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Geschichtsort Adlerwerke

A New Historic Memorial Site in Frankfurt / Main (Germany)

The History and Work of the Geschichtsort
Adlerwerke

On March 25, 2022, a new historical memorial and educational center opened in Frankfurt/Main (Germany). It is called "Geschichtsort Adlerwerke: Fabrik, Zwangsarbeit, Konzentrationslager" (translated: Historic Memorial Site Adlerwerke: Factory, Forced Labor, Concentration Camp) and is dedicated to the "Katzbach" concentration subcamp in Frankfurt's Adlerwerke and the history of forced labor in Frankfurt.

The history of the Adlerwerke factory¹

The Adlerwerke factory was a traditional Frankfurt company and an important employer. For more than 100 years, the factory shaped life and work in Frankfurt's Gallus district. Up to 10.000 workers were employed there.²

Founded in 1880 as Heinrich Kleyer GmbH (later AG), the company made industrial history: the first German low-profile bicycles with pneumatic tires came from Frankfurt am Main. Germany's first typewriters were also produced here. Motorcycles and automobiles were added to the product range in 1900. In 1914, 20 percent of the civilian cars registered in Germany came from the Adlerwerke factory. In the 1930s, Adler competed with Daimler-Benz AG for third place in car sales in the German Reich. The Adlerwerke benefited from Nazi policies by becoming part of the armaments industry and benefiting from the "Aryanization" of land from four companies owned by Jewish entrepreneurs between 1936 and 1938.

Beginning in 1941, civilian forced laborers and prisoners of war had to work in the factory. In 1943 there were 1,727 forced laborers working for the Adlerwerke. Only two factories in Frankfurt employed more forced laborers at this point of time: 4,585 men and women were forced to work for IG Farben at various locations in Frankfurt and 4,133 people for a factory called Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke.³

The Adlerwerke was one of the producers of the three-ton Hkl6p tractor unit for the Wehrmacht. In the summer of 1943, they received an order from the Army High Command for 5,000 units. By February 1944, it was no longer possible to meet their target figures. The production shortfall was attributed to Allied air raids, supply difficulties and the loss of working hours due to air raid alerts. From June 1944, the lack of manpower was cited as the main reason for the production shortfall. The establishment of a concentration camp in the Adlerwerke factories was intended to counteract this labor shortage.

1 A. Rudorff, *Katzbach – Das KZ in der Stadt. Zwangsarbeit in den Adlerwerken. Frankfurt am Main 1944/45*, Göttingen 2021; E. Kaiser, M. Knorn, „Wir lebten und schliefen zwischen den Toten“. *Rüstungsproduktion, Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung in den Frankfurter Adlerwerken*, Frankfurt 1998.

2 The history of the factory is shown by E. Kaiser, M. Knorn, „Wir lebten und schliefen zwischen den Toten“..., p. 21–70, A. Rudorff, *Katzbach...*, p. 20–55.

3 Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, inv. 483/7328, Aufstellung der DAF zu Ausländerbetreuung, Ausländerlager im Gau Hessen-Nassau.

On August 22, 1944, the first 200 concentration camp prisoners arrived from Buchenwald concentration camp as the "Aufbaukommando". Three larger transports and a number of smaller individual transfers followed. Among them were two men, Josef Kerszbaum and Symcha Henechowicz, who were brought from Plaszow via Buchenwald to Frankfurt.⁴

At least for the largest transport, in September 1944, Viktor Heitlinger, the Adlerwerke labor deployment engineer, went to the Dachau concentration camp to select 1,000 concentration camp prisoners for Frankfurt.⁵

A total of 1,616 men worked for the Adlerwerke in the "Katzbach" concentration camp. Most of these men came from Poland, others from the Soviet Union, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, France and Czechoslovakia. Almost one third of the prisoners died in Frankfurt, while others lost their lives after being transferred to other concentration camps or on the death march Frankfurt-Hünfeld.

"Katzbach" is a codename given to the concentration camp. It was common to give codenames to subcamps with armament projects. The name "Katzbach" was a reference to the Battle of Katzbach in 1813, when the Silesian army under the command of Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher defeated Napoleon's troops. The phrase "He's going at it like Blücher at Katzbach!" was considered a paraphrase for an energetic and determined approach to the implementation of projects of any kind. The codename "Katzbach" appears for the first time the day before the arrival of the first prisoners.⁶

Although most inmates came to Frankfurt via the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dachau, the "Katzbach" camp was part of the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp complex. Even the main camp of Natzweiler-Struthof and some satellite camps were evacuated in the fall of 1944, the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp complex stayed alive: new satellite camps were opened and the camp commandant's office was relocated to northern Baden. This explains why almost no concentration camp prisoners were transferred from the main camp to Frankfurt.

A long struggle for a memorial site

Nearly eight decades after the end of the concentration camp, a memorial and educational site was established for the first time in 2022, and it is a particular tragedy that only two survivors were able to participate digitally in the opening ceremony.

Although many memorials in Germany were institutionalized only after many years of struggle⁷, it is striking how long the relevant actors

4 A. Rudorff, *Katzbach...*, p. 127–128.

5 Ibidem, p. 53–66.

6 Ibidem, p. 60–61.

7 See for example: H. Knoch, *Geschichte in Gedenkstätten. Theorie – Praxis – Berufsfelder*, Tübingen 2020; idem, *Die Rückkehr der Zeugen. Gedenkstätten*



Fig. 1
The Adlerwerke factory,
photo by Salome Roessler

in Frankfurt refused to establish a memorial and educational site at the historical location, while initiatives in other towns and cities were able to create new memorials in the 1990s and 2000s. For a long time, civil society's commitment to a memorial and educational site at the Katzbach concentration camp resembled a "battle against windmills" (Marco Brenneisen). One initial impetus came from a school project to search for traces, which later led to joint research by the social worker Ernst Kaiser and the teacher Michael Knorn. Another came from former employees of the Frankfurt Adlerwerke. They founded an association in 1992. Since then, reappraising the history of Adlerwerke has been an important concern of the association.

Since the early 1990s, individuals, initiatives and survivors have regularly called for a permanent memorial and educational site. In contrast to a memorial site, it has been possible over the years – albeit often in conflict – to establish memorials in public spaces, for example in the form of a commemorative plaque on the Adlerwerke's building, the renaming of a square after two escaped and murdered concentration camp prisoners, or after a prisoner doctor. In Frankfurt's main cemetery, there is also a collective grave with various memorial elements commemorating the concentration camp prisoners who

als Gedächtnisorte der Bundesrepublik, [in:] *Öffentliche Erinnerung und Medialisierung des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Bilanz der letzten dreißig Jahre*, ed. by G. Paul, B. Schoßig, Göttingen 2010, p. 116–137; D. Garbe, *Von der „Nestbeschmutzung“ zur Identitätsstiftung. Zivilgesellschaftliche Impulse in der Entstehungsgeschichte der bundesdeutschen KZ-Gedenkstätten*, [in:] *Jenseits der Erinnerung – Verbrechensgeschichte begreifen. Impulse für die kritische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus nach dem Ende der Zeitgenossenschaft*, ed. by V. Knigge, Göttingen 2020, p. 137–157. About the German memorial sites of the Natzweiler satellite and subcamp-system: M. Brenneisen, *Schlussstriche und lokale Erinnerungskulturen. Die „zweite Geschichte“ der südwestdeutschen Außenlager des KZ Natzweiler seit 1945*, Stuttgart 2020.

died in Frankfurt. For the Polish community, it is considered "one of the largest common graves of participants in the Warsaw Uprising outside of Poland"⁸.

The situation started to change in 2015/2016. In October 2015, a new association was founded to unite different people and associations in their struggle for a historical memorial site. One can say that the „fight against the windmills“ was reorganized. At the same time, a new deputy mayor for culture and science was elected in the city of Frankfurt. This opened a new window of opportunity. New scholarly research was funded by the City of Frankfurt, and the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand 1933–1945 was asked to develop the new exhibition in cooperation with the above mentioned association called "Förderverein für die Errichtung einer Gedenk – und Bildungsstätte KZ-Katzbach in den Adlerwerken und zur Zwangsarbeit in Frankfurt am Main".

In just 15 months, a small team set out to build a new memorial. The memorial was built with two main goals in mind. First, the exhibition should tell the story of the historical site, in particular the history of the concentration camp at the Adlerwerke factory and of forced labor in Frankfurt. With media stations and interactive elements in the exhibition it tries to appeal to the different senses of the visitors: Biographies can be heard or read, and a large interactive map shows the locations of forced labor in Frankfurt. However, the use of media stations is moderate.⁹ Second, the exhibition should create a space for school groups and other visitors to work and hold discussions in. An integral part of the pedagogical work with students is that they work with and in the exhibition in a participatory and interactive way. This is supported by a large workshop area for groups as well as with a small thematic library and archive boxes with opportunities for individual in-depth study all being a part of the concept. The exhibition is designed to be flexible, interchangeable, and participatory. For example, workshops allow students to research and write biographies of forced laborers that will become a permanent part of the exhibition. Visitors are also invited to rearrange the exhibition's company and forced labor site panels. In the future, more company panels are to be written by groups. The Geschichtsort Adlerwerke is thus an interactive and participatory place of learning.

The new historic memorial site is now run by the Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand 1933–1945 and is supported by the Förderverein and Frankfurt's Department of Culture and Science. Therefore it is still part of civil society. It is partially funded by the City of Frankfurt but is not an integral part of the municipal museum landscape.

8 J. de Vincenz, *Gemeinschaftsgrab der KZ-Häftlinge des KZ Katzbach in den Adlerwerken*, Porta Polonica, <https://www.porta-polonica.de/de/kriegsgraeber/gemeinschaftsgrab-der-kz-haeftlinge-des-kz-katzbach-den-adlerwerken?page=2> (access: 5.06.2025).

9 About the curators ideas for the historic memorial site see: T. Altmeyer, G. Kößler, *Geschichtsort Adlerwerke: Fabrik, Zwangsarbeit, Konzentrationslager, „Gedenkstätten-Rundbrief“* 2022, Nr 206, p. 22–32.

The exhibition¹⁰

The exhibition space is rather small with about 160 square meters and a larger vestibule. Unfortunately, there is no office space directly available for our use at this location. The entrance to the "Geschichtsort Adlerwerke" leads first into an anteroom. Here you will find a brief overview of the history and work of the Adlerwerke and the surrounding district of Gallus from the beginning of the factory until its closure in the 1990s, as well as important steps in the history of remembrance.

Under the title „Forced Labor – A Crime in the Midst of Everyday Life“, the exhibition begins with the topic of forced labor in Frankfurt, which consisted mainly of foreign civilian workers and prisoners of war. The various patterns of the recruitment of foreign workers are presented. They ranged from advertising to pressure to deportation. The ways in which the foreign workers were recruited were as varied as the ways in which they were treated. The hierarchy followed the racist ideology of National Socialism. Polish and Soviet workers, and Italian military internees were the most discriminated against. They suffered harsher living conditions than forced laborers from Western European countries.

The forced labor system benefited large and small businesses, craft enterprises, factories and private households. Workers were housed in large collective camps, communal accommodation in restaurants and sports halls and even accommodation in private homes. Their places of employment and accommodation were scattered throughout the city. The system of forced labor was also characterized by the everyday bureaucratic work of the municipal authorities, the employment offices, the health and social insurance offices, the tax office, the German Labor Front as well as the local police and the Gestapo. The exhibition attempts to show this network. Forced labor in Frankfurt also connected the city with many other places in Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate. The bureaucracy of the Gauarbeitsamt in Frankfurt leads to the Kelsterbach transit camp, the Pfaffenwald camp near Bad Hersfeld, the Nazi euthanasia killing center in Hadamar as well as to forced labor in Darmstadt, Dillenburg, Giessen, Hanau, Limburg, Mainz, Niederlahnstein, Offenbach, Wetzlar, Wiesbaden and Worms.

The prisoners of war (POWs) brought to Frankfurt came from Stalag IX b, which was located at the Wegscheide in Bad Orb. From there, the POWs were transported not only to the Rhine-Main region, but also to the Odenwald and the Wetterau regions for work.

The exhibition is largely based on documents. They prove and illustrate the involvement of companies and authorities in the forced labor system. However, the exhibition is not only an exhibition of documents. One important part is a media table with an interactive city map on the subject of forced labor. The content was developed by the Historical Museum of Frankfurt for the exhibition "Eine Stadt macht mit. Frankfurt

10 The exhibition is in German language. A Polish and English translation is offered on tablets.

und der NS".¹¹ This topographical media station can be used to research sites of forced labor in Frankfurt. The digital map interacts with the opposite exhibition wall about forced labor. The perspective of foreign workers is shown through exemplary biographies of forced laborers. The diversity of the experiences and conditions of forced labor in Frankfurt can be explored here.

Both the topographical media station and its interactive part on the wall, where companies and places of forced labor are presented, can and should be supplemented and expanded. This is also applied in biography workshops, where students research biographies under the guidance of the education team, learning and practicing core exhibition skills such as working with sources and writing exhibition texts. Through the individual biographies, they gain in-depth access to the topics of the exhibition and develop products that will later be shown and used in the history site.

The presentation of the Katzbach concentration camp at the Adlerwerke in Frankfurt begins with a wall of names commemorating all 1,616 prisoners of the subcamp. Excerpts on the Warsaw Uprising, the development of the concentration camp system and the Natzweiler concentration camp complex provide the background against which the history of the Katzbach concentration camp unfolds. The excerpts are helpful to understand the background of the camp: the majority of the concentration camp prisoners were arrested during the Warsaw Uprising and were brought to Frankfurt via the transit camp of Dulag 121 in Pruszków and the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dachau.¹²

The next section of the exhibition is called „The Concentration Camp in the Factory”. Here you can see the involvement of the Adlerwerke management and the SS guards, however, the concentration camp prisoners are the focus of this part of the exhibition. Audio stations present the biographies of concentration camp prisoners (and some perpetrators). In a video interview, former prisoner Andrzej Branecki (1930–2020) talks about his experiences. A media station with an animated film shows the story of two children in the concentration camp and was developed by students in a university course during the short time the exhibition was curated.

In four books, documents and testimonies of the small group of survivors reveal the living conditions, the labor deployments, the violence, and the relationship between the concentration camp and the district. Four drawings by the survivor Zygmunt Świstak (1924–2022) illustrate the topics of the books.

The death march from Frankfurt to Hünfeld, a particularly violent chapter of the subcamp, is shown on a map and concludes this chapter

11 Translated: "A city participates. Frankfurt and the National Socialism". See: *Eine Stadt macht mit: Frankfurt und der NS*, exhibition at the Frankfurt Historical Museum curated by B. Burkard, A. Gemeinhardt, J. Jung, J. Zwilling.

12 A. Rudorff, *Katzbach...*, p. 61–65, 109–120.



Fig. 2

Young visitors attended the permanent exhibition, photo by Mara Monetti Fotografie, © Stadt Frankfurt

of the exhibition. Reports on how the inhabitants of the region perceived this death march and how they reacted to the prisoners, show the participation of the German population in this crime during the last days of the war.

The post-war history is presented in a separate part of the exhibition entitled "Struggles for Work, Remembrance and Compensation". It describes the legal investigation of the crimes, which began early on but resulted in almost no convictions. There is also information on the history of the factory after 1945, including the subject of „guest workers" and the closure of the factory. Here is one spot where visitors can meet the person of Ernst Hagemeier, who has been the boss of the Adlerwerke between 1929 and 1957. Other topics include the struggle for a historical memorial and questions of compensation. In a media station you can now find interviews as well as some videos of remembrance-art-events.

Pedagogical work

In addition to individual visitors, most visitors come as groups. School classes in particular make up a large proportion. For them, there's no such thing as a classic guided tour. During an interactive tour, the participants explore the main topics of the exhibition on their own by working with and in the exhibition in a participatory and interactive way. Students are encouraged to engage with the site, ask questions and present their findings to the group at the end using discovery-based learning methods.

With a geocaching-system called "Actionbound" school groups can explore the Gallus district on their own to learn more about the Katzbach concentration camp and forced labor in the district. The digital discovery tours on tablets use photos, texts, tasks and quotes from survivors to convey various aspects of the exhibition with special reference to the district. In this way, the urban environment is integrated into the educational curriculum.

In biographical workshops smaller groups work on selected biographies and topics relating to the Adlerwerke. Using the exhibition and authentic sources, participants investigate the various workers who worked there during the Nazi era, deliberately including groups of perpetrators in order to gain an overall picture of the forced labor system. The working and living conditions of the various actors are illustrated and their role in the Adlerwerke and within the system are discussed. At the end, the participants present and reflect on their findings to the group.

In a participatory research and exhibition project students developed an exhibition about Czechoslovakian forced laborers in Frankfurt. It was shown between 1st of July and 28th of September 2025.

Besides this, the Geschichtsort Adlerwerke is cooperating with different actors in cultural, pedagogical areas as well as with museums and memorial sites. Other time-limited cooperations are held with the Archaeological Museum Frankfurt who are showing the exhibition "Ausgeschlossen. Archäologie der NS-Zwangslager". Groups could visit both exhibitions. Another important partner is the theatre of Frankfurt and its department "Junges Schauspiel Frankfurt". As part of an integrative youth performance project in 2022 and 2023, the "Adlerwerke Historical Site" was the starting point for 12 young people to search for connections between forced labor, the Nazi ideology of "German Labor" and their own experiences with work, dependency and resistance today. They used artistic means to make connections between the history of National Socialism and themselves and today. As a result of this project, a theater play was developed and performed.¹³ With the project Gallus-Geschichten this cooperation was continued in 2024–2025.¹⁴

In addition to schools, there is a good demand from trade union groups. They come for guided tours as well as for a special workshop that not only focuses on the topics of our work, but also aims to help them reflect on their work as workers' representatives and on their current activities.

Perspectives

The Katzbach concentration camp is an example of the explosion of the satellite camp system in the region and in the places of (armament) production. The concentration camp was an integral part of the factory and was located in the middle of the city. Here, concentration camp prisoners were exploited as the last reservoir of labor.

Many of the crimes were known to the workers in the Adlerwerke factories, the neighborhood or the residents living along the route of the death march. They also intervened in the events, both by denouncing them and by helping them. This leads to questions about the scope

13 Junges Schauspiel Frankfurt: „Unter Uns Unsichtbar”, YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q8Uet7KoiYw> (access: 5.06.2025).

14 Schauspiel Frankfurt, <https://www.schauspielfrankfurt.de/jungesschauspiel/gallus-geschichten/> (access: 5.06.2025).

and possibilities for action, which can still be linked to questions about civil courage and the possibilities for action today.

The themes of the Adlerwerke history site are closely related to the topic of labor and migration. The forced labor camp on Froschhäuser Strasse in Frankfurt-Griesheim is an example of this. After the Adlerwerke had operated a forced labor camp here for 2000 people, the camp became a place of accommodation for so-called displaced persons (DPs) after the liberation, then a camp for refugees from the GDR, and later a place of residence for "guest workers". The fact that the term "Gastarbeiter" is used in official documents of the Adlerwerke in 1943 to differentiate between Western forced laborers and so-called "Ostarbeiter" is an opportunity to talk about labor migration at different times and under different conditions of work and coercion. These topics offer an impulse for further (necessary) research as well as for the topic of forced labor in Frankfurt. It took a very long time to establish the historical memorial and educational site. Since its opening, more than 1,500 visitors have come to learn about the Katzbach concentration camp and forced labor. For a small organization, these numbers are a success story. Even though there are times when demand exceeds our capacity.

The series of events marking the 80th anniversary of the dissolution of the camp and the death march was successful too. More than 20 events were held in Frankfurt, but also in the cities and towns and villages through which the death march passed.¹⁵ In that series a new memorial stele for the 527 dead victims of Katzbach concentration camp could be established at the main cemetery of Frankfurt. A central commemoration took place in the Paulskirche, the site of the first democratic parliament in Germany in 1848.

One can say that now, three years after the opening of the memorial site, the topic of forced labor and the "Katzbach" concentration camp is much more known than before. It became one important part of the remembrance culture of Frankfurt and the federal state of Hesse. Thanks to the great support of volunteers many things could be done in these three years. But many things have to be done, for instance continuing to build up a database on forced labor in Frankfurt and develop new mediation concepts for different target groups. Nevertheless, funding is a problem remaining and this is limiting the capacities of work. ▀

15 *Todesmarsch von Frankfurt nach Hünfeld*, <https://www.todesmarsch-frankfurt-huenfeld.de/> (access: 5.06.2025). The series received a great deal of attention from the press, e.g.: J. Orth, *Das Grauen des NS-Todesmarschs von Frankfurt nach Hünfeld*, Hessenschau, <https://www.hessenschau.de/kultur/80-jahre-todesmarsch-von-frankfurt-nach-huenfeld-ss-trieb-kz-haeftlinge-durch-eis-und-schnee-v2,todesmarsch-frankfurt-huenfeld-100.html> (access: 5.06.2025).



Fig. 3
 Young visitors attended the permanent exhibition, photo by Mara Monetti Fotografie, © Stadt Frankfurt

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