

Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany

The New Histories

Harold Marcuse, "**The Afterlife of the Camps,**"
in: Jane Caplan and Nikolaus Wachsmann (eds.),
*Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New
Histories* (New York: Routledge, 2010),
pp. 186-211.

**Edited by Jane Caplan
and Nikolaus Wachsmann**

Contents

First published 2010 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Jane Caplan and Nikolaus Wachsmann for selection and editorial matter; individual chapters, the contributors

Typeset in Baskerville by
HWA Text and Data Management, London
Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Concentration camps in Nazi Germany : the new histories / edited
by Jane Caplan and Nikolaus Wachsmann.
p. cm.

"Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada" – T.p. verso.
Includes bibliographical references.

1. World War, 1939–1945 – Concentration camps – Germany.
2. World War, 1939–1945 – Prisoners and prisons, German.
3. Concentration camps – Germany – History – 20th century.
4. Concentration camp inmates – Germany – History – 20th century.

I. Caplan, Jane. II. Wachsmann, Nikolaus.

D805.G3C5918 2009

940.53'185–dc22

2009021162

ISBN10: 0-415-42650-2 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-415-42651-0 (pbk)

ISBN10: 0-203-86520-0 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-42650-3 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-42651-0 (pbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-86520-0 (ebk)

<i>List of contributors</i>	vii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Map</i>	x

Introduction	1
JANE CAPLAN AND NIKOLAUS WACHSMANN	
1 The dynamics of destruction: the development of the concentration camps, 1933–1945	17
NIKOLAUS WACHSMANN	
2 The concentration camp personnel	44
KARIN ORTH	
3 Social life in an unsocial environment: the inmates' struggle for survival	58
FALK PINGEL	
4 Gender and the concentration camps	82
JANE CAPLAN	
5 The public face of the camps	108
KAROLA FINGS	
6 Work and extermination in the concentration camps	127
JENS-CHRISTIAN WAGNER	
7 The Holocaust and the concentration camps	149
DIETER POHL	

8	The death marches and the final phase of Nazi genocide DANIEL BLATMAN	167
9	The afterlife of the camps HAROLD MARCUSE	186
	<i>Composite bibliography of works cited</i>	212
	<i>Index</i>	239

Contributors

Daniel Blatman is a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is the author and editor of numerous publications about the Second World War and the Nazi camps, most recently *Les marches de la mort. La dernière étape du génocide nazi, été 1944–printemps 1945* (2009, forthcoming in English, German and Italian).

Jane Caplan is a fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford. She has published widely on the history of National Socialism, including most recently an edition of Gabriele Herz, *The Women's Camp in Moringen: A Memoir of Imprisonment in Germany 1936–1937* (2006) and *Nazi Germany* (2008).

Karola Fings is the deputy director of the Cologne Document Centre on Nazi History and a lecturer at the University of Cologne. She has written widely about the Third Reich and Nazi terror, including the monograph *Krieg, Gesellschaft und KZ* (2005). She is currently working on a research project on the Łódź ghetto.

Harold Marcuse is associate professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara. In addition to a monograph about the history of the Dachau camp and memorial site, *Legacies of Dachau* (2001), he has published numerous articles about the reception history of Nazism throughout Europe.

Karin Orth is head administrator of the International Graduate Academy at Freiburg University. She has published widely on the history of National Socialism and on the history of science and humanities, including two monographs on the Nazi concentration camps, *Das System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager* (1999) and *Die Konzentrationslager-SS* (2000).

Falk Pingel is the deputy director of the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig and has also taught at the University of Bielefeld. Since the publication of his pioneering study *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft* (1978), he has continued to research and publish widely on modern German and European history, particularly the Nazi era.

9 The afterlife of the camps

Harold Marcuse

in: Jane Caplan and Nikolaus Wachsmann (eds.),
*Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New
Histories* (New York: Routledge, 2010),
pp. 186-211.

While the histories of most Nazi concentration camps are now fairly well known, what happened with them after liberation until their reincarnation as museums or memorial sites is generally not. Surveying the former Nazi camps that dotted Europe at the end of the war, we can say there are five basic uses to which they have been put since 1945. Chronologically the first use was to educate the local populace about the conditions in the camps as they were found at liberation. The very first camps to be liberated had been emptied of prisoners before the arrival of the Allied armies, but even there sufficient evidence of horrific atrocities remained that the liberators were moved to force local civilians to view the premises and participate in clean-up work. In addition to this punitive pedagogy, in those camps whose inmates had not been murdered or completely evacuated prior to liberation, such forced tours overlapped with the second use: nursing the hundreds, thousands, and even tens of thousands of survivors back to health. This use as a medical and recuperation facility usually lasted from several weeks to a few months, in some cases up to a year or more, until political conditions became suitable for the survivors to return to their home countries or emigrate to find new homes.

The third use was most common in occupied Germany, where the victorious Allies used larger camps, especially those close to urban centres, to imprison large numbers of Germans who fell into the 'automatic arrest' categories, until their trials or denazification hearings could be held. In some cases those judicial proceedings were held in the former camps as well, most notably in Dachau, where from November 1945 until August 1947 personnel from Dachau, Mauthausen, Flossenbürg, Buchenwald and Dora-Nordhausen were tried.¹ Although there were strong practical reasons for reusing the concentration camps as penal facilities, punitive education was undoubtedly a consideration, now directed at giving suspected perpetrators a taste of their own medicine, as opposed to enlightening the putative bystanders.

The fourth use harks back to the first, education, but with two differences: commemoration of the heroism or suffering of the victims became an important component, and this next phase of education was also what one might term retrospectively prospective – looking back to select and preserve certain aspects of a camp's history for the future. Explicit measures to preserve parts of former

camps for educational use first occurred in countries that had been conquered and occupied by Nazi Germany, especially in those camps that had served as instruments of political repression, such as Auschwitz in Poland. Even there, however, the preservation and conversion to memorial sites took some time to implement, and often did not begin until the use as an internment camp was over.

The fifth fate tended to befall the more remote concentration camps and extermination centres, as well as the vast majority of the satellite camps, some of which were huge facilities for tens of thousands of inmates. They were simply abandoned and ignored for decades, often until the 1980s or 1990s, many of them until today.² Natzweiler in France and Gross Rosen in Poland are examples of more remote large camps, Gusen in Austria and Kaufering in Bavaria of huge satellite camps. This was also the fate of Belżec, Chełmno, Sobibór and Treblinka, the relatively remote 'Action Reinhardt' extermination centres in Poland that the Nazis dismantled and effaced in 1943–1944, before their retreat. The memorialization of those sites did not begin until the 1960s, as we will see below.

Although some country-based illustrated overviews about memorials at sites of Nazi persecution were published as early as the 1960s,³ the scholarly literature about the postwar histories of the concentration camp sites did not begin until the 1980s, with Konnilyn Feig's *Hitler's Death Camps: The Sanity of Madness*, published in 1981.⁴ Feig's book includes descriptions of and uses documents from many of the main camp memorial sites since she began visiting them in the early 1960s. Works by Detlef Garbe (1983) and Bernd Eichmann (1986) offer somewhat more detailed and up-to-date summaries of the histories of the main memorial sites, while the sites in West Germany were comprehensively cataloged by Ulrike Puvogel in a project sponsored by the Federal Centre for Political Education, which was published in 1987 (based on much shorter preliminary versions) and later updated for western Germany (1996) and the new eastern German states (1997).⁵ The 1987 version contains references to the scant previously published literature, which was mostly in pamphlet and article form. Gisela Lehrke's 1987 dissertation on 'historical-political education at sites of resistance' was supported by a grant in parallel with Puvogel's documentation, while offering a more analytical approach.⁶

The 1990s saw the publication of geographically more extensive works such as Sybil Milton and Ira Nowinski's *In Fitting Memory* (1991), which includes an annotated bibliography;⁷ James Young's *Texture of Memory* (1993), which offers some primary research on a few selected sites;⁸ and the more journalistic overview by Judith Miller in *One by One by One* (1990).⁹ Since the mid-1990s detailed scholarly anthologies or monographs have begun appearing about the postwar histories of some camps,¹⁰ while the camp-based essays in the multi-volume reference work *Der Ort des Terrors* (2005–) include fairly detailed sections on the postwar histories of the main concentration camps that often draw on hitherto unpublished primary material.¹¹

Liberation and punitive pedagogy: the media blitz

Most of the concentration camps liberated before April 1945 had been almost completely evacuated prior to the arrival of Allied troops.¹² These included Majdanek near Lublin in eastern Poland (24 July 1944),¹³ Natzweiler-Struthof in France (November 1944),¹⁴ and Gross Rosen near Wrocław (Breslau) in south-central Poland (13 February 1945).¹⁵ The largest camp that was not fully evacuated during this early phase was Auschwitz, where about 7,600 inmates were still alive in its three main camps when Soviet troops entered the complex on 27 January 1945.¹⁶ With an end to the war still at least months away, these liberated prisoners were given initial aid and then released to find their own ways home, often taking circuitous routes, as the odyssey recounted by Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi attests.¹⁷ Levi also describes how, on the morning after liberation, 20 Polish civilians summoned by the Soviets began to clear away corpses and clean the camp, with additional local residents arriving in the following days.¹⁸ The use of local labour for clean-up and burial details had already been practised at Majdanek, as surviving film footage attests.¹⁹ Such civilian labour details are documented for numerous camps liberated later as well, such as Belsen in April 1945²⁰ and Sachsenhausen in early May.²¹

The Allied response changed dramatically in early April, when Allied army units overran, captured or received in surrender the first unevacuated camps. Ohrdruf, a Buchenwald satellite camp liberated on 4 April 1945, tipped the balance from clean-up to forced tours. US soldiers found up to 100 charred and machine-gunned bodies lying about, over 3,200 corpses in mass graves, and more corpses stacked in various sheds.²² On 11 April, US troops entered Dora-Nordhausen, finding 3,000 corpses and 700 surviving inmates.²³ The next day, Allied Supreme Commander Eisenhower, along with Generals Bradley and Patton, toured Ohrdruf. Afterward they ordered 2,000 townspeople to bury the dead. That same day, US forces liberated Buchenwald, with about 19,000 unevacuated survivors,²⁴ and Belsen's commandant Kramer surrendered his camp to British forces, which entered it on 15 April to find about 10,000 corpses and 55,000 survivors, who were dying at a rate of approximately 500 per day.²⁵

Also on 12 April, General Patton, after visiting Buchenwald, ordered the mayor of Weimar to send at least 1,000 Weimar citizens to tour the main camp the next day.²⁶ On 19 April, after more reports of horrific scenes from liberated branch camps had come in, Eisenhower telegraphed Washington and London, requesting that delegations of US congressmen, British members of parliament and journalists be sent to Germany to tour the camps. Thus began what I call the 'media blitz': the blanketing in the first weeks of May 1945 of the US, British and German public spheres with newspaper, magazine and radio reports, posters, brochures and films about concentration camp atrocities.²⁷ Whereas Allied governments had previously refrained from corroborating reports about atrocities in the camps for fear of increasing anxieties among family members about the treatment of captured soldiers, a full-scale official public relations campaign was now launched.²⁸ This media blitz peaked in May 1945 and continued during

the summer, when it served to justify a relatively harsh occupation regime. This informational campaign experienced a brief revival during the main Nuremberg Trial beginning in November 1945 through early 1946.²⁹ Then, as the conflict between the capitalist and communist blocs re-emerged in 1947, occupation policy softened and the camps faded from public attention, with, for example, decreasing media coverage of the trials of concentration camp personnel.³⁰

Displaced persons' camps

Parallel to the punitive pedagogical use of the camps at liberation was the urgent need to care for the survivors, who also needed to be housed until they could return to their home countries. When the war in Europe ended on 8 May 1945, on German soil there were approximately 6 million foreign slave labourers, 2 million prisoners of war, and 750,000 concentration camp inmates, most of them foreigners.³¹ While the vast majority of these people were eager to return home as soon as their health permitted, several groups posed particular problems, including Jews wishing to emigrate to Palestine, Soviets who had fought on the side of the Germans, and non-communist Poles wary of their new Soviet-friendly government. For these groups, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) set up displaced persons (DP) camps, at first in the prisoner compounds of some former concentration camps, but soon moving them to adjacent SS or German army installations that had better infrastructure and fewer trappings of prisons.

The shift away from this use of the former camps accelerated when a July 1945 report by Earl Harrison, the US representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, to US president Truman, alerted a broader public to the need for longer-term DP camps. The crucial passage from that report, which US president Truman relayed to Allied Supreme Commander Eisenhower in an August letter published shortly thereafter in the *New York Times*, stated: 'we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them'.³² In the wake of that pronouncement most DPs were moved out of the former concentration camps.

After liberation, Belsen and Dachau had the largest DP populations. In Belsen the concentration camp barracks were burnt down in mid-May, after many thousands of survivors had been moved to Belsen camps II, III, IV and V.³³ In May, liberated Soviet POWs and slave labourers were moved to the nearby Fallingbommel camp, and most western Europeans returned home. This left 10,000–12,000 mostly Polish Jews, who were housed in the German army barracks of camp II, which became known as Belsen-Höhne. While the number of Jewish DPs in camps throughout the British zone fell dramatically after the founding of the state of Israel in May 1948, the Belsen-Höhne DP camp did not close until March 1950. During that period, in spite of the Belsen DPs' focus on emigration, a centre of Jewish culture in Germany developed there.³⁴

In Dachau, by early June 1945 most of the nearly 40 national groups had returned home, leaving about 2,000 Catholic Poles, over a thousand Hungarians

and Romanians and a few hundred Russians who did not want to return to their communist-controlled homelands, as well as an unknown but large number of Jews.³⁵ US military rabbi Abraham Klausner was instrumental in improving the lives of Jewish DPs in Dachau and other camps in Bavaria in May and early June 1945, by ensuring that all Jewish survivors were moved out of former concentration camps to a hospital in the St Ottilien convent about 35 miles away, or to predominantly Jewish DP camps such as the one set up in the former German army barracks at Landsberg.³⁶ Some of the Catholic Polish survivors remaining in Dachau were employed by the US army as guards for German 'automatic arrest' suspects who were being rounded up over the summer. We know almost nothing about what happened to those DPs who remained in or at the Dachau camp after early July 1945, when it formally became War Crimes Enclosure no. 1 of the US counterintelligence corps.³⁷

As for other former camps, Neuengamme housed DPs for about four weeks after the end of the war,³⁸ and Flossenbürg had 1,500–2,500 mostly Polish residents until the end of 1947.³⁹ Some former Nazi camps, *after* their subsequent use for interning Nazi suspects, were converted to long-term settlements for refugees uprooted after the end of the war. In addition to Dachau, which we will examine in greater detail below, Westerbork in Holland served that purpose. Members of the National-Socialist Movement of the Netherlands NSB were interned there until 1948, after which it was used first by the Dutch military, then from 1950 to 1971 to house refugees from Dutch colonies.⁴⁰

Internment camps

Allied proposals for interning German suspects as the country was conquered date back in various forms to 1944.⁴¹ The plans were consolidated in paragraph II.A.5 of the Potsdam Agreement of 2 August 1945.⁴² Well before that pronouncement, however, of necessity some former concentration camps were already being used to hold captured camp personnel. Occupation policymakers, in an attempt to prevent sabotage or even insurgent movements, had already ordered mass internments. For example, in 'Operation Tally-Ho', a two-day raid beginning in the night of 21–22 July 1945, 80,000 German suspects in the US zone were rounded up and interned.⁴³

The following list illustrates the extent to which the former main concentration camps were used for internment:⁴⁴

- Buchenwald: NKVD (Soviet People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) Special Camp No. 2, 20 August 1945–February 1950; up to 16,371 inmates (usually 10,000–12,000; 28,455 total over time);⁴⁵
- Dachau, US Counterintelligence Corps War Crimes Enclosure no. 1, early July 1945–31 August 1948; capacity 30,000 inmates;⁴⁶
- Esterwegen, British No. 9 Civil Internment Camp, then from 1 July 1946 to July 1947 No. 101 Prison Camp with up to 2,612 suspected war criminals, mainly former camp guards;⁴⁷

- Flossenbürg, US Military Government internment camp, July 1945–April 1946; up to 4,000 inmates;⁴⁸
- Neuengamme, British No. 6 Civil Internment Camp, June 1945–13 August 1948; up to 8,000 inmates;⁴⁹
- Sachsenhausen, NKVD Special Camp No. 7, 7 August 1945–January 1950; capacity 14,000, c. 60,000 total over time.⁵⁰

Conditions in these internment camps were harsh, especially during the 'hunger winters' of 1945–1946 and 1946–1947 when food and heating fuel was scarce throughout occupied Germany. However, the internees of these camps did not suffer from mistreatment, overwork and intentional physical abuse like their concentration camp predecessors, but rather from inactivity and neglect. The conditions in camps in the US and British occupation zones were harsh, especially in terms of low rations, but acceptable, without unusual mortality rates.⁵¹ However, in the Soviet camps the death rate due to malnutrition and disease at times rose to staggering proportions. Over the five years of the Sachsenhausen internment camp's existence, for example, approximately 12,000 of the 60,000 prisoners died.⁵² This 1:5 death rate compares to the 1:4.7 death rate of officially registered inmates in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.⁵³

The use of former concentration camps as internment camps was never intended to be more than a temporary solution until denazification reviews and trials could be conducted.⁵⁴ As the number of internees dwindled and conditions in postwar Germany stabilized, efforts to memorialize the camps and those who had died in them began to gain traction. The scope of these initiatives varied widely, however, from *ad hoc* suggestions by groups of liberated prisoners, to state-sponsored projects. The first camps to be preserved as memorials were not the first camps that had been erected, but the first ones to be liberated. Formerly Nazi-occupied countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium soon passed laws stipulating that former concentration camps be preserved.⁵⁵

Poland: from the martyrdom of Poles to the extermination of Jews

Eight major German camps were set up on Polish soil: the four concentration camps Auschwitz, Majdanek, Gross Rosen and Stutthof, and the four Action Reinhardt extermination centres Belżec, Chełmno, Sobibór and Treblinka. By the 1960s, the Polish government had included three of them among the five state museums overseen by its Advisory Board of the Museums of Martyrology.⁵⁶ Reflecting postwar Poland's emphasis on Polish resistance and victimization, those official museums included Auschwitz, Majdanek and Stutthof. The extermination centres, which were not only much more remote but had also been dismantled and planted over by the Nazis in 1943–1944, were not memorialized until the 1960s, and then only with more or less elaborate sculptures and small exhibitions. Since the 1990s, with private and institutional help from the United States, the

Sobibór and Belżec memorial sites have been expanded and now include explicit documentation of the extermination of Jewish Poles that was carried out there.

On 1 May 1945, even before Germany's surrender, Poland's provisional government placed 'those parts of the concentration camp in Oświęcim that were connected to the immediate destruction of millions of people' under the administration of its Ministry of Culture and Art, which was also charged with developing a concept for a museum.⁵⁷ The Ministry approved a formal proposal in February 1946, and by April camp survivors were working to create a museum, which was officially opened on 14 June 1947, the seventh anniversary of the arrival of the first prisoners.⁵⁸ In July 1947 the Polish parliament passed a law stipulating that all remains in the camp must be preserved. Around 1950 a small gravestone-like memorial was erected by private initiative near Birkenau crematorium II. Its simple inscription in Polish, Yiddish and Hebrew focused on the Jewish victims of Birkenau: 'In memory of the millions of Jewish martyrs and fighters, exterminated in the camp Auschwitz-Birkenau by the National Socialist race murderers, 1940–1945'.⁵⁹ The original exhibition in Auschwitz I was expanded first in 1950, and again in 1955 after Stalin's death. At that time it filled five of the two-storey stone barracks of the Auschwitz main camp.

The tenth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz in 1955 provided the impetus to replace that first private Jewish memorial with a more official one at the far end of the 'ramp' in view of the entrance gate. The new memorial was a 3 metres high, nearly cubical 'urn' on a plinth.⁶⁰ We know little about it, except that it was conceived as a temporary solution to be replaced by a memorial that better reflected the magnitude of the events in Birkenau.⁶¹

Guidelines for an international design competition, published by the Auschwitz survivors' organization in 1957, underscored the legal requirement that the remains of the camp not be altered. The selection committee met in April 1958 to judge 426 designs submitted by artists from 31 countries. After two additional limited competitions, a hybrid design was chosen and finally completed in May 1967. From 1960 to 1968 a number of exhibitions designed by national organizations were opened in various barracks. A number of modifications to the Birkenau and Auschwitz I sites were made in 1994–1995, after the fall of the communist government in 1989, including new signage, new inscriptions on the 1967 Birkenau memorial, and the revamping of several national exhibitions.⁶²

The early realization of the Auschwitz memorial site and museum was paralleled at Majdanek, the second largest Nazi concentration camp in Poland, which was located only three miles from the major city of Lublin.⁶³ In July 1944, Majdanek became the first Nazi concentration camp to be liberated. Evacuations had reduced the number of inmates to about 700 before the Germans abandoned the camp as the Red Army approached. The Germans left behind mountains of evidence of the horrific crimes they had perpetrated there, for example more than 750,000 shoes, hundreds of cubic metres of human ash, and intact gas chambers whose walls were still stained by prussic acid gas. Already in November 1944, the provisionally governing Polish Committee of National Liberation declared the

former camp to be a 'memorial site of the martyrdom of the peoples of Poland and other nations', a decision confirmed by the Polish parliament in 1947.

A first historical exhibition displaying the remains found in the camp opened in 1945, and in 1949 the site was planted over with trees. In 1954 a new exhibition with a manifestly pro-communist orientation was opened. It lasted until 1961, when a major overhaul of the site was conducted. The trees from 1949 were felled, preservation work was carried out on all of the buildings in the prisoners' part of the camp (including the barracks, gas chambers, crematorium, guard towers and fencing), while the buildings in the SS garrison were torn down. A redesigned main exhibition opened in 1962; ten years later it was moved into a group of new buildings located closer to the road accessing the camp. A fourth, post-communist exhibition replaced it in 1999.

Gross Rosen, liberated in February 1945, remained in the possession of the Soviet army until its extensive intact remains were turned over to Polish authorities in March 1947.⁶⁴ That September, a competition for a mausoleum design was conducted, for which a cornerstone was already laid in November, although the memorial itself was not dedicated until 1953. The winning design was a bronze statue of a powerful standing man looking upward, set on an inscribed pedestal in front of a squat, pyramidally-topped tower mausoleum made of granite from the camp's quarry and containing the ashes of victims of the camp. During a 1963 renovation the heroic statue was replaced by a large bowl. The former camp grounds were placed under the administration of the Auschwitz museum in 1950, and a small exhibition was opened in the left wing of the gatehouse building in 1958. In 1963, when the ensemble was placed on the national registry of historic sites, extensive repairs were carried out on the camp buildings. Trees and bushes were removed from along the camp fence and the SS casino was torn down, except for some offices where the site watchman lived. In 1970, responsibility for the site was transferred to the Historical Museum in Wrocław, which began to collect documents and artefacts about the camp's history. The Wrocław museum rebuilt the SS casino in 1978–1982 to house a new exhibition and film screening room. In 1983, at the urging of camp survivors and local authorities, the Gross Rosen site was given the status of a state museum, which, however, it only held until 1999, when responsibility returned to the provincial level.

Stutthof, about 30 miles east of Gdańsk and two miles from the Baltic coast, is less remote than Gross Rosen, and it attained the status of a state museum earlier and permanently, in 1961, with a first exhibition opening in 1962.⁶⁵ The museum, installed in the crematorium building by artist Wiktor Tolkin, tells the history of the camp. Artefacts from the daily life of the camp are displayed in the remaining barracks. Also designed by Tolkin and dedicated in May 1968, the central memorial is located near the gas chamber and crematorium. It is comprised of a wall 48 metres long and 3.5 metres high, bearing bas reliefs and containing a reliquary with incompletely burnt human bones. It culminates in an 11 metre high sculpted block with figures symbolizing resistance. In 1967 the Ministry of Culture and Art took responsibility for the site, and opened an archive and research library. In the first dozen years of the museum's existence,

the number of visitors, including many Polish school classes, increased more than tenfold, from 62,000 in 1962 to 257,000 in 1968, to 650,000 in 1974.

Austria: from eradication to reluctant preservation

The early memorialization of Mauthausen in Austria followed a similar but in revealing ways slightly different path from Auschwitz. Austrian support for Nazi Germany's annexation of their country in 1938 had been enthusiastic and widespread, and after 1945 a substantial proportion of the populace still identified with the perpetrators. Thus many Austrians preferred to eradicate, not preserve reminders of the system of repression and murder.⁶⁶

When US tanks rolled up to Mauthausen and its nearby branch camps on 5 May 1945, they found approximately 20,000 survivors, many of whom were so sick that thousands died in the following days.⁶⁷ Hundreds of local residents were brought in to bury the dead in mass graves. No detailed history of the camp over the next months has been written, but we do know that already on 16 May 1945 a ceremony was held to honour 2,500 Soviet survivors who were returning home. According to a 9 July agreement about the borders of zones of occupation, on 24 July US troops began to withdraw from the area, and the Soviet troops who replaced them used the barracks of the presumably empty camp as housing from autumn 1945 until May 1946. At a ceremony commemorating the first anniversary of liberation, which was held outside the Soviet-occupied camp, ground was broken for a planned memorial. However, that external location soon became obsolete, since the Soviets approved a March 1947 request from the Austrian national government to return the camp in order to erect a memorial site 'for the wantonly murdered fighters for the freedom of nations'. An April 1947 inspection tour of the site, which had been abandoned for almost a year, revealed that it had been used for grazing cows, growing potatoes and dumping rubbish, and that many of the buildings had been scavenged by the local populace. At that time there was extensive debate about whether the camp should be restored or 'beautified'; ultimately, economic considerations were paramount in the decision that the camp would be cleaned up and preserved, but neither restored nor prettified with planting.

When the camp was transferred to Austrian control on 20 June 1947, a first memorial plaque was mounted on one of the entrance towers.⁶⁸ In February 1948 the Soviets erected a slender stele monument between the headquarters building and the camp gate for Soviet General Karbyschew, who had been executed in the camp in February 1945. In May 1949 a central memorial was dedicated on the former roll-call square in the camp itself: a plain stone sarcophagus with the Latin inscription, 'From the fate of the dead the living shall learn'. The founding in 1953 of the International Mauthausen Committee created an organization that could press for expanding the memorial site. One of its first proposals, initiated in 1951 before the official creation of the organization (and never realized), was the construction of a huge 34 by 38 metre ossuary building, whose 8 metre square and 18 metre high tower would contain the bones of all

of the camp victims buried in cemeteries and mass graves in the area. For the tenth anniversary of liberation in 1955 a large monument was completed for the 'Russian camp', and trilingual German, French and Russian signage was installed. Beginning with France in 1949 and Poland in 1956, and ending with West Germany in 1983, about a dozen countries – usually organizations of camp survivors took responsibility – erected memorials on the terrain where the barracks of the SS camp had stood, between the camp wall and the granite quarry where prisoners had been worked to death.⁶⁹ In 1970 the first plaque for a non-national group, namely for the female victims of the camp, was mounted, followed by a memorial for the camp's murdered Jews in 1975, a plaque for homosexuals in 1984, and one for Sinti and Roma in 1998.⁷⁰

Since the 1980s, increasing numbers of secondary-school students visit the memorial site as part of a recommended curriculum, their numbers climbing from some 6,000 in 1970 to 16,000 in 1975 and 65,000 in 1985, which is roughly equivalent to the number of pupils visiting other Austrian national museums each year.⁷¹ From the 1970s the museum was increasingly visited by Austrian army officers as part of their education. The suggestion of the survivors' organization that new recruits be sworn in at the memorial site was approved by the defence minister in 1983, and since then the induction of soldiers into the Austrian army takes place in the Mauthausen memorial site. After a number of high-publicity events, such as a visit by the Pope in 1988 and a concert in the quarry by the Vienna Philharmonic in 2000, a reform study was initiated by the government. It resulted in the construction of a large new visitors' centre, completed in 2003, innovations such as expanded but less intrusive signage throughout the site, and a project to interview the remaining 800 Mauthausen survivors.

West Germany: survivor mobilization against state hindrance

The development of memorial sites at the four main concentration camps on the territory that later became West Germany followed a haphazard trajectory with some similarities to that of Mauthausen. However, since cultural matters in the West German federal system are administered at the state level, each of the states of Lower Saxony, Bavaria and Hamburg left its own stamp on its memorial sites. Not until 1995, when a national foundation for concentration camp memorial sites was created to deal with the funding of the formerly national-level East German concentration camp memorial sites after unification, was there institutionalized support at the national level. As in Austria, lobbying efforts by camp survivors were crucial at every stage of the creation and expansion of the educational memorial sites.

In Bergen-Belsen the camp barracks had been burnt down shortly after liberation in an attempt to curb rampant epidemics. Although little was left of the camp buildings, the British army quickly decided to preserve some remains of the camp, as demonstrated by contemporary signs in English and German that indicated the punitive pedagogical impulse behind the measure:

This is the site of the infamous Belsen concentration camp, liberated by the British on 15th April 1945. 10,000 unburied dead were found here, another 13,000 have since died. All of them victims of the German New Order in Europe and an example of Nazi Kultur.⁷²

In April 1946, the Central Jewish Committee British Zone (i.e. Jewish survivors still living in the adjacent former army barracks) dedicated a traditional memorial, a square column crowned by a small stone sphere, in the field between the mass graves. Later that year or in 1947, the British occupiers had German POWs erect a larger memorial, an obelisk with a long wall, which was completed by the Lower Saxony government in the following years. That memorial was dedicated by West German president Heuss in April 1952.⁷³ The 25 metre high obelisk was accompanied by a 50 metre long stone wall bearing inscriptions from 14 of the 40 countries whose citizens had died in the Belsen camp.⁷⁴ In the second half of the 1950s, when Anne Frank's diary was meeting with great acclaim as a book and on stage and screen, many thousands of German and foreign young people made 'pilgrimages' to the site of her death.⁷⁵ In the wake of this attention, the Lower Saxony state government commissioned a history of the camp and a modest 'document house', which opened in 1966.⁷⁶ It was replaced by a larger new exhibition building including pedagogical facilities in 1990, and expanded once again in 2007.⁷⁷

In Dachau, as in Belsen, the occupying military authorities ordered the local government to erect a memorial, which also experienced a number of protracted delays. In June 1945 the Associated Press reported that German civilians would erect two 15 metre high columns topped by a cross and a star of David at a mass grave near the camp, where thousands of victims of the camp were buried.⁷⁸ The columns were to be made of stone from the Nazi party rally grounds in Nuremberg. This plan was abandoned shortly thereafter, when the German designer's affiliation with the Nazi party became known. Shortly before the inception of the first trial of concentration camp personnel in Dachau in November 1945, survivors set up a small exhibition in some of the rooms of the crematorium/gas chamber building, and another proposal for a memorial was presented to the public: a model of a gigantic 35 metres wide and 26 metres high 'monument of liberation' was displayed in Dachau Town Hall during a 9 November 1945 commemorative ceremony. That proposal was subsequently criticized on symbolic, aesthetic and practical grounds, and was soon scrapped as well. After a memorial competition conducted in 1946 yielded no satisfactory results, the project was quietly forgotten.

At the same time the drive behind rigorous denazification was waning, and in a series of amnesties the Dachau internment camp gradually emptied. Echoing the Nazi propaganda image of the concentration camps, in January 1948 the Bavarian parliament unanimously passed a resolution petitioning the US Military government to transfer the camp to Bavaria to use as a 'work camp ... for the re-education of work-shy elements to productive citizens'.⁷⁹ By the time that the transfer took place that summer, the Cold War was heating up and the flow of ethnic German refugees crossing the border from Czechoslovakia into Bavaria

increased to a flood. The Bavarian government decided instead to convert most of the partially modified concentration camp barracks into apartments for refugee families, with some serving as stores, health and dental clinics, workshops, a school, offices, a communal bathing facility, and a cinema. Before winter set in, about 600 families moved into the newly renovated former concentration camp barracks, where most of them would remain for the next 15 years, until camp survivors succeeded in pressuring the Bavarian government to relocate them and convert the entire site into a memorial.

In the meantime, the memorial mandated by the US army had been forgotten until September 1949, when a mining operation uncovered several human skeletons not far from a mass grave of Dachau inmates.⁸⁰ To quell the ensuing scandal, in 1950 the small exhibition in the crematorium was revamped, and a bronze statue of an 'unknown concentration camp inmate' was placed near the entrance. After another competition a more modest memorial at the mass grave was erected between 1950 and 1952: a 10.5 metre high octagonal stone hall. However, by the time of its completion international attention had waned. The Bavarian Ministry of Finance, in response to petitions from city and county officials, had the crematorium exhibition removed in 1953, and in 1955 the Dachau county governor introduced a bill into parliament to have the crematorium itself torn down. These initiatives prompted the camp survivors to form an international organization in 1955 to push for the preservation of the camp as a memorial site. Their tenacity gradually met with success, with a temporary exhibition reinstalled in the crematorium in 1960 and the relocation of the ethnic German refugee families to nearby housing projects after 1963. Although the survivors' desire to preserve some of the extensively modified barracks was not fulfilled, and the US army did not relinquish its control of the former camp prison, the west wing of the camp administration building and the entry gatehouse (which were all part of the US Eastman Barracks sited in the former SS camp), in 1965 the memorial site was opened. It had a museum in the central wing of the large administration building near the camp entrance, and two barracks were reconstructed for demonstration purposes, one with interior furnishings representing three phases of the camp's history. In 1968 a large, central international memorial was dedicated on the roll-call square, based on a design selected during an international competition in 1958–1959.

As in Mauthausen, throughout the 1970s and 1980s the number of visitors to the Dachau museum, especially school classes, increased sharply, in Dachau from about 350,000 visitors per year in the early 1970s to 900,000 in the late 1980s.⁸¹ The opposition of Dachau city officials to expanding the camp's pedagogical infrastructure was more tenacious than that of the state of Bavaria. The city managed to delay the creation of a youth hostel from its first proposal in 1970 for almost three decades until 1998. By that time the 1965 exhibition was somewhat out-of-date, and the Bavarian state police, which had taken over the former SS camp from the US army in 1971, had relinquished the gatehouse and the west wing of the museum building to the memorial site. This prompted a complete redesign of the museum, which reopened in 2003. The relocation of the

memorial site entrance to the original camp gatehouse, planned by the survivors since 1959, was completed in 2005, and a new visitors' centre outside the former camp opened in 2008.

As in Dachau, when the internment camp in Neuengamme emptied in 1947, the military government prepared to transfer it back to local authorities, who were eager to use it as a prison.⁸² Unlike Dachau, their plan was not overtaken by a massive influx of refugees, and a prison was opened in the brick buildings on the site in 1948. By 1950 the concentration camp barracks had been torn down to enable construction of the new prison, while concentration camp workshops were reused as work sites for prison inmates, and SS residences as housing for prison personnel. A massive youth penal complex on the adjacent site of the brick factory was completed in 1970. After years of protest by camp survivors and local support groups, in 1989 the Hamburg Senate decreed that both prisons would be closed and relocated.⁸³ The 1950 prison was ultimately closed in June 2003, and the 1970 facility in February 2006.

In the intervening decades, all memorial activity had to take place outside the former Neuengamme *Schutzhaftlager*. In 1953 pressure from French survivors supported by British occupation officials led the city of Hamburg to dedicate a first memorial, a 7 metre high tapered cylinder bearing the simple inscription 'To the Victims 1938–1945', on the site of the former camp garden.⁸⁴ The survivors formed an international association in 1958, and, when they learnt in 1960 of plans to expand the prison even further, proposed a much more elaborate memorial with national inscriptions. In 1965 local officials again pre-empted the survivors' plan with a much simpler alternative, a 27 metre high rectangular stele with a stone inscription wall near the access road. The engravers chiselling the inscription made a mistake that reveals the level of misconception in the 1960s about how bad conditions in the Nazi camps had been: they dropped a zero from the number of victims, so that 55,000 became 5,500.⁸⁵ The survivors, who were disappointed by this simple design, were allowed to add an abstract bronze sculpture of a fallen, emaciated 'deportee'. After much more lobbying and unfavourable publicity, the Hamburg government added a small 'document house' nearby in 1981.⁸⁶ In 1995, when a new exhibition was opened in the former camp workshops, the document house was turned into a 'house of commemoration', hung with banners listing the names of Neuengamme's victims.⁸⁷

After the liberation of Flossenbürg on 23 April 1945 medical facilities were set up for the 1,500–1,600 inmates who had been left behind from the 16,000 inmates left in the camp on 20 April.⁸⁸ While some of the corpses that had accumulated in the final days of the camp were being burnt in the crematorium, the local populace was put to work burying inmates who had lived until liberation, but who were still dying at a rate of 30 per day during the first week thereafter. Contemporaneous with the use of parts of the camp for interning Nazi suspects from July 1945 to April 1946, other parts served until 1948 as a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) displaced persons camp, primarily for Catholic Poles who did not want to return to Soviet-dominated Poland. This group of camp survivors initiated the first memorials in the Flossenbürg camp.

In June 1946 a Committee for Erecting the Monument and Chappel (this was the spelling in the group's printed letterhead) in Concentration Camp Flossenbürg was constituted. It included representatives of the refugees in the UNRRA camp, local mayors and town administrators, and businessmen. Although the committee was never able to attain official recognition by the military government or the United Nations (it unsuccessfully tried to place the site under UN protection), it did succeed in creating a number of memorials. Several watchtowers were dismantled and their bricks used to build a chapel to 'Jesus in Prison' attached to a remaining watchtower. In the 'valley of death' leading away from the chapel, human ash from the camp was piled into a large pyramid and covered with turf. An adjacent 'square of nations' was marked by stone plaques bearing the insignia of the nations whose citizens had died in Flossenbürg.⁸⁹ On the rectangular brick chimney of the crematorium, an inscription in Polish and English – '1938–1945 were buried in the concentration camp Flossenbürg' – headed a list of 18 nations (including 'Jewish'), followed by the number of deaths as determined by the memorial committee. Listed in decreasing order from 26,430 Russians to two Americans (soldiers who died during liberation), they totalled 73,296 (the correct total is now estimated to be 30,000⁹⁰). This sign did not last long, however, and later incarnations of the camp as a memorial site never again presented this level of detail about the death toll or horrific conditions that had prevailed in the Nazi camp.

The state of Bavaria took over the UNRRA camp in 1947, and used it to house refugee families from former Silesia, East Prussia and the Sudetenland.⁹¹ In 1958 the village of Flossenbürg took over ownership of some parts of the former camp and began to sell off the barracks. In 1963 the town council decided to tear down most of the camp prison building, while other stone buildings were rented to local businesses. The former SS mess hall was turned into a restaurant, the camp laundry into offices, and both the massive camp *Kommandantur* and the administration building of the DESt (German Earth and Stone Works), an SS company that had run the camp quarry, were converted into apartments for low-income residents. In 1979 a shabby exhibition was installed in the unheated remaining cells of the former camp prison; it was improved in 1984, when a local school teacher was commissioned to offer tours upon request. An initiative by foreign and German youth groups, begun in 1995, finally prompted the Bavarian government to purchase more of the remaining camp buildings, remove some of the postwar construction from the site, and install a much expanded exhibition in the former kitchen and laundry buildings. That work was completed in July 2007.⁹²

East Germany: state heroization vs. survivor preservation

In contrast to West Germany, where the development of educational memorial sites was characterized by survivors' grass-roots lobbying efforts gradually overcoming resistance in the local populace and bureaucracy, in East Germany

the construction of memorial sites in former concentration camps was directed centrally by the national government. 'Anti-fascist resistance', embodied by communists who had suffered and died in the camps, was a cornerstone of the new socialist state's legitimacy.⁹³ Buchenwald, where some of the most prominent communist prisoners, including party leader and former presidential candidate Ernst Thälmann, had been imprisoned and murdered, played a leading role.

In July 1949, before the closure of the Soviet internment camp in February 1950, and even before the establishment of the state of East Germany in October 1949, Soviet military government told the German association of former persecutees VVN (*Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes*) 'to install a national museum in Buchenwald', modelled after those in Auschwitz and Theresienstadt.⁹⁴ Efforts thereafter concentrated on two areas: a large site encompassing several mass graves overlooking Weimar on the opposite side of the hill, and the former camp itself. After a national competition in 1952, top-level SED (Socialist Unity Party) politicians increasingly took the initiative away from the VVN.⁹⁵ State officials worked with various artists and architects to design and build a 55 metre high bell tower with a paved trapezoidal procession route connecting three funnel-shaped mass graves, ending at a larger-than-life sized group of eleven bronze figures at the base of the tower. This monumental memorial was dedicated in September 1958. During that period the barracks of the former camp were torn down, a network of interpretative signs erected, and a large museum of 'anti-fascist resistance' installed in the two-storey former camp laundry. As an official National Site of Commemoration and Warning (*Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte*), mandatory visits by school classes and swearing-in ceremonies for army conscripts were held there. In contrast to the rising numbers of visitors during the 1970s and 1980s in Dachau and Mauthausen, the Buchenwald figures remained relatively constant at around 400,000 per year from 1960 until the unification of Germany in 1989–1990.⁹⁶ After East Germany became part of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1990 the museum and memorial site were reoriented away from a focus on resistance to a more victim-centred paradigm. In spite of strong opposition from communist camp survivors, in 1995 a redesigned exhibition about the concentration camp was opened, again in the former camp laundry, as was a newly constructed museum about the history of the postwar Soviet internment camp, located outside the camp perimeter near previously unmarked internment camp graves.⁹⁷

Soon after the Buchenwald memorial site was completed, the national memorial sites in Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen followed suit. As in Buchenwald, various memorialization attempts in those two former camps in the late 1940s and early 1950s led only to provisional solutions. Not until 1955, when the East German national government decided that there were to be three national memorial sites and created a central committee to oversee nationwide fund-raising efforts, did concerted efforts to create permanent memorial sites begin.

The next memorial site to be completed, in September 1959, was at the Ravensbrück concentration camp for women inmates about 35 miles northwest of Berlin, with a first exhibition in the former camp prison ('bunker') opening the

following year.⁹⁸ The main artistic memorial, 'Carrier', a 4 metre high bronze sculpture of a female prisoner holding the drooping body of a dead comrade, is set atop a 7 metre tall pylon on a stone platform extending into an adjacent lake, above the spot where ashes from the crematorium had been dumped. In 1984 the museum in the 'bunker' was replaced by the Antifascist Resistance Fighters' Museum in the former SS administration building, which had been used by the Soviet army until 1977. From 1982 to 1984 the former camp prison was converted to house 17 'exhibitions of the nations' designed by countries whose citizens had been imprisoned in Ravensbrück. After German unification in 1990, three additional non-national rooms were added: for the participants of the 20 July 1944 assassination attempt on Hitler who had been imprisoned in Ravensbrück (1991), for Jews (1992) and for Sinti and Roma (1994).

Sachsenhausen, on the eastern outskirts of Berlin, which was much larger and more central both as a camp and as a memorial site, was not opened as a memorial site until 1961. After the Soviets turned their internment camp on the site over to the East German authorities in 1950, East German army units were stationed in the SS section of the camp, while the unused prisoners' compound fell into disrepair.⁹⁹ In 1953 the crematorium was blown up, and prior to a commemorative ceremony in the camp in May 1954 most of the former prisoners barracks were demolished. At that time, while survivors were planning to create a memorial site, police trainees used bricks from the former camp prison to construct a provisional memorial on the roll-call square.¹⁰⁰

Since most of the barracks had been razed without their knowledge or approval, the Sachsenhausen survivors were forced to revise their memorial plan for the entire site.¹⁰¹ As in Buchenwald, their wish to preserve and rebuild parts of the site so as to represent the daily life of the inmates came into conflict with the vision of state planners who wanted a more heroic memorialization.¹⁰² A collective of East German architects who had submitted designs for Buchenwald recommended that 'In the camps on German soil it will be good to express the victory (*Überwindung*) over SS rule by dismantling and demolishing the remains and replacing them with a planned design.'

Thus the architects legitimized the continued demolition of structures on the site, much to the chagrin of the survivors.¹⁰³ The final result, dedicated in April 1961, turned the entire triangular prisoners' compound into an aesthetic ensemble. A wide opening in the central axis of the main camp street allows entering visitors to see the 40 metre tall reinforced concrete tower near the apex of the triangle at the opposite side of the camp. At its base is a 4–5 metre high heroic sculpture 'Liberation', depicting a Soviet soldier with his arms around the shoulders of two strong inmates standing slightly in front of him. A second memorial sculpture in bronze is set among the ruins of the Sachsenhausen crematorium and execution site nearby, outside the triangle's perimeter. Only moderately larger than life size, it depicts a standing and a bent-over inmate holding a cloth supporting the corpse of a comrade.

Three museums were opened in Sachsenhausen in 1961. The first, devoted to everyday life in the camp, resistance, and liberation, was installed in the former

prisoners' kitchen, while a Museum of the European Peoples' Antifascist Struggle for Freedom, with 19 individual exhibitions, each devoted to a different country, was installed in a new building outside the camp gate. Finally, after protests from Jewish survivors in Israel since the late 1950s, a Museum of Resistance Fighters and the Suffering of Jewish Citizens was installed in two barracks reconstructed from original parts near the front edge of the camp.¹⁰⁴ The Jewish museum was damaged in an arson attack in 1992, after which a charred portion of the barrack was put behind glass and left in damaged condition, so that when the museum reopened in 1997 it also documented the continued virulence of antisemitism in Germany. Otherwise, post-1990 changes to this East German memorial site have been gradual. A part of the camp used by Soviet troops until 1990 was made publicly accessible, and the national exhibits in the international museum outside the gate were removed, with the building now being used for temporary exhibitions.¹⁰⁵ A number of smaller documentary exhibitions have been installed around the site, and in 2004 a new visitors' centre was opened in a building outside the prisoners' compound that had once been the camp armoury.

Conclusion

What can we learn from this overview of the histories of the physical sites of former concentration camps? The first postwar uses as hospitals, showcases of Nazi brutality, and internment camps were dictated by pragmatic concerns that were uppermost during the exceptional situation at the end of the war. Thereafter, however, the former camps followed very different trajectories. A few were preserved as museums almost immediately, while others were converted to prisons or refugee housing. In the latter cases the impulse to create an educational memorial site emerged only gradually, and in some cases not at all. What determined that trajectory?

First, we see that the situation at and shortly after liberation played an important role in determining especially the early uses of a camp, but also its medium-term fate. The camps that had been evacuated or destroyed before the arrival of the Allies did not become part of the 'media blitz' at the end of the war, and usually waited many years, often until the 1960s, until they became well enough known that a constituency emerged for their memorialization. This was the case with the effaced Action Reinhardt camps in Poland, as well as at camps like Flossenbürg, Gross Rosen, Natzweiler, Neuengamme and Stutthof. In some of those cases geographical remoteness also played a role.

Second, we note that the size of a camp, whether measured by number of inmates, number of victims or territorial extent, did not determine the timing or magnitude of later memorialization. Camps that had had roughly equivalent numbers of inmates and victims often had very different postwar trajectories that resulted in widely varying memorial sites. This effect is most noticeable in the often large camps not discussed here that never became popular memorial sites, such as Płaszów in Poland and Natzweiler in France, or large satellite camps such as Allach and Kaufering (attached to Dachau), Ebensee (Mauthausen), Bremen-

Farge (Neuengamme) or Amersfoort in Holland, some of which had tens of thousands of inmates.

Rather, third, the timing and extent of memorialization depended on the human agency primarily of the survivors (to a small extent also of the victorious occupying powers), and their relationship with the postwar state authorities controlling the sites. In general, evacuated camps such as Neuengamme were not memorialized until the survivors returned to lobby for their preservation. If the survivors were uninterested in memorialization, as at Belsen, where legions of Jewish victims had arrived from elsewhere at the end of the war and only wanted to emigrate, the site inched toward oblivion once the survivors left, until a younger generation of Germans took note and directed international attention back to it. In cases where the commemorative interests of the survivors overlapped with those of the state, as in East Germany, elaborate aesthetic and educational memorials were constructed in short order, albeit not necessarily according to the wishes of the survivors. When survivor and state interests were directly at odds, as in Dachau or Neuengamme, the survivors' push for educational memorialization took longer and was more halting. Over time, as the anti-commemorative impulses of the cohorts of the perpetrators and bystanders were overcome by the more open or curious attitudes of later generations, commemorative, educational and preservation efforts resulted in increasingly elaborate memorial sites.¹⁰⁶

In recent decades, as marginalized groups of victims such as Sinti (gypsies) or homosexuals have gained public recognition, several concentration camp memorial sites have added memorials and exhibitions about their histories as well. The first memorial to recognize a marginalized group was the addition of an inscription for the Sinti to the memorial wall at Bergen-Belsen in 1982;¹⁰⁷ Ravensbrück followed suit with an exhibit in 1994, Buchenwald with a memorial in one of the outlined barracks in 1995, and Mauthausen with a plaque in 1998. The first memorial for homosexuals in a former camp was the 1984 plaque in Mauthausen mentioned above; similar plaques were unveiled in Neuengamme in 1985 and in Sachsenhausen in 1991, while one in Dachau was first displayed in a private space (the Lutheran chapel) in 1985 and finally brought to the main museum for public display in 1995.¹⁰⁸ Jehovah's Witnesses were first memorialized in Neuengamme in 2006.

As the above overview shows, detailed, source-based studies of the postwar history have been written for only a handful of major camps, and studies of even the largest satellite camps are rare. The most reliable information on the development of the major camp memorial sites is to be found in reference works such as the Benz and Distel collection *Der Ort des Terrors* (8 vols., 2005–).¹⁰⁹ Especially for camps in eastern Europe, where linguistic barriers and until recently government taboos have hindered historical research, very little is known about their postwar uses. Jasenovac camp south of Zagreb in Croatia, for example, was memorialized in 1963, but was again in use for internment in the 1990s.¹¹⁰ Similarly, to date there are no works that look specifically at uses such as displaced person and internment camps, although a few books and articles based on primary sources examine internment camps in individual allied zones of occupation.¹¹¹

Scholarly work on the human and material – as opposed to the physical – legacies of the Nazi camps is also still in an early phase, with only a few pockets of in-depth research based on primary sources. An overview of the trials of the perpetrators, a number of which were conducted in the former camps, has recently been attempted in anthology form by P. Heberer and J. Matthäus in their *Atrocities on Trial: Historical Perspectives on the Politics of Prosecuting War Crimes* (2008).¹¹² The trials held in Germany are by far the best documented, with (up to 2008) a 38-volume primary source collection of the judgments and summaries of the existing literature.¹¹³ The financial aftermath of the National Socialist camp systems can be subsumed under the German term *Wiedergutmachung*, literally ‘making good again’. H. G. Hockerts has written a historical overview with a conceptual clarification of the differences between restitution (of assets stolen or expropriated from individuals, *Rückerstattung* in German) and compensation (for injury or loss or unpaid labour, or *Entschädigung*), as well as references to the specialized literature, while M. Henry offers a comprehensive discussion of specifically Jewish claims.¹¹⁴

Future research would not only need to create monographic, primary source-based portrayals of the postwar histories of other major camps similar to those we now have for Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen, but would need to investigate the legions of lesser-known large camps and branch camps. The histories of the camp survivor organizations that were to a great extent responsible for the preservation of remains and the creation of educational memorial sites have yet to be written. Except for East and West Germany and Austria, we know almost nothing about the often intense wrangling first between survivors and governmental authorities, then among and between successor generations and reluctant bureaucrats, out of which specific memorial conceptions emerged in other countries. Finally, the study of memorial site didactics and the effects of those memorial conceptions on the millions of visitors to former concentration camps each year is still in its infancy.¹¹⁵

Notes

- 1 See L. Eiber and R. Sigel (eds.), *Dachauer Prozesse. NS-Verbrechen vor amerikanischen Militärgerichten in Dachau 1945–48, Verfahren, Ergebnisse, Nachwirkungen*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007. Most trials of camp personnel were held in cities, however: the first Auschwitz trial was in Cracow, the first Belsen, Neuengamme and Ravensbrück trials in Hamburg, the Natzweiler trial in Wuppertal, and the Sachsenhausen trial in Berlin-Pankow. There were often several trials for personnel from the same camp. For example, there were Natzweiler trials in Rastatt and Metz as well.
- 2 I do not discuss these cases in detail in this chapter, but this argument is made in several 1980s books: D. Garbe (ed.), *Die vergessenen KZs? Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des NS-Terrors in der Bundesrepublik*, Bornheim-Merten: Lamuv, 1983; ‘Die vergessenen Lager’, *Dachauer Hefte* 5 (1985); B. Eichmann, *Versteinert, verharmlost, vergessen. KZ-Gedenkstätten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1986.
- 3 For example: Council for the Preservation of Monuments to Resistance and Martyrdom (ed.), *Scenes of Fighting and Martyrdom Guide: War Years in Poland, 1939–1945*, Warsaw: Sport i Turystyka Publications, 1966; A. Rieth, *Monuments to the*

Victims of Tyranny, New York: Praeger, 1969; E. Fein, *Die Steine Reden. Gedenkstätten des österreichischen Freiheitskampfes, Mahnmale für die Opfer des Faschismus. Eine Dokumentation*, Vienna: Europaverlag, 1975; W. Ramaker, *Sta een ogenblik stil ... Monumentenboek 1940–1945*, Kampen: Kok, 1980. G. Schafft, *Die KZ-Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland*, Berlin: Dietz, 1996, should also be named in this context.

- 4 K. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps: The Sanity of Madness*, New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981.
- 5 Garbe (ed.), *Die vergessenen KZs?*; Eichmann, *Versteinert*; U. Puvogel, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus auf dem Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1980, 2nd edn 1981; U. Puvogel, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale, 1987; U. Puvogel, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale, 2003, available at: <http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/>.
- 6 G. Lehrke, *Gedenkstätten für Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Historisch-politische Bildung an Orten des Widerstands und der Verfolgung*, Frankfurt: Campus, 1988. Chapter 4 especially offers historical information about West German sites.
- 7 S. Milton and I. Nowinski, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials*, Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991.
- 8 J. E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993.
- 9 J. Miller, *One, by One, by One: Facing the Holocaust*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.
- 10 G. Morsch (ed.), *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument. Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen*, Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1996; I. Eschebach, S. Jacobeit, and S. Lanwerd, *Die Sprache des Gedenkens. Zur Geschichte der Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück 1945–1995*, Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1999; H. Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933–2001*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, and B. Perz, *Die KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen. 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2006. Additional, mostly shorter monographs about other camps are cited in the various sections below.
- 11 W. Benz and B. Distel (eds.), *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der Nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 8 vols., Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005–2008.
- 12 For an additional overview of the liberation of the Nazi camps, see R. Abzug and J. Wetzel, ‘Die Befreiung’, in Benz and Distel (eds.), *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 313–28.
- 13 In Majdanek, c. 480 prisoners, mainly disabled Soviet POWs, were liberated in the camp; see J. Marszałek, *Majdanek: Konzentrationslager Lublin*, Warsaw: Interpress, 1984, pp. 188ff.
- 14 The discovery of Natzweiler is described in: R. H. Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 3–10.
- 15 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. ‘Gross-Rosen’, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/index.php?ModuleId=10005454> (accessed 20 January 2008).
- 16 R. J. van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002, p. 158. The Stammlager had c. 1,200 survivors, Birkenau 5,800, and Monowitz about 600. Some 60,000 inmates had been evacuated in the preceding weeks.
- 17 P. Levi, *The Reawakening (La Tregua): A Liberated Prisoner's Long March Home through East Europe*, 1st American edn, Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1965.
- 18 Levi, *Reawakening* (1995 ed.), pp. 19f.
- 19 A clip of Soviet film footage showing Lubliners burying the dead is available at: http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/media_fi.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10005131&MediaId=210.
- 20 For literature on Belsen and more than a dozen other cases, see Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, p. 421f, note 48.

- 21 See S. zur Nieden, 'Vom Interregnum zum Speziallager', in Morsch (ed.), *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument*, pp. 68–76; p. 73f.
- 22 See Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart*, pp. 21–30. After touring the camp with 25 Ohrdruf residents on 7 April, the mayor of Ohrdruf and his wife committed suicide. See M. Overesch, *Buchenwald und die DDR: Oder die Suche nach Selbstlegitimation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995, p. 99.
- 23 Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart*, pp. 30–44.
- 24 Overesch, *Buchenwald*, p. 36f.
- 25 J. Reilly, *Belsen. The Liberation of a Concentration Camp*, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 22, pp. 25f.
- 26 Documents about the tour are reprinted in Overesch, *Buchenwald*, p. 99, pp. 106–8.
- 27 Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 52–5. See also C. Brink, *Ikonen der Vernichtung. Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998.
- 28 In addition to my own account in the previous note, see the older narratives by Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart*, and J. Bridgman, *The End of the Holocaust: The Liberation of the Camps*, Portland, OR: Arcopagitica Press, 1990, and most recently van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz*, pp. 156–68.
- 29 J. Shandler, *While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 8–24.
- 30 See Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 85–108. For a case study of the German reception of the Dachau trials, see R. Sigel, 'Die Dachauer Prozesse und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit', in Eiber and Sigel (eds.), *Dachauer Prozesse*, pp. 67–85.
- 31 M. Weinmann and International Tracing Service, *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem*, Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, 1990, CXXXIII.
- 32 B. D. Hulen, 'President Orders Eisenhower To End New Abuse of Jews', *New York Times*, 30 Sept. 1945, pp. 1 and 39. The report is reprinted in L. Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 291ff. Truman's letter and Harrison's report are also available online at: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/Holocaust/truman_on_harrison.html.
- 33 Reilly, *Belsen*, pp. 17–117 offers an excellent overview for Belsen. On DPs in postwar Germany more generally, see A. Königseder, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal. Die jüdischen DPs (displaced persons) im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, Frankfurt: Fischer, 1994.
- 34 See S. E. Bloch and World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Associations, *Umkum un Oyfkuim. Holocaust and Rebirth, Bergen-Belsen, 1945–1965*, New York: Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press of the World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Associations, 1965.
- 35 See Marcuse, *Legacies*, 64ff., 263f.
- 36 On Klausner see A. Grobman and J. L. Magnes Museum, *Rekindling the Flame: American Jewish Chaplains and the Survivors of European Jewry, 1944–1948*, Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1993.
- 37 F. McCourt, in 'Tis. A Memoir, New York: Simon & Shuster, 1999, p. 94, quotes a GI saying that the helpers employed by the US army were 'Hungarians, Yugoslavians, Czechs, Romanians', but from interviews with local residents I presume that Poles predominated.
- 38 H. Wember, *Umerziehung im Lager. Internierung und Bestrafung von Nationalsozialisten in der Britischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands*, Essen: Klartext, 1991, p. 70.
- 39 P. Heigl, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1989.
- 40 This information is available on flyers available at the Westerbork memorial site; see also 'Marked for Life.' <http://www.kampwesterbork.nl/site1.2/English/KAMP/k09.html> (accessed 16 February 2008).
- 41 Wember, *Umerziehung im Lager*, 13–16.
- 42 The full text of the Potsdam agreement is available at the Yale Avalon project: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/decade/decade17.htm>.

- 43 See J. Gimbel, *A German Community under American Occupation. Marburg, 1945–52*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961, p. 49, citing OMGUS Monthly Report no. 1, 20 August 1945, pp. 2, 13. The US national archives has a file of information on this operation, which still awaits a detailed examination; see <http://www.archives.gov/iwg/declassified-records/rg-338-us-army-command>.
- 44 Very little has been written about the Allied internment camps as a whole. One of the few exceptions is C. Schick, 'Die Internierungslager', in M. Broszat et al. (eds.), *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform. Zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988, pp. 301–25. See also L. Niethammer, 'Internierungslager in Deutschland nach 1945. Vergleich und offene Fragen', in C. Jansen et al. (eds.), *Von der Aufgabe der Freiheit. Politische Verantwortung und bürgerliche Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995, 474ff.
- 45 B. Ritscher, *Speziallager Nr. 2 Buchenwald. Zur Geschichte des Lagers Buchenwald, 1945 bis 1950*, 2nd, revised edition, Weimar-Buchenwald: Gedenkstätte Buchenwald, 1995, pp. 131–5. See also 'Geschichte des sowjetischen Speziallagers (2)', http://www.buchenwald.de/media_de/ct_ges_hist1.html.
- 46 Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 68–70 and p. 161.
- 47 Wember, *Umerziehung Im Lager*, p. 81f.
- 48 Heigl, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, p. 80.
- 49 Wember, *Umerziehung Im Lager*, pp. 70–3. See also <http://www.kz-gedenkstaette-neueengamme.de/index.php?id=399> (accessed 11 April 2008), which lists 7,987 as the maximum number of inmates, and says they were guarded by Belgian troops from July to November 1945.
- 50 B. Kühle, *Speziallager Nr. 7. Sachsenhausen, 1945–1950*, Berlin: Brandenburgisches Verlagshaus, 1990, p. 17; also G. Morsch and Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen, *Sowjetisches Speziallager Nr. 7/Nr. 1 in Sachsenhausen (1945–1950). Katalog der Ausstellung in der Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen*, Berlin: Metropol, 2005.
- 51 See Wember, *Umerziehung im Lager*, 91ff., 109ff., 244ff.; G. Hammermann, 'Das Internierungs- und Kriegsgefangenenlager Dachau 1945–1948', in W. Benz and A. Königseder (eds.), *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau. Geschichte und Wirkung nationalsozialistischer Repression*, Berlin: Metropol, 2008, pp. 125–46, esp. 142ff.
- 52 See <http://www.stiftung-bg.de/gums/en/geschichte/speziallager/spezial01.htm> (accessed 23 January 2009).
- 53 According to the Holocaust encyclopedia of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), at least 30,000 of the 140,000 officially registered inmates died; that figure does not include 18,000 Soviet POWs who were executed but never registered. If those figures are included, the camp-era mortality rate becomes 1:3.3. See <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?ModuleId=10005538> (accessed 23 January 2009).
- 54 For an excellent overview of denazification, see A. Biddiscombe, *The Denazification of Germany: A History 1945–1950*, Stroud: Tempus, 2007.
- 55 On Czechoslovakia, see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theresienstadt_1945-1948, accessed 19 October 2007, based on articles in Czech in the *Theresienstädter Blätter* in 1990 and 1996. See also V. Blodig, 'Die Gedenkstätte Theresienstadt gestern und heute', *Dachauer Hefte* 11 (1995), pp. 102–8. On Belgium, see 'Breendonk II', at the bottom of: <http://www.breendonk.be/EN/fort.html> (accessed 19 October 2007). On the reception of the memorial, see also: <http://www.breendonk.be/EN/memorial.html>.
- 56 Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps*, p. 315.
- 57 J. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979*, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003, p. 60; for the following see pp. 62, 69, 112ff.
- 58 On the origins of the Auschwitz museum see I. Engelhardt, *A Topography of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust at Dachau and Buchenwald in Comparison with Auschwitz, Yad Vashem and Washington, DC*, Brussels: Peter Lang, 2002, pp. 161–5. The dates are

- conveniently summarized on the Auschwitz museum website: 'Dates in the History of the Memorial and Museum,' <http://www.auschwitz.org.pl/new/index.php?language=EN&tryb=stale&id=425> (accessed 3 November 2007); see also the narrative at <http://www.auschwitz.org.pl/new/index.php?language=EN&tryb=stale&id=426>. The July 1947 opening is described in Huener, *Auschwitz*, 32ff.
- 59 See U. Wrocklage, 'Auschwitz-Birkenau – Die Rampe', in D. Hoffmann (ed.), *Das Gedächtnis der Dinge. KZ-Relikte und KZ-Denkmal, 1945–1995*, Frankfurt: Campus, 1997, pp. 278–309; p. 289.
- 60 On the 'urn' from 1955, see Wrocklage, 'Auschwitz-Birkenau', p. 291 with note 46, and Hoffmann's introduction, p. 25.
- 61 On the history of this Auschwitz memorial, see H. Marcuse, 'Memorializing the Holocaust: History and Theory', *American Historical Review*, forthcoming February 2010.
- 62 The Birkenau inscription, repeated in 20 languages, was changed from 'Four million people suffered and died here at the hands of the Nazi murderers between the years 1940 and 1945', to 'For ever let this place be a cry of despair and a warning to humanity, where the Nazis murdered about one and a half million men, women, and children, mainly Jews from various countries of Europe. Auschwitz-Birkenau, 1940–1945.'
- 63 The following portrayal is based on the timeline on the Majdanek museum's website: 'The State Museum at Majdanek: The Most Important Events' (2006), <http://www.majdanek.pl/articles.php?acid=22&lng=1> (accessed 9 May 2008). For photographs and additional information about Majdanek, see Young, *Texture of Memory*, 124ff., and Milton/Nowinski, *In Fitting Memory*, pp. 148–52.
- 64 The Gross Rosen memorial is barely documented in English-language publications. For two scant references, see: Council for the Preservation of Monuments to Resistance and Martyrdom (ed.), *Scenes of Fighting and Martyrdom Guide*, p. 324f with ill. 276, and Milton and Nowinski, *In Fitting Memory*, p. 326. The following information is taken primarily from the museum's website: 'Muzeum Gross Rosen', <http://www.gross-rosen.pl/eng/showpage.php?pageID=5> (accessed 9 May 2008).
- 65 The English-language literature on Stutthof is as sparse as that on Gross Rosen. See Feig, *Hilfer's Death Camps*, 193f, citing T. Matusiak, *Stutthof*, Gdańsk: Zakłady Graficzne, 1969, pp. 48–54. See also: <http://www.inyourpocket.com/poland/gdansk/sightseeing/category/58897-Stutthof.html> (accessed 8 Feb. 2008). The Stutthof state museum's website offers little information about its postwar history; see <http://www.stutthof.pl/en/museummap/upamietnienie.htm> (accessed 8 February 2008). Drywa's contribution to Benz and Distel (eds.), *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 6, 521f, neither cites sources nor offers additional information.
- 66 G. Horwitz, *In the Shadow of Death: Living outside the Gates of Mauthausen*, New York: Free Press, 1990, pp. 168–72.
- 67 For this and the following, see: Perz, *Die KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen*.
- 68 See Perz, *Die KZ-Gedenkstätte*, 66f (plaque), 170f (Karbyschew), 135–9 (international committee and ossuary), 130 and 145 (signage).
- 69 Information about these memorials can be found in H. Schmid and N. Dobrowolskij, *Kunst, die einem Kollektiv entspricht. Der internationale Denkmalmahn in der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen*, Vienna: Bundesministerium für Inneres, 2007. The Mauthausen memorial site maintains a page linking to photographs of each of the 22 memorials and plaques at: http://www.mauthausen-memorial.at/db/admin/de/index_main.php?cbereich=1&thema=355 (accessed 4 April 2008).
- 70 See Perz, *Die KZ-Gedenkstätte*, 187f (women), p. 186 (Jews), and 190f (homosexuals and Roma).
- 71 See Perz, *Die KZ-Gedenkstätte*, p. 237 (pupil visits), pp. 244ff. (Austrian army), p. 246 (papal visit), p. 257 (memorial concert), and pp. 259ff. (reform study).
- 72 A photograph of the sign can be found at: http://isurvived.org/Bergen-Belsen_liberation.html (accessed 19 October 2007). The German version of the sign is depicted at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar/stories/50/a8378850.shtml>. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the publication of the photograph in D. Sington, *Belsen Uncovered*, London: Duckworth, 1946.
- 73 A translation of Heuss's dedication speech is printed in R. Stackelberg and S. A. Winkle, *The Nazi Germany Sourcebook: An Anthology of Texts*, New York: Routledge, 2002, 401f.
- 74 F. Bischoff, *Das Lager Bergen-Belsen. Dokumente und Bilder mit erläuternden Texten. Im Auftrage des Niedersächsischen Ministers des Innern*, Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschichte, 1966, p. 32. An inscription for the Sinti (Gypsies) was added in 1982.
- 75 For details and further references on this 'Anne Frank wave', see Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 200–3.
- 76 The commissioned history was: E. Kolb, *Bergen Belsen. Geschichte des Aufenthaltslagers' 1943–1945*, Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschichte, 1962. This was the first monographic history of a concentration camp written by a non-Jewish German scholar.
- 77 See <http://www.bergenbelsen.de/en/chronik/>, and <http://www.bergenbelsen.de/en/neugestaltung/> (accessed 21 March 2008).
- 78 For this and the following memorials, see Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 189–94. On the Koelle sculptures see also Hoffmann, 'Dachau', pp. 58–62.
- 79 On the prison and refugee settlement projects, see Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 158–70.
- 80 For this and the following see Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 142–51 (mass grave), pp. 170–86 (exhibitions and demolition attempt), and pp. 242–61 (establishment of the memorial site). The skeletons turned out to have nothing to do with the concentration camp.
- 81 Again, see Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, p. 333 and ill. 73 (visitor statistics), p. 388 (teachers), and pp. 382–8 (youth hostel). As research by Rudi Hartmann has shown, many more visitors tour the site than enter the museum, where the count is taken.
- 82 The following portrayal follows U. Wrocklage, 'Neuengamme', in Hoffmann (ed.), *Gedächtnis der Dinge*, pp. 178–205: 186ff.
- 83 See D. Garbe and KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, *Die Arbeit der KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme 1981 bis 2001. Rückblicke-Ausblicke. Eine Dokumentation der Aktivitäten 20 Jahre nach der Eröffnung des Dokumentenhauses in Hamburg-Neuengamme*, Hamburg: KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 2001; also 'Justizvollzugsanstalt', <http://www.kz-gedenkstaette-neuengamme.de/index.php?id=400> (accessed 18 April 2008), and B. Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 30.
- 84 In addition to Wrocklage, see F. Bringmann, *Neuengamme – verdrängt, vergessen, bewilligt? Die 'zweite' Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Neuengamme 1945 bis 1985*, Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987, pp. 62–4.
- 85 See Bringmann, *Neuengamme*, p. 91.
- 86 See D. Garbe, 'Neuengamme', in: Garbe (ed.), *Die vergessenen KZs?*, pp. 37–68.
- 87 See <http://www.kz-gedenkstaette-neuengamme.de/index.php?id=404> (accessed 11 April 2008).
- 88 See Heigl, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, p. 37, pp. 79–96.
- 89 An excellent collection of historical and present-day photographs of Flossenbürg can be found at <http://www.thirdreichruins.com/flossenbuerg.htm>. The ash may have been that of corpses found in the camp at liberation and cremated before May 1, when that programme was stopped. See Heigl, *Flossenbürg*, p. 63, p. 67. Prisoners who died after liberation were buried in the centre of Flossenbürg village.
- 90 See <http://www.gedenkstaette-flossenbuerg.de/opfer.html> (accessed 24 April 2008).

- 91 On the dissolution of the UNRRA camp see <http://www.gedenkstaette-flossenbuerg.de/1945.html> (accessed 24 April 2008); the other information is after Heigl, *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg*, pp. 97–109.
- 92 On the 1995 initiative, see H. Simon-Pelanda, 'Vergessenes Konzentrationslager: Flossenbürg', *Dachauer Hefte* 11(1995), pp. 50–5. For an overview of the construction beginning in 2004 and the 2007 exhibition, see <http://www.gedenkstaette-flossenbuerg.de/ausstellung/index.php> (accessed 24 April 2008).
- 93 Overesch, *Buchenwald*, Chapter 4 discusses many of the former Buchenwald inmates who led local and regional government in the first years after 1945.
- 94 See Overesch, *Buchenwald*, pp. 261–4; also 'Geschichte der Gedenkstätte', http://www.buchenwald.de/media_de/ct_ges_gedenk.html (accessed 24 April 2008).
- 95 In addition to Overesch, *Buchenwald*, Chapters 4 and 5, see V. Knigge, 'Buchenwald', in Hoffmann (ed.), *Gedächtnis der Dinge*, pp. 95f.
- 96 See Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, ill. 74, based on statistics in Gitta Günther, *Buchenwald*, Weimar: Ständige Kommissionen Kultur der Stadtverordnetenversammlung Weimar und des Kreistages Weimar-Land in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Stadtmuseum Weimar, 1983, p. 59, and from the Buchenwald memorial site.
- 97 See U. Härtl, *Die Neukonzeption der Gedenkstätte Buchenwald. Die Gedenkstätte Buchenwald seit 1989/90*, Weimar: Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora, 2001.
- 98 See Eschebach, Jacobeit, and Lanwerd, *Die Sprache des Gedenken* and the memorial site's page <http://www.ravensbrueck.de/mgr/english/memorial/1959bis1992.htm> (accessed 2 November 2007). See also U. Fuvogel, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd revised edn, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995, vol. 2, p. 272.
- 99 In addition to Morsch (ed.), *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument* see 'Sachsenhausen National Memorial' and the subsequent links, at <http://www.stiftung-bg.de/gums/en/geschichte/natmahn/natmahn01.htm> (accessed 25 April 2008).
- 100 See S. zur Nieden, 'Erste Initiativen für Mahnmale in Oranienburg und Sachsenhausen', in *ibid.*, pp. 125–32: 128ff., with photographs.
- 101 My portrayal follows U. Köpp, 'Die Studien des Buchenwald-Kollektivs für die Gestaltung der Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen 1956', in Morsch (ed.), *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument*, pp. 158–63.
- 102 The plan favoured by the survivors was sketched by Reinhold Linger, a landscape architect who had already submitted a design in the Buchenwald competition with Bertolt Brecht and Fritz Cremer. See U. Köpp, 'Der Entwurf Reinhold Lingers für die Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen', in Morsch (ed.), *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument*, pp. 148–57.
- 103 See U. Köpp, 'Die Projektierung der Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen und die Diskussionen im Wissenschaft-Künstlerischen Beirat beim Ministerium für Kultur', in Morsch (ed.), *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument*, pp. 217–31.
- 104 The three museums are described in three essays by Susanne zur Nieden in Morsch (ed.), *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument*, pp. 255–78. On the politics at the dedication, see J. Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997, pp. 175–80.
- 105 Although there were plans to do an extensive revision of the site, including an international design competition, none of them have been realized. See 'New Design' and the subsequent links, at: http://www.stiftung-bg.de/gums/en/ausstellungen/neugestaltung/neugestaltung_re.htm (accessed 2 May 2008).
- 106 I develop the effect of changing generational attitudes in shaping the afterlives of the camps more fully in Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, Chapter 12.
- 107 See H. Marcuse, F. Schirmelfennig and J. Spielmann, *Steine des Anstosses. Nationalsozialismus und Zweiter Weltkrieg in Denkmälern, 1945–1985*, Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1985, p. 7.
- 108 See Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, pp. 354f and ill. 82.
- 109 See note 11.
- 110 See Rieth, *Monuments to the Victims*, p. 61; USHMM Holocaust Encyclopedia 'Jasenovac', <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?ModuleId=10005449> and <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/jasenovac/frameset.html>; on the postwar history http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jasenovac_concentration_camp#Later_events (all accessed 30 January 2009).
- 111 See Wember, *Umerziehung im Lager*; and Hammermann, 'Das Internierungs- und Kriegsgefangenenlager Dachau 1945–1948', pp. 125–46.
- 112 P. Heberer and J. Matthäus (eds.), *Atrocities on Trial: Historical Perspectives on the Politics of Prosecuting War Crimes*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.
- 113 K. Bracher et al. (eds.), *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966 [1945–1999]*, Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1968–2008. For a summary, see J. Zarusky, 'Die juristische Aufarbeitung der KZ-Verbrechen', in Benz and Distel (eds.), *Ort des Terrors*, vol. 1, pp. 345–62.
- 114 H. G. Hockerts, 'Wiedergutmachung in Germany: Balancing Historical Accounts, 1945–2000', in D. Diner and G. Wunberg (eds.), *Restitution and Memory: Material Restoration in Europe*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2007, pp. 323–81; M. Henry, *Confronting the Perpetrators: A History of the Claims Conference*, London: Valentine Mitchell, 2007.
- 115 See A. Eberle, *Pädagogik und Gedenkkultur. Bildungsarbeit an NS-Gedenkorten zwischen Wissensvermittlung, Opfergedenken und Menschenrechtserziehung*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2008; A. Ehmann et al. (eds.), *Praxis der Gedenkstättenpädagogik. Erfahrungen und Perspektiven*, Opladen: Leske and Budrich, 1995.