Legacies of Dachau
The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933–2001

Auschwitz, Belsen, Dachau. Three generations later, these names still evoke the horrors of Nazi Germany around the world. What should be done with sites where hundreds of thousands of people were murdered and cremated? Punish Nazis? Tear down the buildings and plant trees? Build stores and apartments? Educate teenagers? All of these things happened at former concentration camps after 1945.

Marcuse's insightful narrative takes one of these sites, Dachau, and traces its history from the beginning of the twentieth century, through its twelve years as Nazi Germany's premier concentration camp, to the camp's postwar uses as a prison, residential neighborhood, and, finally, museum and memorial site.

With superbly chosen examples and an eye for telling detail, this absorbing book documents how Nazi perpetrators were quietly rehabilitated to become powerful elites, while survivors of the concentration camps were once again marginalized, criminalized, and silenced. The early postwar dodge "We didn't know!" became "We don't want to know," and German officials first rebuilt the camp as a huge housing project, then attempted to bulldoze it and the crematorium into oblivion. However, by 1965 camp survivors were able to ensure the preservation of some remains as a memorial site.

Always situating Dachau within the broader context of German history, Marcuse reveals the underlying dynamic of German memory debates from the 1968 rebellion to the Holocaust mini series in the 1970s, to Bitburg in the 1980s, to the Goldhagen and Berlin “murdered Jews” memorial controversies of the 1990s.

Combining meticulous archival research with an encyclopedic knowledge of the extensive literatures on Germany, the Holocaust, and historical memory, Legacies of Dachau unravels the intriguing relationship between historical events, individual memory, and political culture, enabling it to offer the first unifying interpretation of their interaction over the entire sweep of German history from the Nazi era into the twenty-first century.

Harold Marcuse is Associate Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he teaches modern and contemporary German history. The grandson of the German émigré philosopher Herbert Marcuse, he returned to Germany in the 1970s to trace family roots. He soon became interested in West Germany's relationship to its Nazi past, and in 1985 he co-produced an exhibition about monuments and memorials commemorating events of the Nazi era. That exhibition was shown in nearly thirty German cities, including Dachau. Marcuse has since published numerous articles on Dachau, German history, and memorial culture.
Legacies of Dachau

The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933–2001

HAROLD MARCUSE
Erinnern Remembering  
das ist that is  
vieleicht perhaps  
die qualvollste Art the most painful way  
des Vergessens of forgetting  
und vielleicht and perhaps  
die freundlichste Art the most gentle way  
der Linderung of soothing  
dieser Qual that pain  

Erich Fried
## Contents

*List of illustrations*  
*List of tables*  
*Preface*  
*Abbreviations and glossary*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dachau: past, present, future</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Dachau camp, 1916–2000: a brief history</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A visit to Dachau, 2001</td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Dachau 1890–1945: a town, a camp, a symbol of genocide</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Dachau: a town and a camp</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1933</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The camp opens, March 1933</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nazification of the town, 1933–1935</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The image of the “clean” concentration camp</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The expansion of the camp system, 1936–1939</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wartime changes, 1938–1942</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The extermination of the Jews</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dachau camp during “total war”</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 Dachau: a symbol of genocide</th>
<th>47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissolution, 1944–1945</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurrection and liberation, 28–29 April 1945</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The media blitz, May 1945</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The German bystanders: “We didn't know!”</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atrocities and “reeducation”</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The survivors</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genocide on trial</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II Dachau 1945–1955: three myths and three inversions</th>
<th>73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 “Good” Nazis</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German army general Gert Naumann</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents

The Cold War backdrop 85
Denazification and “brown-collar criminals” 88
“Brown-collars” in the denazification laundry 94
The end of the “war crimes” trials 97
Brown-collar criminals as victims 100
Brown-collar ignorance 103
Brown-collar criminals as rescuers 104
Rescuing brown-collared “victims” 106
Brown-collar criminals as leading citizens 108
Article 131 and the “renazification” of West Germany 111
Denazification: a fiasco? 114
The victims of the 1950s: German POWs and expellees 119

4 “Bad” inmates 127
Helping the survivors: compulsion or compassion? 128
Institutionalizing aid: the origins of Wiedergutmachung 130
The former camp plantation, 1947–1948 135
The founding of West Germany, 1948–1949 141
Skeletons resurface: antisemitic stereotypes and the Leiten Affair 142
Anticommunism and the criminalization of the survivors, 1949–1953 151
The survivors disappear from public view, 1950–1953 155

5 “Clean” camps 158
Concentration camps as model prisons 158
German refugees from the East, 1948 160
A “residential camp” for refugees 162
Refugees as inmates of “clean camps” 166
The exhibitions in the crematorium, 1946–1950 170
Removing the exhibition, 1951–1953 173
Closing the crematorium, 1953–1955 181

6 The first representations of Dachau, 1945–1952 189
The first Leiten temple, 1945–1946 189
The statue of the “unknown concentration camp inmate,” 1949–1950 192
The “home-baked” Leiten temple, 1950–1952 194

7 Rising public interest, 1955–1965 199
Early media events: Anne Frank and Night and Fog 200
Youth groups in Dachau 203
Brown-collar crimes and the Ludwigsburg “Central Office” 206
National Socialism in West German schoolbooks 210
Media attention: from the Eichmann trial to the Auschwitz trial, 1960–1964 212
# Contents

The statute of limitations revisited, 1965–1979 214  
German historiography of Nazi crimes 217  

8 Catholics celebrate at Dachau 221  
The crematorium–monastery plan, 1945 221  
The KZ barracks chapel and the postwar SS church 222  
The Italian chapel “Mary, Queen of Peace” 225  
Bishop Johannes Neuhausler (1888–1973) 228  
The Chapel of Christ's Mortal Fear, 1960: a turning point 230  
The Carmelite convent 237  

9 The survivors negotiate a memorial site 242  
Establishing an International Organization, 1950–1955 242  
*I Returned to Dachau: Nico Rost, 1955* 244  
The “Spirit of the Camp Street:” Otto Kohlhofer and Leonhard Roth 245  
Government foot-dragging, 1956–1964 247  
The new memorial site, 1955–1965 249  
The new museum 1960–1965 252  
A monument for the Soviet POWs executed at Hebertshausen, 1964 256  
The international memorial, 1959–1968 258  

10 Jews represent the Holocaust at Dachau 262  
Early Jewish commemoration after 1945 263  
The new Jewish memorial building, 1960–1967 266  
Tragedy at the 1972 Munich Olympics 271  
Foreign Jewish tourists, 1960s to the present 272  

11 Protestants make amends at Dachau 276  
Martin Niemöller (1892–1984) 277  
The need for a Protestant church in Dachau 278  
The “Church of Reconciliation” 282  
The "Action Sign of Atonement" 286  
The dedication ceremony, 1967 287  

12 The 1968 generation: new legacies of old myths 290  
A theory of age cohorts 291  
The story of Detlef Hoffmann, b. 1940 296  
Generational conflict 297  
The national political context 301  
"Mastering the past": education or defamation? 304  
Fascistoid antifascists? Mythic resistance in the postwar cohort 312  
Left-wing terrorism, 1968–1977 317  
Dachau, September 1968 320  
New ways of using the past 323
## Contents

### IV Dachau 1970–2000: new age cohorts challenge mythic legacies 327

| Lorenz Reitmeier (b. 1931), mayor of Dachau 1966–1996 | 329 |

13 The 1970s: redefining the three myths and ending ignorance 335
- From victims of Nazism to victims of tourism and the media 336
- The “bad tourist” 337
- Eradication as resistance 338
- Cultural heritage as resistance 340
- The end of ignorance: re-realizing the Nazi past 342
- The TV mini-series *Holocaust*: learning the victims’ point of view 343
- A 1979er discovers Nazism 347

14 The 1980s: relinquishing victimization 349
- The effects of *Holocaust* on the educational establishment 350
- Rediscovering “forgotten persecutees” 353
- The boomerang effect: 1948ers revive German victimization 355
- National politics, anniversaries, and diplomacy 356
- Dachau vs. Bitburg, 1985 359
- The Weizsäcker speech and the “Historians’ Controversy” 364
- Kurt Piller (b. 1959), mayor of Dachau 1996-- 369

15 The 1990s: resistance vs. education 372
- The dialectic of mythic resistance 375
- Personalizing the perpetrators: “Crimes of the German Army” and the Goldhagen debates 379
- Mythic resistance in Dachau: the creation of a youth center, 1983–1998 382
- Intellect vs. emotion: Dachau as a “site of learning” 388
- Myths and enlightenment: the 1996 Dachau renovation guidelines 392
- The 1989ers: from reflex to reflection 402

### Notes 407

### Index 564
Illustrations

Illustrations can be found between pages 126 and 127 and pages 334 and 335.

1 Regional map of Dachau showing the town, and the SS and concentration camps.
2 Plan of the Dachau concentration camp and memorial site.
3 Aerial view of the “residential settlement Dachau-East,” 1956.
4 Aerial view of the KZ Dachau memorial site, ca. 1969.
5 The Dachau gas chamber–crematorium building, built in 1942, ca. 30 April 1945.
6 Sign in front of the Dachau crematorium, fall 1945.
7 The camp “service building” at the south end of the prisoners’ compound, 1946.
8 Entrance to part A of the Dachau Prisoner of War Enclosure, ca. 1945–8.
9 US soldier showing crematorium to Dachau notables, 8 May 1945.
10 One of many posters displayed throughout Germany in the early summer of 1945.
11 Courtroom in the service building, November 1945.
12 Postcard commemorating the first anniversary of Dachau’s liberation, April 1946.
13 Dachau mayor Josef Schwalber unveiling a plaque, April 1947.
15 Postcard of entry gatehouse, sold in the Dachau crematorium museum, ca. 1945–8.
16 Postcard of cremation process, sold in the Dachau crematorium museum, ca. 1945–8.
17 Exhibition in the Dachau crematorium undressing room, ca. 1945–9.
List of illustrations

19 Contemporary cartoon lampooning the “denazification laundry,” 1947.
20 Letterhead of the Wülfert meat products factory in Dachau, 1940.
21 Concentration camp survivors demonstrate in Munich, 1950.
23 Schematic floor plans of concentration camp barracks, 1938 and 1948.
24 Street between the barrack apartments in the settlement “Dachau-East,” 1950s.
25 Restaurant in the former disinfection building, ca. 1960.
26 Partially demolished watchtower, July 1957.
27 View down the central settlement street, ca. 1954.
28 Demolition of the barracks with apartment subdivisions from 1948, 1964.
29 View down the central memorial site street as it has appeared since 1965, April 1983.
30 Barrack being reconstructed at the south end of the memorial site, 1965.
32 Model of “Temple of Liberation” for Leiten gravesite, November 1945.
33 Third-place entry in the 1950 Leiten competition, by Roth and Hiller.
34 Cross section of the design for the Leiten memorial by Roth and Hiller.
35 The 10.5 m tall memorial hall actually erected on Leiten hill in 1951–2.
36 Temporary memorial at the mass graves on the Leiten hill, December 1949.
37 Prisoner “pietà” by Fritz Koelle, 1948.
38 Statue of “unknown concentration camp inmate,” dedicated April 1950.
40 Dedication of the Italian chapel Maria Regina Pacis (Mary, Queen of Peace), July 1964.
41 Concentration-camp-era Catholic chapel at the west end of barrack 26, ca. 1946.
List of illustrations

42 Catholic church constructed by interned SS men in November 1945.
44 Bishop Neuhäusler striking the cornerstone of the Carmelite convent, April 1963.
45 Aerial view of the Carmelite convent and Catholic chapel.
46 Redrawing of a January 1960 plan to turn the memorial site into a grove of trees.
47 Aerial view of the dedication of the Catholic chapel, August 1960.
49 Postcard sold in the crematorium after 1960.
52 Gas chamber in the 1942 crematorium building, as it appeared after 1965, August 1997.
53 Detail of the sign placed in the Dachau gas chamber after 1965.
55 Model of the Hebertshausen shooting range displayed in the 1960–4 museum.
56 Monument at the Hebertshausen shooting site, dedicated on 3 May 1964.
57 Leonhard Roth at the dedication of a cornerstone for a memorial, September 1956.
58 The 1968 international memorial with the 1956 cornerstone, 1995.
59 View through the international memorial.
60 Design for international memorial by Hansdietmar Klug, 1959.
61 Chain link sculpture in the base of the international memorial, 1968.
62 The quadrilingual inscription wall for the international memorial in Dachau, 1968.
64 Protestant “Church of Reconciliation,” by Helmut Striffler, built 1964–7.
65 Bavarian notables and Dachau survivors at a May 1970 memorial ceremony.
List of illustrations

66 Dachau survivors battle with young Germans, 9 September 1968.
67 Bavarian state police vans in a garage in the former SS camp, ca. 1990.
68 Bavarian state police practicing in the former Dachau SS camp, 1981.
70 Mayor Reitmeier with East German President Erich Honecker, 11 September 1987.
71 Torchlight march by the German trade union youth, 7 November 1992.
72 Graph showing number of Dachau museum catalogs sold, 1988–96.
73 Graph showing number of foreign and German visitors to the Dachau memorial site, 1950–91.
74 Graph showing number of visitors to Buchenwald, Dachau, the Deutsches Museum in Munich, and Neuschwanstein castle, 1946–90.
75 Demolition of buildings in the former SS camp, August 1985.
76 Railroad track relic memorial (dedicated 1987), May 1991.
77 Directional sign on a highway near the memorial site, July 1980.
78 Main directional sign seen by visitors arriving in Dachau by train, 1995.
80 Main entrance to the memorial site on a typical Monday after January 1984.
81 Roma (gypsies) in the memorial site's Protestant church, 18 May 1993.
82 German homosexuals moving a memorial plaque, 18 June 1995.
84 German students weeding the reconstructed ditch, ca. 1996.
85 Bavarian Minister President Max Streibl visiting the Dachau memorial site, March 1993.
86 Russian General Lebed visiting the Dachau memorial site, January 1997.
87 Nazi-era inscription in the west wing of the museum/service building, August 2000.
88 Mural painted after 1945 to decorate the US army mess hall in the west wing of the service building, August 2000.
## Tables

1. West German political cohorts, 1890–1976  
2. The three founding myths and their legacies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>West German political cohorts, 1890–1976</td>
<td>292–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The three founding myths and their legacies</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

Like many young Americans, I first visited Dachau during a college vacation abroad. That visit, in 1977, had a powerful effect on me, probably because I realized that my Jewish grandfather might have ended up there if he had not presciently emigrated with his 4-year-old son in 1933. I have been back to the Dachau memorial site many times, but I still remember some impressions of that first visit. The camp seemed much larger than I had imagined, and the huge photographs in the museum left a lasting impression. I also remember seeing the film with footage of Dachau citizens leading horse-drawn carts laden with corpses after liberation.

My experience was roughly typical of that of most young American visitors. I did not know much about the concentration camps or the Holocaust, although I had seen films on the Nazi era, such as The Diary of Anne Frank, and Night and Fog. I remembered little of such films, except for the piercing tat-tata of the German sirens at the end of the former, and the shocking concluding pictures of vintage bulldozers pushing piles of naked corpses into huge pits in the latter.

Much less typical was the role that my brief visit eventually came to play in my life. I did not return to Dachau again for six years, but in the intervening time other experiences resonated with the impulse I received during that visit. One such experience was meeting the war-generation parents of my German friends, who were uncomfortable when they learned I was Jewish. I still remember how one mother sat me down on the kitchen bench when we were alone. She drew up a chair opposite me and clasped her gnarled hands nervously on the table. “You know, Harald [she was speaking German], back then there was nothing we could do. I [or was it ‘we’?] saw them at the train station, but what could we do? We were helpless.” And so on. I was uncomfortable too, and I reassured her that those were hard times. It was like a scene in a bad movie.

While numerous similarly awkward encounters with other Germans from my generation on up made me much more conscious of the Holocaust and the presence of history in Germany, it was a meeting with
Preface

American Jewish friends that finally prompted me to return to Dachau in 1983. A friend of my parents, Anita S., had visited me in Freiburg, where I was studying, a year earlier, and I had given her a tour of the city’s gothic cathedral. When I stopped by to see her at her home in the US, she took me to her studio to show me some works inspired by Freiburg’s stained-glass windows: twisted barbed wire covered with smoky gray plaster was arranged on sheet metal cut to the shape of the gothic pointed-arch windows. Entwined in the barbed wire were attributes of Christian saints, such as a wheel for St. Catherine, and a tower for St. Barbara – the instruments of their martyrdom. I was impressed by both their aesthetic quality and their symbolism. A vague image of Dachau came back to me, a memory of Christian churches in the memorial site. I thought these reliefs would be ideal in such a church, and I promised to find out who might be in charge of the Dachau chapels. And that is what set me on a quest to find out how, and why, the former Dachau concentration camp came to have the rather improbable form it has today.

In the intervening years numerous individuals have helped me to research, conceptualize, and write this history. In addition to thanking all of the friends, colleagues, librarians, archivists, photographers, and artists who are too numerous to name here, I would like to express my gratitude explicitly to Barbara Distel, the director of the Dachau memorial site, for all of her help and support, and to my family, for their forbearance during the many years I have worked on this project. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the University of Michigan, the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the Center for German and European Studies at UC Berkeley provided financial support.

This book is dedicated to everyone who worked and is working to preserve the former concentration camp at Dachau as a place to remember the past and work towards a better future.
Abbreviations and glossary

AEMF Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising, Catholic episcopal archive in Munich
AP Anton Pfeiffer papers, held by BayHsta
AvS Arbeitsgemeinschaft verfolgter Sozialdemokraten, SPD organization of former persecutees
AWJD Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland, Jewish weekly newspaper in West Germany
BaKo Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, West German national archive
BayHsta Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bavarian Main State Archive, Munich
BayStaA Bayerisches Staatsarchiv München, Bavarian State Archive, Munich
BJR Bayerischer Jugendring, the Bavarian Youth Ring
BLA Bayerisches Landtagsarchiv, Munich (archive of the Bavarian state parliament)
BVN Bund der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, CDU/CSU organization of former persecutees
CDU Christian Democratic Union
CID Comité International de Dachau, umbrella organization of national associations of former KZ Dachau inmates
CSU Bavarian Christian Socialist Union, political party
DaA Archive of the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site (Archiv der KZ-Gedenkstätte Dachau)
DDW Dokumentationsarchiv des deutschen Widerstands, Frankfurt, archive with many VVN materials
DGB Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, Association of German Trade Unions
DM deutschmark (West German currency after June 1948)
DNZSZ Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung, right-wing weekly newspaper
dpa Deutsche Presse-Agentur, (West) German newspaper wire service
List of abbreviations and glossary

DPs  Displaced persons, postwar jargon for liberated persecutees in foreign countries
Dulag  Durchgangslager, transit camp for refugees or forced laborers
EKD  Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, German Protestant Church
EZB  Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin
FAD  Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, national newspaper
FDP  Freie Demokratische Partei, German liberal party
FIAPP  Fédération Internationale des Associations des (Anciens) Prisonniers Politiques
FIR  Fédération Internationale des Résistants, international umbrella organization of which the VVN is a member
FNDIRP  Fédération Nationale des Déportés et Internés Résistants et Patriotes, French national organization
FR  Frankfurter Rundschau, major West German newspaper
FstHH  Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg
Gedenkstätte  Memorial site
GSE  Gesellschaft. Staat, Erziehung, journal for educators, 1956–72
Hebertshausen  Small town northeast of Dachau where the SS had a shooting and execution range
HS  Hans Schwarz papers, held by FstHH
IFZ  Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History), Munich
IIO  International Information Office, service organization for liberated Dachau inmates
IMT  Published trial records of the Nuremberg trials, officially: Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–1 October 1946
IPC  International Prisoners’ Committee, resistance organization in the Dachau concentration camp, predecessor of CID
Jourhaus  Entry gate building of Dachau concentration camp
JS  Joseph Schwalber papers (mayor of Dachau 1945–7, Bavarian politician), held by BayHsta.
Jusos  Jungsozialisten, youth organization of the SPD
KPD  Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, German Communist Party
Kräutergarten  “Herbal Garden”: Dachau concentration camp plantation
KZ  (pronounced “kah-tset”), common abbreviation for Konzentrationslager, concentration camp (KL was the official Nazi abbreviation)
**List of abbreviations and glossary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KZler</td>
<td>Colloquial term for concentration camp inmates in the Nazi and postwar periods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lager</td>
<td>Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landesverband</td>
<td>“regional association,” used here as a short form for the Landesverband der israelitischen Kultusgemeinden in Bayern (Regional Association of Israelite Cultural Communities in Bavaria), the umbrella organization of post-1945 Jewish communities in Bavaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEA</td>
<td>Landesentschädigungsamt, Bavarian State Office of Restitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiten</td>
<td>Hill near Dachau concentration camp where thousands of inmates are buried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFR</td>
<td>Landesrat für Freiheit und Recht, anticommunist former KZ inmates’ organization in Munich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGD</td>
<td>Lagergemeinschaft Dachau, organization of the West German Dachau camp survivors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRA</td>
<td>Landratsamt, County Governor's Office; in this case, of Dachau county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARb</td>
<td>Staatsministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, Bavarian government ministry responsible for refugee camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFin</td>
<td>Bavarian Ministry of Finance (files in BayHsta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM/DN</td>
<td>Münchner Merkur/Dachauer Nachrichten, local edition of Munich newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSo</td>
<td>Bavarian Ministerium für Sonderaufgaben, responsible, <em>inter alia</em>, for denazification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Archive of the Dokumentenhaus Neuengamme (former concentration camp near Hamburg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARA</td>
<td>National Archives and Records Administration, US national archive in Suitland, Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPD</td>
<td>Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, West German neo-Nazi party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>National Socialist (Nazi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYHT</td>
<td>New York Herald-Tribune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYT</td>
<td>New York Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ</td>
<td>Neue Zeitung, national newspaper 1946–50, published by former German émigrés for the US High Commissioner in Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obb</td>
<td>Oberbayern, administrative district in Bavaria, includes Dachau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OK</td>
<td>Papers of Otto Kohlhofer (former Dachau inmate), held by DaA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OM</td>
<td>Papers of Oskar Müller (former Dachau inmate, leading prisoner functionary [<em>Lagerältester</em>] of the camp at liberation), held by DDW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations and glossary

OMGBy Office of (United States) Military Government in Bavaria
OMGUS Office of Military Government in Germany, United States
POW (also PW) prisoner of war
Priestergemeinschaft “priests’ association”: Organization of priests who survived imprisonment in KZ Dachau
RG Record Group (call number of documents in NARA)
RM Reichsmark (German currency prior to 1948)
RSHA Reichssicherheitshauptamt, SS Main Office of Reich Security
SAPMo Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR, Berlin (East German national archive)
SED Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, East German union of SPD and KPD
SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, German Social Democratic Party
Staatssekretär Highest administrative post under a cabinet minister
StAHH Staatsarchiv Hamburg
Stk Staatskanzlei, Bavarian State Chancellory files in BayHsta
StMü Stadtarchiv München, Munich city archive
SZ/DN Süddeutsche Zeitung/Dachauer Neueste, local edition of Munich newspaper
SZA Archive of the Süddeutsche Zeitung
USHMM United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.
Vergangenheitsbewältigung “Mastery of the past,” term commonly used in Germany since the early 1960s to denote attempts to come to terms with the Nazi past. It stands in contrast to Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit, literally “working through the past.”
VfZ Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, journal of IfZ
VVN Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, (West) German organization of former persecutees
VVNN VVN-Nachrichten, bi-weekly newspaper of the VVN
WVHA Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt, SS “Main Office of Economic Administration,” a branch of the SS created in February 1942 to coordinate SS business and construction ventures.