The Concentration Camp Mauthausen

1938-1945



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Catalogue to the exhibition at the Mauthausen Memorial

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The Mauthausen Concentration Camp 1938-1945 Catalogue to the exhibition at the Mauthausen Memorial

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Cover photo: Photograph from US medical officer Paul E. Soldner who writes on the back of the picture: 'The healthy survivors "go home"

after being saved and released'.

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Preface

This year has been marked by an event of great importance for the Republic of Austria: on 5 May 2013, following years of preparation and hard work, the former infirmary building and current museum building was re-opened following extensive renovations; the new exhibitions as well as the 'Room of Names', a completely new memorial installation, are now on display here.

We were able to celebrate this special day with over 30 survivors of the Mauthausen concentration camp and their relatives. I found the presence and support of so many survivors at the event both gratifying and moving, and it also showed that where our work is concerned, we are on the right path. I am determined that, through the new permanent exhibitions and the new memorial room, the survivors' memories will remain active. In passing on their individual stories through interviews, loan objects and mementoes, they are making young people in particular aware of the dangers of ideas that show a disregard for human

life and are motivating them to work towards peaceful co-existence.

As the Federal Minister responsible for the Mauthausen Memorial, it is not only my duty to keep these memories alive, but also a matter of personal concern. With the measures implemented thus far, and in particular with the opening of the new exhibitions and the new memorial room, I feel that we have taken a big step towards this goal; a course has been set for the future that will enable the coming generations to learn about the National Socialist crimes committed at the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps.

I would like to thank all those who, directly or indirectly, contributed to the success of the exhibition and the exhibition catalogue.

Johanna Mikl-Leitner Federal Minister of the Interior

Knowledge through Remembrance

When our parents went to school, history teaching ended at the First World War. In our school days, Mauthausen was already spoken of, if only in passing. Our children, by contrast, are growing up in a school system that considers a visit to the Mauthausen Memorial an integral part of every young person's civic education.

This development shows the changes that have taken place in our society: from the suppression of history to a hesitant nod in its direction to active engagement with the most painful and uncomfortable truths of our history.

This change also calls for new forms of communicating knowledge. The questions asked by young people today are different to those we asked forty or fifty years ago. The need for answers to them is becoming all the more urgent as the number of eyewitnesses who can still describe their survival of the concentration camp based on their own experience of it continues to decrease. The time is approaching when young people will have access to the memories of eyewitnesses and survivors only through exhibitions, films and audio recordings.

Why is Mauthausen so important? Because it is a place of almost indescribable suffering, a place of remembrance, a place of warning and of learning, a place where the responsibility many Austrians share

for the crimes of National Socialism becomes clear, but also a low point in the history of a country robbed of its national freedoms. The exhibition at the Mauthausen Memorial gives the survivors a voice, honours the victims, and names the perpetrators. But it also shows that even the most brutal of dictatorships was not able to stamp out the wish for freedom, human dignity, the rule of law, and democracy. Thousands gave their lives for this in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps. The exhibition and the catalogue are an attempt to do justice to the legacy of these victims.

The Future Fund of the Republic of Austria has a mandate to support and enable projects and initiatives 'that further the commemoration of the victims of the National Socialist regime, the remembrance of the threat posed by totalitarian systems and tyranny, and international cooperation and, on the basis of this, that foster human rights education and mutual tolerance.' In this sense, the new permanent exhibition at the Mauthausen Memorial is an especially significant project.

Our thanks go, first and foremost, to Prof. Dr. Bertrand Perz and to all those who worked on creating the exhibition. But above all, we owe thanks to all those who visit it.

We are grateful for their interest and their thoughtful reflection.

Kurt Scholz President of the Board of Trustees of the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria Herwig Hösele Secretary General of the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria

Foreword

Dear Readers,

Mauthausen, a place of remembrance, a place of political demonstration, a place of learning — also of 'emotional education' — has a very particular aura. Informed by rituals, 'charged' and 'laden', it pushes those of us who work with it and for it to always go that extra mile, pushes us to exert our intellect and emotions.

National Socialism – over 90,000 dead in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its more than 40 subcamps throughout Austria.

Each time I have the chance to speak with survivors, I feel great admiration — there is so much strength and courage there, in particular in those who had to bear the unimaginable.

In the post-war era, Austria's role in the Second World War was determined far too late and too hesitantly. Hans Maršálek developed the content for the first exhibition on the former Mauthausen concentration camp and presented it to the public in 1970 – a groundbreaker and pioneer.

And then, over 40 years later, came this great opportunity: the new exhibitions, finally. Agreed under Minister Maria Fekter and completed under Minister Johanna Mikl-Leitner, over five years the leading minds in the field worked to realise a unique exhibition and memorial project.

Along the way, I always had three challenges at front of my mind:

Dignified remembrance

Mauthausen was and is, above all, a place of remembrance – of contemplation. Pictures, plaques, candles, songs and prayers in all languages. Mauthausen the place of remembrance becomes a place to gather. United in grief, hope and often faith are all those who come here in order to remember; they are the driving force and the lifeblood of a place such as this.

A clear picture of what happened here

Our work is always premised on rigorous research that meets academic standards, and that applies in every situation, be it archival research or archaeology – all our work has a solid academic basis.

Mauthausen – the research institution? We have indeed brought in outstanding academics over the last eight years. We carry out fundamental research on Mauthausen and its subcamps, publish, and curate exhibitions on specific topics. With the new exhibitions and the present catalogue to the exhibition *The Mauthausen Concentration Camp* 1938-1945, we are once again demonstrating this academic competence, and in much greater depth than ever before.

Naturally there are many factors at stake in this work: maintaining high standards, academic

exchange and cooperation with numerous national and international institutions and archives, reviewing and reworking that which for decades was neglected or believed forgotten. Our collection and archive have also now entered the digital age. Developing databases and systematically networking and analysing all the information available is one of our challenges.

Focus on future generations

'The young are not responsible for what happened in the past. But they are responsible for the historical consequences', as Richard von Weizsäcker once said.

We are doing our utmost to ensure Mauthausen is and remains a place of learning. We see the memorial site as an active meeting place, as a place of critical engagement with our own history, and as a place of humanistic education. All too often the success of our pedagogical team has been overshadowed by work on the redesign, even though setting it up was one of the very first initiatives in the process. An excellent pedagogical team and 100 professionally trained educators are here to pass on and communicate the history and the stories of this difficult site.

Working for the Mauthausen Memorial has changed my life. As a representative of the generation born more than three decades after the liberation of the Mauthausen concentration camp and all the other concentration camps, I, together with my team, am here to uncover individual fates, to tell the stories, and to keep the memory of them alive. Carefully, accurately, respectfully and personally. In the end, all that we do remains an attempt, a further intervention in this most contradictory of places. With the catalogue and the presentation of the new exhibitions, we are submitting our efforts to critical examination.

Finally I would like to thank all those involved in the production of this catalogue. My particular thanks for their support of our work go to the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria, and especially to Kurt Scholz as friend and colleague, and to the *new academic press*, who have helped make this catalogue so special. In closing I would also like to thank Andreas Kranebitter, Gregor Holzinger and Wilhelm Stadler for their professional management of this comprehensive catalogue project.

Barbara Glück
Director of the Mauthausen Memorial

Introduction

Concentration camp memorials as museums?

On 16 April 1945, five days after the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp, nearly 1000 of Weimar's citizens were marched up to the nearby Ettersberg and, on the orders of the commander of the 3rd US Army, General Patton, were forced to look at the piles of corpses in the camp. Some of these piles had been newly formed using the bodies of prisoners who died after the liberation, for the American authorities had ordered the corpses found at liberation to be burned immediately to prevent the spread of disease. The (enforced) visitors were, however, to be presented with as authentic an impression as possible of conditions in the camp.

In her book, 'Landscapes of Memory', the author Ruth Klüger, herself a survivor of several camps, argues vehemently against the necessity for and suitability of former concentration camps as museums:

'The museum culture of the camp sites ... is based on a profound superstition, that is, on the belief that the ghosts can be met and kept in their place, where the living ceased to breathe. (...) I once visited Dachau with some Americans who had asked me to come along. It was a clean and proper place, and it would have taken more imagination than your average John or Jane Doe possesses to visualize the camp as it was forty years earlier. Today a fresh wind blows across the central square where the infamous roll calls took place, and the simple barracks of stone and wood suggest a youth hostel more easily than a setting for tortured lives.'

Ruth Klüger's characterisation of concentration camp memorials as anti-museums calls attention to a fundamental break with ideas about representation, 'auratisation' and authentication that have accompanied the development of the European museum since its inception. Every attempt to find material forms of expression for the reality of camp failed in the face of the recognition that there are no adequate means of representing that reality outside of the camp itself. The drastic measure of reconstructing piles of corpses shows that in the immediate aftermath of the discovery of the crime, there were no appropriate representational forms or established commemorative practices available, as Volkhard Knigge has often pointed out.2 Putting National Socialist crimes on display in the concentration and extermination camps was based, first and foremost, on the need to investigate the camps and on their public presentation as crime scenes - in both a criminological and educational sense.

For the survivors, however, the former camps were not only places of crime and suffering but, above all, the 'place of the skull' and hallowed ground. It was mainly former prisoners who planned the erection of symbolic forms of remembrance and plaques, as well as monumental memorials. These functioned simultaneously as both relicts and relics: as relicts and dramatic symbols of the mass death in the camps; as relics of a place where — considering the unmarked ash dumps — the dead were closest and most present.

Exhibitions at former concentration camps

The creation of historical exhibitions at the sites of former concentration camps was, in the main, a project of survivors of the camp. We have their political commitment to thank not only for the creation of the concentration camp memorial sites themselves, but also for their gradual expansion from cemeteries for the victims and memorials to historical museums.

This is particularly the case for the Mauthausen Memorial. If the camp was, for the American liberators, primarily the scene of a crime of monstrous proportions, it was now also a vast cemetery: physically through the burial of the dead within the grounds of the camp, symbolically through the structural remains of the crematoria. Survivors' associations were also the driving force behind the handover of the former camp to the Republic of Austria in 1947 by the Soviet occupying forces, who had been responsible for it since summer 1945, as well as for its subsequent transformation into a state memorial by 1949.

With the first large-scale historical exhibition that opened in 1970 in the former infirmary building – also the first permanent exhibition in Austria devoted to the topic of National Socialism – the memorial took on the additional role of a museum with a clear pedagogical mandate. The exhibition was the fulfilment of a demand made by survivors' organisations already at the end of the 1940s, namely that the history of National Socialist crimes and, in particular, the history of the Mauthausen concentration camp be documented and explained.

The 1970 exhibition was conceived as an educational project aimed at younger generations, but it was also a direct reaction to attempts to deny or relativise National Socialist crimes. In consequence, it was a decidedly political exhibition. The aim of those responsible for its concept and design was, first and foremost, to present evidence and to provoke a shocked, emotional response. Large format photographs presented the terror of the SS towards the prisoners. As with the viewing of the camp and corpses in Buchenwald, the exhibition followed a confrontational approach combined with political sensitisation and moralisation.

This exhibition, created 25 years after the liberation, was the prerequisite for the advancement of the Mauthausen Memorial to the central Austrian site of remembrance concerning National Socialism.

Exhibiting crimes today

Now, 33 years later, on 5 May 2013, with the opening of new historical exhibitions – the general exhibition *The Mauthausen Concentration Camp* 1938-1945 and the more in-depth exhibition *The Crime Scenes of Mauthausen – Searching for Traces* – the first exhibition on the Mauthausen concentration camp has been replaced and the first stage in the redesign of the Mauthausen Memorial is complete. This redesign of the memorial site, as set out in the 2009 framework document, is the result of an intensive national and international debate on the necessity of reform at memorial sites that has been ongoing – against the backdrop of the political upheavals in Europe – since the early 1990s.

Today, concentration camp memorials have multiple functions. They are cemeteries, intergenerational meeting places, open-air museums, education centres, and historical sources — with regard to the time of the concentration camp, and to how the site has been dealt with over the nearly 70 years since. However, concentration camp memorials have another increasingly more important function: they are also museums.

Exhibiting the crimes at the former crime scenes themselves highlights — as Ruth Klüger has shown — the fundamental break with the desire for representation, 'auratisation' and authentication that has accompanied the development of the European museum since its inception. Ever since the reconstructed piles of corpses at Buchenwald, all attempts at finding material forms of expression for the reality of the camps have been situated somewhere between fact and fiction, moralisation and musealisation.

This definition presents particular challenges to today's exhibition curators. Today it is less about authenticating the horror, and more about its reflexive and discursive representation, display and commentary. The main tasks of the exhibitions at concentration camp memorials are to make history and historical processes legible in their complexity, to name the actors, to establish a range of perspectives and, specifically avoiding patent moralising, to evoke empathy with the victims.

As the historians charged with overseeing the academic side of the redesign of the Mauthausen Memorial, the creation of the new exhibitions presented us with great challenges in historiographical and academic terms, but also in educational and museological terms.

On the one hand, we aspired to the systematic incorporation of the latest international research findings on concentration camps, as well as those on the Mauthausen concentration camp complex, in the exhibition. This led to the necessity of searching worldwide for documents and artefacts, films and photographs. The necessity also arose of analysing eyewitness interviews not only in accordance with the standards of oral history, but also with regard to the representation of the different groups of victims — in particular those with hitherto neglected narratives.

In terms of content, the aim was to tell the history of the Mauthausen camp complex from multiple perspectives; as the institutional history of one of National Socialism's key instruments of repression, and from the experiences of the victims. Mauthausen was to be located within the framework of the history of concentration camps and National Socialism in general, whereby the diachronic development of the Mauthausen concentration camp — that its function changed and expanded considerably between 1938 and 1945 — was also to be taken into account.

The new exhibitions could not, therefore, simply take up the central narrative of their predecessor – the camp as a cradle of political resistance and as evidence for the thesis that Austria was the first victim of National Socialist expansionist politics. Here it was particularly important to emphasise Mauthausen as a place of – also Austrian – perpetration and to present the camp within the

context of its regional surroundings. However, this meant neither a total dissociation from the 1970 exhibition that was, for its time, remarkable, nor is it a case of the next generation thinking it knows better and looking down on previous efforts to present the history of the Mauthausen concentration camp.

One of the central academic concerns was with the historical site itself. This meant defining the structural remains of the camp themselves as historical sources, analysing them in accordance with the relevant academic standards and, on the basis of these findings, integrating them into the new exhibition concept. The preceding (building) archaeological investigations were of fundamental importance here. Only through these was it possible to rid the former infirmary building, used as a museum since the 1960s, of its problematic post-war alternations and continue to use it as an exhibition space.

Concentration camp memorials as museums!

However, this fresh start at the Mauthausen Memorial does not mean that the necessary process of reform is in any way complete. Plans to redesign the extensive grounds, including a new visitor guidance system, are on the agenda, as is the continuation of the decentralised exhibition concept, which envisages further exhibitions on the prisoners in the camp, the camp SS, on forced labour and on the site's post-war history.

Concentration camp memorials have multiple functions. They are – also – museums. A special type thereof, certainly, but not, and here it seems we must end by contradicting Ruth Klüger, anti-museums. The history of exhibitions at concentration camp memorials is the decades-long history of their struggle to be established and of their critical (regarding ideology) and self-reflexive redesign in recent years. This progressive potential must be maintained and repeatedly renewed, particularly when it comes to how the camps have been received over the years. If this can be achieved, concentration camp memorials and their exhibitions would be not merely a special type of museum, one whose museological ability to provide satisfaction is, even now, still questioned by more traditional historical museums. Rather, as regards the presentation of historical processes, they would be the avant-garde.

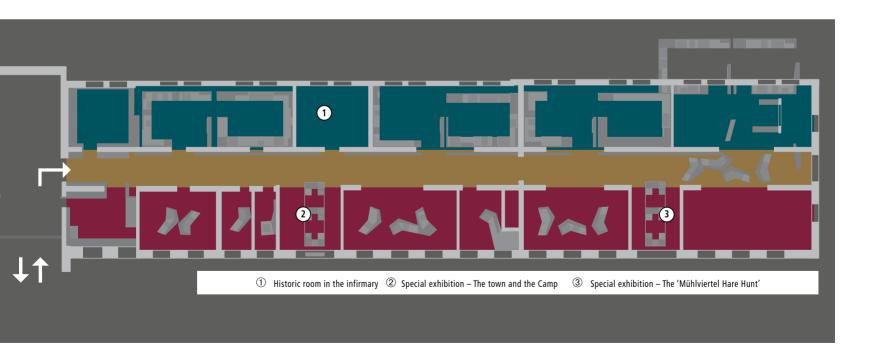
- Ruth Klüger: Landscapes of Memory. A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered. (London 2001). p. 71f.
- 2 Volkhard Knigge: Gedenkstätten und Museen, in: Volkhard Knigge/Norbert Frei (eds.): Verbrechen erinnern. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord (München 2002), p. 378-389, here p. 379; Volkhard Knigge: Museum oder Schädelstätte? Gedenkstätten als multiple Institutionen, in: Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.): Gedenkstätten und Besucherforschung (Bonn 2004), p. 17–33, here p. 19.

Editorial

The present catalogue comprises the exhibition *The Mauthausen Concentration Camp 1938-1945* that opened at the Mauthausen Memorial in May 2013. A large part of the catalogue is devoted to the presentation of the objects in the exhibition — a total of over 600 three-dimensional objects, historical photographs, documents, and personal testimonies of those deported — whose stories are told in the accompanying object texts. These short texts are framed by section, theme and room texts, as they appear in the exhibition itself.

The aim of this publication is to give as complete a picture as possible of the exhibition. Where abridgement was unavoidable, it has been restricted to the multimedia elements (some film sequences, the so-called visualisations of dynamic processes and the interactive 'Subcamp Terminal') and some of the more in-depth content (for example parts of the special exhibitions and the indepth biographies of the SS camp administration). The interviews with contemporary witnesses have been included largely unaltered. Cuts and editorial revisions were the exception here and in most cases, the text presented here corresponds to the interview subtitles in the exhibition. For us, making sure the voices of the survivors were given ample space meant interfering as little as possible with the interview texts.

The layout of the catalogue is based on the structure of the exhibition. The individual chapters make up the four chronological periods and are marked by grey tabs. In turn, each period is arranged on three levels, each designated by a different coloured horizontal stripe. The yellow



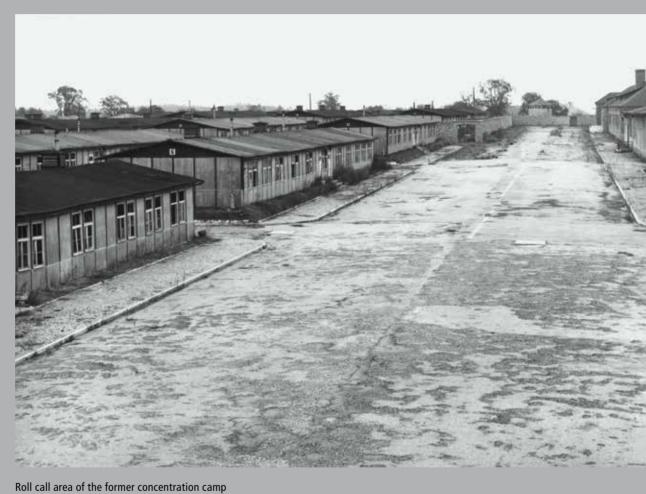
stripe marks the introductory historical overview; in the exhibition this acts as a timeline. The blue stripe indicates the structural history of the concentration camp, the red stripe the experiences of the former prisoners. This basic structure is only deviated from in the prologue and two special sections. Further explanation of this structure can be found in the articles at the end of this volume.

The exhibition nevertheless needs some explanatory framework – provided by the articles in this catalogue. Here Bertrand Perz sketches the history of the exhibition's redesign over the years and decades. Christian Dürr, Ralf Lechner and Johanna Wensch set out the curators' concepts and ideas for the exhibition, from the overall structure to choosing the exhibits. Following on from this, Siegfried Miedl and Manuel Schilcher explain the structural and architectural aspects of the exhibition, whilst Gregor Holzinger and Andreas Kranebitter present the comprehensive research projects that accompanied the design process. Not least, these four articles should serve to highlight the extent of the work carried out behind the scenes of the exhibition, as well as paying tribute to the many people named in the exhibition credits at the end of the catalogue.

In closing, our thanks go to all those who loaned objects and who, when giving us permission for the exhibition, also granted us reproduction rights for the accompanying catalogue. In those cases where no clear relevant provisions were contained in the loan and reproduction agreements, we have again endeavoured to obtain these permissions. In the few exceptional cases where this has not been possible, we ask for the understanding of the parties concerned and that they contact us.

We would also like to thank all the authors in this volume as well as Joanna White for the English translation and Bertrand Perz who, as the academic director overseeing the redesign, also cast his eye over these accompanying texts. Our thanks also go to Markus Gradwohl, Stephan Matyus and Dietmar Tollerian for the exhibition and object photographs, Gerd Leschanowsky for providing the screenshots, Johanna Wensch for preparing the exhibition content for publication, Christian Dürr, Regina Fritz and Ralf Lechner for their additional suggestions and corrections, and the *new academic press* for the productive collaboration.

Prologue



Mauthausen, 1948
Unknown photographer
KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, Sammlung BHÖ



Racist graffiti (covered), Mauthausen Memorial, 2009 Photgraph: Stephan Matyus KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen

The Perpetrators

After the war, many perpetrators are able to carry on with their lives unrecognised and undisturbed. Some are sentenced by Allied tribunals. The Austrian courts also make an effort to prosecute National Socialist perpetrators in the immediate post-war years. However, the integration of former National Socialists soon takes priority. The tentative denazification of the post-war period is stopped by law in 1957. This puts an end to public debate in Austria on the crimes committed for many years to come.

Wanted poster for the arrest of Martin Roth, 1945

Publisher: OSS, War Crimes Section United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, Ornstein Papers RG-10.089 (facsimile)

As head of the crematorium unit, Martin Roth is responsible for carrying out gassings. The US army and secret service put out a warrant for his arrest. Roth does not stand trial in Germany until the beginning of the 1970s. He admits to being co-responsible for nearly 1,700 gassings as well as countless other executions. The court sentences him to seven years imprisonment for his part in 51 murders. After his prison term, Roth regularly spends his holidays near Mauthausen, staying at a guest house near the camp.





Corpse of the former camp commandant Franz Ziereis, 1945 Unknown photographer

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, Photo No. 50543

The former camp commandant Franz Ziereis initially manages to escape. But a few days after the liberation of the camp he is tracked down by US soldiers and badly wounded during his arrest. Before he dies of his injuries a few hours later, he is interrogated about his activities as camp commandant. Former prisoners hang his body on the camp fence as a form of symbolic retribution.

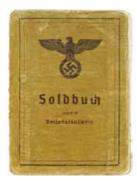


'Mauthausen Trial: The Verdict', newsreel report Welt im Film, 29 March 1946

From March to May 1946 an American military tribunal in Dachau tries 61 people for war crimes committed in the Mauthausen concentration camp. All the defendants are found guilty; 58 are sentenced to death. In ten cases the court commutes the death sentence to life imprisonment. Later on, over 60 more US military trials are held regarding Mauthausen, at which a total of 224 defendants are sentenced, 57 of them to death.







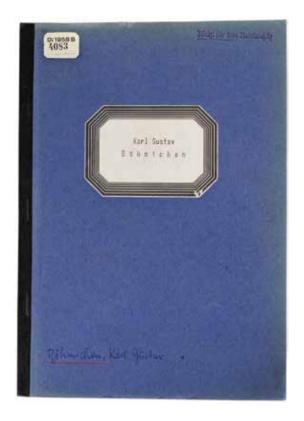


Service book of army soldier Gerhard Wittkowski with pages torn out, before 1945

Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vg 1e Vr 1626/45

Many members of the Mauthausen camp personnel try to cover up their past. The soldier Gerhard Wittkowski, who served under the SS in Mauthausen from August 1944, tears out the relevant pages from his service book. Despite this, in 1946 Wittkowski is charged with murder, attempted murder and mistreatment. However, he manages to avoid proceedings. The case against him is closed at the beginning of the 1970s.

Karl Gustav Böhmichen, Das Krankheitsphänomen des Priapismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Pathogenese und Therapie. Doctorial Thesis, Münster 1958 Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Leipzig, Di 1958 B 4083





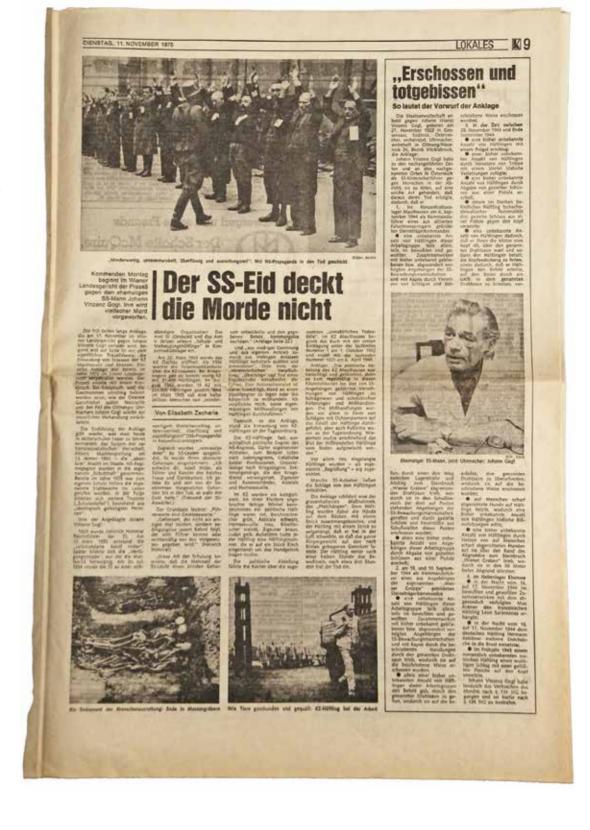
'Greetings from Hillersbach', postcard of the Hillersbach sanatorium (Germany), 1961

KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, 1.7.2.0003

From 1940 Karl Böhmichen works as a camp doctor in the Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, Mauthausen and Plaszow concentration camps, despite not yet having completed his medical studies. In 1945 he is taken prisoner by the Red Army. After his return to Germany in 1955 he completes his medical training and becomes chief physician at the Hillersbach sanatorium in Hessen. He is never prosecuted for his actions as a camp doctor.

'The SS oath doesn't cover murder', Kurier newspaper, 11 November 1975 KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, 1.8.1.0004

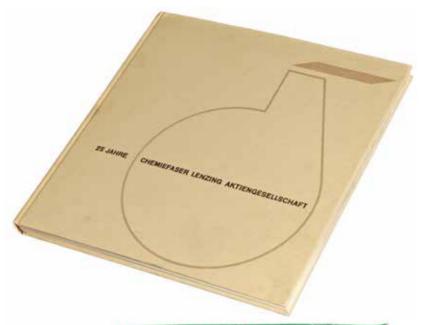
SS man Johann Gogl was a guard at the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps from 1940 onwards. He is responsible for the murder of numerous prisoners. Despite concrete evidence of his deeds, he lives undisturbed only 80 kilometres from Mauthausen until 1972. Following two trials he is acquitted once and for all by a jury in 1975.



Austria's Economic Miracle

The deployment of forced labourers enables the National Socialists to expand their war industries and realise large-scale building projects. Leading Austrian industrial firms number among those who profit greatly from of the concentration camp system.

After liberation, the Republic of Austria and its industries continue to benefit from the legacy of concentration camp labour. In contrast, forced labourers are refused compensation payments for years. Widespread public discussion of the topic of forced labour only begins in the late 1990s.



Publication celebrating 25 years of the Lenzing Synthetic Fibre Company in 1964

Photograph: Stephan Matyus, KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, I.D.2649

Female concentration camp prisoners are forced to carry out arduous work in the toxic wood cellulose factory in Lenzing. In post-war Austria, the *Chemiefaser Lenzing AG* (Lenzing Synthetic Fibre Company) is an important company.



Publication celebrating 100 years of the Steyr company in 1964

Photograph: Stephan Matyus, KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, I.D.2650

As the biggest arms firm in the region, the *Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG* makes extensive use of forced labour. At the initiative of the company directors, factory complexes are expanded by concentration camp prisoners and new production sites are constructed.

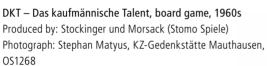
After the end of the war Steyr-Daimler-Puch remains a leading Austrian industrial firm. The publication celebrating its centenary mentions neither its involvement in National Socialism nor its use of forced labour. A discussion about compensation for exploited prisoners only begins in the 1980s.

1950/51 Yearbook of the VÖEST company, published in July 1951

Photograph: Stephan Matyus, KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, I.D.2651

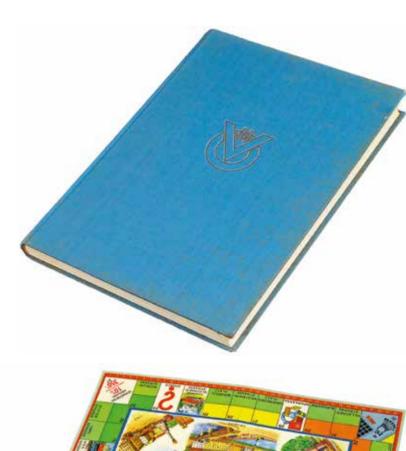
Over 20,000 forced labourers and concentration camp prisoners are deployed in the Reichswerke 'Hermann Göring' industrial complex in Linz.

After the war it becomes the Vereinigte Österreichische Eisen- und Stahlwerke (or VÖEST – United Austrian Iron and Steel Works) and for decades is regarded as the spearhead of the Austrian economic miracle. In the 1990s the company starts to critically examine its history during the National Socialist period.



'Das kaufmännische Talent' ('The Talent for Business') is a popular board game in Austria. The country's most important enterprises are represented on the board, including an unnamed hydroelectric power station. This is the Großraming power station, largely constructed by

concentration camp prisoners.











Gatehouse at Gusen concentration camp, before 1945, 1949, 1975 and 2005 Various photographers

Museu d'Història de Catalunya, Barcelona, fons Amical de Mauthausen y otros campos, no archive number

Service historique de la Défense, Archives Iconographiques, Vincennes, no archive number

Museum der Moderne Salzburg, DLF 1668_1-32_26 KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, 005-2A

The gatehouse at Gusen concentration camp houses the camp administration during the National Socialist era. Countless prisoners are mistreated and murdered there. After 1945 it is used for different purposes. It serves as offices for the Soviet occupiers now running the quarry, as a mushroom farm by an Austrian company, and finally as a residential house.

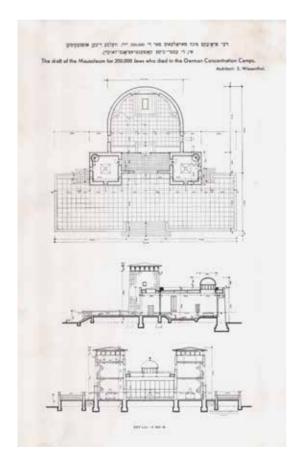


Post-war Politics

Remembering the victims of National Socialist crimes is left to the survivors. Austrian politicians and private companies fear financial demands from victims and their organisations. In contrast, former National Socialists, who represent a large group of potential voters, are courted by nearly all political parties.

Simon Wiesenthal: Plan for a memorial site to commemorate the victims of Mauthausen, circa 1947 KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, 1.7.1.0038, donated by the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Linz (facsimiles)

After his liberation from Mauthausen concentration camp, Simon Wiesenthal takes an interest in other survivors and begins the search for perpetrators who have gone into hiding. Wiesenthal is a trained architect and draws up plans for a memorial site on the grounds of the camp. The plan is not realised.







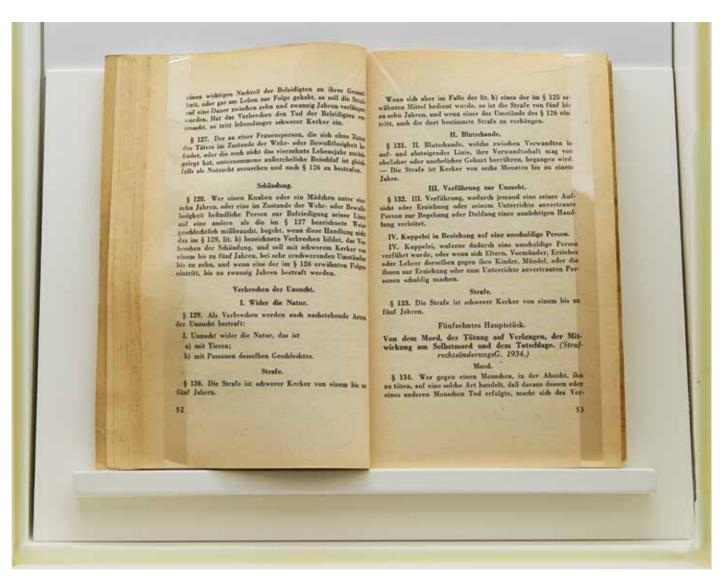


Hans Maršálek speaking at a ceremony commemorating the liberation of the camp, 1950s

Unknown photographer KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, V/1/7/12

As camp clerk in the Mauthausen concentration camp, Hans Maršálek was a central figure in the prisoners' resistance movement. After liberation he makes sure evidence of the crimes is not destroyed. Finally he also takes on the responsibility of designing the first museum at the Mauthausen Memorial.

Until the beginning of the 1960s, the state shows little interest in dealing with or documenting the past. Hardly any official representatives of the Republic of Austria attend the remembrance ceremonies until well into the 1970s.



Austrian Criminal Law. Published by the State Chancellery on 3 November 1945

KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, I.D. 2663

Many former concentration camp prisoners in post-war Austria are denied recognition as victims of National Socialism. For decades after the war, those persecuted as homosexuals under paragraph 129lb of the criminal code continue to suffer under the legal ban on homosexuality. Homosexual relations between adult men are only decriminalised in Austria in the 1970s. Recognition is also withheld from other groups, for example those deported to concentration camps as 'professional criminals', 'antisocials', or as Jehovah's Witnesses.



'They speak of everlasting peace ... and want everlasting hate', poster, 1949

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Plakatarchiv Austria 16323392 (facsimile)

In the 1949 general election campaign the main Austrian parties court the votes of former National Socialists, who are allowed to vote again for the first time since the end of the war. The conservative *ÖVP* (Austrian People's Party) puts up a poster that also makes use of old racist clichés.

Wostehen

die ehemaligen

Nationalsozialisten?

Wir ehemaligen Nationalfogialisten sind in unterem Kurswert gestiegen, 1945 sonnten sich Serr Nationalrat Dr. Maleta und andere beutige Unichaldsenges mit linsem Schöchergesicht in Versammlungen nicht gemig tun, über uns als Answurf der Sölle loszuziehen. Doch mit den vier Jahren der vergangenen Legislaturperiode anderten sich anch allmählich die Zeiten . . .

Sente, 1949, da die Wahlen vor der Türe siehen, arrangiert er ein Eberweis und ichreibt in seinen "Sberösterreichischen Rachrichten" des KJ.-Bruders Dr. — Pardon, er ist jest fein Dr. mehr, er war dies nur 1945—1948 —, also Seren Generaldireftor Vehrmann, unter dem 29. Juni 1949:

"Es handelt fich um 440.000 Staatsbürger minderen Rechts. Berücklichtigt mon die nächsten Familienmitglieder dieser Minderbelasteten, is fann mit einer William Bahlberechtigter gerechnet werden. Das ergibt, bei einer Bählermasse von 4,403.000 Menschen, eine Berhältnisgabl von 23 Brozent."

Man fieht förmlich, wie dem Herrn AR. Maleta, der jeht wieder vor leine Babler treten muß, und feiner schwindslüchtigen OBB. das Basser im Munde nach dieser "einen Million Babler" bei ihrer Wahlgeometrie gusammensanst. Es handelt sich ja dabei um nicht weniger als das runde Simmuchen von etwa 40 Mandaten. Die gangen Sorgen der OBB, und ihrer CB.er fönnten damit wiederum auf vier Jahre behoben sein.

Alio fossen wir und unsere Familienangebörigen und Freunde ihnen neuerdings "vier Jahre Beit" geben? Roch einmal vier Jahre???

Alle drei politischen Parteien bewerben sich beute um uns und auch alle vierten Parteien und der WdU. Dies ist ihr gutes Recht und es ist seditich, eine Frage, die diesmal in unserem Ermessen steht, darüber zu entickeiden, we u wir wählen sollen. Nach vier langen, ichweren Jahren erden, wir endlich die Genagtung, auch wieder einnal gefragt zu werden. Und was noch wichtiger ist, unsere Stimme entschend in die Baagichale auch unserer Zufunst werfen zu können. Darum sollen und

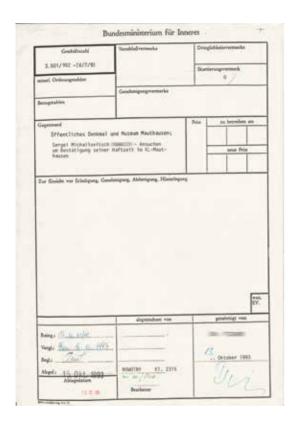
Election pamphlet 'Where do former National Socialists stand?', self published in Linz, undated [1949]
Verein für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Vienna, 0.3518 (facsimile)

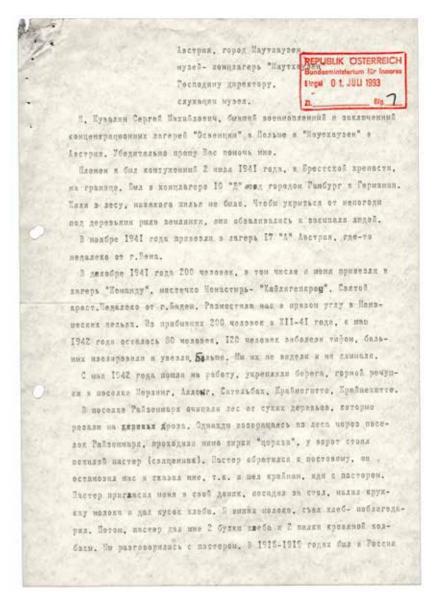
The election pamphlet, produced by supporters of the SPÖ (Socialist Party of Austria), is written from the point of view of a former National Socialist who now finds enough good reasons to vote for the SPÖ.

Request from a Russian survivor to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Section IV/7, 1993

Bundesministerium für Inneres, Vienna, Akt Nr. 3.501 / 982-IV/7/93 (facsimile)

The request of a former prisoner for confirmation of his term of imprisonment is still being declined in the early 1990s. At the end of the reply letter, the former prisoner is invited to visit the Mauthausen Memorial for free on his next visit to Austria.







Returning Home

For the prisoners, the history of the concentration camp is always also a story about the hope of returning home. The survivors leave the camp a few weeks after liberation. Some groups of prisoners return to their home countries with the help of state organisations. Others arrange the journey home themselves. But many no longer have a place they can call home.





Czech survivors returning home, May 1945 Unknown photographer Národní archiv, Prague, SPB, karton 21/223, 225, 226, 227

The victory over National Socialism, symbolised by the return of survivors from the concentration camps, becomes a founding myth for many European countries. The nascent Czech Republic brings home the liberated prisoners in a decorated train and lorries. The survivors are cheered on at many stations along the way.





Interview with Stanisław Kudliński, Poznán (Poland) 2002

KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, MSDP/396

Stanisław Kudliński is born in 1915 in Poland. Arrested as a resistance fighter, he is deported first to Mauthausen in 1942, then to the Steyr subcamp and finally to Gusen, where he survives until liberation. From there he and two other survivors set off on the journey home under their own steam.





Stanisław Kudliński: 'I wanted to go home at any cost ...'

At the end of the war we longed for our homes. We discussed whether we should return home. One colleague said, 'I am going to Germany, I have family there.' As a patriot I longed for my fatherland. And for my family, especially because Mama was a widow on her own.

I wanted to go home at any cost. I had been given a bicycle by Sister Oswina. We got a second bicycle from a Polish-American soldier. There were three of us. How do three people ride two bicycles? We set off anyway. Now this one, now the other one. We travelled about 200 km, the three of us on two bicycles. We begged for meals along the way, people offered us their food.

Bicycle belonging to the Polish survivor Stanisław Kudliński Owned by Aurelia Płotkowiak, Poznán

Stanisław Kudliński does not want to wait for his return home to be organised. He receives a bicycle from nuns in Linz. Together with two other survivors he sets off with it on the long journey home to Poland. Kudliński keeps the bicycle as a memento until the end of his life.

In this way we got to the Austrian-Czech border. We also ate in a restaurant. We asked, 'How much do we owe?' In Czech they said, 'You get it for free, you are prisoners, we won't take anything from you. You get everything for free. Go with God!'

So we travelled through Czechoslovakia, and through Prague, and looked around Vienna too. We took our time. We wanted to visit the countries too.

After we crossed the Polish border we kissed the Polish earth. Like the Pope when he visits a country. I don't know if the Pope learnt this from us, or we from the Pope.

On our journey eastwards, we had to defend against having our bikes confiscated three times. The Russians said, 'Hand over the bicycle!' I said, 'Let's go to your commander.' I had a document which stated that the soldiers were supposed to help me! They weren't supposed to hinder my journey!

Memory

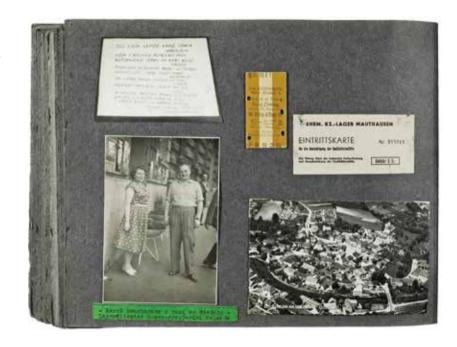
The memory of imprisonment and the horrors they experienced accompanies many survivors throughout their lives. Some respond by repressing it, others by deliberately confronting it. For all former prisoners the recurring memories become a part of their lives.

Souvenir album of the Polish survivor Stefan Niewada, 1959–1965

Photograph: Stephan Matyus, KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, OS1273

Stefan Niewada's intensive engagement with the history of his persecution by the National Socialists continues throughout his life. He is an active member of an association of former prisoners in Poland until the 1980s. He remains in contact with other survivors, even beyond the borders of the Iron Curtain. Together with his wife he travels to Austria on holiday, also visiting the place where he was imprisoned.

His souvenir album documents a trip to Mauthausen.



Box with earth from Mauthausen, 1945 Památník Terezín, 1076

For many former prisoners the camp grounds are a vast cemetery. A Czech survivor takes a box containing earth from Mauthausen with him to his homeland and presents it to the Terezín Memorial.







Rupert Hymon: 'Menschen in Mauthausen' (People in Mauthausen), 1966 KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, F/9b/3/16 (facsimile)

'Have never yet spoken about the time of suffering in the concentration camp: this is something one doesn't talk about, one tries to forget it through silence!!! Only during the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem did I confirm the pictures with yes, that is how it was', writes the German concentration camp survivor Rupert Hymon at the edge of his sketch. For many people there is no opportunity to talk about what they experienced once they return home. Rupert Hymon is only persuaded to speak out about his history by the trial of Adolf Eichmann. He does so in order to bear witness to the crimes of the National Socialists.



'This is Your Life', TV programme with Hanna Bloch Kohner NBC-TV, 27 May 1953

How do you talk about the unimaginable? In the postwar period there is no model for dealing in public with the trauma caused by concentration camp experience. In the programme 'This is Your Life', an American talk-show host speaks to a survivor for the first time in front of an audience of millions.

Hanna Bloch Kohner was transferred from Auschwitz to Lenzing, a subcamp of the Mauthausen concentration camp, at the end of 1944 and was liberated there.



Pennant of the Mauthausen camp orchestra Památník Terezín, 273

The Czech survivors take many objects home with them from Mauthausen. Some of these objects are to serve as evidence of the crimes that took place, others, such as these items from the camp orchestra, are mementos. They eventually become part of the collection of the Terezín Memorial.



Violin from the Mauthausen camp orchestra Památník Terezín, 1285

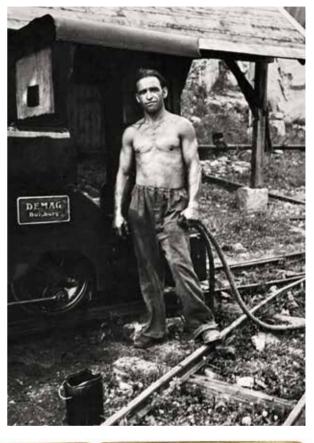
No Homecoming

For some prisoners there is no homecoming. Many are no longer welcome in their native countries. Others have no one to return to; their families and friends did not survive the National Socialist persecution. There is no longer a place to call home.

Juan Fernandez in the Gusen quarry, after 1950 Unknown photographer

Owned by Emanuel Fernandez, Langenstein

As a resistance fighter against the fascist Spanish dictator Franco, Juan Fernandez is first forced to flee and is later deported to Mauthausen by the National Socialists. There is no question of returning home after liberation; Franco continues to rule in Spain until the mid-1970s. While many of his comrades go to France, he remains in the place where he was liberated – in Mauthausen. He also continues to work in the quarry – the forced labourer becomes a paid employee of the Poschacher quarry company.



Identification card, issued by the Perg district commission to Johann Fernandez, 11 June 1950 Owned by Emanuel Fernandez, Langenstein





Hidden bomb bearing the sign 'Roma back to India', 1995 Bundeskriminalamt Österreich, Vienna, Tatmittelsammlung des Entschärfungsdienstes, no archive number, Photograph: Stephan Matyus

The hostility towards Romani people does not end with National Socialism. Discrimination continues to be part of everyday life for this segment of the population even after 1945. The hostility reaches its climax in 1995 with a bomb attack in Oberwart in Burgenland. Fifty years after Michael Horvath, born in Oberwart, is liberated from Mauthausen, two of his grandsons are killed by a hidden bomb while attempting to remove the racist sign attached to it.

Interview with Michael Horvath, Oberwart (Austria) 2003

KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, MSDP/710

Michael Horvath is born in 1922 into a Romani family in the Burgenland region. Following the 'Anschluss' ('Annexation') of Austria to the German Reich he is forced to carry out road-building work. In June 1939 he is arrested and deported to Buchenwald via Dachau. After three years he is sent to Gusen and finally to Mauthausen, where he is liberated in 1945.



Michael Horvath: 'There were 360 gypsies and 19 came home ...'

And after the war was over, you could go wherever you wanted. To the left, to the right, you weren't a prisoner any more. Nothing happened to you. When I left, I kept looking behind me, to check whether anyone was there. I looked back to see if the SS was there. I kept telling myself, 'No, no one is coming.' Then I travelled with the Russians, always bit by bit, a couple of kilometres, not far.

On 26 June 1945 I arrived home from the concentration camp. I had been travelling for one month. I travelled home bit by bit with the Russians. I had an ID card, in German and English, but the Russians couldn't read it.

At home I registered that I had come back from a concentration camp. I didn't recognise any of the houses, nothing. They were destroyed. Then I said: 'What are we going to do?'

There were 360 gypsies together with the children, and 19 came home. Hitler mucked us out like the farmer his stable in the morning.

When there was the bomb attack that killed four people, my grandson was one of them. Two of my grandsons, Karli and Erwin. And Simon and Peter.

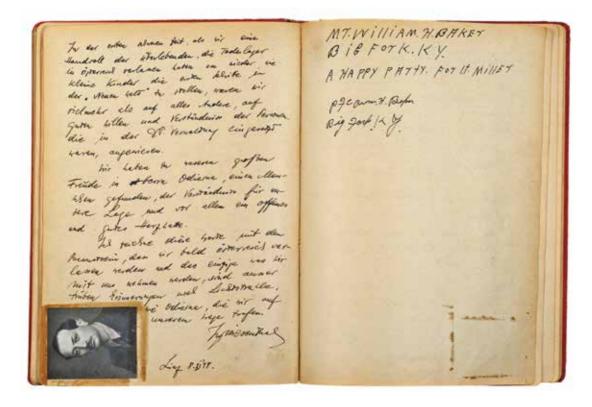
The Gadje kept coming to see what had happened. Then, 'Mishka, how did it happen? I heard that your two grandsons were there.' I say 'Yes.' 'And how, when, where? Didn't you hear anything?' 'No, we didn't hear anything. My son went down to Unterwart. Then he came back and said, 'Four dead.' My son, he was really screaming. Then we went down, yes, four dead. And who did that? Franz Fuchs.



'Breakfast Cocoa. A gift from American Jews', food container from an aid shipment for Jewish DPs in Austria, 1945–1950

Wien Museum, HMW 231.785, Photograph: Stephan Matyus

Many Jewish survivors cannot and do not want to return to where they used to live. The political situation in eastern Europe is unstable. In some areas the local population was involved in persecution. Many wait for permits to emigrate to the USA or to Palestine. As so-called displaced persons (DPs), Jewish survivors often remain for years in refugee camps in Austria. Here the US army and Jewish-American relief organisations provide them with basic necessities.



Souvenir album and inscription book belonging to Vincenzo Odierna, 1946–1950
Owned by Dr. Simone
Odierna, Hannover
Photograph: Stephan Matyus

As a translator for the US military administration in an Austrian DP camp, Vincenzo Odierna meets numerous Jewish survivors from Mauthausen. Many write something in his souvenir album. In 1948, shortly after the foundation of the state of Israel, Simon Wiesenthal, himself a survivor of Mauthausen, notes in the book that 'we will soon be leaving Austria [...]'.











Scenes of everyday life in the Hörsching Displaced Persons camp near Linz, circa 1947 Various photographers United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, Photo No.96441, 64504, 25252

In the displaced persons camps the survivors prepare for their future in new countries. They receive job training and learn languages. After years of being persecuted, many also become politically active.

Remembrance

Liberation comes too late for countless Mauthausen prisoners. Thousands die even after liberation as a result of the physical and psychological effects of their imprisonment. Today they continue to live on in the memories of relatives and friends. Memorials and commemorative plaques also recall their lives.



Mirjam Merzbacher-Blumenthal with her brother's photograph album in Greenwich/Connecticut (USA), 2012 Photograph: Patrick Gyasi KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, no archive number

Peter David Blumenthal, Mirjam's brother, is apprehended by the National Socialists during a street round-up in Amsterdam and is deported to Mauthausen. He dies there after just a few months.

His photograph album remains a precious memory for Mirjam. She says: 'If I only take my brother's photo album from the cabinet very rarely, this is because I want to protect it. The photos in it, which were taken between 1939 and 1940, meant so much to him. He hoped, unfortunately in vain, that they would be the start of a career as a film editor.'

His last communication from Mauthausen to his parents and Mirjam ends with the hopeful lines: 'I will return. It will be all right. Everything will be all right, for I will return, and I will always

-God bless you'.



Mauthausen Memorial in the Selino Province of the Greek island of Crete, 2012

Photograph: Stefan Wolfinger

KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, no archive number

There are commemorative stones and memorials to the victims of the Mauthausen concentration camp all over the world. Thus in the East Selino province of Crete there is a memorial remembering the fate of 34 local residents who never returned from Mauthausen.

1938–1939 The Construction of the Concentration Camp

Shortly after the 'Anschluss' ('Annexation') of Austria to the German Reich Mauthausen is chosen as the location for a concentration camp. Political opponents and people categorised as 'criminal' or 'antisocial' are to be interned here and forced to carry out hard labour in the granite quarries.

On 8 August 1938 the SS transfers the first prisoners from Dachau concentration camp. The prisoners, who, in this period, are mostly German or Austrian, and all of whom are men, have to construct their own camp and set up the quarry works.

Hunger, arbitrary treatment and violence characterise the prisoners' daily lives. Some 500 prisoners die during the first eighteen months.

The National Socialists Seize Power

On 30 January 1933 Adolf Hitler is named Chancellor of the German Reich. The National Socialists subsequently strip the democratically elected parliament of its powers and suspend basic civil rights.

At the same time they bring the police under their control. The armed organisations of the *NSDAP* (National Socialist German Workers' Party) – the SA and the SS – persecute political opponents and lock them up without due legal process. The SS creates a new form of internment facility: the concentration camp. The Dachau concentration camp near Munich becomes the model for future camps.

Adolf Hitler's speech on the Enabling Act in the Reichstag, Berlin, 23 March 1933 Photograph: Georg Pahl Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Bild 102-14439

