth to the location indicated in the letter and conduct an investigation.

The three men motored down to Idstedt and turned east following the narrow country road that winds along the north bank of the Langsee lake to Süderfahrenstedt. After

searching the region for some considerable time, they finally found the car in the evening in a nursery for young trees on the right-hand side of the road coming from Idstedt, close to the lake. At the vehicle were two dead bodies. Kinzel, in his General's uni-

form, lay near the open left-hand door of the car. Von Aschoff sat leaning against the right front wheel, her legs stretched forward. Both bodies showed gunshot wounds in the head. Breitbarth confirmed the identity of the corpses.



The exact spot where the corpses of Kinzel and Aschoff were found, slumped beside the General's BMW car, is not recorded, the most detailed description in the reports being 'in a nursery for young trees on the right-hand side of the road coming from Idstedt'. Nowadays there are two fields along this road being used for growing fir trees. This is the easternmost one, looking towards Süderfahrenstedt.

Examination at the spot showed that von Aschoff had been shot in the base of the skull, the bullet exiting above the right eye. Kinzel had been shot through the right temple. In both cases death must have been instantaneous. Time of death was estimated at between 24-30 hours before and had most likely occurred towards noon on June 25. The circumstances left no doubt that Kinzel had killed von Aschoff in a sitting position by a shot in the neck from behind and that afterwards he had shot himself when sitting in the driver's seat.

In the car another letter by Kinzel was found, dated June 25, evidently written just a short time before his death. It read:

'I have committed suicide together with my wife by my own will. I am not afraid of any punishment, though being even one of the General Staff officers so abused by the English. I consider it to be useless to take upon me a captivity for long years, as well as a long separation from my wife and later on a hopeless future.'

The three men loaded the two corpses in their vehicle and drove back to Flensburg, Breitbarth driving the General's car. The corpses were delivered to the mortuary of the St Franciscus Hospital on Waldstrasse in Flensburg, and the car placed at the nearby military barracks on Junkerhohlweg. The personal belongings of both dead were given to Vizeadmiral Kinzel for handing over to the heirs.

On June 29, three days after they had been found, General Kinzel was buried at Adelby Municipal Cemetery in south-eastern Flensburg in a military manner allowed by the

Most esteemed Herr Feldmarschall,

All the attempts and hopes 'à la Bismarck' have failed and thus the stage reached where I am at the end. I can not bear a long imprisonment under who knows what conditions, nor a perpetual separation from my wife and no hopes of a better future. For a long time my wife and I have been in agreement to decide ourselves when we should depart from this world. I hinted as much to you, sir, a short while ago.

I herewith dutifully report my departure, wishing to thank you, sir, for all the good things and the friendliness, sympathy and faith which you extended so freely to me already at Heeresgruppe Nord and then further until the final end.

I beg you in particular to give my regards to Hofmann, wishing him the very best, and good fishing too! Also to Alsen and Müller my regards and thanks.

What shall I wish you, sir? My God, there is little choice! But perhaps you may yet be able to return to your family and spend the remainder of your life quietly and in a fairly satisfactory manner in a home of your own.

With special esteem and gratitude and many good wishes and obedient greetings, I remain, sir, ever your faithful,

Signed Kinzel.

PS: My driver, the very good and proven Oberfeldwebel Breitbarth, has been informed in writing as to where I shall leave the BMW car which Herr Feldmarschall liked so much, namely on the road from Idstedt (20 kilometres south of Flensburg) to Süderfahrendstedt. He has been instructed to bring it to you. Several spare tyres, some petrol and about 18 litres of oil are still at Frau Claussen's, Glücksburg, where I was staying. Breitbarth knows all about it.

LETTER FROM GENERAL KINZEL TO
GENERALFELDMARSCHALL BUSCH, JUNE 24, 1945



Left: Today General Kinzel rests at the Karberg German War Cemetery at Fährdorf (see the map on page 32). Right: Kinzel's Christian name on the grave plinth is wrongly given as Hans. This is the name under which he is registered in the records of the

German War Graves Commission and which is also used in several, even official, histories of the war. That his first name was actually Eberhard is clear from his own writings and was confirmed to us by his family (see *After the Battle* No. 58, page 54).


British occupying forces. That same day, Erika von Aschoff was interred at the Friedenshügel Cemetery in southern Flensburg, two miles away, her funeral having been arranged by Vizeadmiral Kinzel to whom her body had been handed over.

On January 14, 1961, Kinzel's remains were exhumed and transferred 30 miles south to the Ehrenfriedhof Karberg, the newly established German war cemetery outside Fährdorf, two miles south of Schleswig town, where he now rests in Plot West, Row B-39A, Grave 1030. Erika von Aschoff's grave at the Friedenshügel Cemetery (Plot 32, Grave 419) was cleared in the 1970s and the area where she rests is now just an empty plot.

Erika von Aschoff was buried at the Friedenshügel Cemetery in Flensburg. Plot 32 is now disused but this is the exact location of her grave.



CN 106264


CERTIFIED COPY of an ENTRY OF BIRTH
Pursuant to the Births and Deaths Registration Act 1953

Registration District **Leicester**

1944. Birth in the Sub-district of **Leicester north** in the **Conk Borough of Leicester**

Columns: -										
No.	When and where born	Name, if any	Sex	Name and surname of father	Name, surname and maiden surname of mother	Occupation of father	Signature, description and residence of informant	When registered	Signature of registrar	Name entered after registration
	Twenty third 17 October 1944 38 Melton Road. U.D.	David William	Boy	—	Alice Mary DEADMAN A shop Assistant at multiple Stores	—	A.M. Deadman mother 38 Melton Road Leicester	Seventh November 1944	Frederick L. Granger Registrar.	—

Adopted J Clement Arnold Superintendent Registrar

IN SEARCH OF MY FATHER

By David Smith

I was born in Leicester in October 1944 and adopted soon afterwards by a couple in their middle forties. When I was about ten years old I discovered that I had been adopted; everyone in the street knew so I guess they thought I should be told before someone else did. All they had was a birth certificate with my mother's name, Alice Mary Deadman, and a blank space where my father's name should have been. I was told that she was 19 years old and went back to Southsea soon afterwards and that my father was 'some Yank'. At the time I thought I was the only one who was half American, not realising till much later that I was one of thousands in the same situation. I was also told that 'you'll never find her, she's long gone'.

Years later I married my wife Diane and moved to Birmingham and we eventually had two children. I never stopped wondering who my mother was . . . what did she look like . . . and who was my father. Some years later we went down to London to the Births and Deaths Registry at Somerset House. We started looking by going back 19 years before I was born, looking for my mother's birth but drew a blank. Some years later my wife suggested that we should have checked the marriages instead of the births. So in September 1977 we went back to try again.

By then the records had been moved to St Catherine's House. Within an hour Diane said she thought she had found my mother. There was an Alice Mary Deadman married to Burgess R. A. in March 1948 in Southend-on-Sea. A quick look at the Burgesses and there was Burgess, Raymond Arthur married to Deadman A. M. So off we went to the nearest phone to call directory enquiries. They don't give out addresses so I made one up and was told they didn't have a number for that one so I said they were planning to move. I was then told that the only R. A. Burgess in that area lived in Delaware Road, Gunfleet.

In the same building but in a different entrance they keep the electoral rolls for the whole country. A check on that address revealed that the names were the same so I rang the number but there was no reply.

Back in Birmingham I sat for a long time wondering whether to phone or not. Finally at about nine o'clock that evening I called the number. A lady answered and I said that I was trying to trace some relatives and could I ask her a few questions. She said yes so I said: 'Was your maiden name Alice Mary Deadman?' She replied that it was. I asked: 'Did

you ever live in Leicester?' and she admitted that she had. 'It was Melton Road wasn't it?' When she said it was I came straight out with it: 'I think you know who this is don't you?' She said 'David, thank God, you've found me'.



Like so many adopted children, Dave Smith, born in October 1944, always wondered about his real Mum and Dad. But it was not until long after the war had ended that he finally succeeded in tracking down his mother Alice Mary. This is the photo she sent him of herself in Land Army uniform.



That was back in 1977 but the search for his GI father was to take another 20 years and it was only the advent of electronic mail that finally made it possible. *Left:* This is the photograph that Alice gave Dave of his father (right) with his mother and brother Douard, nicknamed 'Duke', taken in America before his



Dad left for Europe. *Right:* One can just imagine Dave's euphoria when, after a genealogical search on the internet, he received this picture taken in Kellogg, Idaho, in the State's Silver Valley. Obviously taken at the same time and place on West Mission Street, it was an incredible breakthrough.

Now there were lots of questions, starting with who was my Dad. She told me that he was an American soldier called Lee Haynes from Joplin, Missouri. What was he like? She said she had kept a couple of photos of him in case I ever turned up which she would send to me. How old was he when I was born? Twenty-four.

We then described ourselves to each other and I asked where her husband was. He was a Continental lorry driver but he had always known about me. She said they had no children so I was able to enlighten her that she had two grandchildren!

She had been in the Land Army in Devon when she met Dad who was in the engineers. She said he was born in May 1920 and his mother's surname was Meredith. When she was expecting me she went to live with her sister in Leicester and nobody else in her family knew about me. Dad did come to see me at Christmas in 1944 when he arrived back from France to collect some equipment but shortly afterwards all her letters to him were returned marked 'Missing believed killed'.

Soon after our telephone call she came with her husband to see us and we got on fine. She told all her brothers and sisters about me and we later went down to meet them. We now see each other regularly and talk on the phone every Sunday. So it all worked out alright in the end.

Now came my next quest: how to find my Dad. I first got hold of a telephone directory for Joplin and started ringing all the Haynes but with no luck at all. I then rang Winston Ramsey at *After the Battle* to see if he could help. He gave me the address of the US Army records department in St Louis so I

wrote to them. They replied that because of the fire some years before quite a lot of their records were destroyed. If I knew Dad's army number they might be able to help but of course I didn't.

I contacted the American Battle Monuments Commission and they sent me a list of all the Haynes who were buried in US war cemeteries worldwide. He was not on it but I understood that this search was not exhaustive for the official cemeteries do not hold all the American casualties as nearly 60 per cent were returned to the States after the war.

So after many false trails over many years, my wife and I finally decided to try to pick up the trail in Joplin. We went there in 1993 and searched all the cemeteries in the town but to no avail. We were even featured in the local newspaper which later led to a letter from a lady in Joplin who offered to help. She supplied me with many addresses of veterans organisations but these still led to dead ends. However our visit to Missouri gave us a liking for the southern part of America and we returned many times over the following years. At every motel we stayed at I would look in the phone book and, taking advantage of their free local calls, give all the Haynes listed a call. This produced no leads although many people wished me luck. Then, after many years of trying, our son Paul got interested. He wrote to many places for us and even to Bill Clinton.

Two years ago Paul put the details on an Internet genealogy site, asking if anyone knew of a Lee or Leroy Haynes who had a brother known as Duke who lived in Missouri. After a couple of weeks he received an e-mail from a person in Idaho. The message said they knew of a person called Erie

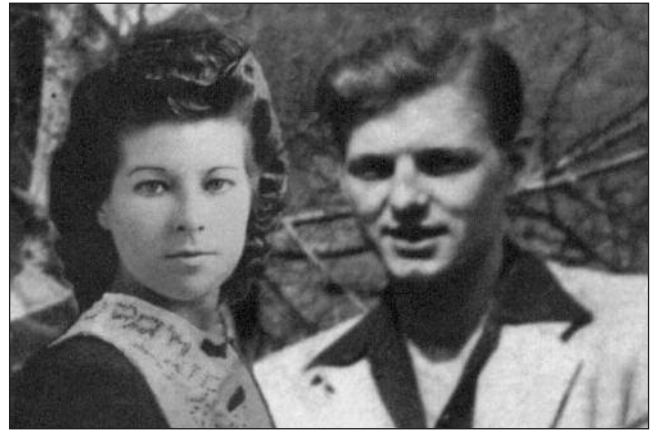
Lee Haynes who had a brother called Douard Booker Haynes who was known as 'Duke'. His date of birth was given as 1919 on his driving licence and 1921 on his birth certificate.

Paul then noticed that the message said that he once lived in Joplin for a while so I called my mother to see if Dad's first name was Erie but she said it wasn't and that he was born in 1920.

Paul went back to the American genealogical site to ask if they had any photographs. They said they had lots and what sort of age group did we want, so I asked for any in his twenties. I came home from work late one night to find Paul standing there with a photograph that he had just received by e-mail. Amazingly the background indicated that it had been taken at the same place, and probably at the same time as those that I received from my Mum. What odds would you give on that happening!

So we scanned my two and sent them back, saying that they were in for a shock. We then had more e-mails from a lady who said she was Angel Woods who was married to a police officer on the Nez Perce Indian reservation in Kamiah, Idaho. Unfortunately her grandfather — my Dad — had died in 1979. Then came the bombshell: you have a brother, Meredith Lee Haynes.

Apparently my Dad was wounded in the early part of 1945 and evacuated back home. His family had moved to Kellogg in Idaho during the war so he returned there and later got married. He became a miner and, apart from being recalled to the army for the Korean war, where he was a sergeant first class in the military police, he spent the rest of his life there.



Left: Dave's father Lee with sister-in-law Roberta and brother Duke. Right: A recent composite photo of Dave's Mum and Dad.

Kamiah lies only about 90 miles from Kellogg so Angel passed on the news. I promptly received an e-mail from Meredith Lee saying that if what he had just heard was true, it was wonderful news as he had always wanted a brother. He then told me all about himself and his family. He was married to Karen and had three children Mathew, Tammy and Gary. He also said that Dad had mentioned that he had a son back in England during the war but, as he was very ill at the time, Lee never questioned him about it. He died shortly afterwards.

I then told him about my family, my wife Diane and our two children Helen and Paul, and we exchanged telephone numbers. The following Saturday night at eight o'clock the phone rang. I picked it up and a voice said 'Hello David, this is your brother'. I replied: 'Hello Lee, this is your brother'. We spent the next hour or so talking. Lee told me all about my father and what he was like and about the place where they lived. He asked if my mother was still alive and he was pleased to know that she was. Subsequently we exchanged many photographs and the strange thing was that though Dad changed a lot as he got older, I do look like him. I have his build, tall and slim while Lee is shorter and stocky having taken after his grandfather. We also have third-generation Cherokee blood in us.

the States to meet them. It was a long trip as it was out of season with two flight changes so we had to spend the night in Spokane, Washington. The next day we drove to Kellogg and booked into the motel. About two minutes later there was a knock on the door. I opened it and there stood my long-lost

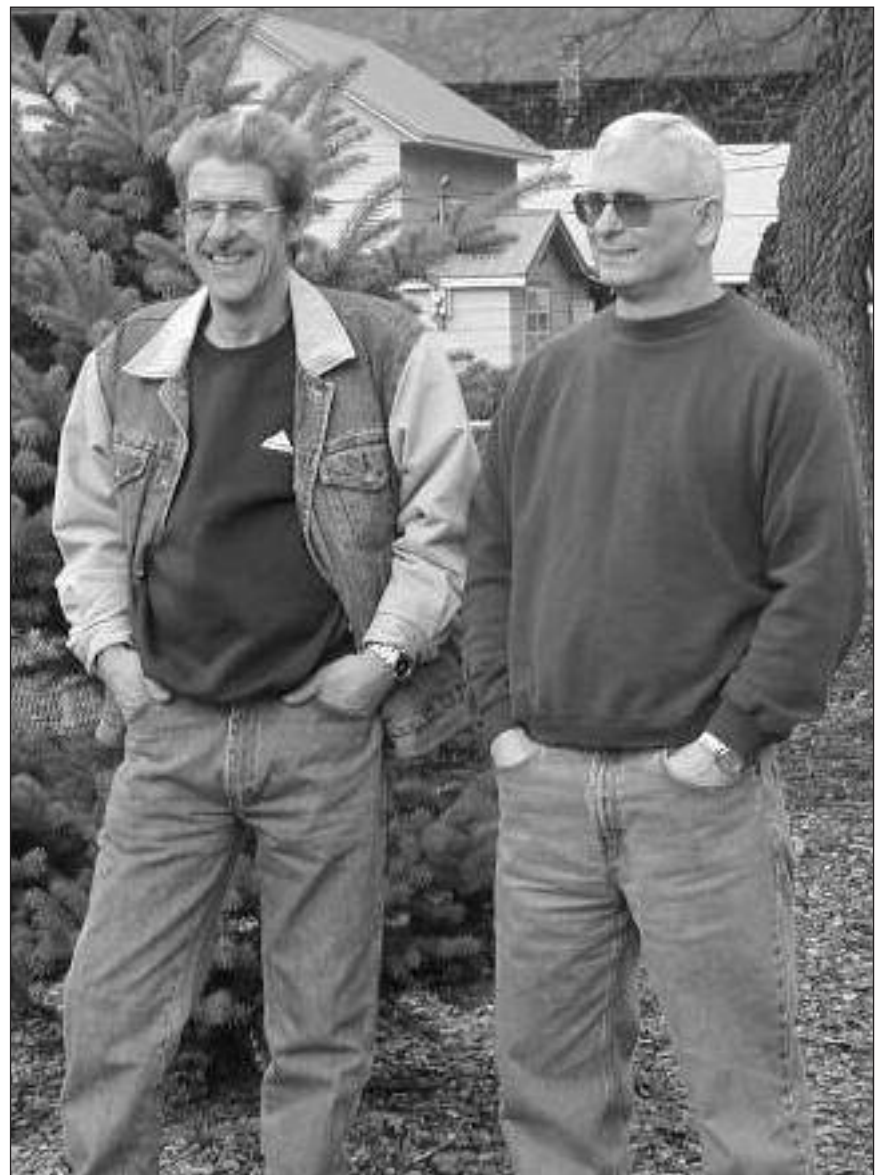
brother. We shook hands then just threw our arms around each other. His wife Karen and son Mathew were also there. Karen burst into tears, she said later because I was so much like Lee's Dad. We were then taken to their house and had a great time catching up. The next day we visited the grave of the



Sixty years on, Dave's mother was thrilled to know that his long quest had been a success, tinged only with the news that Lee had died in 1979.

Having confirmed the identification, I phoned my Mum and told her what we had found out. There was a pause and then she asked if I was sure. I told her about the photograph and said there was no doubt and that I had spoken to them. When she asked who I had talked to I said a man called Meredith Lee Haynes. She asked who that was and I said: 'Mum, it's my brother, Lee's son'.

In March 2003 Diane, Paul and I went to



In March 2003 Dave travelled to the US with his wife and son to meet his long lost American family. Here is Dave, left, with his brother Lee.



Hands across the sea! L-R: Darrel and Angel Woods; Paul, Diane and Dave Smith; Lee, Karen and Tammy Haynes.

father that I never knew. That was very emotional. I just knelt and traced the letters on the inscription . . . it just seemed like something I had to do. Lee read a passage from the Bible that seemed very appropriate and then he told me that as Dad was once a soldier, he had been given a military funeral with a firing party and the flag on his coffin. Then he opened a bag he had with him and took out the flag which he gave to me. He said it was my right as the oldest son to look after it. That brought the tears to the eyes of everyone there.

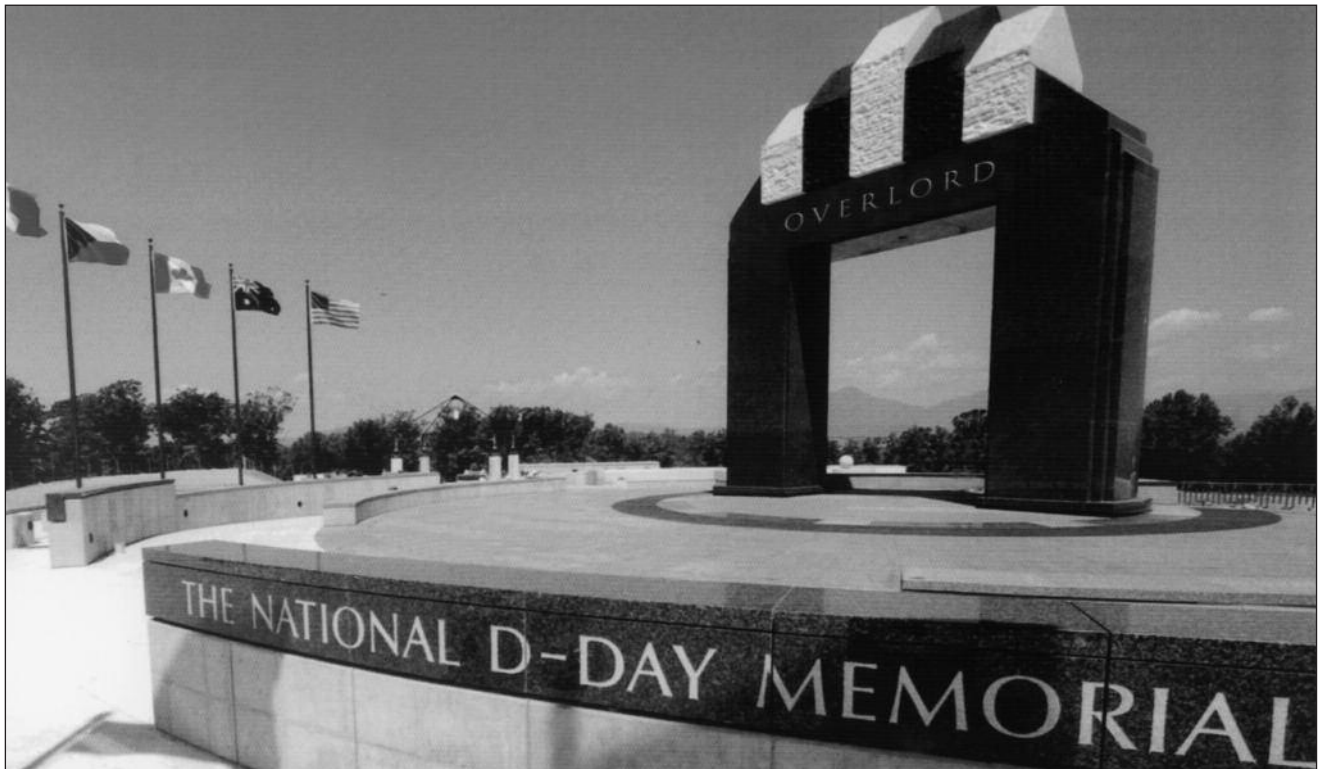
I phoned Mum and Lee spoke to her which she said later that it was just like talking to my Dad. We had a great time and they couldn't do enough for us. We were interviewed by the local newspaper and they took pictures and before we left we were taken around some of Dad's old haunts. The owner of the mine where he used to work even opened it up on Sunday afternoon and took us all down for a tour.

Are we close? — Yes. There was never any mention of half-brothers — we are brothers. Will we meet again? — Yes but meanwhile we are in constant touch by e-mail and exchange family photos all the time.

In my search for my roots I have many people to whom I am eternally grateful. My wife Diane for her love and encouragement; our son Paul for his dogged persistence, and of course my niece Angel. She said later that she nearly sent a photo of Dad in uniform instead. It was not a good one and I would not have recognised him from it. So had she done so this story might have had a very different ending.

Brothers in arms. How moving for Lee to give Dave the flag which had covered their father's casket when he was accorded a military funeral. A fitting end to a marvellous reunion.





America's national memorial honouring the soldiers of D-Day stands in Bedford, Virginia. A small rural town of only 3,200 souls

in 1944, Bedford proportionally suffered the highest number of casualties on D-Day of any community in the United States.

THE US NATIONAL D-DAY MEMORIAL

By Karel Margry

Perched on top of a high hill on the outskirts of Bedford, a small rural town in the State of Virginia, stands America's National D-Day Memorial. Odd though it may seem at first sight to find this memorial here, there can be few communities in the United States better suited for a D-Day memorial than this little town of 6,300 inhabitants, ten miles east of the Blue Ridge Mountains and 180 miles south-west of Washington.

One of the units landing in the very first wave on Omaha Beach on D-Day was Company A of the 116th Infantry Regiment of the 29th Infantry Division. The 29th Division was composed of National Guard units from the State of Virginia. Like 11 other Virginia communities, Bedford had provided a company of soldiers to the 29th Division — Company A of the 116th Infantry — when that regiment had been activated into federal service on February 3, 1941. Some 30 Bedford soldiers were still in that company on D-Day; several more Bedford men were in other D-Day companies, including one who, two

years earlier, had been reassigned from the 116th Infantry to the 1st Infantry Division. The 116th Infantry was the only National Guard contingent to land in the first wave, all other units being regular Army components from across the United States.

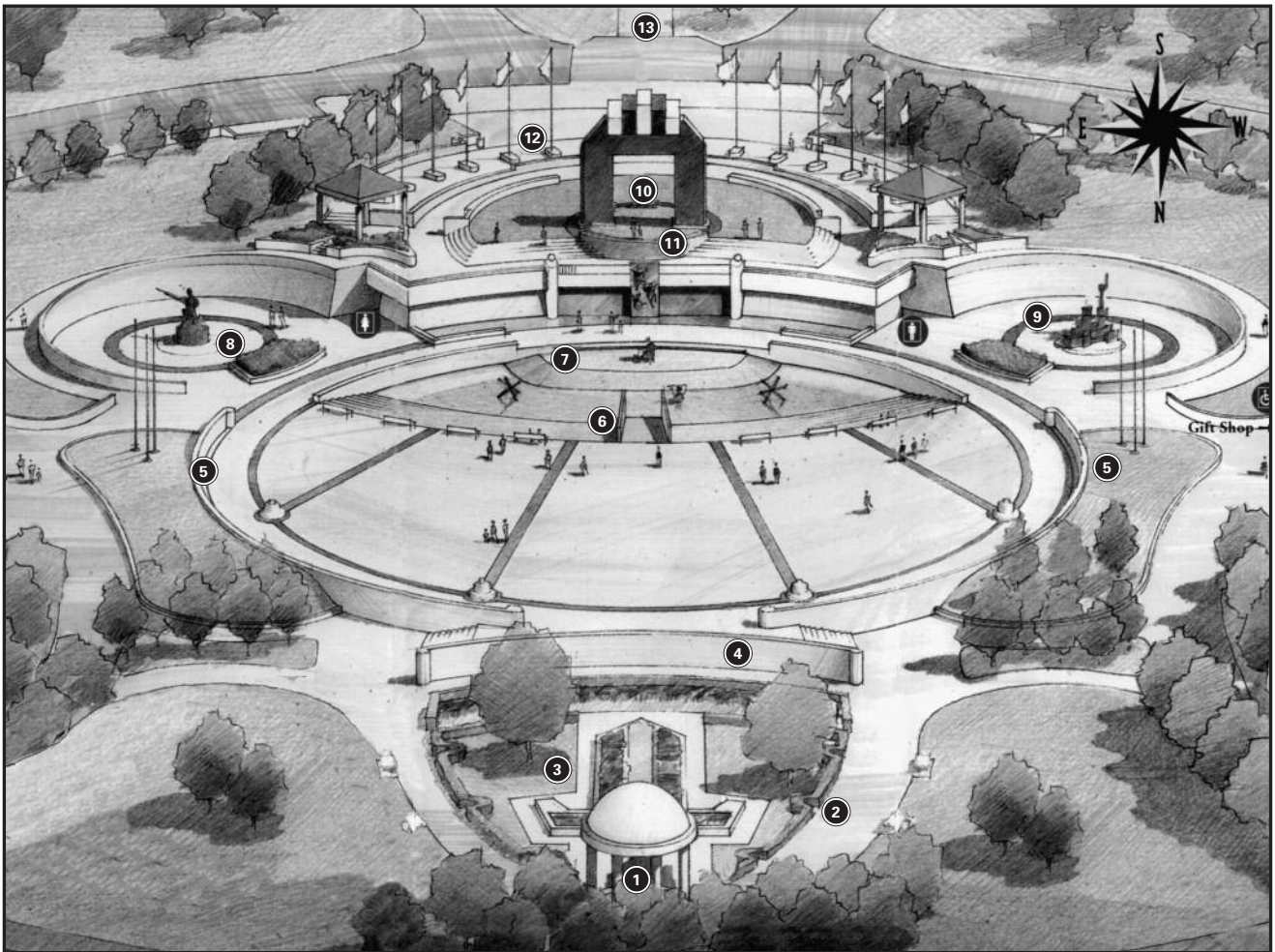
The landing of Company A, 116th Infantry, on Dog Green sector of Omaha Beach at Vierville was one of the deadliest of the entire invasion (see *D-Day Then and Now*, pages 344-349). Of the 30 Bedford soldiers in Company A, 19 were killed in the first 15 minutes of the landing. Two other Bedford soldiers died on D-Day fighting with Companies C and F of the 116th Infantry. With a population in 1944 of 3,200, this gave Bedford the unenviable distinction of having the highest number of deaths per capita of any American community on D-Day.

The loss was a devastating blow to this close-knit town and left painful mental wounds that some say never really healed. The large number of deaths was accepted but

not discussed for many years. The bereaved families and returned veterans concentrated on getting on with their lives, keeping their memories to themselves. A modest monument listing the names of the 23 Bedford soldiers who died (two more had been killed in the weeks following the invasion) was erected in the town centre on the tenth anniversary of D-Day in 1954, but few people outside Bedford knew of the town's large sacrifice and, as time went on, knowledge of it diminished even within its own population. It was only in the last decade — with the renewed interest in D-Day landings in the United States, the realisation of the National D-Day Memorial in their town, and the publication of Alex Kershaw's best-selling book *The Bedford Boys* in 2003 — that the community has received proper credit for its sacrifice allowing it to come to terms with its hidden grief.



The Bedford Boys – Company A, 116th Infantry, pictured at Fort Meade, Maryland, in 1941. Twenty-one of them died on D-Day.



Plan of the memorial designed by architect Byron Dickson. [1] Classical Revival Folly, with Eisenhower Statue. [2] Busts of Principal Subordinates. [3] SHAEF Patch. [4] Wall with Eisenhower's Order of the Day. [5] Necrology Walls. [6] Stylised Higgins

Landing Craft. [7] Hedgehog Beach Obstacles and Beach Landing Statues. [8] Air Forces Commemorative Area. [9] Navy Commemorative Area. [10] Overlord Arch. [11] 'Final Tribute' Sculpture. [12] Flags of Allied Nations. [13] Monument aux Morts.

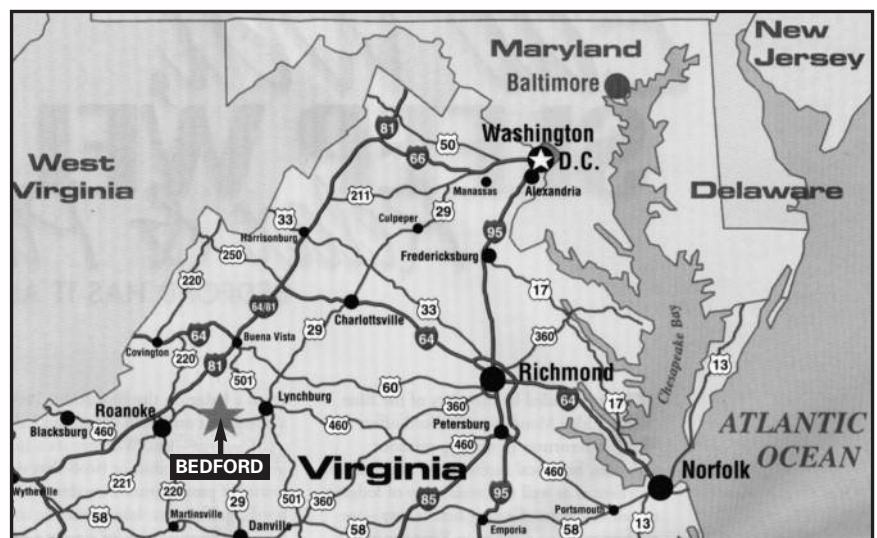
The story of the D-Day Memorial began in the mid-1980s and was the brainchild of Bob Slaughter, a World War II veteran from Roanoke, Virginia, who had assaulted Omaha Beach with Company D of the 116th Infantry. When he retired in 1987 he started thinking about the war again and realised there was no national memorial dedicated to the D-Day invasion anywhere in the United States. Thus, together with a friend, Steve Stinson, and two other veterans, Colonel Norman Elmore and Lieutenant Colonel Milton Aliff, Slaughter formed a committee to raise money and search for an appropriate location for a national D-Day memorial.

Looking for a place for the proposed memorial the committee initially thought of Roanoke but it soon realised that Bedford, 30 miles to the east, with its unique albeit sad D-Day legacy, was far more appropriate. At first the committee envisaged only a small memorial, comprising little more than a plaque and a flag. However, within a few years the idea for a larger memorial took shape and in April 1989 the committee set up the National D-Day Memorial Foundation, with a 17-member board, its mission being 'to establish in Bedford, and maintain for the nation, a memorial complex consisting of a monument and education centre that celebrates and preserves the legacy of D-Day'. A non-profit educational organisation, the foundation receives no federal funding and relies on private donations.

The foundation faced a series of disappointments and challenges and a discouraged board was near disbandment when a resurgence of interest in D-Day, due to the 50th

anniversary in 1994, led to increased publicity and renewed momentum. That year the mayor of Bedford persuaded city officials to donate 11 acres of land, located on the highest hill in Bedford (at the intersection of 460 Bypass and Route 122), to the foundation. Shortly thereafter, 77 additional acres were bought to protect the site from further development.

In 1996 Congress adopted legislation officially designating the site in Bedford as the location for the nation's memorial to Allied forces involved in the D-Day landings. The Congressional act was part of the Defense Authorisation Bill signed into law by President Bill Clinton in September 1996. Given Bedford's horrific losses on D-Day, it was a fitting choice.



Bedford lies in Virginia, 180 miles south-west of Washington, DC, between Roanoke and Lynchburg. The memorial is located at the junction of Route 122 and 460 Bypass.



Left: The beach at Landing Plaza with three of Jim Brothers' sculptures in place. In the foreground is 'Through the Surf', the two-soldier statue behind is 'Across the Beach' and the vertical relief is 'Scaling the Wall'. Above: 'Across the Beach' pictured at its temporary location in Victory Plaza where it stood prior to its placement in Landing Plaza.

In October 1997, humorist and cartoonist Charles M. Schulz, creator of the famous *Peanuts* cartoon and WW II veteran (he had been leader of a machine-gun squad in the 8th Armored Infantry Battalion of the 20th Armored Division), donated one million dollars to the project and accepted leadership of the memorial's national fund-raising campaign, which ran until his death in February 12, 2000. Schulz's contribution provided the capital to begin construction of the memorial. A ground-breaking ceremony was held on Veterans Day, November 11, 1997, actual construction starting the very next day.

The Project Architect for the Memorial was Byron R. Dickson of Dickson Architects & Associates whose firm is located in Roanoke, Virginia. He started working for the foundation as early as 1998. Dickson's design for the nine-acre outdoor monument portion of the memorial complex envisaged three distinct sections, each representing a different aspect of D-Day. A lower English garden laid out in the form of the formation patch of SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) represents the planning and preparation of the invasion, which took place in England. The middle plaza represents the D-Day landing itself. The upper plaza, titled Victory Plaza, represents Allied victory and consolidation. Although several components still await realisation, it is intended that the completed monument as designed by Dickson will eventually take on the following appearance:

Visitors begin their tour in the English Garden. Situated at its northern entrance, a Classical Revival folly, in this case a Tuscan temple pavilion of the kind that was commonplace in English gardens after the discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum, nods to the architecture of both Norfolk House at London and Southwick House at Ports-

mouth where much of the planning for D-Day took place. Inside the folly stands a statue of General Dwight D. Eisenhower addressing troops before the invasion. The statue is the work of sculptor Jim Brothers, whose studio is at Lawrence, Kansas, and is a copy of his statue of Eisenhower that stands in the US Capitol building. On the pavilion's ceiling is an adaptation of the map from the operations centre at Southwick House.

In niches along the garden's perimeter stand portrait busts of six of Eisenhower's principal subordinates: Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, Deputy Supreme Commander; Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay, Allied Naval Commander; Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory, Allied Air Commander; Field-Marshal Bernard Montgomery, D-Day Assault Commander; Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, US First Army Commander; and Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, Chief-of-Staff.

Walking along the garden's SHAEF patch visitors arrive at a terminal wall inscribed on which is the text of Eisenhower's order of the day for June 6, 1944. On either side of that text are plaques identifying the D-Day assault divisions.

Leaving the garden, and mounting the stairs to the next level, visitors traverse a large blue plaza symbolising the crossing of the English Channel and find themselves facing a beach assault scene, complete with a stylised version of a Higgins landing craft, two hedgehog beach obstacles in a reflecting pool, water spouts simulating enemy fire hitting the water and bronze statues, also by sculptor Jim Brothers, of GI soldiers struggling through various stages of an amphibious landing. Original plans provided for six statues to be named as follows: 'Off the Ramp', 'Pinned Down', 'Through the Surf', 'Death on Shore', 'Across the Beach' and

'Scaling the Wall'. Of these six, four have now been completed: 'Through the Surf', 'Death on Shore', 'Across the Beach' (two infantrymen in combat) and 'Scaling the Wall' (a four-figure relief of the 2nd Ranger Battalion's famed attack on the 100-foot cliff at Pointe du Hoc). Though the sculptures portray general personifications of the beach assault, the inspiration for them often came from specific incidents or particular individuals associated with the D-Day landings. The design of the elevation supporting the relief sculpture echoes the casemates and bunkers of Hitler's Atlantic Wall.

Bronze plaques on two Necrology Walls on either side of the landing plaza will display the names of some 4,500 Allied soldiers, sailors and airmen killed in the D-Day invasion — the only place in the world to list all the names. The American soldiers will be listed on the western wall and soldiers of other Allied nations on the eastern wall. Research for this project is still ongoing. Currently there are 4,200 names in the database and 2,800 names have been mounted on the walls, 1,400 on the US side and 1,400 on the Allied forces side. Although the initial aim was to get a full and complete listing of all the casualties on D-Day, today the Memorial has come to realise that the compiling of such lists is always plagued with difficulties and sees the work on the D-Day roll of honour as a never-ending project.

Two circular areas on either side of the landing plaza acknowledge the contributions of the naval and air forces. Currently displayed in the naval circle are a Danforth anchor and a Coast Guard bell, while the air force patch has an L-3 observation aircraft and a C-47 propeller, but plans are for all these exhibits to be replaced in the future by permanent displays including figurative sculpture.



'Through the Surf'. Note the water spout simulating bullets hitting the water.

Throughout the two lower precincts of the memorial are plaques honouring specific units, naval vessels, services, organisations and individuals and describing their involvement in D-Day.

Final stop on the tour is the Victory Plaza featuring the striking Overlord Arch. Standing 44 feet 6 inches tall — figures symbolic of the year and date of D-Day — the granite arch is inscribed with the word 'Overlord', the code-name for the invasion operation, and topped by five alternating blocks of black and white stone symbolising the black and white recognition stripes applied to all Allied aircraft on the eve of D-Day. On the floor beneath the arch is the seal of the National D-Day Memorial with its motto in Latin *Ad commemorandum fortitudinem, fidelitatem sacrificium eorum* ('Remembering their valour, fidelity and sacrifice').

Situated a few steps in front of the arch is the 'Final Tribute', a bronze representation by sculptor Matt Kirby of a battlefield grave — an M-1 Garand rifle stuck in the ground by its bayonet, capped with a helmet and with dog tags dangling from it. Inscribed in the granite circling Overlord Arch are the names of the five D-Day beaches: Utah, Omaha, Gold, Juno and Sword.

Standing in an interrupted arc, and closing off the southern end of Victory Plaza, are 12 flagpoles flying the flags of the 12 nations of the Allied Expeditionary Force. Seen from the plaza, right to left, are those of the United States, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland and the United Kingdom.

Visitors walking down the path beyond the flags pass a striking statue, a recasting of a French World War I memorial by French sculptor Edmond de Laheudrie (1861-1946). Dedicated as Monument aux Morts on May 16, 1921, in memory of the 44 men of Trevières, France, who died in the 1914-18 war, the memorial — a female figure — was struck by shrapnel during the 1944 Normandy invasion, removing the figure's jaw and most of her throat. The recasting of the damaged monument stands as a stark reminder of the destructiveness of war and the fragility of peace.

The memorial's proposed Educational Center, to be built lower down the hill, is a 49,000-square-foot facility which will include exhibition space, a 150-seat theatre, seminar and meeting rooms, computer-education and video stations as well as research and archival spaces. Focusing on elements of invasion and war not dealt with in other places (such as the National D-Day Museum in New Orleans, which opened in 2001) the

centre will have three thematic galleries featuring the clergy, medics and cartoon art (highlighting GI cartoonist Bill Mauldin) as each relates to D-Day both on the battlefield and home front. When the educational centre is fully operational it will provide a wide range of on- and off-site programmes: conferences, lectures, workshops, permanent exhibits, travelling exhibitions, etc.

The design of the memorial was essentially agreed on in 1998, but it was to take several years before the monument took shape, the main problem being to raise enough funds for its construction to continue, its total cost being estimated at \$25 million. Between 1998 and 2001 the commonwealth of Virginia supported the D-Day Memorial Foundation with a total of \$7.5 million, the majority of which was spent on construction. A major private contribution came in April 2000 when Hollywood movie director Steven Spielberg, renowned for his landmark portrayal of D-Day in the 1998 film *Saving Private Ryan* (see *After the Battle* No. 103), donated 'a sizable sum' to the foundation, earmarked for the construction of the planned educational centre's theatre, to be named in honour of his father, Arnold M. Spielberg, a WW II veteran who fought on Guam and in the China-India-Burma theatre.

A few weeks after Spielberg's donation, on Memorial Day, May 29, 2000 the first finished segments of the memorial, the Overlord Arch and the Victory Plaza, were officially dedicated and opened to the public. Work on completion of the memorial continued at a steady pace, as did the fund-raising campaign. In Spring 2001, the foundation received another significant financial boost when Melvin F. Proffit of Roanoke, who during the war had been a drummer in the 116th

Infantry regimental band and had come ashore shortly after D-Day, donated \$1 million to be used for the construction of the educational centre.

Years of hard work and dedication were finally realised on June 6, 2001, the 57th anniversary of the Normandy landings, when the D-Day Memorial officially opened with a dedicatory ceremony that included President George W. Bush. Over 24,000 people attended the ceremony. In his speech, President Bush noted: 'You have raised a fitting memorial to D-Day, and you have put it in just the right place — not a battlefield of war, but in a small Virginia town, a place like so many others that was home to the men and women who helped liberate a continent. Upon this beautiful town fell the heaviest share of American losses on D-Day. When people come here it is important to see the town as the monument itself.'

That very same month, June 2001, the Memorial Foundation received a serious and very unfortunate setback when it was discovered that its president, Richard B. Burrow, had allowed the project's construction costs to spiral into a massive debt of \$5 million. When the foundation's board discovered what had happened, Burrow was forced to step down, citing health reasons. The real reason behind his resignation did not come out until four months later, when the foundation made the \$5 million debt public.

The financial débâcle had severe repercussions for Burrow and the D-Day Memorial. The foundation's new president, William McIntosh, asked for an investigation into how the \$25 million memorial became \$5 million in debt under Burrow's tenure. This led to the US Attorney's Office and the FBI starting an investigation into Burrow's activities as president. Considering his aggressive fund-raising efforts had run foul of the law, the public prosecutors decided to arraign Burrow with four charges of fraud. The case drew prominent and vocal opposition from veterans, former members of the foundation board and other people affiliated with the D-Day Memorial, who argued that Burrow was an honest man who never personally benefited from the fund-raising; that he had only been trying to get the memorial completed by June 6, 2001; that the foundation's attorney Louis Harrison had told him that what he was doing was legal, and that the ongoing publicity was only hurting the Bedford monument. Burrow's trial, held in Lynchburg in December 2002, ended with a hung jury. Persisting in their case, the federal prosecutors in January 2004 persuaded a grand jury to indict Burrow on 12 new counts, ten for fraud and two for perjury. One of the fraud charges was that he had misused donor funds earmarked for the educational centre to cover the memorial's construction costs. At the second trial, held in Charlottesville in September 2004, the jury again deadlocked, which put an end to the government's three-year investigation of Burrow.



A few yards off the stylised Higgins boat is the realistic 'Death on Shore' sculpture.



Close-up of 'Scaling the Wall', also known as 'Pointe du Hoc'.

Meanwhile, faced with the financial disaster, the Memorial Foundation fought hard to keep the memorial open and repair the damage. Among the chief creditors were architect Byron Dickson, who sued the foundation for \$900,000 of unpaid work, and Coleman-Adams, the main construction contractor, who did the same for about \$2 million of unpaid bills. In November 2002, the foundation filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, citing a \$3.8 million debt and the need to protect itself from liens filed against its property. In March 2003, it announced the successful conclusion of mediation with the two major and 38 smaller creditors, who agreed to be paid back over five years and not seek further litigation. The foundation emerged from bankruptcy in June 2003 with its debt standing at \$3.6 million.

The whole unfortunate episode provided the Memorial Foundation with a spate of negative publicity, which naturally had a backlash on goodwill and fund-raising, and from which it is still recovering.

The 60th anniversary of D-Day on June 6, 2004 presented a welcome opportunity for the D-Day Memorial to shake off its worries and revitalise its determination. Some 6,000 people attended the ceremonies, many of them WW II veterans. The two-day programme featured a variety of activities. A reunion tent allowed veterans to register and reunite with old comrades while giving the public a chance to talk with the old soldiers. Winners of a high school student's essay contest on the question 'Why does D-Day matter today?' were announced and excerpts from their essays read out. Members of the 29th Infantry Division Living History Association dressed in period attire brought 1944 to life. WW II military vehicles were on display and period atmosphere was further enhanced by a 1940s canteen featuring an USO show by the Liberty Belles (an Andrews Sisters act) and an evening GI Jive 1940s dance.

The National D-Day Memorial is still far from completed. Visitors are sometimes surprised that several of the components shown on the memorial's plan and described in the visitor's brochure are not yet existent, notably the classical revival folly in the English Garden, the statue of Eisenhower, the



'Final Tribute', symbolic representation of a field grave by sculptor Matt Kirby.

portrait busts of his six principal subordinates, and some of the statues on the beach plaza.

The foundation still hopes to build the folly and install the statues in the English Garden at some point in the future, but plans for the six beach statues have been revised: Two of them — 'Off the Ramp' and 'Pinned Down' — have been suspended. One completed statue — 'Across the Beach' — is to be moved from the lower beach plaza to the upper Victory Plaza and to be renamed 'Valor, Fidelity and Sacrifice'. To replace it, a new statue — a medic helping a wounded

soldier — will be added to the beach plaza. However, the two suspended statues and the new one are still to be cast and it may be a few years before they materialise.

One of the main drawbacks is the lack of the permanent educational centre. To cater for this omission, a temporary facility has been put up in the form of a tent, but all concerned admit that this is inadequate. Also, the lack of a proper building has forced the memorial's growing collection of D-Day related exhibits — such as small arms, uniforms and maps — to be stored.

The foundation's board and staff are well aware that much remains to be done. In order of importance their priorities at present are to continue to carry out the project's mission; reduce its debt (which now stands at \$2.1 million); enhance business operations; install the garden folly and the remaining statues; build the education centre and establish an endowment for the whole project.

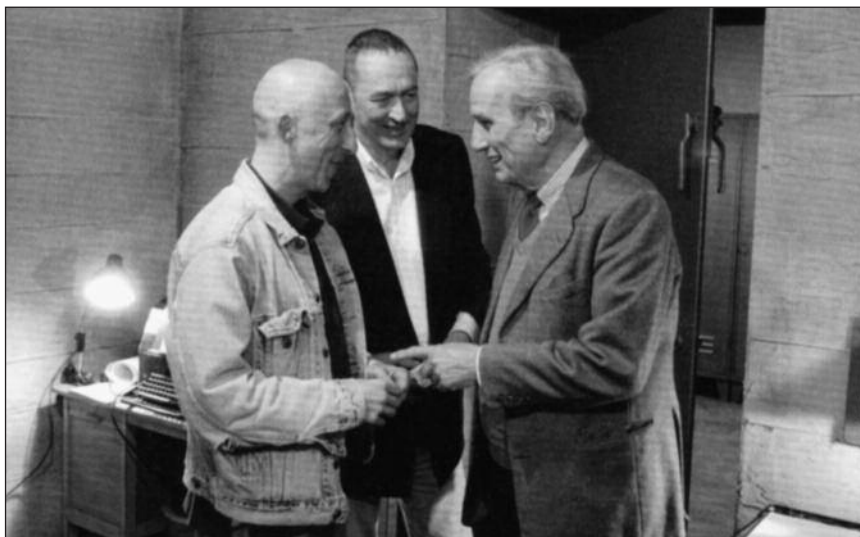
The foundation is actively engaged in raising money to clear the debt and finance future expansion, a recent step being a lucrative partnership with the NASCAR Nextel Cup Series motor sports race. The 'MBNA 400: A Salute to the Heroes' race held at Dover International Speedway, Delaware, on June 6, 2004 provided the D-Day Memorial with its first broad, national exposure since its 2001 dedication by President Bush.

Despite the financial problems and construction backlog, the memorial is positively carrying out its stated mission. Since its opening in 2001, it has received approximately 750,000 visitors, including an estimated 40,000 school-age children from nine states. It provides on- and off-site educational programs to thousands of school pupils and students. It offers a full calendar of events, which in addition to the regular ceremonies on Memorial Day (end of May), D-Day Anniversary Day (June 6), Independence Day (July 4) and Veterans Day (November 11) includes seminars and lectures on WW II subjects (mostly held at the Bedford Welcome Center), musical events, family day educational events, book-signings, veterans oral history workshops, and Second World War day camps for youngsters.



Three of the original Bedford Boys pictured on Victory Plaza in 2001. Earl Boyd Wilson (left) started out in Company A of the 116th Infantry but went in on D-Day with the 1st Infantry Division. Roy Stevens (centre) was still in Company A on D-Day. His landing craft hit an underwater obstacle on the way in, leaving him floundering in the water. His twin brother Ray was killed on the beach. Ray Nance (right) was a lieutenant in Company A, the only officer left alive ten minutes after the boats carrying the company hit the beach, and wounded three times on D-Day. Wilson passed away in 2004, leaving Stevens, today 86, and Nance, 90, the only two still alive of the Bedford Boys who landed on Omaha Beach. Stevens is still a volunteer at the Memorial, visiting Bedford Middle School to tell seventh-grade pupils what the Second World War was all about and what it meant to the town. (I. Bradshaw)

On September 16, 2004, *Der Untergang* was released in Munich, since when over five million Germans have packed cinemas to see it. Ever since G. W. Pabst made *Der letzte Akt* (The Last Act) nearly 50 years ago, German film-makers have avoided tackling Hitler head-on; now *The Downfall*, — to give it its English title — has finally brought the German public face to face with their Nazi past. When interviewed by the British press, the film's director, Oliver Hirschbiegel, left, admitted that while his film does not explain how Hitler had his hypnotic power over Germany, it has made Germans discuss it. It was when producer Bernd Eichinger, centre, read the book *Der Untergang* by Joachim Fest, right, published in 2002, that he realised that he had found the key to a film he had long wanted to make about the final days of the Third Reich in Hitler's bunker. Here the three men discuss the events of April 1945 inside the replica of the Führerbunker constructed in the Bavaria Studios outside Munich.



DER UNTERGANG — THE DOWNFALL

By Andrew Mollo

I don't remember exactly when I first heard that a film was to be made about Hitler's end in Berlin in April 1945 but it was sometime after I severed my involvement in another film about Hitler which was being made in Prague in 2002. This was *Origins of Evil*, a CBS production starring the Scottish actor Robert Carlyle as the young Hitler.

The job of an Historical Advisor has always been a delicate one, but with over 30 years' experience in the film industry as co-director, production designer and consultant, I have come to know what is important and what is not. I am not impressed by political correctness nor do I understand the need to make 'propaganda' films 60 years after the fall of Nazism. The director of *Origins of Evil*, his backers and producers, were frightened that if they stuck to facts Hitler might appear too sympathetic. After all in his early political life Hitler was just another right-wing Nationalist tub-thumping politician. It was not until 1933, when he was Chancellor, that he became the ruthless dictator who led Germany on the path of ruin and world condemnation. They felt they had to invent scenes which showed in a more dramatic way that he was a twisted, sadistic and cowardly monster.

In the First World War, Hitler served on the Western Front, was wounded, won the Iron Cross 1st Class and was temporarily blinded by gas but in the *Origins* film he was to be portrayed as a hysterical coward. It is well known that if he loved one thing in his life it was his Alsatian dog but in the film he is shown thrashing a stray dog. When it came to film the Munich Putsch (see *After the Battle* No. 66), it was decided that after the marching Nazis had been dispersed by a police volley, Hitler would be driven away at full speed knocking down a small child who gets in the way.

Also no attempt was made to find actors who bore the slightest resemblance to the Nazis they were supposed to portray. Ernst Röhm, who in reality was a short, bull-necked pederast with duelling scars criss-crossing his pudgy face, was played by the six-foot Swedish-American actor Peter Stormare who looked and acted (not his fault) like a Chicago gangster planning the St Valentine's Day massacre. When the film broke up for the 2002 Christmas break I tendered my notice; I had had enough. (Ian Ker-shaw, on whose biography of Hitler the film was based, had already withdrawn from the project.)

Not long after, in the New Year, I heard that some German film people (including a costume designer) had visited the *Origins of Evil* set in Prague on a fact-finding mission, and I began to regret leaving and not sticking it out. However, some time later, my partner Kevin Brownlow told me that he had heard that the well-known German film producer Bernd Eichinger was planning a film about the last days of Hitler. In January 2003 I sent him a copy of *After the Battle* No. 61 in which my article about the Berlin Bunker had appeared. I heard nothing from Eichinger and was resigned to the film being made without my participation when I received a phone call from Claudia Bobsin, one of the top film costume designers in Germany. Claudia asked if I would be interested in helping her prepare the large number of uniforms that would be required for the film.

The process by which costumes for actors playing named parts and extras (who normally do not have lines) come about is a developing process which like everything else in a film is governed by cost. The first step, once a script has reached its second or



Coupled with the memoirs of Traudl Junge (left) in her book *Until the Final Hour: Hitler's Last Secretary*, published shortly before her death in February 2002, Eichinger then knew he had the perfect character through whose eyes the story could be told.



Right: Junge is portrayed in the film by the Hungarian-born actress Alexandra Maria Lara. She explained that 'I found it fascinating to deal with this young woman and try to understand her and how she might have felt'.



Left: Our author Andrew Mollo first cut his teeth on film work back in 1956 when he was the technical advisor on Kevin Brownlow's *It Happened Here* (see *After the Battle* No. 12). Since then he has worked on countless productions, both for television and the cinema, ensuring the accuracy of military

third draft, is to prepare a breakdown. This analyses each scene and lists each character and extra required; stunts; props such as weapons and vehicles, and special effects like rain and explosions. From this breakdown one arrives at the total number of named characters, small parts and extras needed for the film.

The problem is, however, that the First Assistant Director, who usually prepares the breakdown, seldom knows anything about the military so inevitably a number of inaccuracies creep in, some of which are difficult to eradicate. Well-known actors are expensive and their availability limited. Extras who are usually calculated on the basis of so many per day over so many days also add up, which is why so many costume epics are shot in countries where labour costs are low.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, when the huge costume epics were being made, most uniforms came from established costumiers like Bermans, Nathans and Angels in London; Theaterkunst in Berlin; Hofer in Vienna; Traounez in Paris; Pieroni in Rome and Western Costumes in Hollywood. Nowadays many of the old names have disappeared or amalgamated and a new generation of small specialised costumiers have sprung up. The growth of 'living history' groups has also led to the creation of small



Above: His two Russian assistants in the wardrobe department of *Der Untergang* were Grigorii Minaev and Maxim Kardashov, seen here with André Hennicke who plays SS-Brigadeführer Wilhelm Mohnke who commanded the defence of the government quarter in Berlin.

firms making replicas of historical costumes for sale. The Spielberg series *Band of Brothers* went back to the original firms that made US Army uniforms during the war and ordered sufficiently large quantities to make it worthwhile producing these items again. It made economic sense because when the filming was completed, the film company was able to sell everything to military stores and re-enactors.

In Germany the oldest established costumier is Theaterkunst in Berlin. Their military stock is varied, of good quality, and contains many original uniforms, but it is not very large. A comparatively newcomer in the business is a company called Sturm Handelsfirma which started in a small way in military surplus and with luck and a good sense of timing, purchased warehouses full of uniforms and equipment from the defunct National People's Army of the former German Democratic Republic. Soon after civil war broke out in Yugoslavia, Sturm sold masses of boots and other personal equipment to the Croatian Army. The company also sells many items of East German military equipment, some of which closely resemble the Wehrmacht pattern, to other costumiers and re-enactors.

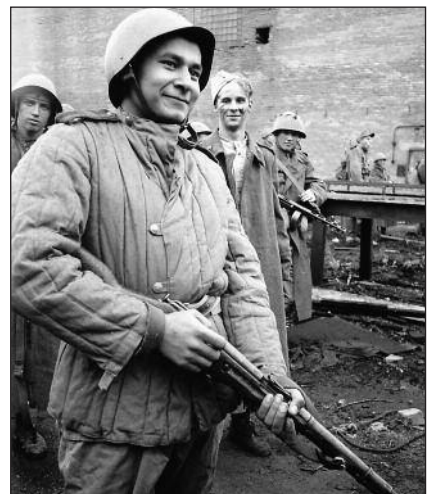
But the director Thomas Sturm is not just a dealer in military surplus because at heart he is a dedicated collector. His first great

interest is the Americans in the Second World War and he has built up a superb collection. The film *Enemy at the Gates* about Stalingrad and Roman Polanski's *The Pianist* enabled Sturm to set up a production line to manufacture German uniforms which he not only hired out to film companies but sold to re-enactors. His German uniforms were made under the supervision of a former military tailor of the East German Volksarmee and are the best copies on the market. Thomas Sturm now combs militaria fairs for German uniforms, regardless of condition, which he buys to use as a pattern so he can make exact copies.

Thus, when I started on *Der Untergang* in June 2003, my first port of call was Sturm in Tangermünde. Set out on mannequins for our inspection were the various types of German and Red Army uniforms which might be required for a film set in Berlin in April 1945. The knowledgeable and helpful staff made the selection process quite straightforward: they only needed to know how many of each item would be required and if any items were to be destroyed or damaged. In the latter case they provide second-quality uniforms or those already damaged in other films. Although I also produced lists of personal equipment and dummy weapons, obtaining these would be the responsibility of the Prop and Armoury Departments.



Apart from the main actors, some 700 extras, mostly provided by the Russian army, had to be fitted out with either German



or Soviet kit of the period. Shooting days were long, often beginning at 4 a.m. and not finishing until late in the evening.



The uniforms for Hitler, played by Swiss actor Bruno Ganz; Speer (Heino Ferch) and Dr Goebbels (Ulrich Matthes) were



specially made in Poland by Chirstopher Kloskowski's firm Hero Collection. Juliane Köhler is Eva Braun.

The principal actors were another problem. I normally go through a script and compile a list of names and then provide a description of that character's uniform. Nothing more can then be done until we receive the actor's measurements and one of the most stressful elements of the costume designer's job is often not knowing this vital information until a couple of days before shooting takes place. Many original officers' uniforms were found in Theaterkunst in Berlin and in the costume department of Bavaria Film Studios in Munich where the interiors were to be shot, but nowhere could we find really good uniforms for Hitler (Bruno Ganz), Goebbels (Ulrich Matthes) and Speer (Heino Ferch). Here we turned to another comparatively recent newcomer to the business of film uniforms, Christopher Kloskowski of Hero Collection in Poznan in Poland (until the end of war Posen was part of Germany).

Christopher is an enthusiast with a very comprehensive collection of steel helmets. He started his business with his brother Roman in 1990 to manufacture security and police-type clothing and equipment — a boom industry in post-Soviet Eastern Europe. From baseball caps, combat boots and truncheons, Hero Collection went on to manufacture uniforms for the Polish police. We worked together for the first time in 2000 on *The Grey Zone* with Harvey Keitel. Now his factory churns out Polish, Wehrmacht and Red Army uniforms and a 13,000

square-foot facility to store his ever increasing stock of 7,000 uniforms is nearing completion. He is able to do this economically because in Poland there are still many small firms capable of making short runs of hand-made items, so he was able to provide the special uniforms we needed for these three main characters.

Beginning in 1993, I spent the best part of four years working on the TV series *Sharpe*. Sharpe was a rifleman who fought Napoleon in Spain, then one of the most backward and isolated countries in Europe. In the 1960s everybody from Samuel Bronson to Sergio Leone made films there but today it is one of the most expensive countries in Europe and nobody can afford to use it anymore. Finally, after scouting Romania, Yugoslavia and Russia, Celtic Films decided on Yalta in the Crimea, a short distance along the Black Sea coast from Sebastopol, as their preferred location for the *Sharpe* series. For me, with my Russian ancestry, this was a dream come true. *Sharpe* was such an exciting adventure . . . such a memorable experience . . . that my life is now divided between pre- and post-*Sharpe*!

Everything about filming in the former Soviet Union was a tantalising mystery. Everyone with the most superficial knowledge of film history has seen or knows about the great classics of the Soviet cinema — from Sergei Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* and *Alexander Nevsky* to Sergei Bondarchuk's massive *War and Peace*. In these films, extras

(often soldiers) were trained, costumed and deployed in their thousands in scenes far more spectacular than anything produced in Hollywood. In *War and Peace* (1967) for example, cavalry mounts were specially bred for the task and the Soviet Army assigned a whole division to work on the film. Soviet Army personnel were dressed in Napoleonic uniforms and drilled daily with musket and sabre. They marched kilometres in the mud to and from their camps. Regiments were controlled via walkie-talkies concealed in their packs. The artillery was impressive with rows of cannon belching smoke and flames.

When I started on *Sharpe* I felt sure that all these things must still exist but eventually all I found were a few tatty horse cloths and two cannon in pretty poor condition! *War and Peace* was made in the mid-1960s and by the early 1990s everything had been allowed to rot away; was used to death in other films, or had been sold or stolen. So after *Sharpe* I knew a lot about filming in the former Soviet Union. I knew what was available and what was not. I knew how quickly things could be done and how obstructive the Slav could be if he wanted. When it came to pitching a deal and reeling in a sucker, Hollywood executives could learn a thing or two in the former Soviet Union. Having come to recognise and respect his many-faceted character, and having studied the German invasion of the Soviet Union as an historian, I never made Hitler's mistake of under-estimating the Slav!



Bruno Ganz was Hirschbiegel's first choice to play the role of Hitler. During the screen test in Munich, Bruno was concerned over his portrayal so it was suggested that he try it with make-up. The effect stunned the crew and even Ganz was 'quite baffled by how close I had come to Hitler — at least on the outside'. As for mimicing his ordinary speaking voice, there is only



one seven-minute wartime recording made secretly by a Finnish diplomat chatting with Hitler after a dinner party which enabled Ganz to master his Austrian accent. 'There were difficult, trying scenes and dialogues', says Ganz, 'such as the massively anti-Semitic rants, but when I decided to take on the role, I was aware of what this meant.'



Scouting for places that could stand in for Berlin in 1945, the Production Designer Bernd Lepel looked at Bucharest in Rumania, Budapest in Hungary, Prague in the Czech Republic, Wroclaw (former Breslau) in Poland, Riga in Latvia, before eventually deciding on St Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) in Russia. There, many of the streets were designed by famous German architects, so they easily duplicated those of the German capital. Also Lepel had already worked in the city on previous films and had good contacts there. Amazingly, the city authorities closed off the whole of Skapina — a main thoroughfare in the city centre — for two full weeks, something which would be totally unthinkable in Western European cities. This was used for most of the scenes showing the 1945 street fighting in Berlin: the civilians pushing the road-block tram; the scenes involving the 88mm gun and its young crew; the Soviet attack with the T-34; the shooting of the civilians by the SS execution squads, etc. The city authorities even allowed the film company to break up the road surface in order to dig trenches and create bomb craters, a very delicate job as the set designers were excavating just inches away from sewer pipes and underground cables. Filming began in Russia on August 12, 2003.





Angliski Prospekt was used to portray the Voss-Strasse with the long façade of the Neue Reichskanzlei. The Chancellery



entrance (with the square columns) was in fact built across a side street linking the two blocks on either corner.



The views of the entire Reichskanzlei in the long shots were added digitally as were the eagle and swastika above the

entrance seen in a close-up early in the film. These two are the only computer-generated images in the whole film.



Left: The Voss-Strasse set also included the concrete trapdoor emergency exit giving access to the building's cellar system, the film company having secured special permission to excavate a big hole in the pavement to create this feature. *Right:* Angliski Prospekt was also used to film the exterior shot of the



suicide explosion in the apartment of Reichsarzt der SS Ernst Grawitz (Christian Hoening), chief SS doctor and vice-president of the German Red Cross. The interior shots of Grawitz pulling the pin out of two hand-grenades under the table while having dinner with his family were filmed in the Bavaria Studios.



Polovtsev Datcha (Island Datcha), a small palace in a St Petersburg park, was used to portray the garden of the Chancellery. Bernd Lepel and his team built an exact replica of the Führerbunker's blockhouse-like emergency exit, the round cone-topped observation tower that adjoined it on one side and the unfinished pillbox on the other — all so well known from the



pictures taken there after the end of the fighting in 1945. This set was used for many important scenes, such as Hitler meeting the decorated Hitlerjugend boys (*left*); Eva Braun and the secretaries taking a breath of fresh air during a lull in the shelling (*right*); the burning of the bodies of Hitler and Eva Braun (*below left*), and Goebbels shooting his wife and then himself (*below right*).



Left: The front of the same palace, with its colonnade of tall round columns, was also used to stand in for the Chancellery's Ehrenhof (Courtyard of Honour). The two sculptures seen on either side of the Ehrenhof steps in the scene where Speer leaves the Reichskanzlei for the last time were exact copies of Arno Breker's

'Die Partei' and 'Die Wehrmacht' and were especially commissioned for the movie from three Rumanian sculptors who run a specialist studio. *Right*: The same sculptural team was also responsible for the scale model of Germania seen in the scene of Hitler and Speer at the Reichskanzlei early in the film.



The Ehrenhof set was also where SS-Gruppenführer Hermann Fegelein (Thomas Kretschmann) is executed after his arrest.



The interior of the Polovtsev Datcha was used to shoot the sequence of the dance party led by Eva Braun.



No. 212 Moskovski Prospekt, a gigantic office block from Stalinist times known as Leninez, was chosen by Bernd Lepel because it was so reminiscent of Nazi architecture. With only a few alterations, it posed as the SS Health Department building where SS doctor Professor Dr Ernst-Günther Schenck (Christian Berkel) leaves at the beginning of the movie while files are being burned.

When I arrived at Constantin Film's offices in Munich in June 2003, I asked if it was possible to meet the producer Bernd Eichinger but was told he was out of the country. I asked his secretary if he had received the copy of *ATB* which I had sent him back in January and she eventually found it at the bottom of a pile of papers in his office. I don't know if he ever read my article or if he had ever considered getting in touch with me, but here I was working on his pet subject, the screenplay of which he had written himself.

The way film companies are lured to the former Soviet Union, now the Confederation of Independent States (CIS), is by being promised the earth but once there it is a different matter. In Soviet times the highly centralised state-controlled film studios had huge costume and prop departments. They had plenty of military equipment, some of which can be still found rotting on the back lot. The studios also had a large number of very talented designers, skilled seamstresses, carpenters, painters and plasterers, but with the collapse of the Soviet Union the money ran out and all these people went for weeks and months without salaries. Consequently, in order to survive and feed their families, they took what they could away with them. As a result you could buy almost any item you wanted directly from the studio or from the former employees so that today not much of value is left.

On *Der Untergang* not a single German uniform came from inside the CIS — everything had to be imported. A few rusty ammunition boxes, field telephones and an odd haversack was all the German property master could lay his hands on. Weapons were another problem. To import blank-firing weapons into Russia would be a time-consuming and costly business but all we could find in Lenfilm Studios were some PPShs and Nagants and one working German MG 34. It fired reasonably well when tested but suffered stage fright and jammed in front of the camera.

Vehicles were another problem. Eventually the company had to bring an Opel Blitz truck from Germany, via Finland. In St Petersburg (formerly Leningrad), where the Berlin street-fighting scenes were recreated, we found a T-34 disguised as a Tiger, painted dark-grey. However it was a battle to convince the Russians that all 'Fascist' vehicles

were not painted dark grey with white outline crosses. Eventually it was given a coat of beige with squiggles in bright green and orange but after a liberal coating of mud it didn't look too bad. In Russia the propmaster was finally able to assemble a 'park' of two Czech half-tracks, a couple of Opel Admirals and one beautifully restored BMW R75 with sidecar. The only problem was that it had been finished in high gloss 'Fascist' grey and the owner most strenuously forbid us to give it a mud and dust bath.

Everyone on the production was sensitive to the fact that a German crew would be making a film about Hitler's last days in his Berlin bunker in a city which endured a most terrible siege (see *After the Battle* No. 123) but everything seemed to go quite smoothly and on the whole everyone got on with the job. The German crew was on its best behaviour and relations with the Russians were fraught only because of the different ways of doing things. However the British Press reported tensions and bad feeling in the city at our presence, something which we in the crew were totally unaware of. On the whole

the Russians were remarkably disinterested, even when extras dressed in Waffen-SS uniforms with rifles over their shoulder wandered around supermarkets. Some scenes were shot in the city centre near the canals and, although traffic had to be diverted, no one appeared to object as we parked our 'Tiger' on a street corner and spread rubble and scrap paper across the street.

Whereas the German uniforms came from either Germany or Poland, the Red Army uniforms were purchased or hired from shops in the city selling militaria or from the many enthusiasts in St Petersburg, as did a few of the weapons. The Russian male wardrobe crew — Maxim Kardashov and Grigorii Minaev — responsible for putting together the Red Army uniforms and dressing the extras, were both knowledgeable enthusiasts and re-enactors, so I didn't feel it either tactful or necessary to interfere. At the end of the day a technical advisor, military consultant or military costume advisor — whatever he wishes to call himself — can only do so much. Most producers are in two minds about the value of 'authenticity' because it costs money. Directors are also wary because a consultant can often curb his wilder flights of fantasy. I have been well-paid to advise on films and been totally ignored, but when angry letters arrive from viewers or cinemagoers pointing out errors, they are usually forwarded to me for comment. Many military enthusiasts are convinced that all errors in military films are due to ignorance but many other factors come into play. One of these is fashion. For example in the 1960s, when men wore their hair long, they didn't want to cut it short for a few days work as a film extra. Today it is quite the opposite. Many young men wear their hair cropped or even shaved but that is, with a few exceptions, equally anachronistic for the 1940s period.

What really drives me mad is the time and money spent ensuring that uniforms are perfect only to find that actors don't like wearing hats. Until comparatively recently it was unheard of for a soldier to venture out in uniform without a hat. Today hardly anybody wears a hat and yet, even in the midst of a medieval battle, you will see the lead actor helmetless. There are actors who wear uniform really well and others who slouch around with their hands in their pockets and, if there is nobody standing by on set who knows how uniforms should be worn and checks the actor's bearing, however accurate the uniform is, the whole effect will be destroyed.



A main hall inside the former German Embassy building at No. 41 Bolshaya Morskaya was used to film Hitler's birthday reception at the Neue Reichskanzlei. Himmler (Ulrich Noethen) in the centre with his adjutant Fegelein to his left.



The Izhorsky Submarine Plant chemical complex at No. 1 Lenin Prospekt was used for the Reichskanzlei's overcrowded underground hospital bunker on Voss-Strasse in several scenes involving Mohnke and the surgeons Dr Werner Haase (Matthias Habich) and Dr Schenck.



At this same location was the long blue-tiled tunnel used to portray the underground passage between the Reichskanzlei and the Vorbunker (the so-called Kannenberg-Allee). Bernd Lepel says the factory complex had several such underground galleries connecting one chemical installation with another.

Both the years 2003 and 2004 were fantastic for me as I was fortunate to work on three German productions. After *Der Untergang* there was a television production *Speer und Er* (Speer and Him) about Albert Speer's career and relationship with Hitler. This was filmed all over Germany in many of the

places where the real events took place: Berlin, Munich, Berchtesgaden, Nuremberg, Goslar and Cologne. Then there was another TV film about the battle of Berlin, *Die letzte Schlacht*, (The Last Battle) which brought together interviews with both German and Russian participants about their experiences,

some of which were re-created for the film. At the end of film party the director of *Die letzte Schlacht*, Hans-Christoph Blumenberg, made a speech in which he said: 'In my film Hitler is played by a Pole and the military expert is an Englishman. Now I know the war is really over!'

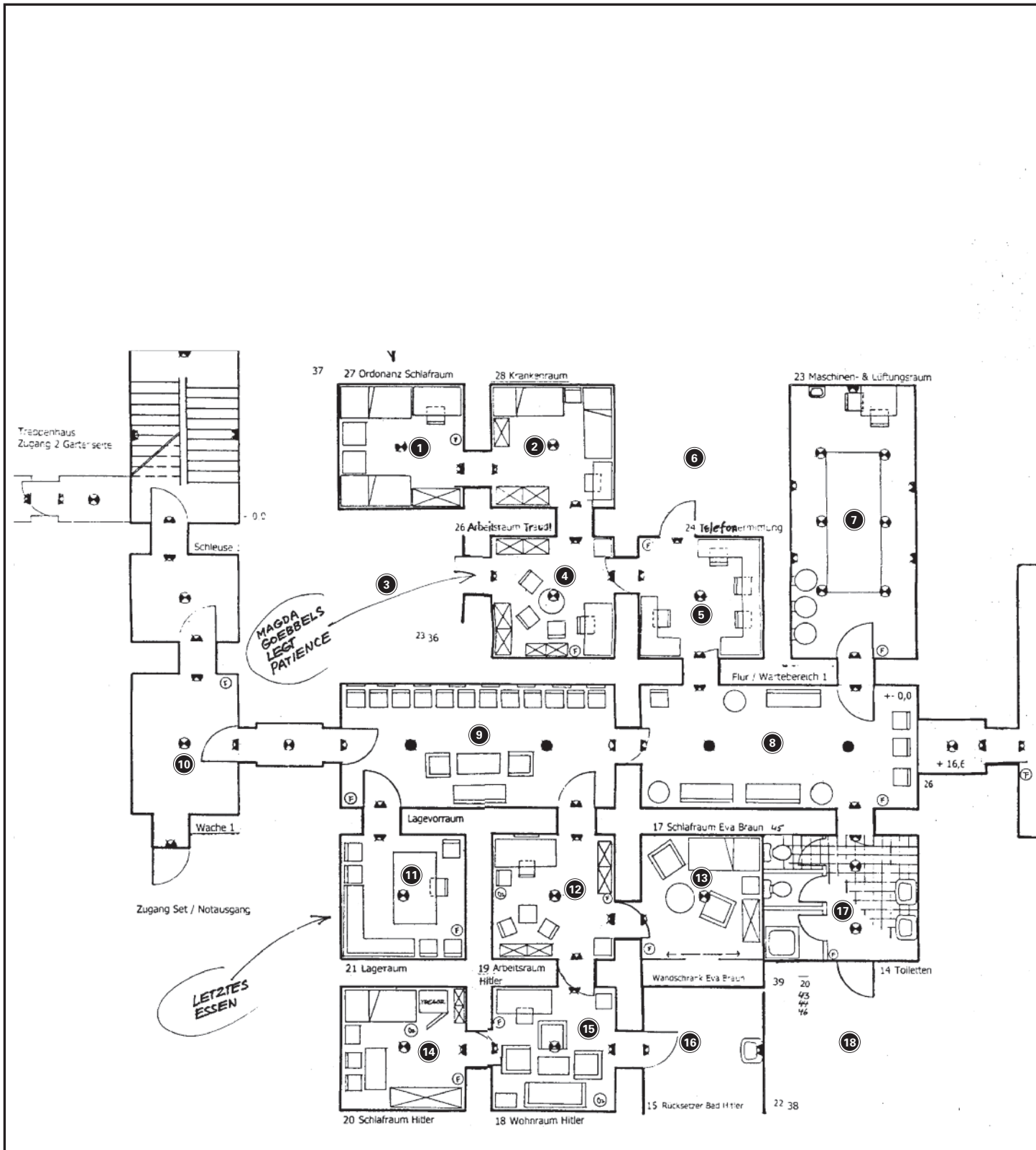
Right: Pochtamski Most (Pochtamski Bridge) over the Moyka river stood in for the footbridge across the Spree used by Mohnke's group during the night break-out from the Reichskanzlei. The film company and crew pride themselves on the fact that none of the special effects are computer-generated. All explosions, fires, smoke, etc, seen in the film are real — even the shell-bursts in the inhabited streets of St Petersburg! To create the Russian artillery shells exploding in front of the Reichskanzlei, the special effects team detonated real charges in Angliski Prospekt. Other scenes involving special effects, such as that of the wounded SS officer Hauptsturmführer Franz Schädle (Igor Bubenchikov), commander of Hitler's Reichssicherheitsdienst bodyguard detail at the Reichskanzlei, shooting himself in the mouth in front of Mohnke as the latter prepares the break-out from the bunker at the end of the film, was done using the well-proven technique of a fluid-filled capsule with a small electrically-operated spouting device.



A disused glue factory was used to film the final mass surrender to the Russians. The original surrender of the Mohnke group occurred at the Schultheiss Brewery on Schönhäusser Allee and Bernd Lepel and his designers took extra care to copy the brewery's Groterjan beer logo on the factory wall but unfortunately this hardly showed, and then only very briefly, in the final film. This factory complex was also used to shoot various other battle scenes, such as those at General Weidling's command post, and Mohnke's initial command post before he moved it to the Reichskanzlei cellars. The film company had permission to do whatever they wanted in this area. One of the sets they built here was a ruined Berlin street corner which was used to film the scene of the sound-van broadcasting Weidling's surrender message to the Berlin population.

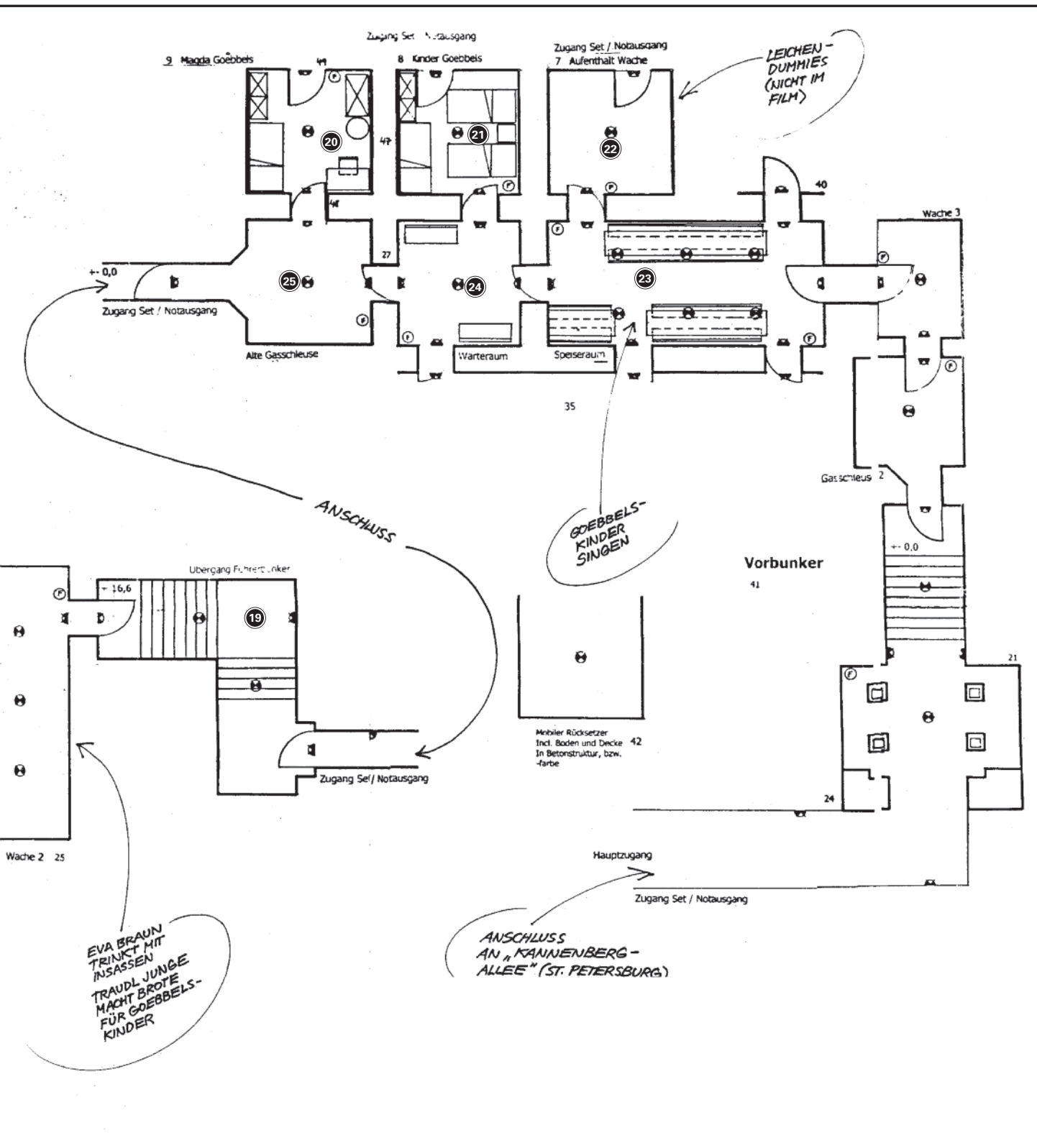


A road bridge on an unfinished highway which had fallen into disrepair, was used to film the scene of Traudl Junge and the Hitlerjugend boy finding the bicycle after their escape from Berlin included right at the end of the movie. The bridge was part of a long road designed to cross an area of coastal marshland between St Petersburg and the Finnish border but never actually completed due to lack of money. Bernd Lepel was tipped about it as a possible film location by his Russian contacts. He says the bridge looked like it had just collapsed after years of neglect, although it may equally well have been blown up on purpose. Filming in the St Petersburg area lasted for six weeks, until late September. Thereafter, cast and crew moved to Germany, to the Bavaria Studios in Munich, to shoot the scenes inside the Führerbunker.



The plans and measurements of the Führerbunker were provided by Dietmar Arnold, a Berlin architect and a member of the 'Berliner Unterwelten Verein' (association of enthusiasts on Berlin underground systems) and an acknowledged expert on the Führerbunker. Building time of the bunker film set at the Bavaria Studios was two months. Initially, the idea was to build the Vorbunker and Führerbunker as one continuous set as Eichinger had envisaged including a travelling shot from the entrance of the Vorbunker right through to the far end of the Führerbunker. However, although the designers had the use of the studio's largest hall, it was still not big enough to fit in the whole complex, so they had to build it in two sections. One comprised the Vorbunker and included the steps descending to it from the Reichskanzlei tunnel, the other replicated the

Führerbunker itself, and included the connecting steps between the Vorbunker and Führerbunker. Not every room of the original bunker was constructed (see plan in *After the Battle* No. 72) — only those required for the filming. Thus in the Führerbunker (left in the drawing above) [1] and [2] are the doctor's surgery. [3] (not built) Goebbels' office. [4] Secretaries' quarters. [5] Telephone exchange. [6] (not built) ditto. [7] Ventilation plant. [8] Conference room. [9] Ditto. [10] Guard post to garden entrance. [11] Map room. [12] Hitler's study. [13] Eva Braun's bed-sit. [14] Hitler's bedroom. [15] Hitler's living room where the suicides took place. [16] (not built) Bathroom. [17] Toilets. [18] (not built) Electricity switch room. [19] Adjoining staircase to Vorbunker (drawing on the right). This complex comprised over 20 rooms but again only the ones necessary for the film were



constructed. [20] Magda Goebbels' room and [21] the children's bedroom. [22] Personnel quarters. [23] Canteen. [24] and [25] The corridor to the lower Führerbunker. Because camera lenses tend to distort spatial impressions, making rooms look smaller or larger than they actually are, the designers initially experimented with the bunker measurements, varying the size of rooms, putting the ceiling higher or lower, etc. to see what the effect would be on screen. However in the end they decided it was best to stick to the historic measurements, both in room sizes and ceiling heights. Film sets are usually fabricated in such a way that walls can be taken away for easier filming and ceilings removed for additional lighting. However, the film team decided against all of this, largely convinced by the cameraman, Rainer Klausmann, who insisted that he could manage inside

the confined space of the small rooms. Very often he had to stand in the far corner of a room in order to take his shots. As a result of this, his images starkly convey the cramped and claustrophobic atmosphere in the bunker. Also, because the ceiling stayed on during all the filming, the only lighting was provided by the bulkhead lights and shaded room lamps. This subdued light gave the interior shots added authenticity. The fitting out of the bunker rooms and corridors with furniture was to a large extent based on the few existing pictures of the bunker interior taken in 1945. The designers made a deliberate effort to get the furnishing as exact as possible but, as chief prop man Marcus Berndt explains, the end result — as always in movie production — was a compromise between getting things historically accurate and the limits of availability and budget.



Seen from the gantry in Hall 12, the bunker set appeared merely as a nondescript jumble of containers . . .



. . . but within the interior the effect was stunning. When cleverly intercut with the tiled tunnel discovered underneath the Izhorsky Submarine Plant in St Petersburg, the recreation was superb.

The sequence illustrated here is where General der Artillerie Helmuth Weidling (Michael Mendl) seeks a meeting with Hitler to ask why he has been sentenced to death.



The whole bunker set (walls, floors, steps and ceilings) was built from wood, synthetic material being added to create the typical look of shuttering marks resulting from the poured aggregate,

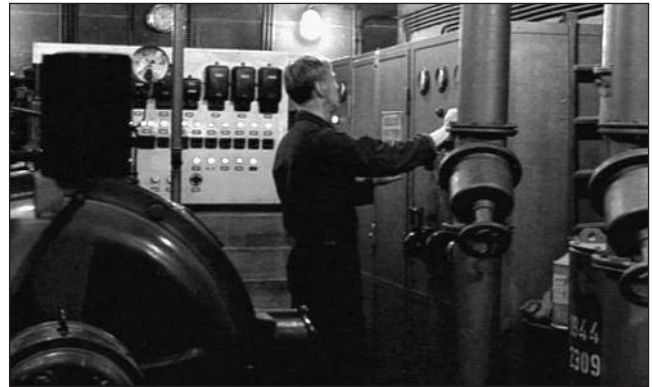
but because footsteps on wood clearly sound different from those on concrete, every footfall in the bunker had to be individually dubbed on the soundtrack by the foley editor.



General Weidling had been appointed the commander of the Berlin Defence Area on April 23, but his task was already hopeless, and eight days later he had to surrender the city,

the cease-fire coming into effect at 1300 on May 2. Weidling was taken into captivity by the Russians and he died in a Soviet prisoner of war camp in 1955.

Many of the items came from Bavaria's own prop department, the Babelsberg Studios outside Berlin and Film- und Theateraustattung (FTA) in Berlin, but other pieces had to be borrowed from outside sources. Among the latter were several items from the Nazi period. For example the table used for the wedding banquet in the Führerbunker corridor and several other pieces of furniture were borrowed from the Hochschule für Musik — the former Führerbau (see *After the Battle No. 62* and *Third Reich Then and Now*) in Munich. Other original furniture (including a chair actually sat on by Hitler) was loaned from an antiques dealer in Berchtesgaden. The red carpet with the swastika motif seen on the floor of the Führerbunker corridor came from FTA having been produced for an earlier film in which it decorated the floor of a passenger ship of the Kraft durch Freude (KdF — Strength through Joy) organisation.



Specialist equipment, such as the telephone switchboard (left) operated by Rochus Misch, came from a Bundeswehr technical museum in Nuremberg. The real switchboard was actually much smaller but the larger model was chosen for optical reasons as it would better convey Misch's task in the bunker. The ventilation equipment, some of the washroom fittings, and the bunk beds came from an original wartime hospital bunker surviving on Celler Landstrasse in the city of Braunschweig. Dietmar Arnold of Berliner Unterwelten tipped off the set designers that this bunker was scheduled for demolition and

they were able to remove everything they needed for free — an unbelievable piece of luck. The air purification equipment taken from the Braunschweig bunker and included in the film set was in fact of the very same type as that existed in the actual Führerbunker, being of the same make, model and even year of fabrication (Dräger, 1944) as the real thing. The fixtures and fittings preserved in this same bunker were a real bonus for set designer Marcus Berndt as example for the machinery room in the Führerbunker (right), although the diesel engine used in the film was actually a ship's engine.



As for a prime piece of furniture — the sofa in Hitler's room where he and Eva Braun committed suicide (left) — the film designers had originally wanted to copy the peculiar design of the sofa's upholstery (right), but in the end had to drop the idea because of the cost of having it copied and printed onto textile. After filming on *Der Untergang* had been completed, the bunker set was used again early in 2004 for the shooting of several scenes for director Heinrich Breloer's three-part German television play *Speer und Er* (Speer and Him). There were plans to put the whole bunker set on outdoors display in the studio grounds to be included in conducted tours, but nothing

came of that and the whole thing has now been scrapped. (The historic ventilation equipment, rescued from the Braunschweig hospital bunker, was taken over by Berliner Unterwelten and has now been installed in their Flak tower museum in Humboldtthain Park.) Although the film is centred on Berlin, only one short scene was actually shot in the capital. U-Bahn station Deutsche Oper on Bismarckstrasse was used to double up as Kaiserhof station on Wilhelmplatz (which no longer exists) in the sequence showing the Mohnke group making their way across the platform en route to the Spree bridge after their escape from the Reichskanzlei.

