# ABSTRACT

## Archaeological and Anthropological Aspects of the Holocaust from a Jewish Perspective

by

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The intention of this research is to offer innovative ideas on methods that can be utilised by academics and historians within a conflict context. The framework that will support the overall research is from that of an archaeological, anthropological and memory driven perspective. Discussion will turn to individual components such as liminality, monumentality, the built environment and landscape theory highlighting Nazi segregation policies. Analysis of ghettoisation, deportation and extermination policy through archaeological sub-disciplines and anthropology as well as comparison to other world atrocity sites will take place. This will illustrate that detection of similar techniques of incarceration are recognisable as modes of controlling fear whilst simultaneously achieving a terror regime.

Initially propaganda policy of the National Socialist Party in both pre and World War II settings in Germany and throughout parts of Europe helped to fuel the already present culture of antisemitism. A significant and sinister shift in decision-making witnessed a move from persecution to exclusion and isolation that saw major cities already damaged by invasion and warfare 'holding' Jews in purposefully manufactured locations that was a preparatory step towards genocide. Ghettoisation facilitated the next stage in the process, deportation by train to extermination centres, as communities were despatched from 'round-up' points to 'unknown destinations' further east. At all times Jews were vulnerable and were placed into landscapes of terror, although either the strong individual or Nazi methods of control, at times, suppressed fear.

Arrival at industrialised death camps was the final stage of a journey for the majority that culminated in death, but not before further measures that reduced the individual to a state beyond life, a liminal entity in a place where extreme conditions prevailed. Each component of the strategy was monitored and managed, as fear was euphemistically dismissed by the perpetrator and the by-stander.

**Acknowledgements**

# Declaration

I declare that I am the sole author of this thesis and that all the work presented in it, unless otherwise referenced, is my own. I also declare that this work has not been submitted, in whole or in part, to any other University or College for any degree or qualification.

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# Contents

**List of Figures**

**List of Plates**

Plate 1: Kanada warehouse Birkenau
Plate 2: Camp or Gulag
Plate 3: Memorial to victims of the Gulag
Plate 4: Memorial *Stupa* in Cambodia
Plate 5: Disinterred mass grave at Choeung Ek killing field, 1980
Plate 6: Possible mass grave at Kasaba, Bosnia
Plate 7: Dr. Joseph Goebells
Plate 8: German children read an anti-Jewish propaganda book
Plate 9: How the world saw Theresienstadt
Plate 10: Bridge in Łódź ghetto
Plate 11: Jews being led from Warsaw ghetto to deportation assembly point
Plate 12: Jews loaded onto freight trains for deportation
Plate 13: Deportation from Westerbork transit camp
Plate 14: Deportation of Jews from unknown location
Plate 15: Interior of a freight or cattle car
Plate 16: Aerial view of Majdanek
Plate 17: Gas chambers in Majdanek
Plate 18: View of Auschwitz II (Birkenau)
Plate 19: Yellow Star of David
Plate 20: Deportees looking out from cattle car
Plate 21: A *Muselmann*
Plate 22: *Kapo*; Emil Erwin Mahl from Dachau
Plate 23: The Zeppelin Tribune during a night-time rally
Plate 24: Exterior of Gate of Death Birkenau
Plate 25: Unloading ramp and Gate of Death Birkenau
Plate 26: Sobibór Station 1942
Plate 27: Sobibór ramp
Plate 28: Bełżec Station 1942
Plate 29: Bełżec Station 1942
Plate 30: Bełżec Station 2001
Plate 31: Station building Treblinka village
Plate 32: Spur close to Treblinka Station
Plate 33: Ruins of crematorium and gas chamber II Birkenau
Plate 34: Ruins of crematorium and gas chamber III Birkenau
Plate 35: Central Sauna building Birkenau
Plate 36: Unloading ramp Birkenau
Plate 37: The unloading ramp interpreted as processional routeway
Plate 38: Decorated fence post
Plate 39: Cityscape of Warsaw ghetto
Plate 40: Jews awaiting deportation from Łódź
Plate 41: Invisible geographies of the Holocaust
Plate 42: View of killing site in Belarus
Plate 43: Part of closed "Camp X-Ray"
Plate 44: The Architecture of Authority
Plate 45: Foundations of "the palace" or "castle" uncovered at Chełmno
Plate 46: Fragment of a denture from Chełmno
Plate 47: Hangers from security fencing from Sobibór
Plate 48: Fragment of cigarette case lid from Chełmno
Plate 49: Remnant of hair slide from Bełżec

**Hypothesis Statement**

The concept of fear control, combined with deception and the implementation of terror, were pursued and carried out by the Nazi regime during the Holocaust, through the processes of ghettoisation, deportation and extermination.

Aspects of archaeological and anthropological analysis encompassing monumentality, liminality, landscape theory and the built environment will illustrate that the psychology of fear, deception and terror were key factors in the genocide of European Jewry in World War II. They will provide a new interpretation of events surrounding the Holocaust from a Jewish perspective.

# Glossary

*Aide Mémoire*: Memorandum summarising a discussion

*Aktion Erntefest*: Harvest Festival

*Aktion Reinhard*: Operation Reinhard

*Altejudenrampe*: Unloading ramp between Auschwitz I and II

*Arbeitslager*: Forced labour camp

*Blut und Boden:* Blood and Soil

*Bund deutscher Mädel*: The League of German Girls

*Der Himmelsweg*: Way to heaven

*Der Schlauch*: The tube

*Deutsche erd und Steinwerke*: German Earth and Stone Works

*Die Schleuse*: The sluice

*Einsatzgruppen*: Mobile killing squads

*Entfernung:* Removal

*Et al.*: and others

*Führer*: Leader

*Ge heime sta ats po lizei:* Abbreviation for secret state police

*Gemeinschaft*: Community

*Generaldirektion Der Ostbahn*: Company at head of rail operations

*Ghettoverwaltung*: Ghetto government

*Himmelfahrtstrasse*: Street to heaven

*In situ*: In original position

*Inspektion*: Central Board

*Jude:* Jew

*Judenrat*: Jewish Council

*Judenrein*: Jew free space

*Kanada*: Symbol of wealth to prisoners

*Kapo*: Criminal prisoner given special privileges by SS

*Kommando*: Working groups

*Kripo (Kriminal Polizei)*: German Criminal Police

*Kristallnacht:* Night of broken glass

*Lazarett:* Infirmary

*Lebensraum*: Living space

*Mémoire ordinaires*: common memory

*Mémoire profonde*: deep memory

*Muselmänner:* Derogatory term meaning Muslim

*Oberscharfuhrer*: Senior Squad Leader

*Reichsbahn*: German Railway

*Reichstag*: Parliamentary building, Berlin

*Shutzstaffel*: SS (Protective Squadron)

*Sonderkommando*: Jewish work units in camps

*Sonderzüge:* Special trains

*Sonderweg:* Special path

*Stiftung Hackenholt*: Gas Chamber

*Thing*: Outdoor ampitheatre

*Unheimlech*: Uncanny

*Universum Film AG:* (UFA) newsreels

*Volkshalle*: People's Hall

*Vorlager*: SS administration area with death camp

*Wachmanner*: Guard

*Waldlager*: Forest camp

*Waldturm*: Watchtower

# 1 <u>Introduction</u>

The content of this thesis focuses on the treatment of the Jews as they were ruthlessy exposed to National Socialist Party policy in Germany and Nazi occupied Poland prior to and during World War II. However, it is important to highlight that many other ethnic and social groups were also targeted by the Nazis using similar methods of persecution and internment that culminated with the deaths of millions of individuals from 1933 until 1945 and beyond. Rummel's (1992, 11) assessment of the number of casualities attributed to the Nazi reign of terror captures fully the essence of this research.

*"By genocide, the murder of hostages, reprisal raids, forced labour, "euthanasia", starvation, exposure, medical experiments, and terror bombing, and in the concentration and death camps, the Nazis murdered from 15,003,000 to 31,595,000 people, most likely 20,946,000 men, women, handicapped, aged, sick, prisoners of war, forced labourers, camp inmates, critics, homosexuals, Jews, Slavs, Serbs, Germans, Czechs, Italians, Poles, French, Ukrainians, and many others. Among them 1,000,000 were children under eighteen years of age. "*

It is also essential to recognise and establish the direction, meaning and purpose of the motivational factors behind the instigation of such policies and the individual elements of control within a specific conflict. Often they emanate from an individual who assumed outright control or from a group, hierarchy or military regime with similar dominance. Within this framework however, there must be an acceptance of the inadequacies of our understanding as throughout archaeological interpretation there is an attempt to detect an almost invisible process of the mind and its intricate workings. The further the distance in time, the greater the presence of invisibility and obstacles that challenge interpretative knowledge and assessment. A 21st century renaissance in the understanding of human behaviour and the activities associated with habitation and site usage has enabled a far deeper awareness of past societies. That being said, anomalies exist within the era of the contemporary past, even with the availability of records that include image, film and literature. Disciplines that are encased within the archaeological sphere can assist in unlocking conundrums and uncertainties that challenge the most perceptive and enquiring minds.

With the aforementioned being taken as acceptable procedure, this work will identify an uneasy juxtaposition in the methodology and theorisation of archaeological practice as sites of considerable

age take precedence over those belonging to the category of the contemporary past from an interpretative perspective. 'Young' sites or those with known information from within the last century are dismissed as being  understood although in most cases this can be otherwise discerned. This research will demonstrate how a theoretical approach pertaining to archaeological elements can provide an interpretational analysis of atrocity locations. Archaeological excavations can reveal crimes against humanity, functionality of sites and their components, as well as unearthing material culture that provides a sense of the behavioural traits of perpetrator and victim. Above all, evidence of presence and absence from a specific location within a recognised violent landscape legitimises the continuation of a process that, although destructive, can be recorded, archived and thus utilised in a judicial environment.

Memory analysis, in the form of anthropological ethnographics, will consist of material that authenticates in its subjectivity, is interjected with objective components and provides evidential narratives that corroborate excavations and artefact finds. The archaeology of conflict and atrocity locations reflect the crucial combination of field work and memory recollections that provide an insight beyond static historical archives. Interest in the wider subject of the Holocaust waned for a short period following World War II and has gained some considerable momentum in recent years (Zelizer 1998) with respect to academic understanding, anthropological research and historical chronology, and occupies modern memory spaces and contemporary international psyche. Of course, the more extensive the literature that is available, the greater the expanse of knowledge that will inevitably incorporate accounts pertaining to memory of individuals directly involved with the Holocaust. In addition, relatives have associative literature to amplify and retell events (Brown 2009, 232).

The most disconcerting element of Holocaust memory retrieval within today's society is the fact that most sites that were part of genocidal environments have become either ruinous or been adapted for large visitor numbers that does not reflect their original use. This has resulted in an obliteration of memory, as the landscaping of modernisation has left an emotionless setting (González-Ruibal  2008), as if one landscape has been remodelled and pushed into the other creating tree and scrub-covered non-landscapes. Morland (1978) describes the decimation and rejuvenation of industrial-scapes that captures the feeling of economic deprivation through industry closure and loss of livelihood, that was similarly enacted and endured throughout Nazi rule in the form of racial cleansing by constructing death camps and de-construction through dehumanisation.

By definition, this is how for the most part, the tracts of memory have come to be realised, apart from the iconic imagery of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the killing centres of the Holocaust are now indistinguishable as to their original purpose apart from memorial construction and are confined to history. Morland (1978) comments on landscape rejuvenation;

*"The most obvious change is in the landscape. Marl holes are now fields and ornamental lakes, pit heaps have vanished, there is no longer a pall of smoke over the valleys; a brave new face is beginning to smile through the moonscapes of the past…"*

These comments can be connected to Holocaust landscapes as over the years they have been redesigned, remodelled and rejuvenated. There has been an awakening of remembrance in the shape of memorial, museulogical awareness and a interest shown whether from a macabre viewpoint or individuals wishing to conduct their own research. This author suggests archaeology and its many sub-disciplines provide definition and cause for the act of genocide.

The archaeology of the contemporary past should not be influenced by memory narrative in the same way that it should not be dictated to by folklore and mythology. However it is necessary to recognise their presence as they contain evidential material allowing us to align the spoken word with physical remains even if artefacts are fragmentary, scarce and often removed from their original context. Processes of human behaviour that have seen construction and development of habitation and incarceration areas, have been and should be open to excavation and recording techniques. These should adhere to familiar tried and tested principles, so locations can be forensically analysed in order to preserve and archive material that is minute, delicate and will provide a wealth of information.

When 'young' sites (Schofield 2005; González-Ruibal 2008), those relating to the contemporary past, have been systematically plundered and then remodelled to install commemoration structures and landscapes of remembrance, the systems employed to analyse ancient locations and those from recent conflict zones need to converge with consistency. This will enable archaeological investigation to become omnipresent facilitating a clear understanding of purpose for such sites, without being susceptible to and misled by local myths and memory accounts. An over reliance on recollection narratives can provide researchers with a level of subjectivity that can taint and undermine the collation of evidence that illustrates functionality and purpose that will see limitations in preventative prediction modelling of genocide.

The scarcity of human and *in situ* remains allows memory narratives to take precedence at certain sites as this can represent the only credible evidence of conflict, incarceration and death. However, detailed forensic investigation at Bełżec, Poland (1997-1999) discovered numerous mass graves that contained uncrushed human bone and intact bodies within layers of dissolved body fat (Kola 2000) that confirmed the site as an atrocity location. This obviously acts as a stand alone evidence that can also be corroborated by survivor accounts as to precise placement of camp components. In many ways the grim statistics of mortality figures, although disputed by some, are witness to the true effect of Nazi racial policy. The absence of substantial physical evidence of atrocity, the abstract nature of landscape reclamation and the decay of both memory and structures highlight the elusiveness of genocide confirmation.

Following this introduction Chapter Two illustrates the direction and purpose of this research by highlighting publications in a literature review, that have had a bearing on and have influenced the content of this thesis. Chapter Three indicates the methods adopted and the availability of theoretical tools that have assisted, enabled a framework to be constructed and seen a finished product that is worthy of a place alongside other contemporary Holocaust narrative. Chapter Four discusses the subject of genocide and the comparative nature of events in previous conflicts. When the 20th century came to an end, it was the close of the bloodiest century in human history. The atrocities and horrors of the Soviet Gulag, World War II, Cambodia, Srebrenica, and numerous other examples have been etched into our conscience for instant recall (Rummel 1986).

Chapter Five serves as an introduction and overview of human behaviour analysis through anthropological research that has a focus on fear management incorporated within terror systems and deception. The ultimate Nazi aim was too manage terror as the fear of death is universal and transcends the usual boundaries of age and region, and naturally conflicts with our powerful self-preservation and freedom instincts. Zones of terror were incorporated into the camp system, which became part of the 'tool-kit' of oppression (Tiedens 1997; Ofer 1998). Fear of death can fundamentally influence the development of personality, being innate and universal. Self-awareness leads to the recognition that death is unstoppable and unpredictable and the fear of death is a source of human conflict and anxiety (Baumeister, Gaillot and Schmeichel 2006). For Jews on the streets and in the ghettos of Europe death reminders were everywhere. The fear of death influenced a variety of seemingly unrelated, but consequential human behavior characteristics that led to, considering the circumstances, a rationality that is difficult to explain.

Initial analysis of propaganda in Chapter Six suggests a link between politics and economic matters, from the National Socialist (Nazi) viewpoint; a turn of circumstances dominated by economic poverty brought about and extenuated by the presence of Jewish wealth (Rees 2005a, b and c; Cole 2003). Consequently, the Jews were effectively placed into a non-functioning state of paralysis, a dormant section of society within an illusion of order and an atmosphere of chaotic terror. An important component of the Holocaust saw the Nazi regime aim not only at the destruction of the European Jewish Community, but also at the number of potential Jewish births (Williams 1993). In this context, propagandistic material was seen as the ultimate form of deception that influenced the diffusion of anti-semitic ideas from a neutral standpoint. However, its success was largely due to the existence of a bias against asocial groups that was already being propagated nationally by a specific government department (Lebor and Boyes 2002; Mitchell 1999). Furthermore, this author outlines some of the aspects of propaganda including its inclusiveness within National Socialism, highlighting its deceptive, racially charged characteristics and the manner of it effectiveness in terms of influencing behaviour against the Jews.

Chapter Seven turns to ghettoisation, a process that enabled the efficient management of Jewish communities, examining aspects of 'social deconstruction' and its debilitating effects. From the start of the war onwards, plans were envisaged for the deportation of Jews that ultimately became a logical consequence of social isolation and 'Aryanisation' (Germanisation). Forced ghettoisation made the Jewish population a large, impoverished mass, that culminated as a presence within inner city zones domiciled in unacceptable conditions that accelerated the deaths of many as starvation and disease were rife (Kwiet 2010). It was a combination of factors that saw ghettoisation as an integration to the destruction process, on both an individual level and one that rather than creating areas of intense Jewish occupation, destroyed communities that could not be rebuilt. From 1939 onwards, the process of shutting Jews out of society gathered momentum, nurtured symbolically in the introduction of the compulsory labelling of Jews with a yellow star, with designation to confinement in 'constructed' spaces and marked as a specifically isolated state (Cole 2003). The Nazis consciously renewed the medieval concept of the ghetto, a closed city section for 'asocial groups' (Jaskot 2000; Cole 2003). By being concentrated in the ghetto, Jews had their contact and relationships with the rest of society severed (Wirth 1927).

Chapter Eight analyses deportation, with a focus on the individual and collective nature of suffering and the extenuated circumstances that witnessed the development of sensitivity in the audio and

visual fields, as life was played out as part of a spatial distinction of inside versus outside. The train was a key element of how the destruction of European Jewry took place and the reason why communities became dislocated (Arad 1999). Deportation was a process devised and utilised by the German authorities that applied rail systems across Europe to transport Jews from their homes, primarily to eastern Europe. The scale of the task required the co-ordination of numerous government agencies as well as local collaborators in occupied territories in order that the round-up and transport of Jews to killing centres ran with clinical efficiency (ibid. 1999).

Chapter Nine sees a study of internment and extermination policy which takes in the process and its location within a landscape. Extermination camps were constructed and used for systematic killing by gassing and other means as well as creation of an environment that involved extreme labour under starvation conditions (Sofsky 1997). The genocide of the Jewish people was the Third Reich's "Final Solution to the Jewish Question", itself a euphemism for the elaborate measures put into place for exclusion, isolation and the industrial processes involved in the factories of death (Feig 1981; Evans 2008). Terms such as "extermination camp" and "death camp" as the majority of Holocaust historians have utilised, can be applied to six camps, all in occupied Poland; two of them, Kulmhof (Chełmno) and Auschwitz II, in the western Polish areas annexed by Nazi Germany in 1939, and four in the General Government area; Majdanek, Bełžec, Sobibór and Treblinka. The killing of Europe's Jews was instigated during the first half of 1941 under the operational classification of '*Aktion Reinhard*' in death camps. Initially the camps used carbon monoxide gas chambers with supplementary chambers and crematoria constructed in Treblinka and Bełžec with Zyklon-B (cyanide) pellets used in the latter (Feig 1981; Kogon 2006; Arad 1999).

Chapters 10-14 will see the assemblage of the various evidence pertaining to the thesis statement with regards to liminality, monumentality and the built environment, landscapes, and terror and violence in the form of the archaeology of emotion and conventional archaeological findings. Finally anthropological analysis aligned with the ethnographics of social memory is presented which again is associated with emotion within survivor accounts and narratives that have been archived for contemporary and future analysis. A theme that will be a constant throughout the research illustrates how anthropolgical elements of re-telling and remembering events of the Holocaust amplify associated components of Nazi strategy. Each section will recount aspects of ghettoisation, deportation and internment from the view point of each of the sub-disciplines. This will be achieved by analysis through archaeological sub-disciplines that track and crossover with

anthropological research that has liminality, landscape theory, monumentality and the built environment as central themes. As Cole (2003) has described, it will reveal an exclusion of Jewish presence through artificial, physical and political barriers of division, that affected person and place, mirroring the overall events of a Nazi dominated Europe in World War II.

Chapter 15 will examine the aspects in relation to deception and fear control and its place within Holocaust analysis, as terror systems are also alluded to and seen as active throughout, as instruments of punishment that were utilised as a method of control (Walter 1964). Chapter 16 will introduce new interpretations that can be applied to the Holocaust from a Jewish perspective and possibly be utilised in different scenarios in a predictive stance for elements of conflict and genocide. Chapter 17 serves as a summation of the overall research identifying the material that has been discussed and the new approaches of discourse that are available.

# 2 __Literature Review__

The salient themes of research that will affect the hypothesis statement are presented in a structured manner as a review of relevant literature of contemporary analysis. This will construct a framework within which the author can account for and illustrate the elements that are central and significant to the body of material produced, pertaining to aspects of archaeological, anthropological and social memory studies.

Archaeology is presented first in the review to illustrate its overall importance and the fact that this thesis is driven by the subject and its findings. Memory narratives and ethnographic links associated with anthropology share an equal importance as comments from Holocaust survivors play a significant role in corroborating the thesis statement. Propaganda is approached in a similarly significant way as it prepares the reader and highlights the intention and policies of the perpetrators.The subjects that follow; ghettoisation, the built environment, monumentality, liminality and landscape theory bring the thesis together and provide a platform of analysis for each when discussing the major components of the Holocaust.

The review is based on keywords selected from the hypothesis statement, although deportation and extermination are omitted, the reason for which warrants explanation. Particular areas of research require more substantive definition compared to others. Archaeological examination of any site can include many sub-disciplines, with the recognition and recording of information key to understanding their workings. The clarification and acceptance of the retrieved evidence can be verified by memory studies particularly in the recent contemporary past.

An analysis of propaganda literature relating to the assault on the senses of the German public and those on the outside of the Third Reich illustrates how the process of genocide was originally conceived. Beyond propagandistic narrative, ghettoisation became the next step, planned or otherwise, with the concentration of thousands of individuals into areas where they could be displaced further. Liminality, monumentality, the built environment and landscape studies form part of the interpretative aspects of the process and sites involved. Deportation and extermination are different categories and were integral components of the overall operation of "The Final Solution" or the answer to "The Jewish Question" (Feig 1981; Evans 2008).

Literature that attempts to examine the Jewish Holocaust does not isolate the deportation and extermination processes apart from Gigliotti (2009). Emotional subjectivity interacts with historical accounts and analysis does not provide an understanding or an interpretation as to why such measures took place. The sub-disciplines of archaeology can offer an insight and effectively supply meaning to the steps that led to mass murder. Deportation and extermination are a constant within the material on liminality, monumentality, built environment and landscape studies and will appear in the literature reviewed concerning the subjects.

## 2.1 <u>Archaeology-Holocaust and Conflict</u>

Archaeology is an area of research that is thematically prominent throughout this thesis incorporating the multi-faceted discipline of built environment analysis, accompanied by various sub-disciplines, including those of monumentality, liminality and landscape theory. The built environment has intact remains as well as *in situ* debris, which have helped to identify and clarify the events and more importantly the nature of the activities that have occurred in association with ghettos, concentration camps and extermination centres. Archaeology and its sub-disciplines apply scientific and forensic investigative methods and interpretations to sites of destruction and can be corroborated with aspects of memory narratives relating to zones of conflict from the contemporary past.

Alfredo González-Ruibal (2008, 247-279) illustrates the ethical and cultural issues that face archaeologists, that the recent past is characterised and symbolised at an increasing number of sites by a centrally destructive theme, containing battlefields, industrial ruins and concentration camps. He explains further that four elements are considered within this important sub-field of archaeology that is also of interest to social scientists such as anthropologists, sociologists and historians, as well as artists and art historians; mediation, materiality, place and memory, and politics (ibid. 247). The utilisation of specific agencies within archaeology can supply a detailed history of supermodernity's destructiveness. The term 'supermodernity' juxtaposes the post-modern, post-industrial and late capitalist literature and was initiated by global factors such as communication innovations, transport and alternative interpretations of place and spatial relationships, effectively transforming landscapes into asocial constructions (ibid. 248). González-Ruibal labels the 20th century as the second industrial revolution that can be defined by world wars, continent-wide human-induced environmental catastrophe and the height of globalisation. He believes that the archaeology of this

era explores what he terms "the devastating consequences of supermodern exaggeration" (ibid. 248, 249).

Archaeology has enhanced and in some cases overridden information that is connected with genocide and political killings, with wars that have little documentary evidence or in which memories are emotive and disputable. Fresh interpretation supplements the existing narrative of everyday lifestyle and culture that is normally taken for granted. For this González-Ruibal cites the analysis of modern waste (ibid. 249, 250) and how archaeology can provide a differing ecological and economic understanding. Bearing all these scenarios in mind, the archaeologist has to be aware of the sensitivity of communities when dealing with the contemporary past, as case studies have identified cultures that still have connections with societies today. This has caused consternation and animosity towards professionals attempting to analyse remains that, in the eyes of the living, are on consecrated ground. Intervention by the Chief Rabbi towards an archaeological excavation involving the alleged remains of a section of the Jewish community in Jewbury, York, England dating to the late 12th and 13th centuries illustrated the delicate nature of how to deal with the remains of groups of people either ethically or legally. Following clarification the court of the Chief Rabbi were satisfied with the ruling that there was no proof that they were Jewish burials (Parker Pearson 1999, 180). Sturdy-Colls (2012, 87) discusses the issue of Jewish Halacha Law and its association with the disturbance of human remains at Holocaust sites. Sturdy-Colls (ibid. 87) cites Smith (2007, 59) in pointing out that Nazi extermination and disposal methods of victims bodies and ashes prevented the international Jewish community from burying and commemorating the dead in accordance to their laws and principles. Halacha Law prevents disturbance of human remains, with no exceptions, which obviously can cause uncertainty in the archaeological discipline when inhumations are discovered (Sturdy-Colls 2012, 88)

The publication of archaeological research conducted between 1997 and 1999 at the former Bełżec death camp in Poland (**figure 1**) by Andrzej Kola (2000) proved to be highly controversial and simultaneously produced significant findings from the site of the former extermination centre.

**Figure 1:** Extermination sites in occupied Poland including Bełżec. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (4 April 2012).

An assessment of the archaeological interpretations also appear in associated articles by O'Neil and Tregenza (2006) and Bay (2008a, b and c), along with historical and contextual narrative by Arad (1999) and Kogon (2006). The 1997-1999 excavations coupled with previous archaeological work located numerous mass graves, all of which were catalogued and the findings described in detail, with an estimated grave capacity alluded to. The arrangement of structures on the grave-field are thought to indicate the initial stages of occupation with extermination processes also identifiable (Kola 2000, 27).

Aerial reconnaissance photographs in association with cartographic evidence and excavation evidence have also identified a route between the 'receiving area' and the second gas chamber that has been likened to similar remains at Treblinka (Bay 2008b) . Reports also discuss the various items of material culture that represent aspects of incarceration as well as identifying the location of 'zones of interest' within the site, possibly indicating the whereabouts of some of the internal mechanisms of Bełżec. The exploratory methods such as drilling and coreing adopted by Kola saw the intervention by a Chief Rabbi and representatives of the Jewish community past and present alarmed at the investigative procedures utilised.

Gilead, Haimi and Mazurek (2009) discuss the excavations of a number of Nazi Extermination Centres at Chełmno, Treblinka, Sobibór and Bełżec. They suggest that the archaeology of extermination centres is a matter for a number of sub-disciplines, such as forensic archaeology, combat and industrial archaeology, as well as public and historical archaeology. Gilead *et al.* (2009) believe certain events do not need to be proven by archaeological excavations, although the discipline has the role of supplementing and filling gaps, especially in terms of site layout and function, structures and artefacts. Commenting on the research carried out at the extermination centres over the previous three decades, discussion involves the processes of site destruction, and illustrates that pilfering and other activities are determining the past and future layout and contents of the sites. This is highlighted by results of their archaeological research carried out at Sobibór in 2007 and 2008. They have determined that the exact locations of strategic features of the extermination centres, for example gas chambers, are still unclear, also indicated by O'Neil and Tregenza (2006) at Bełżec. The conclusion is that archaeology is indispensable in reconstructing and preserving the physical layout of the death camps, as well as in studying and interpreting the artefacts. This author also suggests that the involvement of memory studies to accompany the archaeological findings are also necessary and will prove to be a reliable source and companion of information to negate spurious historical revisionist theories.

Adrian Myers (2007 and 2008) discusses in general terms the memory and materiality relating to concentration camps. His earlier paper focuses on Auschwitz-Birkenau located near to Oświęcim in southern Poland. He labels the existing community as 'unfortunate' and 'stigmatised' owing to its close proximity to the symbolic and ritual centre (2007, 57). Myers suggests there is a challenging, but unique relationship between the camp and its material culture (ibid. 59). Many scholars have scrutinised the legacy of the artefact remnants but, only Myers has attempted to derive an interpretation from the time when material goods were in use in Auschwitz. He claims that a myriad of people passed through the confines of the camp from prisoners and guards, to civilians and external contractors (ibid. 60). He also claims that artefacts were allocated into categories, according to status within the detention system. He compares the routines between the *Kanada* Warehouse (**plate 1**) where appropriated belongings were sorted, and that of the adjacent crematorium where corpses were processed for burning, which Myers describes as "the intimate material cultures of death" (ibid. 64-67).

**Plate 1:** Auschwitz II *Kanada* Warehouse (Birkenau). Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (6 April 2012).

Myers also reflects poignantly on the struggles for life and death, from the people assigned to the duties associated with storing stolen possessions, to the specific zones within the camp that survivors recollect as the processing areas, such as 'The Ramp'. This was a wooden disembarkation platform inside Birkenau (Auschwitz II), where cattle cars were unloaded which contained both the living and the dead. Myers suggests that despite conditions of unimaginable suffering, interaction between humans and material goods endured and in some isolated instances flourished, as in pre-war existence the ownership of certain goods was not possible (ibid. 63-65).

Myers (2008, 231-246) examines the so-called tensions that exist between Holocaust survivors and the material record, suggesting that the world of the concentration camp was once in the past and is still alive today (ibid. 231). Myers comments that material culture and text should not be analysed independently as if they were alternative threads of evidence. Of particular interest is the citation of Buchli and Lucas (2011) and the phrase 'presence of absence' (ibid. 235) when referring to the victims within the camps, which reflects the sense of emptiness experienced by modern visitors to Holocaust centres of internment. Myers then turns to the social organisation of camp life suggesting that a hierarchy of prisoner existed within the categories of inmates, however with a contentious viewpoint that survival within the detention system was dependant on those hierarchical circumstances (ibid. 235).

The documentary evidence has been skewed in Myers' opinion owing to the elite being the majority grouping that survived, which is contestable when the number of survivor accounts is taken into consideration that reflect a broad spectrum of stories of survival against the odds. The roles of perpetrators, victims and bystanders are seen to overlap and Myers believes that archaeology can recognise the traits of spatiality and material culture (ibid. 235-237). He discusses the physical and perceived boundaries of the individual by referring to the security of the camps and the delineated areas that the *Kapos* (criminal prisoner category) conceptualised within the barrack buildings (ibid. 237-239). The black market economy of the camp structure is also discussed. This was an exchange mechanism taken up by individuals attempting to increase their survival chances, again identifiable as material culture and suggesting certain interactions between guards and prisoners. Myers then identifies the link between the archaeology of the camps and the built environment. From the macro-scale of landscape to the micro-scale of individual bunkhouses we should be aware of the interaction of spatiality and power.

Other themes of relevance presented by Myers are the remnants of graffiti in Birkenau (ibid. 240-242), a subject to be returned to by the author in an architectural assessment of security fencing, in particular fence-posts decorated with motifs that marked the 'death zone'. He also looks at the "cruelly inadequate" privies in the camp and argues for the importance of the area he calls an 'opportunistic midden', as disease was rampant in all camps and the probability that materials were lost and others secretly deposited (ibid. 242-243).

Sturdy Colls (2012) illustrates how the landscapes and material remains of the Holocaust survive in various forms and serve as physical reminders of the suffering and persecution of this period in European history. However, whilst historical research is clearly defined, many of the archaeological remnants of these sites remain ill-defined, unrecorded and even, in some cases, unlocated. A number of factors including political and religious which, in tandem with the almost incomprehensible events, has often restricted systematic search. Sturdy Colls (2012) outlines how a non-invasive archaeological methodology has been implemented at two sites, Treblinka, Poland and Alderney, the Channel Islands with such issues at its core, thus allowing them to be addressed in terms of their scientific and historical value, whilst acknowledging their commemorative and religious significance. In doing so she also demonstrates how a study of the physical remains of the Holocaust can reveal as much about the ever-changing cultural memory of these events as it can the surviving remnants of camps, execution sites and other features associated with this period. By

demonstrating the diversity and complexity of Holocaust landscapes, Sturdy-Colls simultaneously presents a case for a sub-discipline of Holocaust Archaeology.

Schofield's *Combat Archaeology* (2005) reveals how the archaeology of recent conflict has become a fast-moving field of research. It deals with established historical events for which the material remains are unquestionably 'heritage', but also the more recent, tragic and heavily politicised events, actions and places whose significance is more ambiguous. But although recent and familiar, the study of conflict draws closely on established principles of archaeological theory and practice, while also connecting with the related fields of history, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, art and representation. Schofield (ibid.) draws together projects and ideas from recognised literature and from his own fieldwork and research, presenting them as a worked example of contemporary archaeology, of heritage management practice and of archaeological principles and theory.

Theune (2010) recognises the overall benefits of the Convention of Valetta, Malta in relation to the preservation of 'young' archaeological sites in *Historical Archaeology in National Socialist Concentration Camps in Central Europe.* Archaeological remains and artefacts help retrace the history of humankind and its relationships with buildings and objects from the era of National Socialist Germany can certainly be placed into that context. Theune (ibid.) suggests that an over-arching view including texts, documents, images, oral history and archaeology provide a complete in-sight to Nazi crimes. Archaeological sources can confirm activities in everyday life whereas written sources often allude to perpetrator comments and for the most part ignore victim terror. The archaeological record of death camps that relates to Nazi occupation throughout the war years is often the only source of information available for analysis (Theune 2010).

According to Carman (2013) the development of key methodologies for the study of battlefields in the United States in the 1980s has inspired a generation of British and European archaeologists to turn their attention to sites in their own countries. The end of the Cold War and key anniversaries of the World Wars inspired others, especially in the United Kingdom, to examine the material legacy of those conflicts before they disappeared. Carman (2013) attempts to encourage supporters and those who work in the field of conflict archaeology to consider why it is necessary and how to utilise it in future research. The individual sub-disciplines of archaeology effectively lack the inter-disciplinary contactivity whether because of period or nationality which means separation prevents

the merging of theories to assist in archaeological understanding and interpretation crossover points. Carman (2013) discusses these issues in detail, clearly outlining how they affect the development of conflict archaeology as a trusted sector of archaeology itself.

Myers and Moshenska (2012) examine the internment of civilian and military prisoners as it has become an increasingly common feature of conflicts in the contemporary past. Prison camps erected for a purpose, were quickly destroyed, have left residual remains in the archaeological record. Because of their temporary place in the built environment of the time cemented in sensitive political contexts, internment centres present archaeologists the chance to analyse the material remains of incarceration using a range of methods, these interdisciplinary studies, as lauded by Carman (2013) have demonstrated the potential to associate individual memories with historical text that enables disussion to take place of the fragmentary material remains. *Archaeologies of Internment* collates methodological and theoretical approaches to this area of study. The case studies span geographical zones and chronologically distant sites, ranging from World War II internment in Europe and the United States to prison islands of the Greek Civil War, South African labor camps, and the secret detention centres of the Argentinian Junta and the East German Stasi. As with Sturdy-Colls (2012), Myers and Moshenska allude to powerful social, cultural, political, and emotive input, represented by societies in which historical narratives of oppression and genocide have themselves been buried in the literal sense. Through a re-examination of the historical record with those individuals involved and relating their ethnographies to the material remains, it could be possible to reflect on and discuss archaeologies of liberation (Myers and Moshenska 2012).

Tarlow (1999) provides an innovative insight to the archaeology of bereavement, mortality and memory in the early modern and modern period. Tarlow (ibid.) looks at literary and historical sources as well as material evidence to discuss the change of attitudes towards death and commemoration over a number of centuries. She suggests that changes in commemorative practices relate to a changing relationship between the living and the dead and are inextricably linked to the conceptions of identity and personal relationships which characterise later western history. Tarlow's (1999) approach concentrates on material culture as well as the incorporation of experiential and emotional factors into discussions of human relations and understandings in the past. The study of death has been extensively covered in archaeological literature as well as being accompanied by rememberance in the past, however Tarlow (ibid.) infuses the wider debate about the interpretation of meaning and the place of emotion and experience in archaeological study. There are numerous

angles from which the archaeology of death camps can be approached, some of which have been highlighted in this reviewed literature which will provide a foundation to discuss associated publications related to the archaeological investigations that have been conducted at such sites.

## 2.2 <u>Anthropology; Social Memory</u>

There are many ways of writing ethnographies, of which memory narrative, an inclusive aspect of anthropological research, can take the form of realistic stories, confessions, dramatic ethnography, and many others (Kociatkiewicz and Kostera 1997).

*"It is turning the gaze from the lit up outside to the obscure inside, to encounter the strangeness and the loneliness and address it"* (ibid. 1997).

Memory, as suggested by Geoffrey Cubitt (2007), is an omnipresent function, pivotal to our existence, and has become a central component of historical scholarship (ibid. 1). With the Holocaust in mind, Cubitt thinks that because of the level of trauma inflicted and suffered by the individual, this may impair their ability to recollect effectively. He has introduced two categories of memory that specifically relate to the recall of the Holocaust; first a *mémoire ordinaries* or common memory, that is binding traumatic experience into constructive normality; second a *mémoire profonde* or deep memory, that is memory relived rather than recollected (ibid. 110). Cubitt cites the psychologist Henry Greenspan (1998) who suggests that survivors who recall events 'from two sets of memories' have trouble turning experience into narration. Reoccurring themes and similarly descriptive elements can be categorised into life circumstances, which can be shared, or those that are ingrained within the survivor that are reduced by negating analogies, by cutting stories short or insistently repeated (ibid. 110, 111). So as can be seen, memory is far more than just a case of remembering or relating to events that have happened and the affect on an individual, family or community; it is the retrieval of the information and how it is narrated and understood. Authors Jones (2007), Van Dyke and Alcock (2003), Tilley (1994) and Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf (1999) all allude to the endearing qualities of memory whether in artefacts, landscapes or monuments.

Memory is present in objects or artefacts that are acknowledged to have histories and can include a multitude of differing forms. They can depict events, people and objects and are inextricably linked in the process of remembering, providing the means for humans to experience memory (Jones 2007;

Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999). Narratives about a particular feature or an archaeological landscape can be transmitted or projected into the future in oral traditions or fixed literary accounts, even though they can assume a certain amount of subjectivity depending on who was responsible for the source. Human activities are inscribed within a landscape and are embedded in the social and individual times of memory (Tilley 1994, 27). Monuments and other archaeological sites have life histories extending from their construction, to their intensive use, through abandonment and ruinous presentation as interactive museums.

Eyewitness accounts and the physicality or monumentality of structures can transmit and reflect the nature of the activities that have been memorialised for future generations in differing forms. Photographic and cinematographic evidence has contributed to the remembrance of significant sites and landscapes. Ulrich Baer (2000, 38-62) encapsulates this form of memory as he comments "when such fragments of traumatic memory intrude upon common memory, they often emerge as memories of a particular site" (ibid. 52). He suggests that trauma survivors can recall a place or an area but cannot re-establish it as a coherent setting, and when relating it specifically to the Holocaust, he explains that a photograph is as much an *aide- mémoire* as it is a testament to loss (ibid. 53). He looks at photographic composition within the landscape setting of Sobibór death camp and describes the manner of its presentation, with the sky overexposed and cut from the frame, as photographs having a "palpable sense of heaviness" (ibid. 39). Baer argues the study of space through photographic evidence emphasises the size of genocide landscapes that are not just difficult to examine but also more or less forgotten (ibid. 40). He looks at the sanctity provided by photographs that may otherwise be ignored depending on their content (ibid. 56). Some are horrific to the point that the viewer has to turn his or her gaze, whereas landscape depictions enable a sense of imagery that can trigger and reinforce memory (ibid. 44).  Losson and Michelson (1999, 25-35) conceptualise the imagery captured of the Nazi concentration camps in the early days following their liberation. They suggest that the films allow us to measure the size of the disaster as well as informing of the extent of the loss (ibid. 25).

Barbie Zelizer (1998), in this author's view, comprehensively covers the subject of Holocaust memory, captured through the camera lens. She appears honest in her assessment of the work undertaken, both appealing and horrific, as the images revealed illustrate the true sense of confinement and destruction. The resonance of her findings is poignant as her own family members from Łódź perished in the Holocaust. The publication presents the coverage of war atrocities caught

by camera, for the most part referring to the Nazi treatment of Jews in concentration camps, but also revealing recent contemporary atrocities such as those in Cambodia and Bosnia. The images of the Holocaust that were sent around the world, went a step further than verbal communication, assisting in recording and archiving after the initial evidence had disappeared. They helped negate the falsehood of propaganda that led people to no longer believe the written or spoken word.

Zelizer analyses journalistic practice in the composition of the image by referring to the placement, number and the gaze of the individuals photographed (ibid. 108). She also talks about the "triumph of photography" as providing the evidence of war crimes and the inhumane treatment of individuals (ibid. 139). Zelizer covers the issue of Holocaust denial in an attempted challenge to the authority of photographic image, as revisionists have indicated that numerous depictions of concentration camps had been tampered with or altered, or even recycled. She answers this by claiming that if it were not for problematic photographs then revisionists would have found another avenue through which to voice their opinions of denial (ibid. 199).

It is also pertinent at this stage to mention the numerous internet sources that contain survivor accounts. These provide historic validity to the events that took place under Nazi control throughout World War II and previous to this as the party harnessed control of the German population from 1933 onwards. The majority of e-sources provide information that in general appear to be from legitimate provenance, however, there are a number of sources that can be regarded as spurious and to be ignored as the material contained therein is misleading. There are also sources that have archived accounts, which are available for public consumption, particularly those provided by the British Library.

**2.3 <u>Propaganda</u>**

It could be said that effective propaganda was the catalyst for genocide and constituted deception. The regime that led Germany to war in 1939 had been in power for a number of years, which meant that their ideologies and the manner in which they were asserted had become commonplace for the German population and for the Europe of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

David Welch (2003, 93-117) confirms that the 'cult of the leader' created by Joseph Goebells when

appointed to the Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda was a development that thrust Hitler and the National Socialist Party ideologies onto a new level. The image of the *Führer* was industrialised to the point of exploitation as parents requested to name their offspring after him. The transformation that had been sought from party leader to that of a symbol of unification for the economically beleaguered German population had taken place. Propagandists disseminated a message of national unity and an idealistic future that convinced millions of Germans (ibid. 102). Party policy enabled campaigns to be constructed throughout the country that facilitated the persecution of Jews and others excluded from the Nazi vision of the "National Community" (ibid. 95). Welch discusses the characteristics of the *Führer* that people viewed as charismatic and the effectiveness of Hitler's image portrayed in Nazi propaganda. The qualities of leadership displayed were so strong, that when Germans cast their vote in 1930's elections, the ballot paper referred to the 'Hitler Movement' and not the party itself. Welch looks at the image of Hitler and its construction as he was often pictured alone in order to convey his divine role (ibid. 2003).

According to Hilmar Hoffman (1997, 74) the Nazis will be etched into historical literature owing to their use of mass deceit and incitement of hatred. It is justifiable to suggest that the National Socialist Party acquisition of and hold on power was by means of a 'propaganda movement'. Hoffman (ibid.) confirms that the provenance of radical ideologies and ultimately the machinery for genocide were possible because of the political and social concept of the material presented to the German population. Hoffman also discusses the idea that film had the greatest impact because of the affect it induced emotionally and visually, capturing the attention of the majority (ibid. 71). He concedes written media and radio broadcasts were as important to achieve the overall goal. Radio was responsible for alerting people to the forceful, energetic and aggressive phenomenon of Nazism. Hoffman also alludes to the social and economic problems of the collapsing Weimar Republic prior to the inception and rise of the National Socialist Party. He also comments on the symbolic value of flags and standards and their suitability being linked with the expression of abstract ideologies (ibid. 1-42).

Hoffman then ascribes theories for the rise of Hitler and suggests he had effectively planned a personal marketing strategy, fastidious in his approach to propaganda as opposed to a sales promotion. Party symbols, a newspaper, and when necessary, a Nazified elitist mass culture were all part of the tactics (ibid. 61-73). Again Hoffman turns to Goebells to illustrate how the Hitler regime preached a strong and effective use of propaganda. "We must inspire propaganda to proceed at an

active, modern pace, and we must endow it with life and breath" (ibid. 74), was the Goebbels recommendation in a lecture delivered at Nuremberg on 16 September 1935 to the Gau and Kreis propaganda leaders of the movement. Unlike any other politician before or since, Hitler, from the time he began his political career, had very definite ideas regarding the methods and effectiveness of modern mass propaganda. Hoffman comments that Nazis considered propaganda "the actual objective of their policy (the content of which was more often than not of very low quality)" (ibid. 75) and became proficient in false information during their period of rule. It is important to clarify they were not the first to utilise the concept, but their mastery has assumed notoriety and infamy on further analysis (ibid. 75).

Kershaw (2001) in his analysis of Hitler acknowledges that Nazi Party officials including the *Führer* had a rare gift for producing rhetoric and bigotry in a politically persuasive manner that appealed to the majority and enhanced the leader's profile and confidence. Kershaw also discusses at length how power was obtained through influence on the masses and the elites. Kershaw provides invaluable additional material to other readings on the Third Reich and their propagandistic methods. He gives details as to how Hitler came to power and the manner in which the Nazi government operated, and devotes a whole chapter (ibid. 41-67) to the topic of the Weimar Republican Government. He asserts that Hitler would not have become Chancellor without the assistance of high-ranking members of the previous regime. Kershaw elaborates on the idea that although a secretive individual, Hitler was at the same time a charismatic leader (ibid. 17). He discusses the role of *Führer*-shaped policy, driven by the veracious propaganda emanating from all aspects of government (ibid. 112).

Kershaw also explains that Hitler, in particular his oratory skills, was able to mobilise and motivate nationalist sentiment amongst the masses and transformed his image to that of a messianic figure (ibid. 55), able to rescue the hopes of the German population. Kershaw points towards the possibility that Hitler was 'the right man at the right time' alluding to crises including political, social and economic collapse, that catapulted him to prominence.

Evans (2005) has similar thoughts on the use of propaganda by the Nazis, as well as discussing the elements that saw the Third Reich emerge as the dominant power in Europe. He analyses policing, repression, culture and propaganda, along with religion, education, the economy, societal issues encompassing racial policy, anti-semitism and foreign policy. Evans suggests that the new regime

were preparing the country for war on a scale that had not been previously witnessed. He also claims that the catalyst of propaganda disseminated information into all areas of German life, as the contours of Nazi cultural policy became clearly evident (ibid. 213). *The Third Reich in Power* provides the evidence that the publicity that permeated society moulded Germans into a population who could not form personal assumptions, virtually ridding themselves of 'public opinion' and removing the threat of dissension towards the leadership (ibid. 120-140). Evans is confident that the Propaganda Ministry, combined with terror and intimidation policies, suppressed any opposition, and enabled the regime to achieve relative success in its attempt to gain political recognition. He concedes that the minds of the majority were already settled and were not prepared to accept the entire package of Nazism (ibid. 214), which meant that spin doctors Goebells and Himmler, Commander of the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, elite bodyguards), focussed on individual events that triggered and exacerbated already ingrained fear and intolerance.

Laurence Rees (2005a, b and c) describes the processes that were involved relating to the instigation of the Nazi policy to exterminate the European Jews. All three publications discuss how the gradual integration of Auschwitz into "The Final Solution" programme gathered pace as large numbers of Jews were deported to the annexed Poland under the euphemism 'sent east to work' (ibid.). Initially, Rees suggests that even though the Nazi regime was radical, when it came to the persecution of the Jews they progressed tentatively, seeking individual approval that led to consent by the majority (ibid.). Rees is in agreement with Evans that Goebbels preferred to reinforce extant discriminative attitudes as opposed to changing individual thought (ibid.). Rees integrates the use of propaganda into the background of the preparative work of the construction and use of Auschwitz, initially as a concentration camp, which metamorphosed into the notorious death factory (ibid.).

Friedländer (2007) discusses the issue of anti-semitic propaganda and suggests that Goebells, along with agitators of a similar political slant, were responsible for anti-Jewish films and a form of media that the German population had an immediate access to, the *Universum Film AG* (UFA) newsreels. The overall manoeuvring of the campaign that also included press attacks and racially motivated radio material came under the scrutiny and control of the Ministry of Propaganda. Friedländer confirms that anti-Jewish feeling was ubiquitous in large volumes of publications that filtered into daily German life (ibid. 22). Friedländer also explains by example the way that the imagery of the hierarchy and their ability to deliver keynote addresses at pivotal moments may have been further catalytic elements that encouraged propaganda to be more effective and produce the appropriate

responses, even though they were pseudo-factual and contained anti-intellectualism (ibid. 472). He also illustrates the issue of propaganda and the differing threads it produced throughout Nazi rule. Friedländer looks at the reinforcing of anti-semitism, the link between propaganda and the extermination of the Jews, and the various relationships between those people who had major influence on what was said and when it emerged as perceived democratic leadership that culminated in the manipulation of the masses.

An example of Nazi propaganda at work was the establishment of the 'model' ghetto at Theresienstadt in the Czech Republic, which was constructed, utilised and viewed as a template of how Jewish prisoners were kept when utilising propaganda to the 'outside world'. Miriam Intrator (2007, 513-522) discusses at length how the ghetto was seen as different to others that had been established, that comprised of a population of wealthy prominent Jews, the disappearance of which, without satisfactory explanation, would have been noticeable (ibid. 514). The selection of high-profile individuals portrayed the image of normal inhabitants in a functioning town, isolated for their own benefit. The deception was administered under Nazi rule but through the filter of a Jewish run council of elders (ibid. 514). The ghetto had a value-less currency, a café that served a water-based coffee substitute and a permanently closed shop that sold imaginary goods (ibid. 515). Behind this façade Theresienstadt was a transit camp, a mid-point or holding zone for the deportation journey to either Auschwitz or Treblinka (ibid. 515).

Leonard Doob (1950, 419-442) analysed excerpts from Goebbels two-year mid-war diary and extracted what he determined the main principles of propaganda as used by Goebbels and the Nazi leadership. Doob was confident that the material faithfully reflected personal and party strategies, he does however question how the individual elements could have been used in a democratic society, which nurtured problems of an apolitical and ethical nature. The principles of propaganda enabled Goebbels to function and are to a degree recognition of his intellect. Doob (ibid. 422) asserts that with almost all propaganda the most significant factor was the ability to make reference to intelligence material that pre-existed in combination with other countries communications and deductions made from them, thus the presentation of information was in a credible format and context. He outlines and analyses a further 18 different elements of the components of effective propaganda. Doob has provided a substantial body of work that illustrates the nature and overall effect of information supply and demand via media outlets throughout a period of war. He concludes by accepting that 'good news stories' were in short supply for the German people, as

Goebbels had ran out of it to utilise as a distraction, admitting that propaganda alone could not change inevitability (ibid. 442).

Taylor (2003) analyses the history of propaganda and suggests the derogative nature of propagandistic material developed an association of distrust in claims of falsehood utilised in World War I (ibid. 208). This was a mechanism of psychology that originated from power and was perceived cynically by the powerless. The use of words of persuasion has not achieved total success in terms of armed conflict and historically it has been associated with legislative measures, incarceration and genocidal activity (ibid. 1).

## 2.4 **Ghettoisation**

From a built environment stand point, in terms of urban planning, the ghettoisation of the European Jewish population was the initiation of "The Final Solution" (**figure 2**). The provision of inadequate housing and facilities became an asocial characteristic of regeneration and was incorporated in the overall Nazi strategy to force the Jews into economic and physical poverty, which is a reoccurring theme in a number of publications.

Horwitz (2008) describes the creation of the ghetto in the city of Łódź in Poland from its inception in 1939. Events were initiated demographically with measures that saw the removal of Jews, the influx of people of German ethnicity, and in the view of Nazi policy makers, the biological removal of the threat of perceived spread of contagious illnesses from Jews (ibid. 29). Horowitz examines how Łódź, as with all Jewish centres of population, saw the seizure of wealth (policy of expropriation) and the enhancement of the appearance of the city by redevelopment through expulsion of communities to alternative areas of the city as the ghetto area of 4km² became the most densely populated (ibid. 29, 56). Horowitz discusses placement, conditions and numbers of people ghettoised and confirms that wherever they appeared there was one element of consistency, as the districts  selected to house ghettos were in the most impoverished parts of cities and towns. The housing was dilapidated, often with no piped water or electricity (ibid. 135). Łódź and Warsaw were the two largest ghettos, together housing nearly one-third of Polish Jews under Nazi control.

**Figure 2:** Death camp locations with associated major ghettos. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (4 April 2012).

Because of their size, the lack of food was a greater problem than that in a smaller conurbation, where the Jewish labour force was employed outside the ghetto and trade with the local Polish population was possible (ibid. 155). Nonetheless, malnutrition and disease were a constant presence and rations were deliberately fixed at a low level, and were often not delivered. When they were, they were frequently of poor quality and inedible. Only the smuggling of food and other essentials made survival possible (ibid. 67).

Horwitz as well as Ofer (1998), Tiedens (1997) and Dvorjetski (1963) all discuss the factors that contributed to the urban decay of the Jewish ghettos from creation to liquidation, as well as the acceptance of adjustment to ghetto life. A term from post-war analysis, 'concentration world', referred to people in camps and ghettos who realised they existed in entirely different circumstances to that of pre-war years. A place where lawlessness was law, with no accepted human values, no appeals to justice and where the 'law of the jungle' applied (Dvorjetski 1963, 194). It has been accepted that one of the main purposes of concentration camps and ghettos was the creation of a reign of terror (Walter 1964, 248), by creating the environment in which natural extermination occurred. It resulted in a creature devoid of all human attributes and reduced or saw the loss of moral scruples, effectively extermination through production. Horowitz (2008, 115) turns his

attention to the toleration of discomforts within the ghettos, both physical and mental, as Jews were allowed to live in family units, broken only by 'actions' such as deportations. The breadwinner, usually male, acted on behalf of the family in order to protect lives acquiring provisions from beyond the ghetto enclosure and from within to obtain wood for fuel or to build bunks (ibid. 115). Horwitz (2008, 34, 93) explains how the city of Łódź became a Nazi regeneration project to showcase urban planning and the arts. He examines the ghetto from its context within the Nazi world-view and also analyses the actions and position of the Jewish community, the Germans who controlled ghetto affairs and the ordinary citizens of the city (ibid. 113-142). This exposes the interactions and interdependence within the city, as well as patterns of exchange, that illustrated how the ghetto and the city functioned together.

Cole's *Holocaust City* (2003) describes how Nazi policies, the amalgam of different levels of indigenous anti-semitism in Hungary, socio-economic problems and indifference to those with acquired wealth produced segregation through ghettoisation. This was followed by deportation for the Jews of Budapest. Cole essentially argues that "The Final Solution" was a spatially-driven policy and refers to 'Doctors of Space' and Jewish 'presence and absence' (ibid. 1-24, 36-37). This argument is not ground breaking however, having been offered as an explanation from the early days of Holocaust research. Cole discusses the reshaping of Budapest along the lines of exclusion and segregation (ibid. 20-23, 37) as an examination of space versus time, where the aforementioned 'Doctors of Space' were city administrators that forced Jews into designated housing, a form of dispersed ghettoisation as opposed to a closed and sealed ghetto.

The thoughts of Hungarian Holocaust survivor Alice Lok Cahana on her return to Auschwitz reflect the thoughts of many, showing incomprehension that architects, engineers and cartographers studiously planned Auschwitz-Birkenau (Cole 2003, 1). The portrayal of the European Jewish demise within an empty setting is a fallacy with the main landscape components manufactured on an industrial scale (ibid. 1). Cole suggests that the shaping of and implementation behind ghettoisation was in part urban planning (ibid. 2) and draws on architecture and geography when analysing notions of place and space. Cole claims that there was a distinction between "Aryan and non-Aryan spaces" in design and build plans (ibid. 5, 7) using the example of barrack blocks for Nazi soldiers and those that housed prisoners. He also describes a similar contrast in style and space when comparing "Aryan" housing to that of the ghetto conditions of occupied Eastern Europe, referring to the "biological time-bomb" that was created in Warsaw (ibid. 6). Cole discusses the

monumental façades of Mauthausen concentration camp, a castle-like edifice contrasted with the utilitarian electrified fencing that was open to be viewed by the local population (ibid. 8). Cole in a general overview suggests the architecture of the Holocaust and the associated Nazi policies were dependent on differing geopolitical relationships in terms of history, native anti-semitism and collaboration.

## 2.5 <u>The Built Environment</u>

Focusing on the built enviroment permits a greater understanding on how architectural variables influence human behaviour. The Nazis created atypical landscapes and structures in terms of incarceration for the purpose of ghettoisation, and typically sites utilising spaces for natural surveillance from a distance were neglected, although required within camps themselves. A focus on territoriality reveals how the Nazis de-constructed landscapes and buildings, as architects manipulated internal and external features.

Katyal's (2002, 1039-1139) analysis of crime controlled by architecture can be transposed into the context of prisoner of war settings, as the individual was treated as having committed a crime and housed in an environment influenced by architectural features and constraints. Katyal suggests that in general and crime-related terms architects have been engaged in social control, as laws can occasionally harness the power of physical space to shape and fashion social norms and use their discipline as an expressive tool to display certain commitments (ibid. 1049). He highlights four architectural concepts that illustrate how design shapes law and reinforces behaviour principles of architecture. Solutions to crime planning in construction can be seen in the ghettos and concentration camps of World War II in a positive and negative manner. The four principles (ibid. 1048-1067) of design Katyal alludes to are; the creation of opportunity for natural surveillance by residents and bystanders; installation of a sense of territoriality deterring outsiders from entering a private space; community construction avoiding social isolation, and the protection of targets of crime. Each category can be examined in the context of Nazi detention policy and certain features and utilisation of space can be described as asocial and atypical. Katyal suggests that contemporary architectural theory and environmental psychology has revealed that architects influence subtly and subconsciously ways that lives are conducted. These elements reflect some of the components that are evident within Nazi architecture when discussing space and forms of prisoner control (ibid. 2002).

*The Security and Isolation System of the Auschwitz Camp* (Swiebocka 2008*)* outlines the measures that were in place as regards physical security in a concentration camp setting. The perimeter fence, symbolic of the terror and the first component built in Auschwitz was the first image of the camp for all new prisoners. In terms of iconography within world history it depicts suffering and hardship and has rightfully been placed on the UNESCO World Heritage list (ibid. 9). Paradoxically, a statement in the inventory for initial construction lists the fencing as "landscaping", the demarcation line was as much for preventing entry as it was for detainment and restricting view. Prisoners had to erect their own prison which cost many lives, with further work at Birkenau creating an additional 12 kms of fence, 27 guard towers and 18 steel gates (ibid. 10).

Over a period of 50 years the components of the memorial sites (Auschwitz I and II) have crumbled and deteriorated with the ensuing objective to preserve authenticity while achieving lasting conservation. Setkiewic (2008, 13-56) explains that Auschwitz and probably the rest of the camps had security systems that consisted of two elements key to their operation, active SS sentries on monitoring and guard duty and passive electrified barbed-wire fencing. Birkenau with a single fence was supplemented by various internal barriers dividing sectors known as construction segments (ibid. 14). This was recognised as a highly effective system for the restriction of escape attempts. Menzel discusses a number of the individual concrete posts that were part of the inner fence line at Birkenau and marked a 'no-man's land' between them and the outer perimeter, these were patterned with wheels, rings, flowers, hearts and stripes (2008, 71-84). A certain amount of folklore and legend has arisen concerning their origin and it is these architectural anomalies that require analysis along with specific buildings and their components.

Helmut Morlok in a foreword to Swiebocka's (2001) publication looks at design and function in *The Central Camp Sauna* in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. He describes how the Nazis went to great lengths to create a link between symbolism, architecture and violence that had a significant overall effect (2001, 7-9). Andrzej Strzelecki (2001) comments on how multiple bathhouses were an intrinsic feature of the camp system. The architectural appearance and intended function may have been misleading to all, including prisoners, with deception again at the heart of planning and purpose. Documentation suggested that the establishment of the central camp sauna reflected concern of collective hygiene standards (2001, 11-12). The sauna functioned as an additional and integral instrument of control as well as the acquisition of belongings at Auschwitz. The position of the building and the realism of events at Auschwitz gave indication of its true purpose.

The sauna became inextricably linked to the extermination sites at Birkenau, as any prisoner standing in the immediate vicinity would have witnessed fire and smoke emitted from the crematoria chimneys and the pyres for corpse disposal (Strzelecki 2001, 11). Anyone coming into contact with the sauna would have experienced heightened fear as the intake process at Birkenau took them past gas chamber and crematorium V. Internally they were were compartmentalised to function as two separate phases, a "dirty side" and a "clean side". Prisoners removed their clothes on the "dirty side" and had them returned post-disinfection on the "clean side" (ibid. 14, 15). The overall perception is while the cleansing facilities contributed to the improvement of hygiene, the same cannot be said for prisoner survival. The sauna was intended to function above all as an admission point, where a person became a number, part of the camp inventory (Niessner 2001, 166). Strzelecka has collated a number of eyewitness accounts and memoirs relating to the operational activities associated with the sauna. These include people who witnessed prisoners entering and departing the building, registration procedures (2001, 114) and thoughts of those individuals who witnessed the extermination process from arrival to death in the gas chambers. Preservation of the structure is discussed by Władysław Niessner (2001, 159-193), where such work has been difficult to undertake as "everything was directed towards the abasement and destruction of the human being". Areas such as technical descriptions of the building (ibid. 169-173), including floor-plans, disinfection equipment, materials used and the preservation process from immediately after the end of the war, prior to 1990 and the detailed program of works from 1997 onwards are discussed (ibid. 174-184). This has seen the contemporary state of the building and its unique role in the camp complex taken into account.

## 2.6 <u>Monumentality</u>

Monumentality implies a structure on a large scale but is not the predominating factor. Monumental architecture was and is the expression of power, the purpose, the production of respectful terror. The suggestion also is that structures as well as being visibly impressive can also be identified by the emotional attachments that are developed through the passage of time (Loten 2003).

Jaskot (2000) looks at the architectural history of wartime National Socialist Germany in the context of monumentality suggesting that rather than a showcase for design it became one of production (ibid. 1-9). Certain projects like the party rally grounds at Nuremberg came into fruition because of the ability to mobilise resources, materials and labour. Jaskot analyses the relationship

between the SS stone company, German Earth and Stone Works (*Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke* DEST), the Nazi led economy and the development of SS forced labour concentration camps (ibid. 47-79). He suggests that agencies in the construction and design sector profited from Hitler's preoccupation with large architectural projects. The mobilisation and maximisation of the forced labour of prisoners was a major element of the relationship between the SS and the monumental building economy (ibid. 11-46).

Jaskot discusses how the SS became more interested in the control of people as productivity ensured that the political goal of punishment worked alongside economic expansion, which serviced the building economy (ibid. 19, 20). He also explains how the construction of the Olympic stadium, in Berlin served a dual purpose, aesthetically a symbolic function as well as the procurement of an alternative building material to that of steel or reinforced concrete (ibid. 18). This avoided the use of politically regulated resources required for the war effort and the utilisation of forced labour enhanced a propaganda strategy that emphasised classical construction techniques. Much of the content of Jaskot's publication can be placed into the context of monumentality from the point of view of labour requirements, the effect of the completed construction, of classical influence and durability in terms of projection into the future.

Taylor (1974), in similar vein to Jaskot looks at the significance of the impact National Socialist architecture had and the influence of the *Führer* on construction projects (ibid. 15). He also examines contemporary attitudes to German architecture covering the period from 1000AD until 1850 (ibid. 90-102) suggesting suppression is evident in design and completion, whilst that is transformed from 1850 onwards with a shift to decadence and utilitarian opulence (ibid. 103-125). Taylor speculates that architects still favoured traditional styles as the economic troubles of the Weimar Period prior to the 1933 Nazi regime led to high unemployment. They gladly accepted commissions from the new government and by 1939 'Bolshevik' architectural plans had been for the most part eradicated (ibid. 8). New structures in urban and rural areas possessed time-honoured German values. Taylor indicates throughout his publication that the new monumental type of Nazi architecture was so noticeable that visitors commented on the 'Nazi style', although indigenous Germans did not see them as structures of a dictatorial party line, as foreign and socialist influences had been excluded to exude a genuine German way of life (ibid. 9).

Taylor, in contrast to Jaskot, explains that leading architect Albert Speer believed that Nazi ideology had little to do with appearance when describing the monumental Zeppelin Field at Nuremberg, suggesting the neo-classical lines were derived from an earlier period, a more extensive European movement and was not propagandistic (ibid. 9). The idea of community (*Gemeinschaft*) expressed in vast meeting places and in *Thing* theatres (outdoor amphitheatres) was important (ibid. 10). Taylor believes that the nationalist view of architecture was sincere and not a screen for alternative policies as most of Hitler's architects and writers believed in their output of work (ibid. 1974).

H. Stanley Loten (2003) examines monumentality in architecture through his research into the Mayan civilisation, and in general analysis the elements that he subscribes to are prevalent in contemporary and in particular wartime Nazi examples. He suggests that, size is irrelevant and can be defined as "grand, elevated in idea, simple in conception and execution, possessing expertise, and having something enduring, stable and of timeless nature" (ibid. 2003). Loten contends that monumentality captures the feeling of power by projecting an image that is not symbolic but is real and physical, generated directly by the strength and character of architectural form. Again he refers to the ritual centres of the Maya and an immediate apprehension of power, still present today, would have been enormously stronger when institutions operating in the monumental centres were staging their dramatic blood rituals (ibid. 2003). Loten is referring to an ancient civilisation and their ritualistic customs, although the resemblance is uncanny to the perception of Nazi dominance, especially those associated with Nuremberg rallies that took place within monumental structures on a massive scale.

The assumption that Loten conveys throughout is the effect of architectural power and associated rituals may have replaced the feeling of power that was directed from any one individual, altering the sensory perception of those in attendance. Real power would be expected to produce real, material, pragmatic results such as good health and victory (ibid. 2003). Again this is an argument that can be applied to the Nazi ideologies throughout their time in government, in so much that propaganda had planted the seed and the physical mass attendance at Party gatherings enforced the belief.

Scobie (1990) and Losemann (1999) both examine Hitler's views on Roman imperialism, town planning and architecture, and analyse how the state architecture of Nazi Germany, in design plans and reality, reflected an attempt to re-create a pagan totalitarian state with clearly defined forms of

hierarchy. They agree that Hitler admired ancient Rome as a capital with massive public monuments that portrayed the supremacy of the State and the political power of the ancient worlds' 'master-race'. He also admired the way Mussolini turned the monuments of imperial Rome into contemporary symbols of Fascism. Hitler planned a Reich that would be as durable as the Roman Empire and Berlin would exceed the achievements of structural grandeur in Rome before the arrival of Christianity. Losemann (1999, 221-235) labels this the "Nazi concept of Rome" and the "concept of antiquity" that was engendered by Hitler. Scobie (1990, 75-80) discusses how Speer planned and managed construction that was intended to rival such monuments as the Golden House of Nero, Hadrian's Pantheon, and the Stadium of Herodes Atticus at Athens. Other architects followed his inspiration and the Roman architectural obsession is clearly reflected in the town plans and public buildings conceived by Hitler and his architects.

## 2.7 <u>Liminality</u>

Sofsky's (1997) study of liminality suggests that sustained power organised spatial relationships and the passage of time. Temporal and spatial orders guide social action and relations and those in control take advantage. Natural space is transformed into a zone of social coercion, with no escape, marking out the areas for control (ibid. 47). Sofsky believes that the concentration camp system monitored every movement and punished without reason as space and freedom to choose was no longer available. Power and the perception of fear and violence eliminated space as an entity for daily life. The individual was no longer the centre-point of his or her world, but only an object in space (ibid. 47-48).

Sofsky also discusses extermination organised on the parameters of labour segregation. The process was integrated, resembled an assembly line, with stations co-ordinated in temporal sequence (ibid. 259). Sofsky comments on the death camps and internal components in the form of routeways from holding areas to gas chambers and the way that they were purposefully disguised to avoid detection (ibid. 260). He also alludes to the special names given to them by the SS that enhanced the sense of liminality and the crossing of thresholds. He also highlights that the aesthetic appearance of gas chambers was changed so as to alter the perception of those arriving and heighten the overall deception (ibid. 260).

Sofsky analysed individuals present in a liminal state, in the 'other-world' space of the concentration camp. The *Muselmänner* were those detainees seen as 'imitations' of human beings, caught between life and death (ibid. 199). They were the unmistakable image of the Holocaust, although the visible condition varied from prisoner to prisoner. Physical violence was followed was accompanied by a policy of deliberate maltreatment, a transformation of the human condition. The external appearance of the *Muselmänner* portrayed the ultimate in dehumanisation (ibid. 199, 200).

An aspect of liminality that has to some degree been overlooked is that of the transfer from ghetto to concentration camp, or deportation journey by rail in the confined space of a cattle car. Gigliotti (2006, 256-277) analyses a short story by author Thane Rosenbaum that reflects on the captivity of a deportation journey to a death camp through the eyes of Adam Posner, the son of a Holocaust survivor who becomes trapped in a lift en route from office to limousine. Posner imagines and takes on the suffering of "cattle car complexes". The narrative succinctly describes the stages of uncertainty, fear and sensory deprivation that occurred for deportees transported by train to death camps. Gigliotti believes that her analysis is within an area usually devoid of research that examines "the deportee's encounter with transit traumatically grounded in spatial, psychological and sensory assault" (ibid. 256). Rosenbaum is concerned with the amalgamation of spaces and voices which he delivers by suggesting that the dimensions of the car closed in on Posner, a restricted space became a small enclosure reduced by each breath he took (ibid. 257). Compression in the confines of tight space and an unknown destination impacted on fear and heightened confusion, a spatial attack on their well being. Gigliotti suggests that the image of travel and associated expulsion was a central theme to the successful implementation of genocidal plans, as a journey by train would have been perceived as harmless and non-threatening, thus became another component of Nazi deception (ibid. 257-260). In their forced liminal zone, time was not measured by distance travelled but by emotions, physical emissions, despair and sometimes violence.

Agamben (1998) argues that the concentration and death camp arose from when a state of exception became normalised. Rather than being the derivative of ordinary law they were comprised of two elements, the imposition of exception and martial law where rules are suspended (ibid. 95). The camp became a space where there was no distinction drawn between law and un-law, meaning those inside existed in a zone of indistinction. Agamben also makes apparent the fact that the camp opened up the space for the creation of bare life where political identity was lost and biopolitical systems pushed individuals to the point where crimes against the person were accepted (ibid. 97).

"Concentration World" was a blanket zone of liminality, a concept that will be pursued throughout this study. The previously referred to *Muselmänner* became the ultimate example where power was realised at the level of the body (ibid. 103, 104). The fact that the number of innocent detainees was an unknown as well as the reason for detainment, to Agamben was a prime example of the state of exception being normalised. Sovereign power was disseminated from within the camp system to the wider society. Agamben comments that "every society set the limits, and decides who its new living dead will be" (ibid. 81). Time and places outside the normal concept of each were initiated in which the body became separated from the accepted political status and abandoned in a state of exceptional circumstances.

Agamben also suggests that victims entered a 'suspended zone' on arrival at concentration camps stateless and barely human (ibid. 91, 103), on the edge of existence as a pseudo enemy of the regime and community, bound by rules, still alive and outside constitutional law. He also discusses the eugenic principles of National Socialist biopolitics that were a precursor for the genocidal manifesto of the regime. He thinks that the program constituted "a significant organisational burden" on the war effort and likened the treatment of a small proportion of the population as a concept of "life unworthy of being lived" (ibid. 82). In reality the concentration and death camp system was an exercise of sovereign power, that decided on bare life, within the parameters of the National Socialist state doctrine (ibid. 1998).

Zamboni (2009) examines the effect of the Holocaust and how it has been represented in Italian cinematographic productions from 1959 until 1997, with focus falling upon what she calls "ambiguous figures", a direct product of the concentration camp experience (ibid. ii). By doing so she looks at trauma and liminality and quotes Elie Wiesel, a survivor of Auschwitz-Birkenau (ibid. 1);

"*Auschwitz is something else, always something else. It is a universe outside the universe, a creation that exists parallel to creation. Auschwitz lies on the other side of life and the other side of death.*"

She illustrates a different aspect of liminality, one that clouded the boundaries between victim and perpetrator and was expressed by the figure of the *Kapo*. Although a prisoner in status *Kapos,* passed from a stage of submission to a privileged condition in an authoritarian role, acting alongside the SS, immune to abuses and persecutions. They occupied an undefined interval that problematised

the distinct separation of good and evil (ibid. 14, 28). The M*uselmänner* are present in virtually all cinematic representations of this particular genocide, which is why Zamboni refers to Turner (1959) and Van Gennep (1960) when discussing the ambiguity of life within Nazi detention zones. The suggestion being that those incarcerated were overlooked or eluded classification as they would be normally assigned a state in cultural space. Although it could be said that *Muselmänner* became the norm in the camp system, being exceptional figures in standard classification, which itself is reference to Agamben's 1998 hypothesis.


**2.8 <u>Landscapes</u>**


The built environment contributes directly to the idea of a violent landscape and emphasises the way in which landscape is not just a natural but also a cultural formation. The term 'demon landscape' reflects the existing cultural and political configurations of space and can configure the territory in terms of fear and terror. Whereas the internal space of a concentration camp was the ultimate symbol of Nazi oppression, the zones beyond the security fencing could have been seen as a fantasy landscape that could have inspired numerous escape attempts and prisoner revolts. For the purpose of this research, as well as looking at the obvious landscape remains that once featured concentration and death camps, attention will focus on landscapes of memory and the duality of function and memory.


Whitehead (2010, 1-5) discusses the built environment, although it is his interpretation of the physical and cultural landscape setting that is important to this research. He looks at the ways in which memory and the enactment of violence has remained present in a landscape and that has sculpted the way a landscape has been understood through the passage of time, even though it is the contemporary past being analysed. Whitehead views landscapes as exciting and organic (ibid. 1), not just in the physical sense but in the way that cultures have formed and managed them. He sees the human interaction with surrounding topography as illustrating the various connections "constantly erasing and overlaying meaning" (ibid. 1).


A 'demon landscape' is referred to by Whitehead in the context of ritual and magical settings that evoke the presence of malevolent beings evil spirits and mythical creatures but with clear association to savage humans also (ibid. 1). This is an area for analysis within landscape study and brings into play the concept of a stolen landscape, the annexed countries of Austria, the former

Czech Republic and Poland being testament to this. He cites an example of the Black Forest in Germany and its link with the Teutonic Knights that were re-invented in the Nazi era (ibid. 2). Again the Classical period is referenced, as Whitehead looks at the position of sacrificial architecture within violent landscapes suggesting that particular areas of land are connected to specific acts of destruction owing to acts derived from cultural and political processes. He uses the example of the Roman Coliseum, which was synonymous with violent death, albeit through contested games (ibid. 2, 3). Whitehead then turns to monumental death and the fixing of aesthetic power in the landscape through public and civic mnemonic constructions of war-monuments and museums (ibid. 4). From the point of view of this research it illustrates the inextricable link between landscape and memory.

Janet Jacobs (2004, 311-315) pursues a similar line of research to that of Whitehead as she discusses the need for ritual in contemporary society, which is an addition to the palimpsest of influences that already exist on landscapes of terror and violence (ibid. 311). She discusses the need for the enactment of religious practice on 'damaged landscapes', as she believes communities and nations as a whole struggle to come to terms with terrorism and violent deaths. This will connect survivors to the victims and create or even replicate for those who still suffer, a shared landscape of suffering and mourning. The central theme to this research and many others is that landscape will always be present, continually influenced by cultures and their lifestyles, people will not. So whether there is a trend towards sanctification as in recognition of them as cemeteries or the belief through sacred ideology that landscapes are imbued with the spirits of the dead, a strong belief exists that secularised society will return to the sacred (ibid. 315), especially at sites of extreme violence and industrialised hardship. Jacobs continues by suggesting that cultural geography and the religions of cultures affected by grief in the contemporary past have taken on associative stances. Regimes of terror fail to recognise the solidarity that spiritual and religious aspects of social life, either under oppression or in the act of remembrance, can continue to have value (ibid. 315).

Jacobs research into cultural memory has led her to landscapes of the Holocaust and the concentration and death camps of Mauthausen in Austria in addition to Majdanek and Treblinka in Poland. The landscapes and structural remnants have born witness to a transformation from the profane to the sacred, from the surrounding areas to those that house the evidential remains of genocide (ibid. 312-314). A sculpture garden sited on an undulating hillside outside the original camp entrance at Mauthausen was developed in the 1950's with invitations sent to over 20 countries

to design and build memorials to the Nazi victims of World War II. Jacobs also reflects on the changing nature of memorial presentation, in the forms that they take, and where they are positioned, particularly in connection with their placement on 'instruments of death' (ibid. 312).

*"Technologies of genocide are transformed and redefined as religious spaces, and the sacred and the profane are brought together in a spiritual re-consecration of the death camp site"* (ibid. 312).

Hans Peter Jeschke (2005, 1-15) also discusses landscapes of violence from the perspective of Mauthausen Concentration Camp. He suggests that they are;

*"frequently set within spatial boundaries and that memorial sites in Europe usually have only a few structural remnants, which has made access to the atrocities of the Nazi terror system difficult"* (ibid. 1).

Jeschke examines the merits of memorial sites against memorial landscapes and comments that perceptions of landscapes change especially when alterations are made. This is reference to the ever-changing nature of landscapes that have housed terror, including the construction of themed museums and memorials as well as the renovation of original structures. He suggests that nature has taken over as formerly overcrowded barracks are invaded and replaced by newly planted trees altering the landscape thus making it difficult to imagine its original state (ibid. 2-3).

Jeschke also refers to terms such as "historic cultural landscape" and "partial monument landscape" that are utilised in German analysis of monument preservation language (ibid. 6). He also describes associative landscapes as those to which people connect, especially those possessing religious, artistic, cultural or historic implications and that from the perspective of urban planning or geography, a cultural landscape is historically organic and undergoes constant change (ibid. 6). Jeschke maintains that in order to understand the Nazi rule of terror it is necessary to describe not only its historic foundations and implementation but also the concept of the "housing of violence", the system of the concentration camps and their evolution within the context of the Third Reich and local administrations (ibid. 7). Landscapes of punishment make terror tangible in its spatial and functional dimension.

# 3  Methodology

Predominantly desk-based, this thesis involves the use of numerous publications relating to the Holocaust, taking into consideration the opinions, scholarly or otherwise, of all sides of the discussion from various viewpoints. The abundance of material contributes to a considered evaluation of information sources, resulting in the selection of those that focus entirely on the themes that have been indicated in the literature review. Although fieldwork was not undertaken a focus on archaeological theory and related interdisciplinary subjects has led to an extensive over view of the Holocaust and simultaneously provided new and fresh interpretations of events that in some cases have been extensively over-analysed.

Certain information, in particular that sourced from the internet in their generic format including www. holocaustresearchproject. org, holocaust-history.org, auschwitz.org and deathcamps.org have provided clear and succint facts as to the nature of the Holocaust. Online sources were referenced in the usual manner, and in turn have enabled further sources to come to light that otherwise may not have been recognised as viable threads of evidence. Literature including witness testimonies and published academic sources have been utilised that originated from exhaustive searches and links provided from initial findings. This author has previously visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum in 2010 to gather personal knowledge of the remains of the camp. This revealed the layout and facilitated a clear understanding of the events, that has extended further this author's interpretative skills that have been fully applied to the research.

The content of this thesis has involved the utilisation of interdisciplinary theories, as well as examination of the main elements of "The Final Solution" that are for the most part understood by those who have a basic knowledge of the mechanics of World War II, Nazism and the ideology behind it. Viewing it from an archaeological and anthropological perspective is one where the evidence of science and meticulous recording combines with that of the memories of those who suffered, either directly or indirectly and has allowed corroboration of the evidence to construct a coherent level of research. The fate of the Jews as the Holocaust unfolded was pre-destined, in other words whatever the Nazi authorities planned high volumes of casualties were to take place, and it is this fascination of why a leader of a modern, industrialised European country wished to pinpoint a section of population in such a precise and calculated manner that has moved this author to research

the motives and mechanics and also to attempt to highlight the elements of the process.

## 3.1 <u>Definitions</u>

Defining the hypothesis statement has helped to alleviate potential confusion that may occur in initial reception of the content in this work. To ease understanding it is necessary to isolate keywords from that statement and provide a definition, effectively a summary of each term, or area of research. Although numerous authors have sought similar clarification in their texts, for this work a suitable or appropriate interpretation has been provided from a select number of sources only, which is in part recognition of the context which has been set for the research;

**Archaeology Anthropology Social Memory Propaganda Nazi Jewish Holocaust Ghettoisation Deportation Extermination Monumentality Liminality Landscape Theory Built Environment**

The work of archaeologists concerned with areas of conflict is relevant to research connected with other sub-disciplines such as humanitarian and disaster archaeology. Their studies have made important contributions to ethno-archaeology, modern material culture studies, historical archaeology and the archaeology of the contemporary past, assisting in the understanding of disasters and illustrating the relevance of forensic methods within archaeology both in the past and the present (González-Ruibal 2007).

**Archaeology**, previously regarded as a sub-discipline of anthropology, although in effect a discipline in its own right, involves the study of the human past through its material remains (Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 579), and can be achieved in a number of ways. In association with a number of investigative processes such as aerial reconnaissance, geophysical survey, excavation and the recovery of artefacts, material remains can help assemble the history of the site in question. Despite the fact that a location from recent conflict within the last century may be described as a 'young' site (González-Ruibal 2007), archaeological survey and excavation can provide vital information for reconstructing the extent of the activities carried out and the original purpose of construction in the case of surviving structures.

**Anthropology** is the study of humankind looking at behavioural systems through biological, physical and cultural means, and as such, lends itself perfectly to the conditions prevalent throughout the Holocaust. It is a study of past and present that enables the understanding of cultures from history whilst drawing from and building upon knowledge from the social and biological sciences, as well as from the humanities and physical sciences. The application of findings from the above areas provides knowledge towards the solution of human problems (Barrett 2009; Podolefsky and Brown 1989; Kroeber 1963).

Analysis of **social memory** suggests that there are two angles of approach, one is positivist, the other a social constructivist perspective. The former is considered objective, detached and, structured by the researcher who tests a hypothesis, usually associated with quantitative data collection methods and statistical analysis (Johnson 1999, 39). Matthew Johnson explains further that as archaeologists we need to "test specific hypotheses, rather than just dig sites" because we may well find something of interest that enhances interpretations (ibid. 39). Processual archaeologists have suggested that, statements alluding to the past based on the knowledge and intuition of the elite within the discipline should be replaced by a positivist approach. This would ensure that statements about the past could be based on repeatable procedures in relation to scientific hypotheses that can be tested by anyone (Preucel and Hodder 1996, 522). Social constructivism is approached from the bottom up, situated within a particular research group of phenomena, informed on an ongoing basis by the people and issues being researched. It is usually qualitative and as such the researcher is part of the process. Objectivity is not the aim, instead it is necessary to look for authenticity of findings, making the voices of the participants primary, to explain a central phenomena (Webmoor 2008). Taking both theories into account, this analysis of social memory will take on an approach that falls between the two, illustrating evidence relating to the Holocaust and its survivors, especially that concerning Auschwitz and other death camps.

Taylor (2003) suggests that from a contemporary viewpoint **propaganda** has a suggestive perception, procuring evil and sinister parameters. He comments that it is seen as perpetrated by an enemy bearing no scruples, carries a negative connotation and can be seen as an initiation of a process of sowing and cultivating ideas that are laden with morality, depending on which side you are viewing the concept from. In other words, it has acquired meaning from a neutral base.

The **Nazi** or National Socialist German Workers' Party took control of Germany in 1933 under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. Having received poor support in the 1928 Reichstag elections, the party strategy targeted rural and small town areas in their drive to promote anti-Jewish feeling (Noakes 2003, 122-123). By 1929 the party had grown into a mass movement, with a membership of 108,000, incorporating specialist paramilitary units known as the SA (*Sturm Abteilung*-Storm Trooper) and SS (*Schutzstaffel*-elite security) (Kershaw 2001, 52-57). Party propaganda was effective in attracting university students, veterans' organisations and professional groups to its ranks. The burning down of the Reichstag building was seen as the beginning of a communist uprising in 1933, with elections in the same year seeing the Nazi Party winning 44% of the vote, and an Enabling Act gave the Hitler government comprehensive legislative powers (Kershaw 2001, 251). At this stage there was a nation-wide boycott of Jewish shops and the first concentration camp was established at Dachau in Germany (Smith 2006, 25), whilst a law was passed to prevent the formation of parties other than the NSDAP, that gave birth to the one-party state (Evans 2005, 14).

The **Holocaust** was the Nazi attempt to destroy by persecution and murder millions of individuals seen as their opponents. For this thesis the section of population that was researched has been the Jews of Europe. The anti-semitism of the Hitler regime preached through propaganda and practised prejudice, expelled millions from their homes and forced habitation in ghettos that was the initiation of "The Final Solution" and saw the establishment of extermination centres, the Nazi response to "The Jewish problem" (Gilbert 2001, 52).

Horwitz (2008) explains how ghettos were enclosed districts of a city in which the Nazis forced the Jewish population to live in impoverished conditions. **Ghettoisation** isolated Jews by separating Jewish communities both from the population as a whole and from other predominantly Jewish neighbourhoods. Horwitz reveals the statistics of ghetto inception as around 200,000 Jews (including approximately 38,500 deported Jews from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg) that resided in wooden dwellings comprising of 31,271 apartments. As a consequence, 21% of the ghetto population died in various epidemics, of starvation or were left to die without basic requirements.

Viewed through the filter of liminality, the transport of prisoners from ghettos or associated round-up points to labour camps, namely **deportation** by rail, is an integral element of this research. As

Arad (1999, 63) explains;

"…*death and destruction began while the Jews were still in freight cars rolling towards the death camps. Designed to carry a maximum of sixty to seventy people, including their belongings, the cars were packed with double that number. Deprived of air and water, with no sanitary facilities, forced to spend endless hours travelling or waiting in stations in the packed freight cars, many died en route.*"

Smith (2006) also comments on the train journeys of the victims, alluding to information that Arad suggested, utilising similar graphic elements of narrative. Transportation took place in closed, overcrowded freight or cattle cars and without adequate provisions on lengthy journeys. Many deaths occurred in transit, culminating in the exhausted and terrified being herded from the trains to undergo further excessive terror.

**Extermination** must be viewed in the context of incarceration within a death camp and could be effectively described as the final element of the destruction process that terminated at one of a number of designated 'killing centres'. It can be classed as an integrated component of finality to the original ideology, or as a place where it came to fruition. Classification of Auschwitz as the iconic Holocaust site is indicative of the difference of the concentration camp system generally and the extermination system in its punishable confines (Friedländer 2007, 58). Friedländer continues by suggesting the Jew had no challenge physically or answer mentally to death and for most they were entirely unprotected. The exterminatory process also underwent a gradual evolution that was adapted in time as the volume of deaths outstripped the methods used. The gas vans and chambers were used continuously, although the Nazi regime never completely rejected shooting or deprivation of food as execution principles (ibid. 2007).

A number of buildings were constructed for a specialised purpose that incorporated elements of liminality and monumentality. **Monumentality** has been expressed in terms of prehistoric analysis concerning megalithic monuments and ancestor veneration within a sacred landscape. An emphasis on monumental design and construction is referred to, comparing the Congress Hall in Nuremberg and the *Volkshalle* in Berlin to the Colosseum and Pantheon in Rome (Cole 2003, 4). This is a line of research this author will be pursing, as Cole (ibid. 4) citing Scobie (1990, 130), suggests that such construction was not just a symbol of tradition but an ominous revival of 'Classical World ethics' where one autocrat enslaved conquered peoples. An example being the inmates of concentration camps forced to quarry stone for the construction of Reich buildings in Berlin.

The characteristics of **liminality** or of a liminal person are indeterminate as by definition they evade classification (Turner 1967, 95). Turner describes a liminal state or being as "neither here nor there, they are betwixt and between" that are removed from the normal conventions of custom and ceremony. He develops Van Gennep's theory of rites of passage (1960) and assigns social cultural transitions such as life in the womb, death and bisexuality to liminal states and persona.

Van Gennep (1960) was the first observer of human behaviour to note that the ritual ceremonies that accompany the landmarks of human life differ only in detail from one culture to another, although all that is displayed is in essence universal. Van Gennep described rites of passage such as coming-of-age rituals and marriage as having the following three-part structure:

1. separation

2. liminal period

3. reassimilation

The initiate (the person undergoing the ritual) is first stripped of the social status that he or she possessed before the ritual, inducted into the liminal period of transition, and finally given his or her new status and reassimilated into society. Liminality is an important concept in the field of annihilation analysis as this can be applied to places, journeys, specific buildings and components of camps, to individuals that were designated roles within the system, and to a category of inmate whose life was controlled to the point of death.

**Landscape theory** in the context of the contemporary past is often associated with the discipline of combat archaeology. All landscapes are a collection of physical and human elements of each culture that has had influence on the land, having etched their efforts into the narrative of location (Muir 1999, 272-273). Schofield (2005, 13) suggests the archaeology of the modern period originated with and is heavily influenced by its military and industrial legacy and frequently focuses on the places where conflict occurred.

The World War II Holocaust was a profoundly geographical event, rooted in specific physical spaces, times, and landscapes. Whitehead (2010, 1-5) suggests that the establishment of demon and

pariah landscapes were a grim aesthetic of terror and fear ingrained in the built environment. Because it was also characterised by a spatiality of process, concentration, deportation, dispersal and dislocation, its study requires subtle and critical geographical analysis. The seizure and reallocation of property, the devastation of national infrastructures, the mass exodus and forced migration are some of the obvious geographical components involved in the implementation of the Nazi genocide policies. Dehumanisation in its mechanics was a prominent feature in the constitution of the architecture and landscape (ibid. 2010).

Swiebocka's (2001 and 2008) publications under the collective *The Architecture of Crime*, both cover aspects of the **built environment** that indicate the power and control the Nazi regime asserted on the detained prisoners. Contributors encompass elements of architecturally associated discussion, ranging from construction, functionality, conservation methods and accounts of former prisoners confirming the environment of oppression that existed within the confines of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Katyal (2002) has examined the effectiveness of architecture as crime control and has suggested that the dismantling of communities through the construction of negative architectural features was an important element of the control of fear and the ultimate isolation of families that led to physical and psychological disorders.

Research objectives that are aligned with the content of this thesis follow a dual strategy. Firstly in general terms, the analytical and theoretical discipline of archaeology and the associated social memory studies in combination are a structural framework that the body of research is constructed around. These generic terms that are comprehensive in outlook provide a strong base from which a common objective can be asserted. That being, the sub-categories of monumentality, liminality, landscape and built environment theory are present archaeologically and through social memory studies and the psychology of fear, deception and terror are traits recognisable generally.

Secondly, the micro disciplines also accompany the macro concepts and that they are present in the processes of ghettoisation, deportation and internment and extermination. The main points being;

1. Analysis of the four sub-categories will illustrate that **ghettoisation** possesses all four characteristics and show how they manifest themselves in physical remains and survivor accounts that will reflect the presence of deception and terror and the control of fear

components in the available evidence.

2. Analysis of **deportation** will be primarily through survivor accounts pertaining to social memory, although there are a number of contemporary papers that discuss the subject in association with media and art. This research will illustrate the 'cattle car' journey and the deportees can be characterised in liminal terms.

3. **Extermination** analysis again will involve the use of all four paradigms that are recognisable as components of research. As already indicated many scholars view this element of Holocaust studies in terms of a process, and fail to engage with the necessary information that portray it as a 'place and a space' that is reflected in landscape and built environment studies. Those that were involved in the extermination process (perpetrator and victim) could be described as liminal beings.

The excavation of artefacts and especially human remains in sensitive environments for one reason or another has seen the introduction of and the intervention of governmental acts that essentially 'deal with the dead'. Unearthed artefacts reveal a picture of life in the camp, hopeless or otherwise, of survival and death.

In general terms limitations are potentially present owing to the overwhelming number of publications, articles, journals and accounts that refer to the Holocaust generated from the post-liberation years of the camps. These range from academic research to those who have close links to or are survivors, to people who have a general but well informed knowledge of Holocaust events. The majority of literary references offer similar reflections but from a subjective stance, that in some cases allow emotion to cloud reality. It is necessary with this in mind, to be selective and formulate theories with an objective gaze, which will lead to constructive paradigms connected to archaeology and social memory. The challenge being to assert and position the most effective material so as to maximise the effect of this research on the reader wishing to extract information for further analysis.

# 4 Genocide

## 4.1 Introduction

The primary function of this research is to highlight the events of the Holocaust as it affected the Jewish population throughout parts of Europe during World War II. However, it is necessary to present information associated with genocides and acts against humanity in order to gain perspective, to be able to relate them to each other and to reveal the processes undertaken to carry them out. It is essential to recognise other world genocide attempts so as not to diminish from their importance, alongside that of the Holocaust itself and with this in mind three case studies, The former Soviet Union, Cambodia and Bosnia, all different in their own right but having similar recognisable traits that portray what has been perpetrated in conflict situations. For the regimes responsible, genocidal killing became a deliberate pre-emptive political strategy, which was used to eliminate millions of lives and at the same time eradicate any potential opponents. This type of destructiveness has and will cause more deaths in the modern world than military engagement (Rummel 1986).

In total, 20th century warfare has killed in all its international and domestic guises, revolutions, and violent conflicts approximately 35,654,000 (Rummel 1992, 11). Even this figure is surpassed, by absolutist governments, exceeding all wars, domestic and international (Rummel 1986). Absolutism is not only more lethal than war, but its very presence is the major factor causing war and other forms of violent hostility (ibid.). As Wilson (2000, xi, 1) explains, this European form of monarchy "co-ordinated and centralised power" and was "personified by self-confident Monarchs…..that lent colour and grandeur to their pasts", but under closer scrutiny have been viewed as "symbols of despotism and authoritarian rule" (ibid. 1). Wilson (2000, 5) also suggests that scholars analysing German history believe absolutism was an early warning sign for the disasters of Nazism as aristocratic power propelled the country down a deviant 'special path' (*Sonderweg*).

Genocide became known as 'the crime without a name', although the events of World War II led to its adaptation and eventual blanket use, replacing a previously inert description of the loss of

millions as "an age-old phenomenon" (Jones 2011, 8). As Shaw (2007, 4) suggests, the most disturbing factual omission from most scholarly attempts to define, categorise and understand genocide is that most of the victims are ordinary civilians, to which the violence is directed toward. The use of a clinically inept phrase such as 'ethnic cleansing' has superseded the aggressive and political misuse of the globally litigious 'genocide'. Susan Santong (2005, vii) describes violence against selected groups within society as "appallingly, an age of genocide" that is difficult to comprehend, as normal people when mobilised are capable of crimes of this order. Cooper (2008, 19) endorses this by suggesting a reconfiguring of social groups as one body of thought seeks to dominate another. Those that assume control, whether it is through political means or by military action acquire a 'collective identity' that looks to create an impression of the weaker or lesser group that warrants its extermination (ibid. 19). Group identities recognised under the UN (United Nations) Genocide Convention that have been affected by acts of genocide belong to nations, ethnic groups, races and religious groups (ibid. 19; Shaw 2007, 18-19).

In general Jones and Robins (2009, 3) suggest that genocide is "depicted and prosecuted as a crime by state actors against vulnerable minorities on state territory or beyond its borders". Jones and Robins (ibid. 3) cite Horowitz (1976, 18) and concur with Rummel (1986) that the degree of organisation attributed to the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews was "a structural and systematic destruction….by a state bureaucratic apparatus". The systems were geared towards humiliation and annihilation and most agencies were complicit in it.

A central figure in the attempts to create the UN Genocide Convention, establish its recognition, and to prosecute in the wake of genocidal acts was Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959). A Jewish lawyer of Polish birth, he dedicated his career to creating legal guidelines and protections for ethnic, national, religious, and cultural groups by introducing the term genocide (Anon. 2012a; Shaw 2007, 18-19). Having committed his thoughts to publication, Lemkins' understanding of the slaughter of the Armenians by the Ottoman Empire during and following the end of World War I led him to suggest "that the diversity of nations, religious groups, and races is essential to civilisation". By 1933 his involvement in international affairs saw an unsuccessful proposition to the League of Nations to create international legislation to protect groups (Anon. 2012a; Power 2003, 1-16; Hinton 2002, 3; Shaw 2007, 18-19).

When the Nazis invaded Poland in 1939, Lemkin fled to the United States. With his world-view on the aftermath of conflict and the characteristics behind mass killings, Lemkin (1944, 79-95) could see that "new conceptions require new terms," and introduced genocide in the publication *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. Lemkin initiated genocide as an offence against international law which was widely accepted by the international community and used as one of the legal foundations of the post-war Nuremberg Trials (Anon. 2012a; Power 2003, 1-16; Hinton 2002, 3).

Lemkin learned that many members of his family, including his parents, had been killed in the Holocaust which galvanised him into focussing his efforts on lobbying for the creation of a Convention against genocide at the UN (ibid. 2012a). This culminated in the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as he continued to encourage nations to pass legislation supporting the Convention. Lemkin presented a draft resolution for a Genocide Convention treaty to a number of countries in an effort to persuade them to sponsor the resolution (Hinton 2002, 3). In 1951, Lemkin only partially achieved his goal when the Convention of Genocide came into force, after the 20th nation had ratified the treaty. This treaty had confined its consideration solely to physical aspects of genocide, which the Convention defines as (Anon. 2012b; ibid. 2002, 3):

"…acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group", such as:

   (a) Killing members of the group;

   (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

   (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring

      about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

   (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

   (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide prohibits physical and biological genocide but does not recognise the practice of cultural genocide. That being, acts of genocide that violated the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) codes of conduct were referred to as the "very foundation of the group" that established the

genocidist's specific intent to destroy the protected group (Nersessian 2005). The 1993 establishment of the ICTY has transformed the landscape of international humanitarian law and provided victims with a voice to convey the horrors witnessed and experienced. Decisions made by the Tribunal on genocide, war crimes and violence against humanity has illustrated that seniority cannot harbour an individual from prosecution (Anon. 2012c).

The ICTY decided that the Serbian attacks and eventual destruction of Muslim libraries and mosques and persecution of cultural leaders established genocidal intent against Muslims in the former Yugoslavia. Cultural elements such as a group's social, historical, and linguistic traits, assisted in the determination of whether a given section of society is protected under the Convention. Cultural genocide thus plays a subsidiary role in our present understanding of genocide and group destruction (Nersessian 2005).

Goldhagen (2009) suggests that the initial foundation of genocidal policy-making is a form of politics, which can be called eliminationism. That is, the desire to eliminate unwanted groups of people deemed to be harmful or threatening to the future lives of the controlling assembly. Goldhagen continues that many regimes have employed eliminationist politics, and have used a variety of techniques to achieve their goals with genocide, a collective term for individual elements of oppression, one of those instruments. Other components that fall within this classification are; severe repression, forced imprisonment, concentration and death camps, preventing groups from reproduction, expulsion and killing (ibid. 2009).

With the background to the introduction of the use of genocide into a global vocabulary in place, it is important and also of interest to establish the derivation of the word itself. As Lemkin himself stated (1944, 79-95) it denotes "an old practice in its modern development, made from the ancient Greek word genos (race, tribe) and the Latin, cide (killing)". He explains further that words such as tyrannicide, homocide and infanticide are similarly derived. Although genocide is applied to a situation where a nation resorts to mass killing of a particular group, in its broadest sense it represents a co-ordinated sequence of events directed at the destruction of foundations required for the sustenance of life for that specific group (ibid. 79-95). Since coined by Lemkin, variations of the original understanding have led to a term such as "auto-genocide" when referring to the Khmer Rouge uprising in Cambodia as violence perpetrated was Khmer on Khmer (Power 2003, 125).

It is essential to be aware of other examples of genocide because most onlookers picture atrocity through the lens of the "archetypal" (Shaw 2007, 3) or "prototypical" (Jones and Robins 2009, 3) genocide of the Jews by the Nazis. It is also imperative to be able to recognise elements put in place by potential genocidal nations as Shaw provides reference to the somewhat strained relations of the Israelis and Palestinians in the 21st Century (ibid. 3).

## 4.2 The Soviet Gulag

The Gulag is recognised as a major instrument of political repression in the Soviet Union. Gulag is the acronym for Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps and Colonies of the NKVD (Viola 2007, 3). It was officially created on April 25, 1930 and dissolved on January 13, 1960 (Applebaum 2003; Viola 2007; Allen 2005; Jakobson 1993). Applebaum (2003, 3) explains that the Gulag was the government agency that administered the main Soviet forced labour camp systems. While the camps (**Plate 2**) held a wide range of convicts from petty criminals to political prisoners, large numbers were convicted using simplified procedures, along with instruments of extra-judicial punishment that were available. Memory narratives are evident and embellished by the presence of constructions such as the memorial to the victims of the Gulag at Syktyvkar, Komi Republic (**Plate 3**).



The "Zone" and *SHIZO* at Perm'-36

**Plate 2**: Camp or Gulag in the former Soviet Union (After Allen 2005, 22).

Camps and their satellite units were labelled by number, geographical names or industrial designators with code names, letters and alphanumeric postal codes (ibid. 21).

50

**Plate 3**: Memorial to the victims of the Gulag, Syktyvkar, Komi Republic (After Allen 2005, 32).

The Gulag housed individuals that were categorised as being suspected by Stalin to be anti-regime, with forced labour in forestry, mining and construction projects in sub-human conditions (Viola 2007, 3). Viola suggests that by the early 1950's the Gulag was at its zenith with 476 separate camp complexes (ibid. 3; Allen 2005, 20) and a population of over 2.5 million inmates. It is alleged that 12-14 million people were processed through the Gulag between 1934-1944, with 1.5 million deaths between 1930 and 1956 (ibid. 3). These figures may well be reflective of tensions in mainland Europe throughout the rule of the National Socialists in Germany and the conflict with Stalin's Russia that straddled World War II.

Viola (2007) predominantly examines the "unknown Gulag" or 'special settlements' that were the forerunner to the creation of Stalin's Gulag. Allen (2005, 23) explains that the 'special camps' were established to hold political prisoners and categories of dangerous criminals being similar in structure and operation to Gulag camps. Twelve special camps were designated and associated with natural resources for state projects such as Coastal, Far, Lake, Meadow, Mineral, Mountain, Oak Forest, Reed, River, Sands, Steppe and Watershed (ibid. 23).

Arthur Spindler (1997, 125) survived the Nazi onslaught only to fall victim to the occupying Russians, and was jailed by Stalin's regime in the USSR. His autobiography displays a similarity between the captivity of the Holocaust and that of the Soviet Union in the Gulag;

*"Here again were the barbed wire, the watchtowers, the lights, the guards and the dogs, but at least the buildings were of brick rather than wood and were therefore warmer, even though the mortar was crumbling and the paint was peeling. The three-tiered bunks and the congestion were the same, and the food was just as bad.*

*In the corner of the compound was a building in which forty women were incarcerated. With 2500 men in the Gulag, the ingredients for trouble were obvious. However, I closed my mind to that because I had other problems. I was about to become a coal miner."*

Again memory narrative plays a significant role along with the *in situ* remains of camp structures in relaying the physicality and reality of incarceration. Archaeological and forensic disciplines overcome the decay of time and prevent the dissolving of evidence. The immense interpretative value of objects of war have conveyed an insight to the anthropological nature of warfare and military activity, in terms of survival, life in war-torn districts and acts of genocide and death.

## 4.3  Cambodia, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge

Between 1975 and 1979 the seemingly peaceful nation of Cambodia succumbed to one of the most violent revolutions in modern history. The Cambodian genocide carried out by the Khmer Rouge (KR) over a four year period killed approximately 1.7 million people (over one fifth of the population). It was, as all genocides or attacks against humanity are, one of the worst violations against human existence of the last century (Power 2003, 128; Kiernan 2012; Anon. 2010d; Jarvis 2004, 91). Reports in America in 1976 suggested that nearly a million Cambodians had already died, Senator Clairborne Pell, a key figure in championing the Genocide Convention stated;

*"a record of barbarous butchery which is surpassed in recent history only by the Nazi atrocities against the Jews during World War II"* (Power 2003, 128).

The KR regime headed by Pol Pot combined extremist philosophy with ethnic aggression and a total disregard for human life to produce repression, misery, and murder on a scale only previously recognisable under the Nazis (Anon. 2010d). Kiernan (2012) states that the KR genocide in Cambodia utilised "overwork, disease, starvation and the murder of political and ethnic enemies". Much the same characteristics and elements were witnessed decades earlier in Nazi occupied Europe. Short (2005, 7) suggests that Cambodia's "descent into madness" developed "from a medieval incubus of a coalition of differing causes and ideas". In a direct contrast to Nazi planning and methodology, Power (2003, 130) cites American Senator Bob Dole (1978, 124, pt. 27:35961)

who suggested that the Cambodian genocide was seen as one without technology, although out of the ordinary without the deception carried out by the Nazis. Short (2005, 280) alludes to elaborate deception as technicians, skilled workers and well-educated individuals were promised clemency only to be driven away after being offered a reunion with their families at a later time.

Jarvis (2004, 91) discusses two specific genocide sites associated with the KR in Cambodia, one synonymous with the events of the four year long slaughter, the 'killing field' and the 'prison' of *Tuol Sleng*. The former know as *Choeung Ek*, an execution area on the outskirts of the capital Phnom Penh, has a memorial S*tupa* erected (**Plate 4**), whilst the former school and prison site at *Tuol Sleng* has become a museum of genocide. These are two genocide sites out of many hundreds scattered throughout the country which have been officially recognised by means of remembrance through construction (ibid. 91-92).

As head of the KR secret police, Comrade Duch was responsible for the murder of more than 20,000 people. Accounts of brutality and execution were narrated to photographer Nic Dunlop in his attempt to find Duch;

*"They were told to kneel down and then they were clubbed on the neck with tools such as cart axle, hoe, stick, wooden club or whatever else served as a weapon of death. They were sometimes stabbed with knives or swords to save using bullets, which were deemed to be too expensive. Duch said: "We had instructions from the party on how to kill them, but we didn't use bullets and usually, we slit their throats. We killed them like chickens"* (Dunlop 2006, 273).

Him Huy, who took the prisoners to be killed at *Choeung Ek* recalled,

*"They were ordered to kneel down at the edge of the hole. Their hands were tied behind them. They were beaten on the neck with an iron ox-cart axle, sometimes with one blow, sometimes with two... "* (Chandler 1999, 140).

**Plate 4**: Memorial *Stupa* in Cambodia. (After Jarvis 2004, 92).

Etcheson (2005, 110) discusses the speculation on the number of victims of the Cambodian genocide and is drawn to the methodological research conducted on behalf of the Documentation Centre of Cambodia utilised by the mass grave survey. The first five years of research provided 20,000 mass grave locations with data collected suggesting a death toll of 1,110,829. Almost all of these sites are at or in close proximity to KR security centres (ibid. 114). By the year 2000, 432 different genocide sites had been mapped as prisons, mass graves and memorials, all with KR association involving alleged atrocities (ibid. 114). Etcheson also discusses the positioning of mass graves, that comprised of earthen pits, wells, caves and open paddy land. This author believes that this is indicative of the nature of the KR regime as indiscriminate actions resulted in the creation of multiple burials in any given point within the landscape.

Etcheson (2005, 110-114) also reflects on the composition and morphology of mass grave sites, again in the view of this author indicating the random nature of the atrocities, but also the willingness of the KR regime to be as comprehensive as possible when committing genocidal acts. Large numbers of small graves contained members of family units, whereas similar numbers of medium-sized burial sites contained several hundred victims which are believed to have been

54

inmates of prisons selected for extermination to accommodate new prisoners (ibid. 114). Finally, large mass graves that contained thousands of victims are believed to be representative of population liquidation (**Plate 5**). The view of this author is that research along these lines highlights the continued importance of forensic and archaeological interventions that serve to facilitate precision when accounting for victim statistics, cause of death and the location of mass graves. They provide crucial evidence to secure convictions of perpetrators that are involved in criminal proceedings. Findings may also establish a methodology of genocide as nations attempt to understand the reasons behind such actions.

On July 18, 2007, Cambodian and international co-prosecutors at the newly established mixed UN/Cambodian tribunal in Phnom Penh found evidence of "crimes against humanity, genocide, grave breaches of the Geneva Convention, homicide, torture and religious persecution" (Anon. 2010d).



89 mass graves disinterred out of the estimated 129 graves at Choeung Ek Killing Field in 1980

**Plate 5**: As described. Available at HTTP: http://www.cekillingfield.com/ (8 March 2012).

## 4.4 **The Bosnian War-Srebrenica**

Conflict in Bosnia commenced in 1992 and featured large-scale genocidal acts consisting of gendercide (selective killing) atrocities from the early military engagements (Jones 2002). In April 1993, the United Nations declared the besieged enclave of Srebrenica in the Drina Valley of north-eastern Bosnia (**Figure 3**), one of six densely inhabited areas of Muslim territory, a "safe area" under UN protection (Power 2003, 391). However, in July 1995, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), a small contingent of Dutch peacekeepers, could not prevent the town's capture and the subsequent massacre. Srebrenica was witness to an act of selective murder in the form of gendercide, as Serb forces isolated Muslim civilian men from women, killing thousands of battle-age males, or hunting them down in the surrounding woods (Jones 2002).

The Srebrenica massacre or genocide of July 11-22 1995, saw the killing of 7-8,000 Bosnian Muslims (Power 2003, 391-392; Donais 2000, 229). The atrocity was described by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as the worst crime on European soil since World War II. As a consequence of the capture of the "safe area" of Srebrenica thousands surrendered to the VRS at Potocari or in the act of attempting to escape through the woods of the enclave. Prisoners were held at numerous detention points and over a period of several days they were bound, blindfolded and executed, then buried in mass graves (Manning 2000, 3). As a result of the examination of numerous execution and mass grave sites that were exhumed or probed, over 1,800 individuals were confirmed present and a further 2,500 estimated as the possible number of bodies in un-exhumed mass graves known to the ICTY (ibid. 5). Many were killed in a school gymnasium at Bratunac which had been the location of a gendercide in the Bosnian war. Hundreds more were killed at a football field near Nova Kasaba, the worst killing ground of the entire five-day slaughter (Jones 2002). Jones cites Danner (1998) as he reveals that Human Rights Watch recorded the testimony of one eyewitness to the gendercide at Nova Kasaba.

*"The Serbs picked out Muslims whom they either knew about or knew, interrogated them and made them dig pits. ...During our first day, the Cetniks (Serbs) killed approximately 500 people (men). They would just line them up and shoot them into the pits. Then approximately one hundred guys whom they interrogated and who had dug the mass graves then had to fill them in. At the end of the day, they were ordered to dig a pit for themselves and line up in front of it. ... they were shot into the mass grave. ... At dawn, ... a bulldozer arrived and dug up a pit ..., and buried about 400 men alive. The men were encircled by Cetniks: whoever tried to escape was shot."*

The archaeological and forensic examination of mass graves has been able to reveal the circumstances that surrounded the deaths of individuals exhumed, the identities of bodies discovered, cause of death and numerous items of material culture associated with (Manning 2000). This author believes that the memory narrative, such as the evidence recorded by Human Rights Watch, serves to corroborate physical evidence recovered from the numerous genocide locations.



**Figure 3 :** Location of Srebrenica. Available HTTP: http://www.worldhistoryonline.com (27 March 2013).

Manning's (ibid. 83) comprehensive review of the forensic material from mass grave sites and execution points illustrates the extensive nature of the massacre at Srebrenica. Aerial imagery played a key role in the identification of locations of atrocity at the time of or shortly after their creation (**plate 6**). They also capture the attempts of creating secondary grave sites, which were dug to conceal the crimes by moving bodies from their primary location (ibid. 3). Those individuals accounted for were discovered with dismembered bodyparts, with over 1,400 having died from gunshot wounds. Execution apparel such as almost 300 blindfolds and 400 ligatures were located on or associated with corpses (ibid. 3).
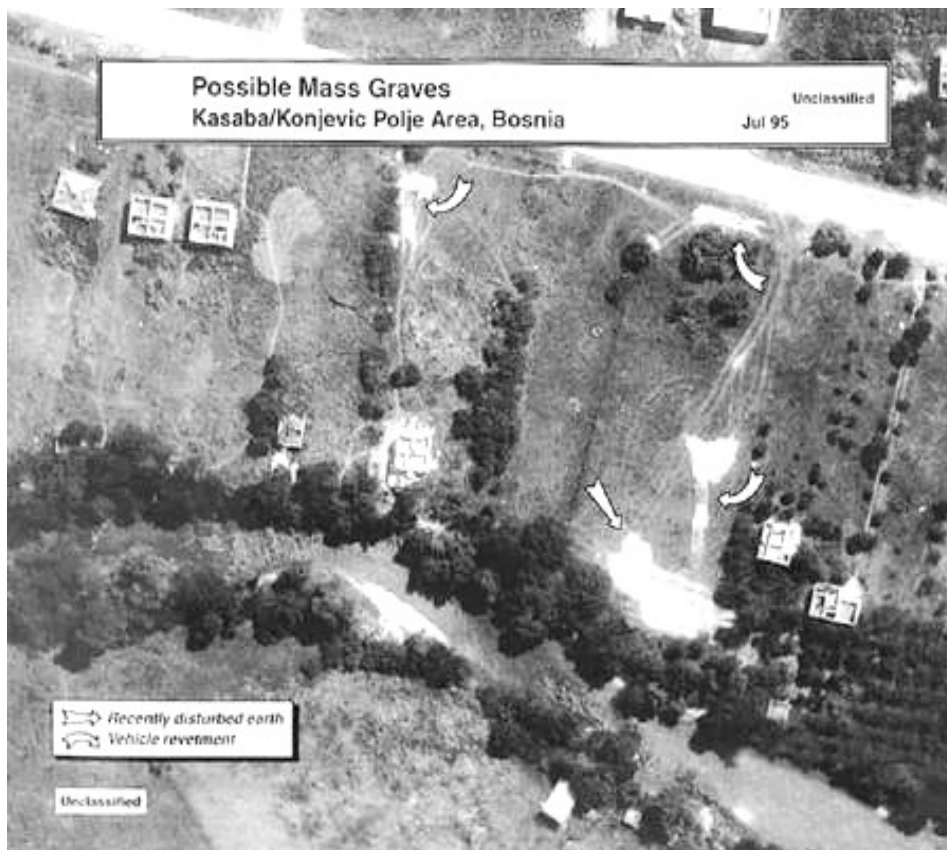
**Plate 6** : As described (After Jones 2002).

Identification procedures have confirmed that some of the 'missing' from Srebrenica were among bodies discovered in mass graves. Identity paperwork and personal belongings such as Koranic verses and amulets confirm Muslim religious affiliation. Amongst other material culture that directly related to the Bosnian War such as Dutch newspapers, ration packs and personal items provided and illustrated a link to the Dutch Peacekeepers present in Srebrenica and Potocari at the time (ibid. 3).

## 4.5 Visible components of Genocide

Kissi (2012) refers to comparative studies of genocide since the Holocaust and suggests that certain elements and characteristics are present and reveal "important information about the early-warning signs of an impending genocide". These signs include radio messages that were propagandistic and incited violence which in most cases achieved their aim in isolating and excluding target groups. In

58

most cases, as evidence from the Jewish Holocaust has suggested, those wielding power invariably use the presence of conflict to carry out the extermination of particular groups (Kissi 2012).

Bauer (2012) has suggested that the main comparative features of the Holocaust and other genocides, particularly those of the 20th century, is that the persecution, misery and suffering of the victims is the same. He alludes to a position of certainty, in that no matter how it is planned and carried out, mass murder is clinical in its approach and resulting aftermath. Bauer continues by commenting that the destruction of European Jewry, which reached its apogee throughout World War II, and the instigation of other genocides were successful owing to the adoption of systems that embraced improved technical and bureaucratic means that industrialised and automated the removal of 'undesirable' sections of populations. He suggests other more recent attempts benefited from aerial assault, the use of contemporary communication devices, and governmental legislation and support from local agencies that supported the massacres and obstructed outside intervention. The Holocaust that was perpetrated many decades before was enhanced technically and implemented by National Socialist policy that was uniquely adapted to be utilised against the Jewish population of Europe (ibid. 2012).

Kissi (2012) is under the impression that States and leaders who commit or support genocide have become immune to challenge and presume they can continue without redress, from those persecuted, bystanders and the global community. The almost benign reaction to events of the Holocaust have resulted in negativity surrounding subsequent genocides and their occurrence more likely according to Kissi (ibid.);

*"Post-Holocaust perpetrators of genocide appear to have taken inspiration from the Holocaust. They have reproduced its core elements and imagery and taken cues from the lack of organised local and international rescue or protection efforts."*

Hatzfield (2005, 60-61) cites Raul Hilberg (1967) and suggests that four stages existed as conditions, as a precursor for genocide in terms of the Jewish Holocaust. Hatzfield's perceptive views highlight the key stages of ghettoisation, deportation and internment that incorporate liminality;

1. Humiliation and loss of rights

2. Designation and marking

3. Deportation and concentration

4. Elimination or extermination (occurred in specialised centres).

Hatzfield (ibid. 61) also indicates that central to the subsequent events was the continued repression in action against Jews that galvanised support for the Nazi government. The collective nature of European progression through industrialisation, commercialisation and urbanisation backed the movement for the removal and exclusion of Jews from society.

Kiernan (2012) suggests, and most commentators appear to be in agreement, that Nazi destruction of European Jewry was history's most exceptional case of genocide in terms of duration and death statistics. He also explains that the organisational aspect ordered, engineered and carried out by the state had few parallels in terms of planning, precision timing and success levels. The size of the task undertaken by the Nazis illustrated that the elements required were derived from "an advanced economy" and fire-power beyond the means of many states, although interspersed with ancient ideology. Relevant themes such as race, territory and cultivation enhanced the technological attributes already in the possession of a powerful nation (ibid. 2012).

Kiernan (2012) elaborates further, and is a point that this author would like to concur with, that "powerful perpetrator preoccupations" are indicative of other genocide examples. That is, even with genocidal events that have been far from the scale of the Jewish Holocaust, common features permeate the events that unfold in terms of ideology and doctrine (ibid. 2012). The traits of a ruling individual will have their roots in the fledgling stages of a career that spawns power in the form of building military apparatus and placing effective policies to the fore to establish control over sectors of society deemed to be "asocial" and surplus to requirement. Kiernan also believes that distinguishing traits will assist in prediction and prevention in future attacks on humanity (ibid. 2012).

Kiernan (2012) compares Nazi beliefs with that of the KR rulers of Cambodia and Rwanda's Hutu Power regime of 1994. He suggests they held similar aspirations as their leaders held;

*"visions of the future partly inspired by ancient pasts – mythical and pristine – in which they imagined members of their original, pure, agrarian race, farming once larger territories that contained no Jews, no Vietnamese, and no Tutsis."*

This reveals that the contemporary genocides of Cambodia and Rwanda shared similar preconditions and preoccupations with that of the Nazi genocide (ibid. 2012). Race seems to have been a predominating factor with regard to ethnic purity, as well as the ancient processes involved with a nation's history, the contesting of land for agricultural purposes, and expansionism. "Genocidal thinking is usually racialist, reactionary, rural, and irredentist" (Kiernan 2012).

Wiesel (2012) discusses how fanaticism, either political or racially fuelled, has plagued the 20th century from Moscow to Berlin. With global conquest at the heart of all policy making, Russian and German authorities were prepared to sacrifice millions of lives to achieve their aims. The Gulag and Auschwitz became symbols of human suffering and destruction that witnessed the abolition of personal freedom and the incitement of hatred throughout communities in both countries.

Following the defeat of Nazism, fascism and the downfall of communism, people at the time were right to acknowledge their disappearance and signal liberal, forward thinking tolerant societies. Wiesel (2012) is cautious and realistic in an analytical approach to modern social problems as he suggests that anti-semitism is on the rise, with racists remaining vocal and active, and intolerance has once again emerged. As well as his practical work in the cause of stability, Wiesel had delivered a powerful message "of peace, atonement and human dignity" to humanity. Wiesel insists that anti-semitism is religious in nature, permeating current affairs, "just as it dominated the Middle Ages during the Crusades and the Inquisition" (ibid. 2012).

Sekulic, Hodson and Massey (2000, 106) highlight the phenomenon of enclaves, which has particular resonance with regard to Srebrenica, and the ensuing narrative of intolerance of minority communities. In appearance, construction and use the enclave could be seen to have served a similar purpose to the ghetto or the concentration and death camp, being a method of segregation and exclusion. Sekulic *et al.* (2000, 104-107) argue that concentration of minorities surrounded by

the majority increases the acceleration of racial unrest. An ethnic composition within a 'constructed' enclave opposite to that of the surrounding confines sees contact increase intolerance, although contact would have been at a minimum with curfews and restrictions in place.

Jones (2009, 151) discusses the gender selective nature of the genocide of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica and its exclusivity, as no other conflict that contained genocidal actions has witnessed the strategy of 'culling' battle-age males by means of execution or imprisonment under extreme circumstances. Gender specific atrocities in Bosnia saw executions focussing on eradicating physical resistance to Serbian occupation (ibid. 151). Ethnic cleansing in its purest form was meant to prevent the procreation of future generations of fighters. The events of Srebrenica is widely acknowledged as selective executions of Bosnian "men and boys" through forced separation from family and community members, as opposed to that of Bosnians in general, Muslims or civilians, and is generally accepted as form of gendercide (Warren 1985; Jones 2009, 151).

Doubt (2006, 120) and Jones (2009, 172) also highlight selectivity in the approach to genocide as the former discusses 'sociocide' and the latter 'eliticide'. Doubt cites cultural anthropologist Tone Bringa (1995) in an assessment of the value of the family home and how the systematic destruction of rural dwellings was the first step in a multi-stage approach to genocide. Bringa (1995, 85-86) suggests that the "hard work and effort" in constructing and maintaining the home, is for the male, symbolic of social worth, whereas for the women they are "guardians of its moral values" identified by unity and quality. The burning of houses in the Bosnian landscape is symbolic of and a prelude to the loss of life. Doubt (2006, 120) looks at the "twisted orientation" of the components of warfare as not just an attack on the materialistic "bricks and mortar" of a dwelling, but of what it represents. The very fabric of life is under threat as women and children, the city, its rituals, everyday living and specific sectors of society are targeted. The foundations and framework to sustain community, history and collective memory are under assault (ibid. 120). Social systems as well as society itself are demolished as exterminatory components in the form of violence against the home, domicide, urbicide and genocide can be collectively labelled as sociocide (ibid. 120).

Jones (2009, 172) describes the selective nature of genocide in conflict in terms of 'eliticide', as social elites in the context of the Bosnian War were categorised and targeted as "battle-age" males and were effectively isolated as part of a strategy in a phased assault on entire populations. Kimmel

and Aronson (2004, 348) also discuss gendercide in terms of elitism as a masculine entitlement with regard to violence in order to restore a visible status quo in the context of militarised campaigns. They cite examples such as Japanese killings of Chinese men and mass rapes and smaller-scale killings of Chinese women in Nanjing in 1937-39, as well as the 1971 genocide carried out on Bengali males by West Pakistani forces in the Bangladesh we know today (ibid. 348).

It is also essential to establish recognition of those individuals who ably assisted the main protagonist in the Jewish Holocaust, just as Pol Pot in Cambodia, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, General Ratko Mladić and numerous members of the security forces in Bosnia. Knopp (2010, ix) suggests that the Third Reich was dependant on Hitler, although the dictator was also reliant on persons close to him in the Nazi hierarchy. They were his henchmen and executioners, in theory and in practice, effectively translating his words into action. Knopp continues by offering that without his cohorts, Hitler would not have been so dominant, and certain individuals always knew which way public opinion was moving, and the criminal energies of the collective engaged in a deliberately staged official crime, initiated by the *Führer* and managed by the selection of specific accomplices (ibid. x, xi). This author suggests that these individual elements taken in isolation then assembled as one act against a section of society is significant as they appear in most genocides and seem to follow a trend of how to establish control and then to carry out the intended crime. The Holocaust had at its epicentre elements that are familiar within other genocide acts which suggests that planning, timing and accuracy of delivery were key to success and achieving the overall goal.

In summary there are many different aspects of conflict that are worthy of closer investigation in connection with genocide, how it was perpetrated, how individuals lived through it, and ultimately the aftermath. These can be recalled through narrative, but also revisited through archaeological, forensic and anthropological research. It is the material remains of such acts that reconnect with contemporary society, enabling us to isolate and record the necessary elements that are required for genocide and its associated activities to take place. Schofield, Johnson and Beck (2004, 4) suggest elements such as landscape that have derived personality from military activity to specific locations, installations, structures, building and monuments where events have taken place, are central themes in the analysis of material culture. This author believes they are equally as important in the archaeological assessment of genocide locations and possible future predictive sequencing of such crimes.

# 5  Deception, Fear and Terror-An Introduction

Prior to discussing findings on the main aspects of evidence contained within this research it is necessary to establish what is meant in specific contexts by the use of 'deception', 'fear' and 'terror' in relation to the hypothesis statement. Deception can be utilised as a 'stand alone' term as well as being associated with propaganda, although for the purposes of this research, deception and propaganda will be analysed in conjunction with each other. The main objective of propagandistic material as utilised by the Nazi hierarchy was to achieve deceit on a unprecedented scale, which incited, inflamed and enhanced anti-semitic feeling within the German population.

Fear and terror within conflict and the confines of incarceration produced distinct direct responses and in some cases were subtle in appearance. Also noteworthy is the fact that certain characteristics were present in the sociology of concentration camps and were part of the 'human condition' that maintained their place in immediate post-war contexts and are still recognisable today. It is the fear and terror of Holocaust suffering that requires emphasis and explanation, as most people will understand the concept from a contemporaneous viewpoint but not necessarily from that of the 'victim' of genocide acts.

## 5.1  Managing the threat of death; Terror Management Theory

Studies conducted by Baumeister, Gailliot and Schmeichel (2006, 49-62) demonstrated that managing the threat of death requires self-regulation of the ability to control one's thoughts, feelings and consistent behavioural patterns. Conscious thoughts of mortality, as seems understandable, create the conditions for stress (ibid. 49) and the corollary being that stress in the context of 'concentration world' would have induced vivid thoughts of imminent death. This is confirmed by Tiedens (1997, 63) as she explains that a number of the Jews in the Łódź and Warsaw ghettos were aware that deportation from the ghetto to the concentration camps meant certain death. Stories emanating from the east regarding Treblinka death camp filtered through to those 'imprisoned' in all Polish cities, thus by means of confirmation the Jews believed that no matter how they conducted their daily routines, they would eventually perish. Ofer (1998, 9) confirms that the fear factor for family life within the ghetto was the threat of deportation and rumour of mass murder. In contrast to Tiedens, Ofer (ibid.) comments that whilst the Jews did not have absolute

confirmation of the existence of death camps, the rumours of killings and gassings along with the visible evidence of deportations "created an atmosphere of unbearable fear". The debilitating effect being the realisation that they were living on borrowed time (ibid. 9). The conclusion that can be extrapolated from this is that fear and terror were evident on a daily basis, in many formats and could be described as psychological as well as physical. The fear of the unknown was less tangible compared to that witnessed in acts of violence.

Lewin (1992, 161, 162) draws on the research of Messing (1976, 326, 327) by suggesting that the Nazi genocide illustrates that culture is learned in order for it to be changed and "unlearned". For those victims, perpetrators and bystanders, Nazism was "the reversibility of culture", and Lewin cites Rebel (1989, 128) commenting that they witnessed the inception and infiltration of "pathology" into the natural scheme of things. Far from being a "whimsical strange subculture" it was a "powerful amalgam of old and new accretions" (Rogers 1976, 327).

Terror management theory, largely the work of Ernest Becker (1962, 1973 and 1975), illustrates human awareness of mortality that created the potential for overwhelming terror (Mitchell and Veil 2010, 4). Mitchell and Veil also cite (Greenberg *et al.* 1997) suggesting that messages of death and dying heighten death awareness. Tiedens (1997, 65) provides a cautionary note, that although analysis has been conducted in association with behavioural consequences of losing control and experience of negative events, there is a possibility that unspecified limiting conditions that existed for oppressed people and oppression itself could well have changed the most basic psychological processes.

## 5.2 <u>Fear-based analyses of Nazi Germany</u>

Fear-based analyses suggest that in Nazi Germany, certain emotional and responsive cues triggered fearful reactions that facilitated aversion to and hostile actions against Jews, as outsiders, as neighbours who, however, were 'different', and in defence against the terror of mortality. Specific personal inclination to fear was amplified by pseudo-political rhetoric. Propaganda was used to immerse and to create fear cues where realistic fear was initially absent and to make existing fears (such as the terror of dying) more prevalent. Historical accounts suggest the Nazis merely

uncovered the dormant expression of long-lasting fear and hatred rather than planting or enhancing those feelings (Goldhagen 996). Sections of the German population disagreed and distanced themselves from Jewish persecution and were unwilling to participate and endorse such actions (Suedfeld and Schaller 2002, 85).

The formation of the Gestapo (secret state police) armed with exclusivity in terms of arrest and detention, in close association with other agencies of political and militaristic standing, operated a generalised surveillance and control of the population (Gellately 1991, 23). Over time the Gestapo emerged as an important instrument of Nazi terror and its powers became ever greater (Johnson 1999a, 87). Normal terror was frequently supplemented with 'extra-legal' terror, similar to scenes witnessed during the attacks against Jews (pogroms) of November 1938 (*Kristallnacht*). The preferred method according to Gellately (1991, 24) was a politically induced police procedure with violence against the individual perpetrated in secret behind the façade of Gestapo headquarters or at the rapidly increasing camps. Although he adds the Nazi terror system was "mysterious, demonic and uncanny" (ibid. 25), Gellately suggests that the sheer weight of numbers associated with the Gestapo was "so overwhelming that the most innocuous forms of disobedience could be placed under surveillance and control" (ibid. 27).

Abel (1951, 150) suggests no individual element of persecution and punishment in the concentration camp system was unique and states that the collective nature of oppression and persistence, along with the systematic planning and subsequent procedures were the ultimate uniqueness of the operation. He also believes that the Nazis functioned as "political usurpers" having created their own concept of social order by destroying the established moral codes of pre-Nazi Germany (ibid. 151). Abel comments on the evolution of Nazi power and the intended process of regarding those (non-members) who opposed the imposition of draconian measures. Divided into two categories, those who submitted and those perceived as an actual or potential threat, were terrorised in the first instance within the stringent confines established by the new regime, and ultimately eliminated if deemed biologically inferior (ibid. 151).

Bloch (1947, 336) highlights the plight of the prisoner by suggesting that characteristics that are normally present in a regulated captive environment, such as the non-jeopardisation of individual security and status, were absent in the German concentration camp system. Inmate and community

routines were filled with a sense of insecurity and fear that is normally associated with an expectation of impending death (ibid. 336).

Dicken and Lausten (2002, 291) refer to the concentration camp in terms of the collapse of law with fear defined as the unlimited extent of random violence stemming from the knowledge that there were no rules to transgress. They cite Bentham (1995, 34,43) suggesting the fear of being seen by an omnipresent surveillance staff was enough to force the inmates to question their own movements, which saw terror incorporated into the mental psyche as well as being an intolerable physical presence. Dicken and Lausten (2002, 302) reflect on the analysis of Agamben (2001, 45) which has a resonance within the context of the Nazi state of World War II. The suggestion is that a state or regime that has security as its central component and reason for existence is, by definition, a brittle one. The threat of the Jew, perceived as a terrorist pursuing economic well-being, transformed the German outlook towards them.

## 5.3 **Holocaust survivors and Genocide remembered**

To illustrate the line of research that is being pursued and to capture the essence of fear that was prevalent, attention should be paid to literature that is associated with the Holocaust survivor and their relatives who have residual feelings of anxiety. This can pervade an individual's life, interfere with regularity and dominate emotions that were originally stirred by policies alluded to by Abel (1951). Comments describing residents in a Jewish Residential Home for the elderly in Toronto, Canada illustrate how Holocaust victims contended with the threat of death in their past lives, as routines that are taken for granted are a constant reminder of incarceration (Wong 2002);

*"One elderly woman is terrified of showers. Then there are those who hide crusts of bread in their rooms, even though that's against the rules."*

Health-Care worker Cindy Gabriel explains that this is the way the residents deal with the memories of the Holocaust. Some patients fear showers whilst others have aversions to baths, evoking thoughts of hypothermia experiments carried out on prisoners plunged into icy water and forced immersion in basins of disinfectant during detainment at death camps (Wong 2002). As Bloch (1947, 336) explains, relationships between displaced persons were constructed behind barbed wire

and created by alliance, under the threat of traumatic shock in an environment of de-socialisation.

Vinay Lal (2005, 227) attributes the genocidal edge of conflict to the vast disparities of power that developed from the late 19th century onwards and suggests that terror has a lengthy history when compared to the relatively new practice of terrorism. Terror as opposed to terrorism suggests victim subjugation in contrast to the actions of perpetrator. Lal discusses the barbarism of the developing world being a mnemonic device to the developed world of the past it left behind, and could just as easily be referring to atrocities that occurred at Auschwitz and other death centres (ibid. 243). Citing Adorno (1978, 55), Lal sees the continuation of normality and the rebuilding of a culture following the Holocaust as an attempt to subscribe the genocide of European Jewry to the annals of history by seeing it as an interlude and not the catastrophe it was.

## 5.4 <u>Victim, perpetrator and bystander</u>

A commentary on those that experienced fear and terror would normally concentrate on victim and perpetrator in association with war related atrocities, but in this instance there is the view of the bystander to take into consideration. This is reference to the German population and their apparent ignorance to labour camps although according to Kogan and Gutman (1947, 40) there was "no German without fear of them" (labour camps). This approach of the analysis of fear is vastly different from that which culminated in physical violence. Fear in this perspective is more a reflection of guilt on the part of the German nation as Kogan and Gutman refer to the pseudo-politics of the time and offer this as a reason for not defending themselves or voicing their opinions against the terror of National Socialism (ibid. 43).

From the perpetrator or aggressor perspective, the methodology behind the enactment of punishment defines how terroristic the personal attacks became on the victim. Those individuals that practised extreme violence structured their mind so that a surge of initial emotions was "released in violent outbursts" that followed pre-determined directions (Cotter 2009, 5). Actions against inmates differed from guard to guard as Knopp (2010, 153) comments that extremes of violence were often based on the nature of the perpetrator. This apparent fluctuation or polarisation in behaviour can be accounted for by the fact that the men who volunteered their services either in

the *Einsatzgruppen* or the 'Death's Head' units did so at their own volition and were not compelled to act in a violent manner (ibid. 153). Cotter cites Douglas and Olshaker (1999) as they comment on the aggression focussed on selected targets whilst maintaining a state of balance with the surrounding reality, thus displaying the characteristics of a functional paranoiac. These traits are recognisable in the context of the Holocaust as Cotter cites Kogon (2006, 283) who spent a number of years in Nazi camps commented in 1947;

*"The men who volunteered for Hitler's elite guards were almost without exception of a type in whom a primitive psychological mechanism was at work. Their minds were enclosed by a hard shell consisting of a few sharply fixed dogmatic, simplified concepts underneath which, lurked a flood of inchoate emotionalism. The only form of soul-searching to which they submitted amounted to no more than a check up as to whether the direction of their emotions actually corresponded to the prescribed SS goals."*

Knopp (2008, 178) sees the recruitment of appropriate SS personnel as the crucial factor that set a standard for the system of terror and extermination at the heart of the camp system. Appointed by Hitler and Himmler, Theodore Eicke created the 'elite' and 'Dachau School' that represented a model for all other concentration camps, with all those recruited able to "wield violence without inhibition". Eicke's pupils dominated the control of camps and were eager to excel in ruthlessness (ibid. 178).

## 5.5 <u>Consequences</u>

Ultimately the fear of death at an oppressor's hand led to numerous suicides. Arad (1999, 225) discusses the death camps of Bełżec, Sobibór and Treblinka speculating that because inmates had no inkling of what was going to happen to them from minute to minute that such uncertainty and anxiety manifested itself through the taking of their own lives. Fear was a constant presence and pressure as certainty was rife that relatives and friends had been murdered, as Jews witnessed the systematic plundering of belongings and corpses (ibid. 225). Smith (2006, 155) confirms and reiterates that the life of a concentration camp prisoner consisted of "constant uncertainty, fear and sheer hell", with brutality, horror and human degradation heaping further misery. The words of Czech Jewish youth Josef Perl that describe the events at Auschwitz-Birkenau highlight the struggle for life whilst simultaneously capturing the overriding feeling of terror (ibid. 174);

*"If they wanted volunteers I was there: whether to fetch food, carry bodies, whatever, I was there. If you were too exposed you didn't last. Just imagine: you are walking along and you're sticking in the mud, then you lose your shoes! If you lose your shoes, you lose your **life**. I can't begin to explain the **fear**, the heart-beating, and the gauntlet we had to run."*

The use of quotation marks to highlight words such as "victim", "imprisoned", "prisoner" and "inmates" is intended to determine an historical and geographical context. The context of a Nazi regime within an occupied Europe bought about situations that had been constructed and would otherwise not have occurred. There is need to recognise the intended boundary be it imaginary or one that had a physical presence, as individuals and communities were isolated, persecuted, deported and exterminated against their will. The categorisation that has been identified is one similar to that adopted by Cole in *Holocaust City* (2003, 46,47) and is fully merited to facilitate a lucid synopsis of the circumstances involved.

# 6  Propaganda; the Art of Deception

## 6.1 As defined by Goebbels

*"This is the secret of propaganda: those whom the propaganda is aimed at must become completely saturated with the ideas it contains, without ever realising that they are being saturated. Obviously the propaganda has a purpose, but it must be so cleverly and innocently disguised that the person we intend to influence simply does not notice it"* (Knopp 2010, 20).

Words that have been attributed to Dr. Joseph Goebbels, a venue and date are not stated, although important, the main focus however was how propaganda was achieved and its overall effectiveness. Under the remit of the Nazis (NSDAP) propaganda was described as a totalist or totalitarian aesthetic (Hoffman 1997, 69; Taylor 2003, 208). Blanket statements from high-powered individuals within the Nazi regime were a common theme of oppressive rule, but were based on design and purposefully aimed at a partisan audience, and consistent with a more overall pseudo-political stance adopted by the Government elected in 1933.

## 6.2 National Socialism and Propaganda

Propaganda instilled the belief that National Socialism was the remedy for political and economic ills and was reinforced at every juncture by terrorism, and rendered competing propaganda inert (Yourman 1939, 148; Gellately 1991, 23). Throughout, the campaign was supported physically in terms of terror and violence (Welch 2007, 18; Evans 2005, 213). Evans suggests that propaganda went hand in hand with terror and intimidation, produced mass support and quelled any intended open dissent (ibid. 213). Emergency decrees and violence were integrated into the policies that saw the acquisition of power through the administrative legalisation of terror (Gellately 1991, 23).

The metaphors used in propaganda may have also served to heighten the salience of mortality. Terror management processes are started by thoughts about the subsequent aftermath of the body following death, in terms of how it is treated and left. Suedfeld and Schaller (2002, 84) cite Goldhagen (1996, 67) as they suggest consideration to the consequences of anti-semitics in Germany should be paid, which produced "organic metaphors of decomposition". A common theme within Nazi propaganda were references to Jews as bacilli and vermin (**Figure 4**), to their 'unclean'

blood and to their unwitting contribution to pollute the purity of the Aryan race (Goldhagen 1996). Suedfeld and Schaller (2002, 84) cite Goldenberg *et al.* (1999) who suggest that the depiction of Jews as asocial focused attention to tangible elements of life and may have initiated responses in the processes of terror management.
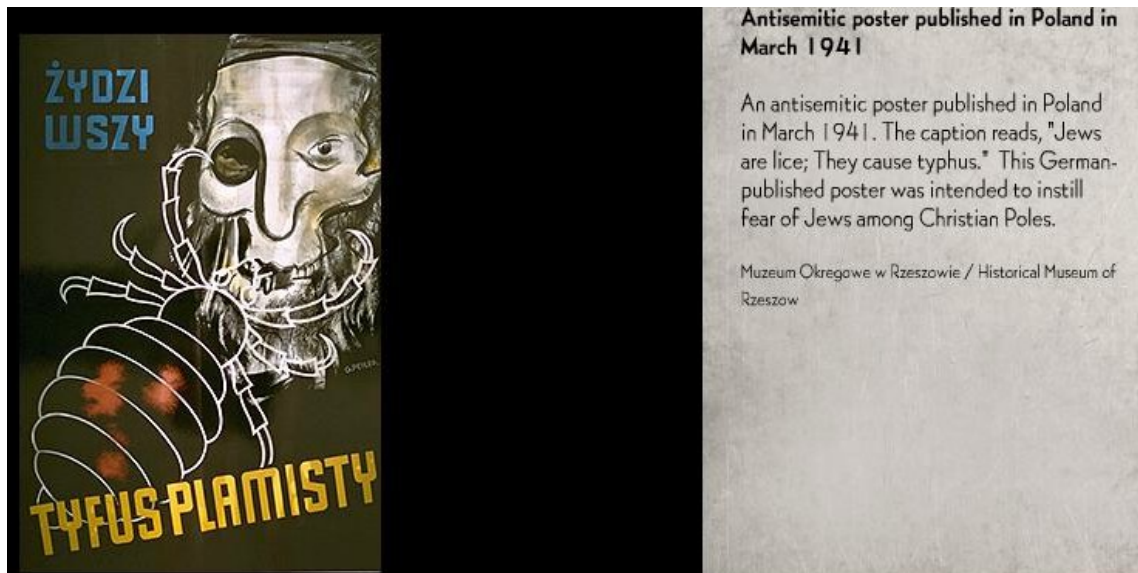


**Figure 4** : Jews associated with disease. Available HTTP:  http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 January 2012).

Some of the key principles of propaganda according to the Nazis and in particular Goebbels (**plate 7**), provide a framework for discourse to take place. Accompanying associative material is interspersed with accounts relating to the memory of survivors that verify the circumstances, conditions and reality of Germany and beyond under National Socialist rule.

Hoffman (1997, 64) cites a statement from Friedländer (1984, 118) that he thinks provides for those who have had to live with the past and who seek an explanation of pre-1945 history. National Socialism is;

*"in its singularity, as in its general aspects, the result of a large number of social, economic, and political factors, of the coming to a head of frequently analysed ideological currents, and of the meeting of the most archaic myths and the most modern means of terror."*

With Hitler in power, attention turned to the immediate ousting of Jews from the economy and their expropriation, cited in the NSDAP program, with the hope of individual lucrative benefit in the process (Johnson 1999, 88).



**Plate 7**: Dr. Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945). Available HTTP: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ (22 February 2012).

The position of German Jews in the economy was the main target of the discriminatory policies in the early years (ibid. 88), compelling most to emigrate. Taylor (2003, 241) examines the perspective of propaganda from the young people of a country who have been "prime targets of propagandists in totalitarian countries", as well as the youth of democratic systems being vulnerable to rhetorical words and images of propaganda. German youth was influenced by Nazi ideology aligned with the inception of the National Socialist Party in the years following World War I. Under Hitler, the youth of Germany were trained and educated that saw ideology supersede scholarship (ibid. 241) (**Plate 8**).

Taylor (2003, 208) suggests that the employment of propaganda for six years during World War II was an unprecedented use of words and imagery, even more so than that of the world conflict earlier in the century. Owing to the nature of World War II, one between entire nations, Taylor explains that coercion and oppressive measures replaced the politicised bargaining of democracy. He continues by commenting that propaganda became a significant weapon in the battle of ideologies that

witnessed acceleration in media technology and facilitated an improved communication link between governments and populations. This precipitated a new approach in inter-country relationships as Taylor suggests "propaganda was in this respect the alternative to diplomacy" (ibid. 208).



**Plate 8**: German children read an anti-Jewish propaganda book entitled *Der Giftpilz* (The Poisonous Mushroom). The girl on the left holds a companion volume, the translated title of which is Trust No Fox. Germany, ca. 1938. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (22 February 2012).

Goebbels, Minister of National Enlightenment and Propaganda (**Figure 5**), in 1933 launched a sensory assault on the population's consciousness by means of a publicity campaign from a department created to control propaganda, film, radio, theatre, art, music and the press (Knopp 2010, 19, 20). With this monopoly of control over the media industry, the distortion of reality and manipulation of opinions became reality and not just another element of political re-positioning (Kershaw 2001, 97). The sentiment that Jews were not only different but also a less than positive influence penetrated further into the German psyche, which was fully attributed to the effective diffusion of propaganda (ibid. 100). Aspects of National Socialist anti-semitism had their origins in Hitler's firebrand of hatred, his bond with the German population, how racial policies were pursued politically and its position on government agenda at the outbreak of war in 1939 (Friedländer 2007, xviii).
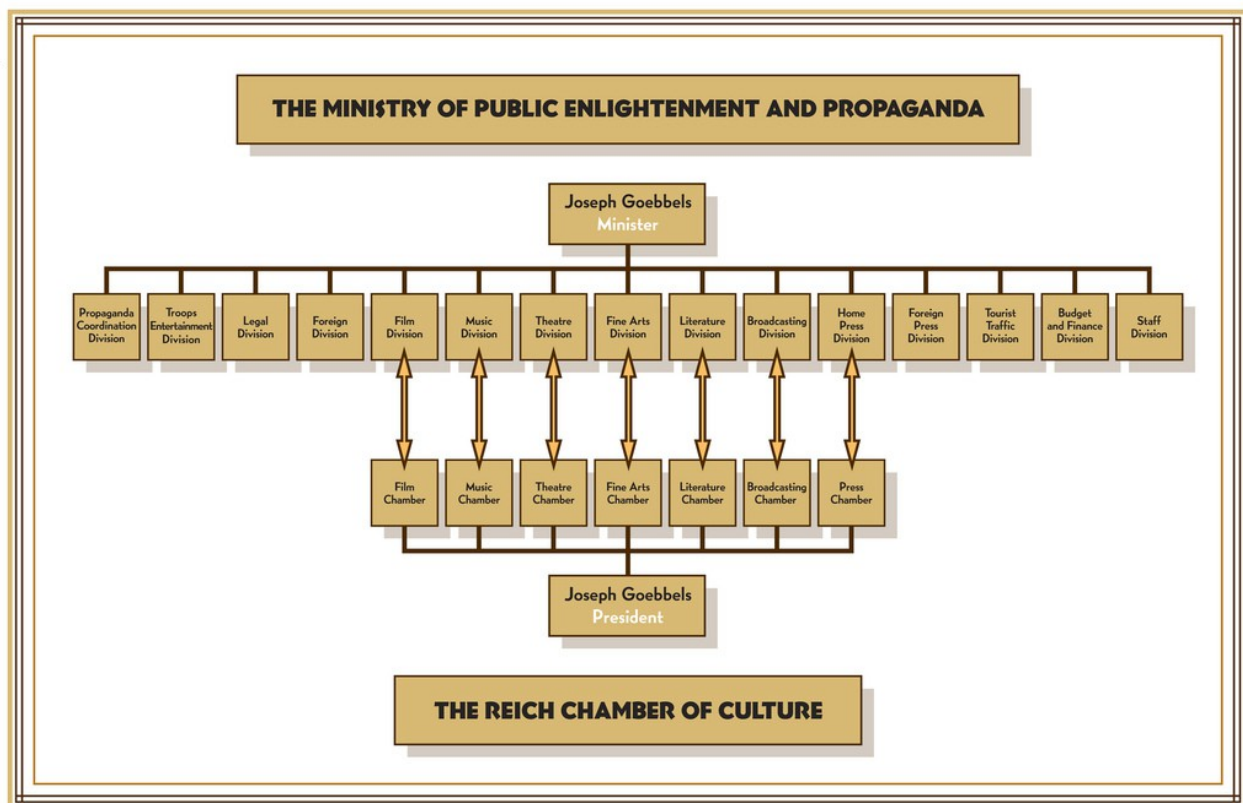
**Figure 5**: The structure of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Available HTTP: http://www.flickr.com/ (22 February 2012).

Doob (1950, 422) examined excerpts from Goebbels war diary and highlighted elements that were thought to be the characteristics necessary to achieve success in 'the war of words', or as Yourman (1939, 148) comments "the degree to which absolutism dominates and the extent to which democracy was eliminated". Goebells and his cohorts maintained the necessity to associate their words with extant intelligence and that a single authority must carry the planning and implementation, all consequences of such must be considered. Propaganda was thought to be a psychologically integral part of warfare, politically induced, intended to damage enemy morale and undermine policies and actions of opposition leaders (Doob 1950, 422-425).

The principles of propaganda illustrated how significant a role that the Ministry of Enlightenment and Propaganda had as part of the war effort and for enforcing the National Socialist ideology. As one of the principles stated, "to be perceived, propaganda must evoke the interest of an audience and must be transmitted through an attention-getting communications medium" (Doob 1950, 426). The intended recipients of propagandistic information were seduced by party rallies and large

numbers of people already seemingly convinced by enthusiastic rhetoric. Jaskot (2000, 50) is in agreement when discussing the Party Rally Grounds at Nuremburg; "here the ideological machinations of National Socialism received their epitaph as the aestheticisation of politics".

## 6.3 Propaganda and Anti-semitism

Radical anti-semitism that is mooted by Bauer (2000, 11) was prevalent in influential sections of pre-National Socialist German and Austrian elites, although he cites and challenges Goldhagen's (1996) view that the Nazis were an aberration and were solely responsible for the Holocaust. Instead he argues that the virulent eliminationist anti-semitism that fuelled the Holocaust was a unique, intrinsic part of German culture and that the entire society voluntarily participated in its enactment. Goldhagen's demonstration of the guilt of "ordinary" Germans seems incontrovertible illustrating that the perpetrators of the Holocaust were average Germans and not fanatical Nazis. This highlights the steps that were necessary to re-emphasise, by use of propaganda and subsequent analysis (where Bauer and Goldhagen agree) that by the early 1940's the majority of German society had become complicit in the domain of murderous recruitment (Bauer 2000, 11).

Anti-semitic messages were constructed and disseminated throughout Germany through the weekly Ufa newsreels in response to a growing desire for further visual material about Jews (Friedländer 2007, 22). Autumn 1939 saw cinematic propaganda success as the cultural policies of the NSDAP were stirring interest in the rural population, as war films became popular and were described as a "positive experience" (Kreimeier 1999, 305). Films that indoctrinated the subconscious of the native German relating to conduct in wartime referring to hoarding and the storage of materials were shown as entertainment, but also to highlight the seriousness of the impending conflict (ibid. 306). Kreimeier also suggests that a German government was employing for the first time a propaganda strategy consisting of war material and ideological influences to stabilise the populace (1999, 306). Agreements reached by Goebells and leading military protagonists affirmed that propaganda was "a means of conducting war equal in importance" to that of field operations (ibid. 307). Kreimeier (1999) and Richter (1972, 71) are in general agreement of the importance of propaganda as a weapon in the armoury of German war efforts (**Figure 6**). Friedländer (2007, 19) discusses how Goebbels aimed anti-Jewish propaganda beyond the Reich's borders consistently reiterating that the war was a Jewish affair instigated by themselves for profit and world

76

domination.

In general, stories were fabricated as part of a planned deception. A 1941 booklet reported that in occupied Poland, German authorities had put Jews to work, built hospitals, established soup kitchens for Jews, and provided them with newspapers and vocational training (Anon. 2010a; Anon. 2010b). The Nazis used deceptive euphemisms to explain and justify deportations of Jews from their homes to ghettos or transit camps and on to the gas chambers at Auschwitz and other killing centres. Officials stamped "evacuated," a word with neutral connotations, on the passports of Jews deported from Germany and Austria to ghettos in the east. Deportations from the ghettos were classed as "resettlements" and emphasised the overall importance of the train in the war effort (Anon. 2010a; Anon. 2010b) (**figure 7**).
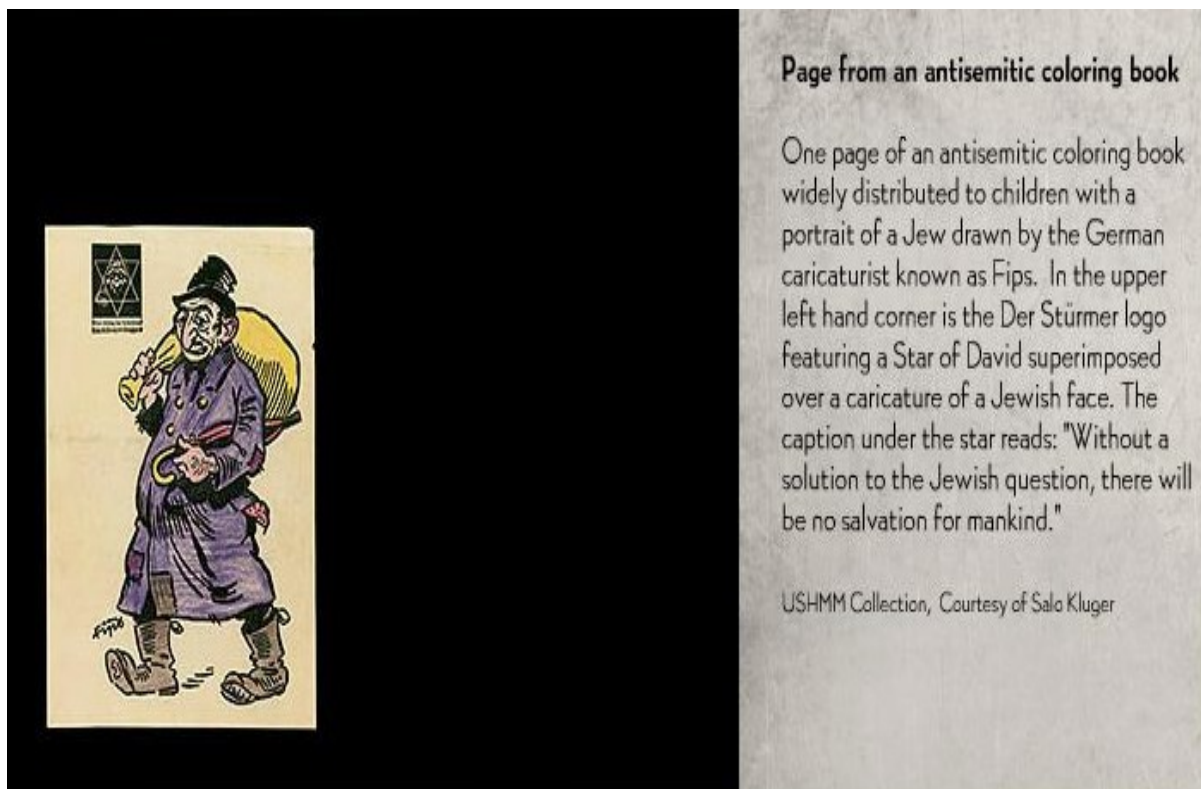


**Figure 6**: Anti-semitic publication for children. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 January 2012).
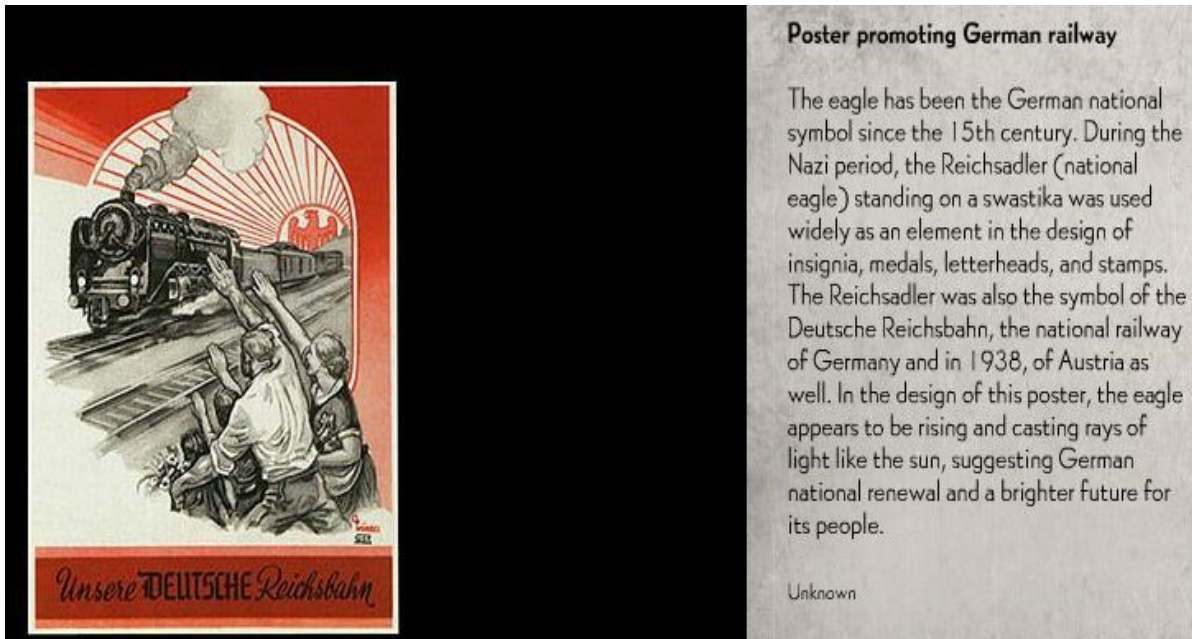
**Figure 7**: Reliance on the image of German railways towards the war effort. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 January 2012).

## 6.4  Evidence of Active Propaganda-Theresienstadt

Intrator (2007, 513-522) conveys the face of active propaganda played out at the model ghetto-camp of the Czech fortress town of Terezín, known as Theresienstadt in German. The morphology of the settlement was ideal to support a ghetto as it was surrounded by walls and a moat, as well as including prison building infrastructure. It differed in two ways from that of established conventional camps and ghettos in terms of inmates and the way it was seen operationally.

Predominated with the upper echelons of Jewish society the fabrication of a "model camp" was a means to an end, by which it was presented to the outside world as a town that operated normally without duress, where Jews were housed by choice and for their own benefit (ibid. 514). As Intrator explains, deceit was possible by utilising commerce and culture within a propagandistic environment (ibid. 514). A Council of Elders from the Jewish community oversaw the day-to-day running of the camp, although under the auspices of the Nazis. Camp commerce was provided by a bank that dealt in worthless currency, whilst shops did likewise in goods and were more often than not closed. A cafeteria that was to supply refreshment served only watered-down coffee. From these

few examples Theresienstadt was shown to be a façade (**plate 9; figure 8**) for the usual discipline that occurred in a transit camp for Jews (ibid. 514, 515).

In June 1944, the German Security Police permitted an International Red Cross team to inspect the Theresienstadt camp-ghetto. Prior to inspection the ghetto underwent a 'beautification' program and SS officials produced a film using ghetto residents as a demonstration of the benevolent treatment the Jews supposedly enjoyed. The regime practised propaganda of deception by hiding specific details about "The Final Solution" and media controls prevented Germans from reading statements by Allied and Soviet leaders condemning Nazi crimes (Anon. 2010C; Anon. 2010a and Anon. 2010b).

Zdenka Ehrlich, a young Czech Jewish woman residing in Theresienstadt, spoke about the Red Cross inspection;

*"Before the visit everybody was engaged in town cleaning. The streets were virtually washed on the knees with brushes and soap and were spotless. Music was played in the square, people were walking around like in a spa, everything was arranged. And that of course was used for German propaganda"* (Smith 2006, 144).



**Red Cross visit to Theresienstadt**

The Germans permitted representatives from the Danish Red Cross and the International Red Cross to visit Theresienstadt in June 1944. It was all an elaborate hoax. The Germans intensified deportations from the ghetto shortly before the visit, and resumed them once the visit was over. In this photograph, children look well-fed and happy. Most were later taken to Auschwitz and murdered. Theresienstadt, Czechoslovakia, June 23, 1944.

Comité International de la Croix Rouge

**Plate 9:** How the world saw Theresienstadt. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 January 2012).

**Figure 8:** Drawing of the cover-up at Theresienstadt. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 January 2012).

### 6.4.1 Warsaw Ghetto

Another Nazi propaganda film has in recent years come to light depicting life and death in the Warsaw Ghetto, Poland. Sections of this film were of authentic ghetto life, as the Nazis had no qualms portraying Jewish suffering. Other parts were carefully staged, a fake village portrayed for propaganda and contrived to discredit the Jews. Two and half years after the ghetto was established and shortly before the Nazis sent the first 300,000 Jews to Treblinka extermination camp, the Reich dispatched a crew of German soldiers to film Jewish life in the Warsaw Ghetto (Chesnoff 2010). The Nazi propaganda goal was to preserve examples of the religious practices and 'sub-human culture of the Jewish Race'. Film captured a circumcision ceremony, a burial service, and the extreme poverty of the majority. This was meant to highlight the apparent lack of concern for their fellow people from those Jews who still retained some assets and had not been captured. Edited excerpts have surfaced over a number of years including imagery of a starving child dying on the streets of the ghetto as Jews walked by (ibid. 2010). Additional clips depict Jews dining at well-stocked restaurants in Warsaw that in reality did not exist and Nazi appointed Jewish Ghetto police terrorising fellow Jews. Yet the propaganda film was never finished and for more than 50 years, the silent, unedited reels were hidden in an East German film archive in boxes marked "The Ghetto" (ibid. 2010). Yael Hersonski, an Israeli documentary maker whose grandmother survived the Warsaw Ghetto, gained access to the footage via the current German government. She wrote and directed *A Film Unfinished*, a 90-minute documentary of the atrocities in the ghetto as filmed by the

Nazis (Chesnoff 2010).

In summary the use of propaganda was the foundation and starting point for action against Jewish communities. National Socialist propaganda provided a crucial instrument for acquiring and maintaining power, and for the implementation of their policies it incited hatred by utilising deception through words and image and was a process manufactured and delivered by a specific government department that came to influence millions of Germans. Analysis of communicative material and methods reveals an assault on the senses as people were subjected to an overload of sound and images that infiltrated and overwhelmed public conscience. Propaganda images were present throughout Nazi Germany in cities, war-torn landscapes, in architecture and the way that buildings were constructed, presented and utilised. Art and cinema became a crucial instrument of dissemination in reaching the masses. Poster art was a mainstay of the Nazi propaganda effort, aimed both at Germany itself and occupied territories. It had several advantages. The visual effect, being striking, would reach the viewer easily. Posters were also, unlike other forms of propaganda, difficult to avoid. This type of imagery was enhanced by moving pictures, in particular cinema and movies promoting propagandist material. Propaganda, became a method of control that simultaneously created fear for Jews and the ideal setting for the intensification of a distorted reality.

# 7 **Ghettoisation**

In Poland, under the occupying German government, Nazis controlled Jewish life and death . This meant concentration, isolation, and imprisonment in ghettos; starvation, slave labour, disease, torture, and randomised executions, and for one in five death in the ghettos. However, against all odds some Jews survived for more than two years.

Marcuse (2001, 4) defines a ghetto as the following;

*"An area of spatial concentration used by forces within the dominant society to separate and to limit a particular population group, externally defined as racial or ethnic or foreign, held to be, and treated as, inferior by the dominant society."*

The term ghettoisation and the use of open and sealed ghettos has become synonymous with the control of populations when applied to Jewish communities of occupied Europe. Konrad Kwiet (2010, 143) suggests ghettoisation and forced labour were steps or components in the mechanics of destruction. Cole (2003, 33) believes that there is a certain amount of confusion between justification and motivation surrounding the initiation of ghettoisation. Cole cites Browning (1988, 23-24) who explains wealth and the limitation of the spread of disease were the main factors for the use of ghettos to isolate Jews, and then returns to Kwiet's theory of ghettoisation, that it was a preparatory step towards genocide. The theories subscribed to by most historians were a pretext to the justification of ghettos.

## 7.1 **Aspects of the initiation of Ghettoisation**

Walter (1964, 256) suggests that a typology of power systems constructed around the pursuit of violence is possible. Theory can be polarised to reflect last resort usage to that of a system that condones its use from the offset. According to Walter, instruments of punishment used as methods of control that inflict severe violence do not extend beyond punishment (ibid.). Although Walter describes "systems of terror" and "terrorism" in terms of world conflict and despotic regimes, his direct reference to the Nazi system of terror is inaccurate as he believes that even though they created a near perfect system it was not entirely effective (ibid. 256, 257).

The pursuit of terror by the Nazis from the early stages of the National Socialist Party assuming power, enabled the process to continue unabated through persecution and ghettoisation. Interestingly, Walter's comments on specific areas for the perpetration of terror are applicable to the ghettoisation of Jews in Germany, Poland and Europe in general (**Figures 9 and 10**) as he suggests that an ethnic minority could be subject to exceptional violence in a "zone of terror". Staub (1985, 3) is in agreement with the theory of mistreatment and violence against subgroups within a society as he outlines his own specific theory of the characteristics of genocide.
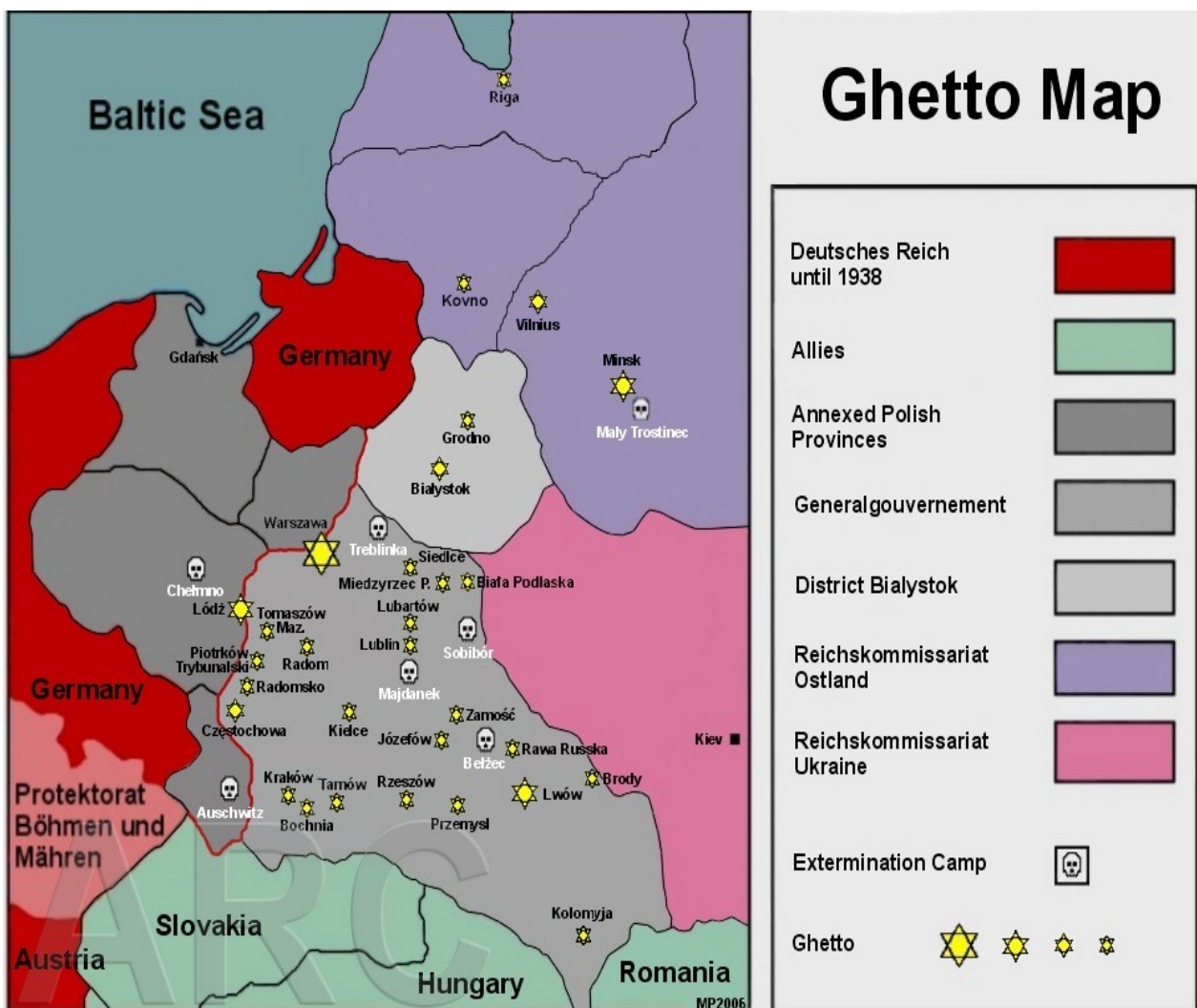


**Figure 9:** Map of ghettos distributed mainly throughout occupied Poland. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (27 February 2012).

**Figure 10:** Further ghetto locations. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (27 February 2012).

He discusses psychological bases of mistreatment that present as the potential to identify between in and out groups, culminating in the labelling of a group as a "hindrance to the fulfilment of the ideology". The addition of social and cultural conditions gave rise to potential mistreatment, devaluation and discrimination (persecution and ghettoisation) are the "steps along a continuum of destruction" (ibid. 4).

The removal of Jews from established communities into urban centres of exclusion can be interpreted as where violence and fear are confined (Walter 1964, 249). The ghetto, as Wirth (1927, 57) commented, had been created in most moderate sized cities in the western world and was a product of medieval European urban institutionalism that saw the segregation of Jews as an instrument of control. However, Wirth continues by suggesting that the inception of ghettos was not

by authoritarian intervention or a innovative concept of urbanisation, but more of awareness by the Jews of their customs and heritage that made them supplant selective cultural areas, which was not influenced externally or by deliberate intentions (ibid. 59). A Jewish population drift was down to factors such as habits and customs and that tolerance parameters of "strange modes of life" had a bearing on the sifting of populations into separate areas that enabled a sense of immunity from hostile criticism and to support similarly affected individuals (ibid. 60). Ford and Griffin (140, 1979) capture the image of the late 20th century ghetto in multi-descriptive overtones, although the creation is familiar to most indicating that ghetto use and implementation has remained relatively unchanged over many years. Omitting references to 1970's lifestyle, the illustrative nature Ford and Griffin convey is repeated time and again in urban centres; teeming populations, multi-storey buildings, congestion and poverty, better known in modern contexts as a slum, associated with negative and inferior connotations of home for those suffering discrimination and prejudice (ibid. 140).

Wirth's analysis of urban ghettoisation is a valid one although influenced by pre-Nazi biological processes, emphasises the point that the strategy evoked through the anti-semitic ideology of Nazism was pursued through coercion and persecution and was not a matter of choice. Wirth describes life and relationships beyond the ghetto wall as external and of utility, which has a familiarity when analysing the ghettos of World War II;

"*Through the instrumentality of the ghetto there gradually developed that social distance which effectively isolated the Jew from the remainder of the population*" (Wirth 1927, 61).

The underlying implication by Wirth is that the segregation and self exclusion of populations in his analysis of early 20th century ghettoisation suggests that physical separation and the adoption of a way of life that followed customs and tradition in fear of reprisal from "others" are two entirely different theories. He later alludes to this by suggesting that family life was key to the functionality of the ghetto community and from within there was opportunity for leadership to flourish (ibid. 63). This again is an aspect of survival characteristics applicable to the Polish ghetto situation, indicative of psychological variables that may have enabled the involvement in organised revolt (Tiedens 1997, 45). Crucially, as Tiedens points out, residents from other ghetto locations, which automatically suggests variable internal social conditions, had no hope concerning their survival, whilst others remained optimistic. Again the former could be interpreted as a negative characteristic regarding long-term prospects in terms of mentality, as opposed to a positive outlook adopted by

others, with the physical separation of ghettoisation accepted for what it was, a temporary or interim measure (Stackelberg 1999, 219). The position of the individual in the social and the political world of the time were important elements when an analysis of survival is considered. Zuckerman (1984, 37) believes that certain responses to governmental terror were evident;

1. People endeavoured to find survival strategies that rarely involved a change in behavioural patterns.

2. There were minimum appraisals made by an individual of survival chances.

3. Mobilisation of efficient terror techniques ultimately affected survival rates.

Consideration of circumstances according to Zuckerman, even taking into account the severity of Nazi control measures, were positive for most inhabitants in terms of short term survival, as the prospect of escape meant almost certain death, which left control of their destiny within familiar surroundings in their own hands (ibid. 42). Figures of several millions dead indicate that the terror techniques employed were the single most attributable factor to casualties throughout the period of Nazi rule, although from an alternative stance, it has been possible to establish that many survived, through both individual and collective endeavours, which more often than not involved the continuation of everyday routines (ibid. 39). Zuckerman cites Barrington Moore Jr. (1978, 156-157);

*"The overwhelming majority of those whose "objective" situation would qualify them as being some how the victims of injustice took no active part in the events of the period. I strongly suspect that doing nothing remains the real form of mass action in the main historical crises since the 16th century."*

This author suggests that the application of this can be associated with the mechanics of ghetto creation and ghetto mentality in a Nazi cityscape construct. The habitat of the ghetto required a special individual to maintain and sustain dignity. It is simplistic to assume that Jews of any large, established society were ordered, coerced and imprisoned as part of a more significant master plan, moreover the establishment of forced segregation should be viewed as urban planning motivated by racial prejudice and wealth. Bajohr (2000, 234) comments that the elders of German society at the time expressed concern relating to the "Aryanisation of Jewish companies and German society" in that the policy of expropriation destabilised market conditions and blemished the functionality of economic order.

Anti-semitic arguments created the necessary conditions that facilitated the economic elimination of Jews that in turn led to the reorganisation spatially, and geographically of eastern European cities, as ghettos were not established in western Europe. Dwork and Van Pelt (2009, 195) explain that the Nazis and their allies initiated policies that created a framework of disassociation politically and socially for the "Jew" that led to economic exposure forbidding commerce and marriage between gentiles and Jews (ibid. 195; Stackelberg 1999, 149).

Although those that benefited from exclusion and persecution policy varied from "avaricious exploiters to sympathetic businessmen willing to pay a fair price" (Bajohr 2000, 242). Bajohr continues by suggesting that "Aryanisation" adopted a minimum standard of morals, heavily influenced by National Socialism, where the purchasers were complicit in the creation of atmosphere and conditions for the transfers of business and property. This contributed to the overall aim of Nazi policy-making requiring the removal of the Jewish population from German and occupied areas under Nazi military jurisdiction (Stackelberg 1999, 219). September 21st 1939 witnessed the genesis of ghettoisation as instructed by Reinhard Heydrich following the invasion of Poland (Bauer 1980, 41; Dawidowicz 1976, 172; Stackelberg 1999, 219). Ofer (1998, 3) highlights the fact that ghettos and ghettoisation were never subject to any specific legislation, which is a contributory factor to their non-immediate establishment and sporadic implementation. Wealth and earning power divided most individuals and families as Jews had their assets stolen in the early months of the year and were forced into ghettos (ibid. 3). Cole (2003, 78) is in agreement with the concern for wealth as the main reason for ghettoisation as he discusses the situation that unfolded in Budapest. The appropriation of Jewish wealth was seen as an integral part of ghettoisation, as homes and shops were sealed, foodstuffs and animals were to cover the requirements of the military and public security bodies, whereas money and valuables were acquired by the National Bank (ibid. 78).

The establishment of ghettos and *Judenrat* (Jewish Councils) have consistently been viewed as a precursor to further definite plans, but as Bauer explains the policy was one of expulsion, relocation, and deprivation, that would eventually provide the foundation for mass removal (Bauer 1980, 42). The concentration of all Polish Jews had as its central characteristic, transport, in order for the eventual transfers of population on a massive scale to take place when specific destinations had been decided (Stackelberg 1999, 219). This is implicit of an organic policy of exclusion, the final movement order of a territorial solution unable to be predetermined as 3.75 million European

Jews fell under German control. Engelking-Boni and Leociak (2009, 53) suggest that concentrating Jews in large cities in close proximity to effective transport links such as rail-networks saw the Nazis combine preparation for future deportations and the political and legal frameworks to create non-Aryan living spaces that were the forerunner of ghettoisation. This author is in agreement with Christof Dipper (2000, 491) who suggests that the overflowing and dysfunctional ghettos became the reason for the hastened search for a solution to "The Jewish Problem". Even as late as the summer of 1941 the humane route of emigration or expulsion to the east was the preferred option, as Nazi protocol lacked a transparent vision to determine the correct procedure on how to progress with "The Jewish Question" other than that the Jews had to 'disappear' (ibid. 490).

## 7.2 <u>Ghettoisation and German Jews</u>

German Jews were not subject to ghettoisation but were segregated from the rest of the population by the imposition of gradual limits on their housing conditions, this being a form of, "substitute ghettoisation" as proffered by Browning (2004). In 1938, the Protection of Tenants Law was revoked with respect to Jews, forcing many to move out of "Aryan" owned houses (ibid. 2004, 172). Subsequently, Jews were relocated to Jewish-owned houses as defined for this purpose by municipal authorities. This is discussed at length by Nicosia and Scrase (2010) and by Heim (2000, 312-325) who examined the diaries of German-Jew Victor Klemperer. The transfer to these houses was carried out forcibly in accordance with deadlines set by the municipalities. In 1941, residence in *Judenhauser* became compulsory for all Jews and the responsibility for the allocation of housing was given to the Jewish community administration. From April 1942, these homes were marked with a special sign, a black star on white paper placed next to the entrance door or nameplates of occupiers (Nicosia and Scrase 2010, 129). Once in *Judenhauser*, it became possible to place them under tighter control that eventually facilitated their deportation, a view subscribed to by Meyer (2010, 157) when discussing the Berlin Jews. Before Jews were deported, however, they were degraded so thoroughly that some of them voluntarily boarded the first "transports" to the east, believing that their chances might be better than if they remained in Germany (Johnson 1999a, 383). Mazower (2008, 84) explains that Hitler and those that were arranging urban planning, the 'consolidation of Germandom and systematic ethnic cleansing', were unable to optimally organise the movement of thousands of ethnic Germans as well as expelling Jews from the greater German Reich. Rees (2005a, 313) comments on the lack of movement on the Berlin Jews deported in the summer of 1941 and the escalation in anti-semitic actions.

## 7.3 Ghettos; Exclusion and Isolation

Ghettos were operated as small city-states, with their own "government", economy, and social infrastructures, under the strict supervision of the Jewish Council (Nussbaum Soumerai and Schulz 1998, 95). Ruth Kluger (2004, 76) describes the morphology of Theresienstadt as grid-like with intersecting streets and barracks for military use. Kluger refers to the inevitable move from "Jewish only" houses to an "all-Jewish" settlement as she calls it, as the term ghetto was misleading. Ghetto in her eyes was reference to a part of town where Jews were resident, not imprisoned. She dramatically describes Theresienstadt as "the stable that supplied the slaughterhouse" (ibid. 76). Kluger again discusses the linear patterns of the ghetto as "the military village of straight lines and right angles" with a strictly enforced border and overpopulation, which meant extensive overcrowding in area of a square kilometre (ibid. 81)

The narrative of exclusion and isolation lends some credence to the argument that Bauer (1980, 36) puts forward, in that ambiguity existed in the original Hitlerite concept of genocide. He cites Dawidowicz (1975, 17) who claims that in Hitler's fledgling political career he called for in anti-semitic tones that "the final objective must unswervingly be the removal (*entfernung*) of the Jews altogether". This was enhanced further by Hitler in November 1919, also covered by Dawidowicz, in his first public speech, "We will carry on the struggle until the last Jew is removed from the German Reich" (Bauer 1980, 37). Contrast this with a statement made the following year, similar sentiments were attributed to Hitler claiming "the removal of the Jews from our nation, not because we would begrudge them their existence" (ibid. 37), which appears to be a partial withdrawal of the earlier categoric statement. This author believes that 'removal' in the context of the above speeches could just have easily been a reference to the birth of the idea of population segregation and reorganisation through the strategy of concentrated housing in the form of ghettos, as opposed to the connotation and imagery that has since been attached to rhetoric and anti-semitic deduction. Indeed Bauer states that even by the end of the penultimate year before world conflict, neither Hitler nor any of the regime figure heads had suggested any other remedy than eviction from Germany for the Jewish problem (1980, 37). This may well have been a construct of false security on the part of the Nazis, as suggestions or the implication of extermination, would have signalled an abrupt change in Jewish reaction at the time. Dvorjetski (1963, 196) takes the sense of false security a step further as he suggests the ghetto inhabitant refused to acknowledge stories emanating from external sources. Jews "seized upon every optimistic rumour" in a form of self-denial that constructed personal

courage, although always cognisant of more substantive rumours.

## 7.4 Ghettos of  Budapest, Łódź and Warsaw

Cole's case study (2003, 49) recognises that territorial solutions were applied to "The Jewish Question" and were dependent on chronological and locational specifics, that targeted wartime relations against a backdrop of contentious historiography within 1944 Budapest, Hungary. Political issues were a major concern in association with the spatiality of ghettoisation as well as those individuals who collaborated at national and local government level. The case study by Cole highlights the elements that were considered in urbanised restructuring and planning, obeying at all times the Nazi construct of "Jewish absence and presence". Using this model, a similar  overview can be applied to the original conception of concentrated ethnicity such as at Łódź, Warsaw and other locations. The act of exclusion in ghettoisation bore the same hallmark of invisibility that was applicable to the act of killing and personal responsibility (Dwork and Van Pelt 2009, 288).

The 'Germanisation' of Łódź in Poland lacked the political wrangling of Budapest apart from the appointment and role of *Judenrat* leader Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, and how the municipal leadership could answer questions considering its financial viability (Horwitz 2008, 63). Similar spatial parameters of location and time that were assigned to Budapest were also present in Łódź, even down to being renamed *"Litzmannstadt"* after a German General (Loewy 2002, xix). The area designated for the ghetto was the section known as the 'old town', that comprised the district of Baluty and the Marysin suburbs, as Jews were 'employed' to restructure and reshape their surroundings (**figure 11 and plate 10**). Urban cleansing in the form of street and structure demolition to create a barrier to prevent the spread of fire between a section of the ghetto perimeter and the city took place (Horwitz 2008, 64). Friedländer (2007, 104) suggests that the creation of this no-man's land encircling the ghetto rendered any escape attempt futile, as the inhabitants were isolated physically, politically and economically. Horwitz (2008, 29) explains that the cleansing of Łódź centred on the demographic and the biological; exclusion of Jews and resettling communities with German ethnicity, and the removal of the threat to the general population of contagious illness.

90

**Figure 11:** Map of Łódź Ghetto 1940-1944. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 January 2012).



**Plate 10**: One of the bridges was located over Zgierska Street (across railway line) at Lutomierska Street, next to St. Mary's Assumption's Church in Łódź Ghetto. Available HTTP: http://www.lodz-ghetto.com/ (25 January 2012).

The centre of Warsaw was the area most affected by the creation of a ghetto as initial plans divided the centre into three distinct zones or districts (**figure 12**). The first was an entirely Jewish area, the second an area temporarily open to Jews and in time "de-Jewified" and the third was to be completely "Jew-free" from where Jews would have to be relocated to the first area (Engelking-Boni and Leociak 2009, 54, 55). The arrival of over 90,000 Jews to be concentrated in one particular area prior to the sealing of the ghetto in Warsaw worsened housing conditions that had already been blighted by German occupation. The actual commencement of ghetto construction was in parallel with heightened anti-Jewish activity in 1940 perpetrated by Polish sympathisers with ghetto establishment seen as the Nazis protecting Jews from further attack by Poles (ibid. 58). The visual expression of walls in the cityscape of Warsaw was intended to be viewed as, and was understood by the Jews to be, "a sign of exclusion and isolation" (ibid. 59), the corollary of anti-semitic measures and decrees issued. The early stages of ghettoisation within Warsaw generally seems to have been stage-managed that induced fear into the Jewish community and then heightened that same feeling with rumour alluding to further segregation measures;

*"The Jewish population of Warsaw looks with fear at the walls rising around its district…Popularly in Warsaw people speak about these walls as an omen that there will be a ghetto"* (ibid. 59).



**Figure 12**: Map of the Warsaw Ghetto  Available HTTP:  http://www.fcit.usf.edu (25 February 2012).

The areas of "Jewish" absence and presence in Warsaw were in line with those at Łódź and later Budapest, incorporating temporal and spatial awareness (**figures 13 and 14**). The creation of ghettos in Łódź and Warsaw developed along similar timelines although completion of the former was accelerated owing to the less complex factors associated with its position (Tiedens 1997, 59). The Łódź ghetto was located outside the main city confines, whereas the Warsaw ghetto was enclosed in the city that in turn affected the employment locations of the residents. Eastern regions of Europe had virtually no ghettos, although a small number existed for a short time only, facilitating the process of extermination as Jews were unaware of programmes of extermination. (Arad 1996, 339). This author suggests that as general awareness of "death factories" in the east became more apparent and the volumes of individuals involved in concentrated urbanised spaces needed to be deported, the process required a greater depth of planning and organisation. If the eastern ghetto scenario could have been replicated in the west, the disappearance or removal of Jews could have been undertaken in a different manner.
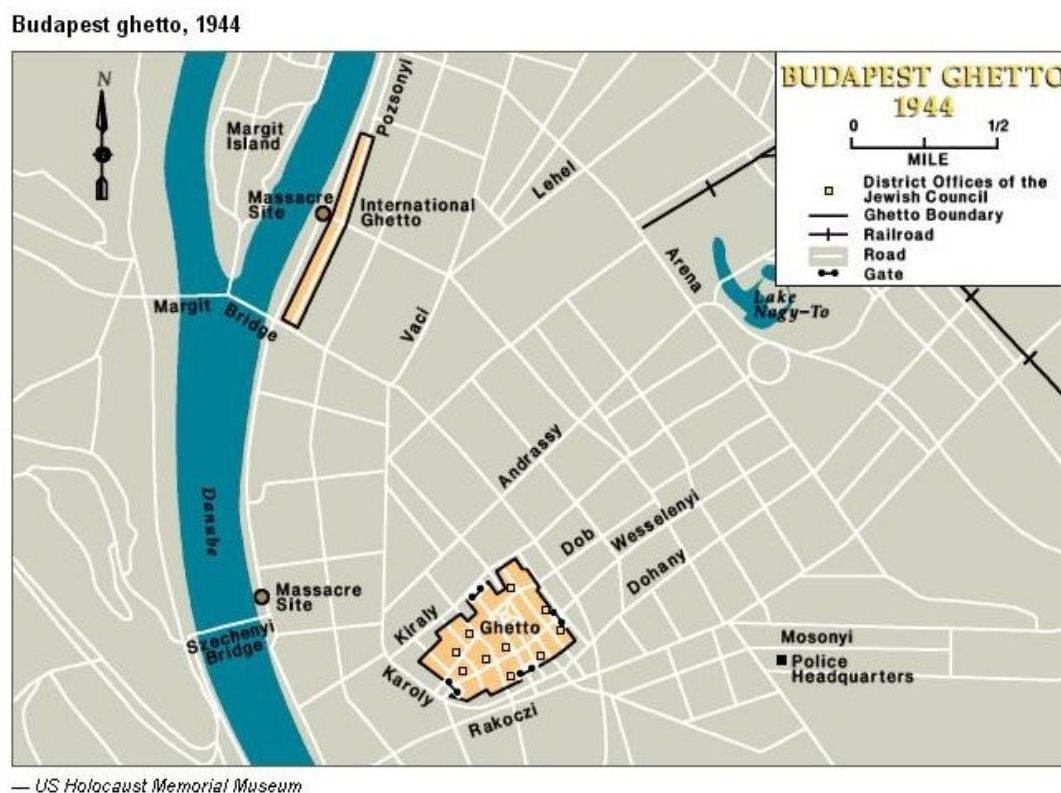


**Figure 13.** Map of Budapest ghetto. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 February 2012).
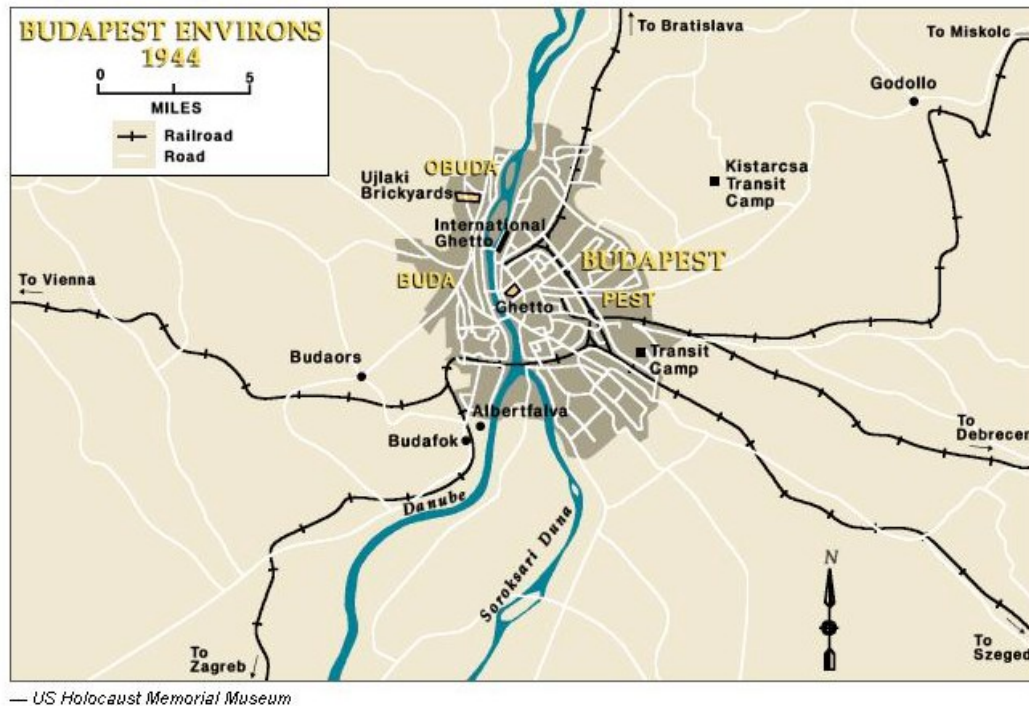
**Figure 14:** Budapest environs 1944. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org (25 February 2012).

In summary, ghettoisation was a stage in a process essential to the overall outcome although not fully agreed, as the Nazis were not ready to proceed to the "The Final Solution". A temporary plan was decided to concentrate and ghettoise the Jewish population. They were to be concentrated in cities with rail connections that meant ease of transport from and to rural locations, so that they could later be deported. The Nazis consciously renewed the medieval concept of the ghetto, a closed quarter of the city designated for Jews. Ghettoisation can be seen as an extreme territorial solution that, on the one hand isolated Jewish communities, and on the other concentrated large numbers of people in an urbanised location. Unlike the ghettos of the Middle Ages, however, these were designed to be temporary, a transition point on the path to internment and extermination. Concentrated in the ghetto, Jews had their contact and relationships with the rest of society severed. The largest ghettos grew in cities with a significant Jewish population such as Warsaw, Łódź and Lvov. In overcrowded conditions inhabitants suffered from lack of food and medical care. Despite the best efforts of the Jewish councils they were unable to solve these problems, and many children and elderly people died in the ghettos. Analysis of ghettoisation generally emphasises how the pursuit of terror and population control was concentrated within urban settings.

# 8 **Deportation**

Deportation by train (**plates 11, 12, 13 and 14**) was a central element in the Nazis' vision of success in eliminating Jewish presence. Historians and academics have estimated somewhat conservatively that between 1941 and 1944 up to three million Jews were transported to their deaths in concentration and extermination camps. Gigliotti (2009, 36) refers to Raul Hilberg (1976, 60) who pondered the role of trains "as anything more than physical equipment that was used, when the time came, to transport the Jews from various cities to shooting grounds and gas chambers in Eastern Europe?" Milton (2001, 225) argues that there is a direct correlation between the system of killing and patterns of deportation. Although not expressed directly, this author feels that Milton (2001) indicates a more effective mode of transport was required to facilitate the movement of large numbers of people.



**Plate 11**: Jews captured during the Warsaw ghetto uprising being led to an assembly point for deportation. Poland, May 1943. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (25 January 2012).

**Plate 12**: Jews from the Łódź ghetto are loaded onto cattle-cars for deportation to Chełmno extermination camp. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org (25 January 2012).



**Plate 13**: Deportation from Westerbork transit camp, The Netherlands 1943-1944. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (14 March 2012).

**Plate 14**: Deportation of Jews from Poland (location unknown). Available HTTP: http://www.hmd.org.(14 March 2012).

## 8.1 Part of the Process

Prior to the introduction of ghettoisation and deportation policies, the tourism industry itself was implicated in the practice of Jewish isolation and absence from leisure activities. As a general lifestyle trend, this author believes that the connection between travel, deportation, and the leisure and tourism industry coexisted dynamically, witnessing acceleration as modes of transport and communication improved. The 1935 Nuremberg Laws and decrees that were passed and operational until 1939, outlawed the presence of Jews in most hotels with restrictive policies also applied to spas (Gigliotti 2009,14). As far as railways were concerned, stations were regarded as infiltration sites and only approved personnel that had the perceived required moral reliability worked in bookshops that sold foreign newspapers (ibid. 2009,14). Forced emigration was initiated before 1939 as Jews left European countries induced by re-appropriation measures (ibid. 15). Arad (1999, 49) explains that the expropriated Polish railway system was subordinately operated by *Generaldirektion der Ostbahn* (GEDOB) under the German Railway (*Reichsbahn)* and answerable to the Ministry of Transport. GEDOB scheduled and allocated the deportation train in terms of

waiting time at each station, number of freight cars, timetables and destinations all within the parameters and requirements of the death camp strategy of 'Operation Reinhard'. Deportation traffic was classified as "special trains" (*Sonderzüge*) consisting of closed freight cars **(plate 15)** with additional passenger cars for guards (ibid. 49). Evans (2008, 283) confirms that the 'Operation Reinhard' camps, although remote in location, were within easy reach of railway connections to other parts of Poland and the major ghettos, with a spur constructed at Bełżec from the nearby station to facilitate an unhindered arrival at the camp. Evidence from many sources, with which this author agrees, suggests that random killings, murder and death by starvation were an integral component of the required centralisation of Jews, thus enabling the movement of thousands once the enlargement of the facilities of the death camps and organisational steps had taken place. Ghettoisation and concentration from a collective point followed by deportation would not have occurred without the infrastructure in place, namely rail links and specialised death centres (Gutman 1994, 134). SS personnel and the hierarchy referred to their victims as 'cargo' or 'items', which enforced the theme of dehumanisation and the necessity of transportation, which ignored the human dimension (Evans 2008, 316), and therefore distanced themselves from involvement. The elaborate organisation of the individual elements of "The Final Solution" were acknowledged by its participants, as German army officer Wilm Hosenfield commented in a letter to his wife in April 1941;

*"Even in the days of the guillotine and the French Revolutionary terror such virtuosity in mass murder was never achieved"* (ibid. 308).



**Plate 15**: The interior of a freight or cattle car used during the deportation process. Available HTTP: http://www.hmd.org.uk 14 March 2012).

Sofsky (1997, 263) claims the balance was more in favour of the organisation in the killing process than the mechanisation of violence that made the extermination centres such unique locations. He supplements this by suggesting that the former consisted of work processes and sequences (ibid. 264), hinting at the input of a number of agencies from bureaucrats to technocrats assisting particularly in the transport movements that were scheduled to move large numbers of Jews (**figure 15**). Arad (1999, 125) confirms that the transportation policy implemented was fully supported by the German railway authorities in occupied eastern Europe from a centralised base in Krakow, Poland. They planned schedules and allocated cars against volumes to be moved under "travel timetable orders" that lay outside the framework of normal passenger or freight train traffic (ibid. 125). In essence, railway authority officials increased capacities (Hilberg 1976, 60) as they colluded with and magnified the deception, from the repetition of euphemisms of safety and work in the east, commensurate with a train journey, through to the arrival at death camps with specially constructed spurs, platforms and stations. A short excerpt from the memoirs of Chil Rajchman (2011, 17) confirms the operation of trains outside the schedules of daily routine;
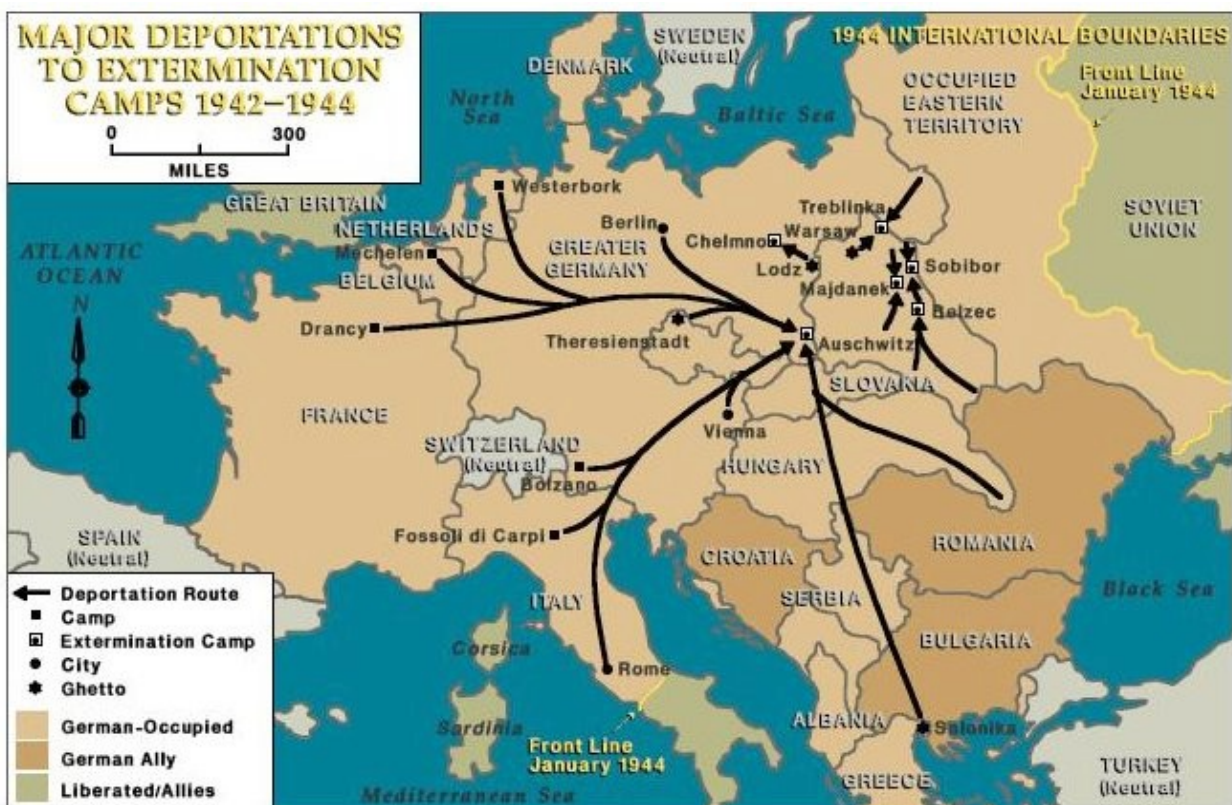


**Figure 15** : As described. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (14 March 2012).

*"We travel. The train stops often because of the signals, since it is running outside the timetable and therefore has to wait and let the normal trains through."*

Richard Glazar (1995, 5) also alludes to the running times of deportation trains on his journey from Theresienstadt to Treblinka;

*"The train often stops, now and then for longer periods of time, especially at night."*

Gigliotti (2009), in her analysis of the victims' experiences at each stage of forced relocation, argues that deportees experienced the train journeys as mobile chambers that should be comparable in importance to the already saturated study areas of fixed location persecution, such as ghettos and camps. The round-ups prior to departures from the ghettos, the captivity in trains, the journey itself and the arrival at the camps portray the inhuman condition of the Holocaust. It is the inescapable horror, in stark contrast to the will to live in extreme circumstances, that is central to obtaining a clear understanding of the effectiveness and the response of individuals to the fear management and terror control tactics employed by the Nazis.

Nussbaum Soumerai and Schulz (1998, 151) refer to Hilberg (1967, 782, 194) in their analysis and suggest that to prevent panic and ensure compliance, the German authorities enforced the deception by focussing on the mental vulnerability of the Jews. They bribed people with promises of food, although simultaneously threatened violence if the Jews refused to co-operate. Stories filtered through that food would be available on the trains and to bring utensils, others were instructed to bring clothing, possessions and currency. Contrived postal messages were sent from the camps, written by Jews informing relatives they were being well treated.

In summary, deportation studies in this research have concentrated on the physical and mental aspects of the subject. The trains and associated infrastructure including buildings and features that were integral in the process of transportation were highly visible components of the Jewish Holocaust. All deportees were incarcerated within a small rail car with little room for comfort as sounds and smells emphasised the experiential suffering. In a liminal place, a transition from ghettoised living to a certain death in manufactured and contrived death settings, they may have been forgiven for thinking that rumours of 'work in the east' was a possibility and that this was their journey to an improved life. However it was transport through landscapes effectively engineered to

deal with the killing process. Death Camps were planned to maximise the operation as access points, unloading areas and holding zones for 'selection' purposes and were part of the regime of terror, although even at this  stage the Nazi authorities tried to quell fear by the deceptive use of fake buildings, signs and orchestral music.

# 9 Internment and Extermination

The milieu of humanity as a raw material of conflict has permeated the narrative of individuals in genocide discourse. The organisational components of the Jewish Holocaust were pivotal to its success, which ultimately is reference to the methodology utilised, the incorporation of agencies that assisted in its suffuse and the ability to make the process appear inert and invisible. The presentation of internment and extermination should be expressed in terms of place as well as compartmentalising it as the finality of a process. One factor takes precedence above all others, that is, zones of extermination in all aspects of academic analysis, should be treated for what they were, places of killing that became cemeteries, spaces or places of memorial and commemoration, where millions perished.

## 9.1 The Process

By the time the Nazis were at the peak of their power there was a variety of killing centres or areas of concentrated Jewish presence. These included dual purpose extermination and concentration camps, labour camps, concentration camps, penal settlements, Jewish Camps, resettlement camps for Polish nationals, camps for foreign workers and  prisoners of war and ghettos (Piper 2008a). The centres of 'Operation Reinhard' at Bełżec, Sobibór and Treblinka and the three extermination/labour camps of Chełmno, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Majdanek will be analysed to assess their characteristics and function.

The concluding element of "The Final Solution" has come to symbolise death and concentration camps as synonyms for the breakdown of society. The camps are characteristically silent, empty places that witnessed deprivation and ultimately disappeared within their own settings. Landscapes of the contemporary past are imbued with a malignancy and scattered with upstanding historical relics that are visually and mentally disturbing. This and following chapters will analyse  aspects of ritual activity and associated components that assist in the lucidity of liminality, place, process, and the built environment including specific structures, layout and functionality. The extermination stage also allows for archaeological investigation and interpretative skills, as a number of these site types survive with a degree of intactness and sufficient artefacts that permit a collaboration of understanding with memory accounts. The physical remains enable comparisons to be drawn from

similar locations and present possible associations with sites that had 'ritualistic death ceremonies' as their central feature. Sites where structure and functional order can be viewed as opposed to where they have been removed from the landscape provide different challenges and interpretative skills.

The 'concentration' of people led to a collective pooling of cultural remains that refer to the demographically, depersonalised, biological attempt of political hygiene enforced by the Nazis. It can also be said that the death camps represent an historical distortion, in that they portray a single part of the whole story, which the physical traces do not fully answer. The ruins of a genocidal landscape that appear now do not necessarily correspond with the importance of the historical events that actually took place there.

Sofsky (1997, 12) sees extermination for what it was;

*"it represented a climactic high point in the negative history of social power and modern organisation."*

Although the persecution and consequential genocide of so-called outsider groups has been present throughout recorded history, it is the factorisation of place that has to be considered as a unique element of the Nazi construct of genocide (ibid. 11). Sofsky confirms that indiscriminate selection and the procedures that followed were fully endorsed and supported by an experienced bureaucratic administration, as Reich departments were entirely cognisant in the structure of annihilation (ibid. 12), where the government organised and endorsed a unique operation on an unprecendented scale (Feig 1981, 15). It developed, assisted academically by German scholarship, science, technology, and through enthused loyalty, which although exuberant had to be quelled for the success of the operation (ibid. 16). Evans (2008, 256) also confirms that following a statement issued by Rosenberg at a press conference on the 18th November 1941, the "biological extermination of the whole of Jewry in Europe" had been practically commenced in the implementation of such a programme. This was co-operated with in full by military authorities, police units, SS and civil administrators.

This section will analyse the process itself and the locations of death camps relative to their 'success' and human throughput. It will discuss the realisation and adaptation of the plan from the

early days of 'Operation Reinhard' through to the acceleration and height of "The Final Solution" operation. A clear distinction has to be made between concentration and extermination camps, the purpose of the latter being consistent with the "The Gas Chamber Age". The adaptation of the earlier 'Reinhard' death installations made possible a unparalleled event (Feig 1981, 15). The technology and the process had to be adapted to move into line with the perceived outcome, a technological genocide that assisted the perpetrator, blinded the bystander and ignored the victim. The technical attributes of extermination policy were evolutionary (ibid. 16). The 'death factories' of Chełmno, Bełžec, Sobibór, Majdanek and Treblinka were not concentration camps, they were separate facilities solely used for extermination by carbon monoxide gas. Initially a creation in Germany, from 1933 onwards, the concentration camp was used to segregate opponents of the Third Reich (Lachendro 2009, 2).

Included in the framework of 'Operation Reinhard' was the overall planning of deportations and extermination activities of the entire operation, the control of death camp construction and the co-ordination of Jewish deportations from different districts to the camps. The final stage was killing, seizing the assets and valuables and the transfer to the appropriate Reich authorities (Arad 1999, 14-16). The cumulative effect of racial cleansing policy-making by the Nazi authorities was economic, being funded by appropriated wealth. The value of the property owned by displaced and concentrated people was considerable, as well as the valuables and gold stolen in the camps themselves. Personal possessions from Chełmno were sent to other centres, mostly to Łódź , where they were collected and underwent a final examination before being sent to the Reich. For example it was stated that on 9th September 1944, 775 wristwatches and 550 pocket watches were sent to the *Ghettoverwaltung* at Łódź (Anon. 2011a).

The preferred technique of extermination undertaken at Auschwitz was gassing by Zyklon B (cyanide) pellets whereas Bełžec, Chełmno, Majdanek, Sobibór and Treblinka favoured a system based on petrol and diesel fuel fumes produced by an internal combustion engine expelled into a fixed gas chamber (Bülow 2009). Originally execution was by firing squad, although this method proved too stressful for the Commando personnel and poisoning by toxic gas was more 'promising' (Friedländer 2007, 233). The gassing of mentally ill patients as part of the Euthanasia Programme involved the use of bottled carbon monoxide released into static chambers or vans that were modified for use with combustion engines with a pipe attachment that was inserted into a hermetically sealed van. Engine fumes asphyxiated up to 40 people in a single van operation (ibid.

234). Friedländer (ibid. 234) suggests that the move from using a small space to a larger fixed and stationary gas chamber was inevitable because of the numbers of people that could be processed. Fox (1995, 357-358), in a review of Kogon, Langbein and Rückerl (1994), also supports the hypothesis of a movement towards fixed spaces for gassing. Fox has suggested that three elements caused a re-think in the Nazi mindset in how to deal with the proposed levels of extermination. Primarily, the issue regarding numbers of human throughput, secondly, the lessons learned from the severe psychological problems suffered by the Nazi firing squads in Russia (Fox 1995, 358; McFee, 2008) and finally the proposed location of any extermination operations was problematical in itself, other than in a war zone (ibid. 1995, 358).

The 'Operation Reinhard' camps stand out from the other camps in two ways. First, their only purpose was extermination. This was their single contribution to the German war effort, unless it happened to be a by-product of the killing. The appropriation of Jewish wealth was not the primary reason for the existence of the camps, as the camps were dismantled when the killing process was complete. Second, they were lethal in their efficiency. Unlike other camps, there were few survivors, one from Bełżec and approximately 100 survived Treblinka. Yet, the two camps installations killed approximately 1,350,000 Jews. This translates into a killing 'efficiency rate' of 99.99% (McFee 2008).

## 9.2 <u>Internment and Extermination Locations</u>

### 9.2.1 <u>Chełmno</u>

This Nazi extermination camp was located in the Polish village of Chełmno (*Kulmhof*) where executions were carried out using gas (Winstone 2010, 298). It became a testing ground for the development and trials of increasingly more efficient methods of extermination. Between 1941 and 1945 as many as 300,000 adults and children, mostly Polish Jews, were executed and cremated at Chełmno (Golden 2003). The Nazis selected an abandoned manor house (the "Castle" or the "Palace") for extermination purposes (Anon. 2005; Winstone 2010, 298). The variant characteristic of Chełmno compared to other Polish death centres was that it was a dual facility that also possessed mobile gassing facilities (Winstone 2010, 298) **(figure 16)**.

The "castle" in Chełmno was one of two extermination locations (**figure 17**), the second was 4km away in the Rzuchow Forest, where the victims were buried in mass graves in three clearings, referred to as the Forest Camp (*Waldlager*) (Winstone 2010, 298/299). In addition, the Nazis enhanced the location by building crematoria in order to destroy any evidence of crimes. Extermination was carried out using three specially adapted vans that had been previously used by mobile killing squads or *Einsatzgruppen,* who had initiated the fledgling process in Russia. The vehicles were strengthened to transport heavy loads and equipped with doors that could be effectively sealed to prevent the seepage of gas. An exhaust pipe was linked to a vent in the box compartment of the van which introduced the gas (Anon. 2007). In the "castle" Jews were forced to undress, then herded into a cellar and led along a passageway to the static gas vans within the grounds of the building (Winstone 2010, 298; Pawlicka-Nowak 2009, 84). Extermination methods varied as gassing was eventually seen as the most efficient killing technique. Prisoners were also shot or thrown into a water-filled lime pit, undertaken by special *Sonderkommando* units (Pawlicka-Nowak 2009, 84).
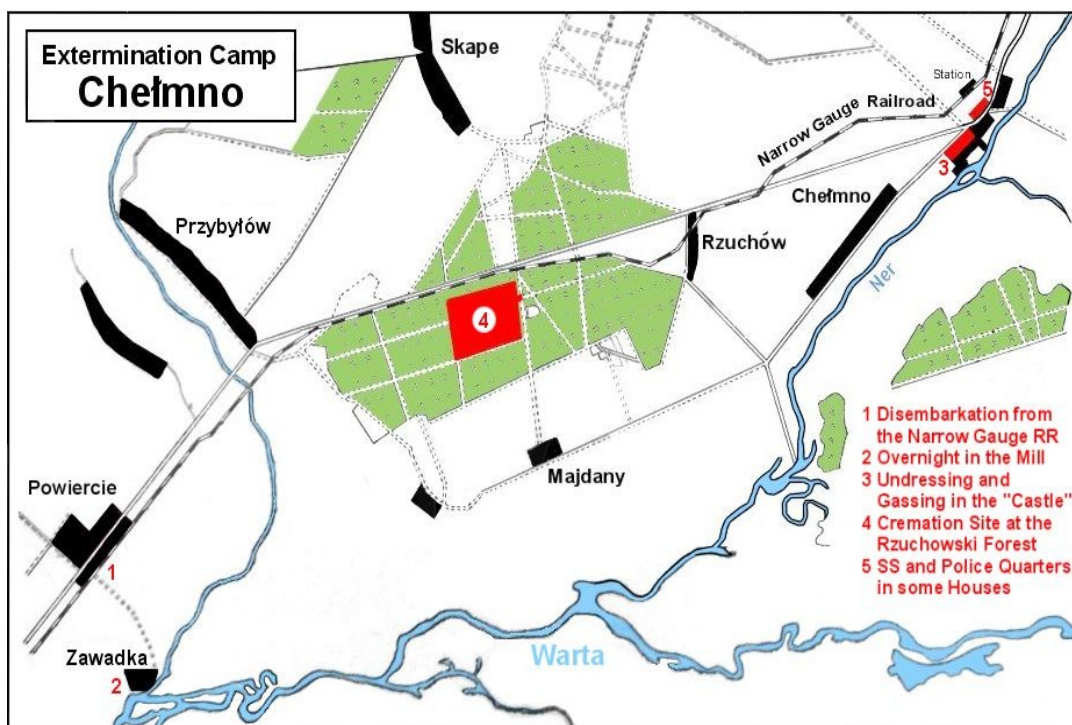


**Figure 16** : As described. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (4 April 2012).

**Chelmno "Castle"**

Courtyard

Magazine
Prisoners' Cells
Gas Van
**Way to the Gas Vans**
Ice Niche

Tailors
Shoe-makers

0 ... 5 ... 10m
N

**Based on the Ground Plan of Zdzislaw Lorek**
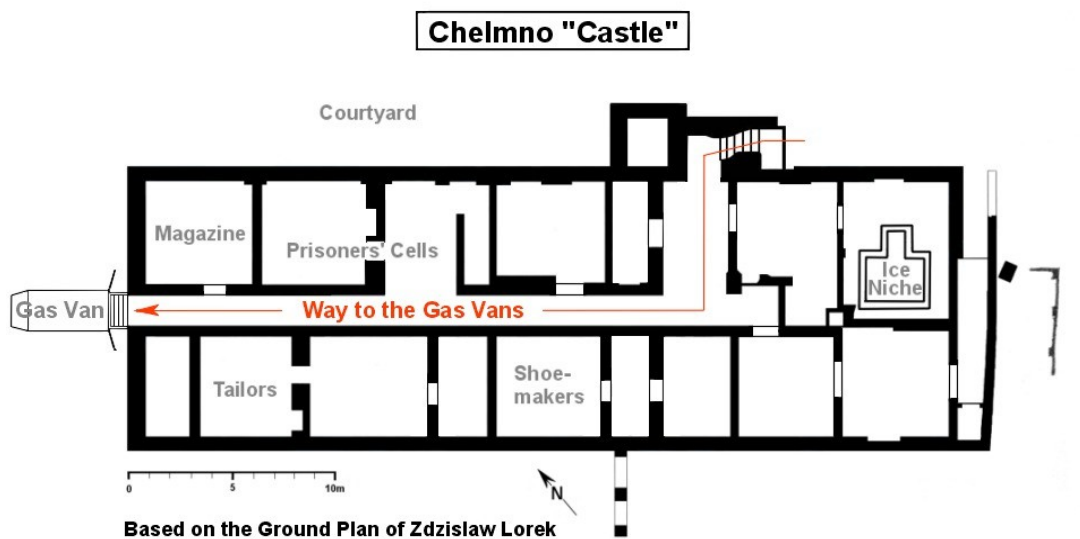
MP2005

**Figure 17 :** "Castle" lay-out. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/(4 April 2012).

### 9.2.2 Bełżec

Construction of the death camp at Bełżec, created within the planning parameters of 'Operation Reinhard' as a template for other centres, began on the 1st of November 1941 and was completed by the end of February 1942 (Webb, Lisciotto and Smart 2009; Winstone 2010, 258; Arad 1999, 23; Kuwałek 2009, 36). The killing centre was divided into two sections. Camp 1 included the reception area and unloading ramp to the north and west. Camp II, the extermination area, included the gas chambers and rectangular burial pits to the north-east, east and south with an average size of 20m x 30m x 6m deep (Webb, Lisciotto and Smart 2009). Camps I and II were separated by a camouflaged fence and a narrow passageway called *die Schleuse* (the sluice), which was 2m x 100m in length, and enclosed on both sides by disguised barbed wire fences. This walkway provided a direct connection from the undressing barracks in Camp I to the gas chambers in Camp II. A camouflage net positioned over the roof of the gas chambers ensured a virtually sealed environment physically and visually (ibid. 2009). Winstone (2010, 258), Arad (1999, 26) and Kuwałek (2009, 36) explain that the design and layout of Bełżec was one that was utilised in each setting, although individual modifications were undertaken depending on the site morphology (**figure 18**).

**Figure 18:** This map is based on investigations of ARC Archaeology in 2002. The cremation grids were erected at different stages from November 1942 until April / May 1943. This is only a representation of all pyres and graves found at the archaeological dig. After W. Rutherford. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org (4 April 2012).

108

### 9.2.3 <u>Sobibór</u>

Sobibór was also constructed as part of the 'Operation Reinhard' programme and was built with similar features and characteristics to Bełżec. The gas chambers, mass graves and barracks for the Jewish prisoners were located in the isolated north-west section known as Camp III. The camp contained a more substantial *die Schleuse*, in terms of dimensions, up to 4m wide and 150m in length, and connected the reception area to the extermination area. This was labelled by the SS as the *Himmelfahrtstrasse* (Street to Heaven) (Webb, Smart and Lisciotto 2009), and by the prisoners, 'the snake' (Bem 2009, 46) (**figures 19 and 20**). Again camouflaged security fencing surrounded the passage, as victims were herded towards the extermination zone. Ancillary buildings were positioned in close proximity to *die Schleuse,* which was a characteristic repeated in the 'Reinhard' death camps. Three gas chambers were located within a brick built construction with square individual rooms, each 4m x 4m with a capacity of up to 180 people. On the exterior of the building an annex housed the generator that produced the carbon monoxide gas, from which pipes supplied the chambers. Large mass graves were located in the area of Camp III up to 60m long, 10-15m wide, and as much as 7m deep (Bem 2009, 46; Webb, Smart and Lisciotto 2009).
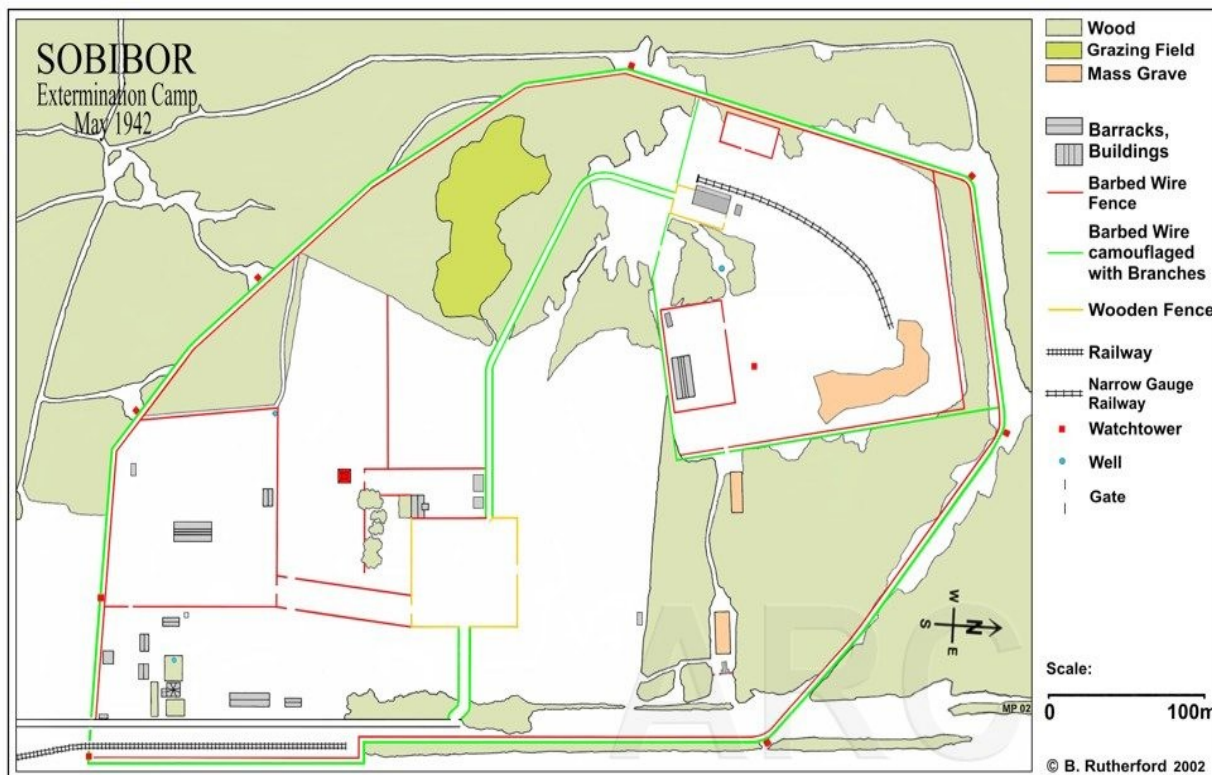


**Figure 19**: As described. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org (4 April 2012).
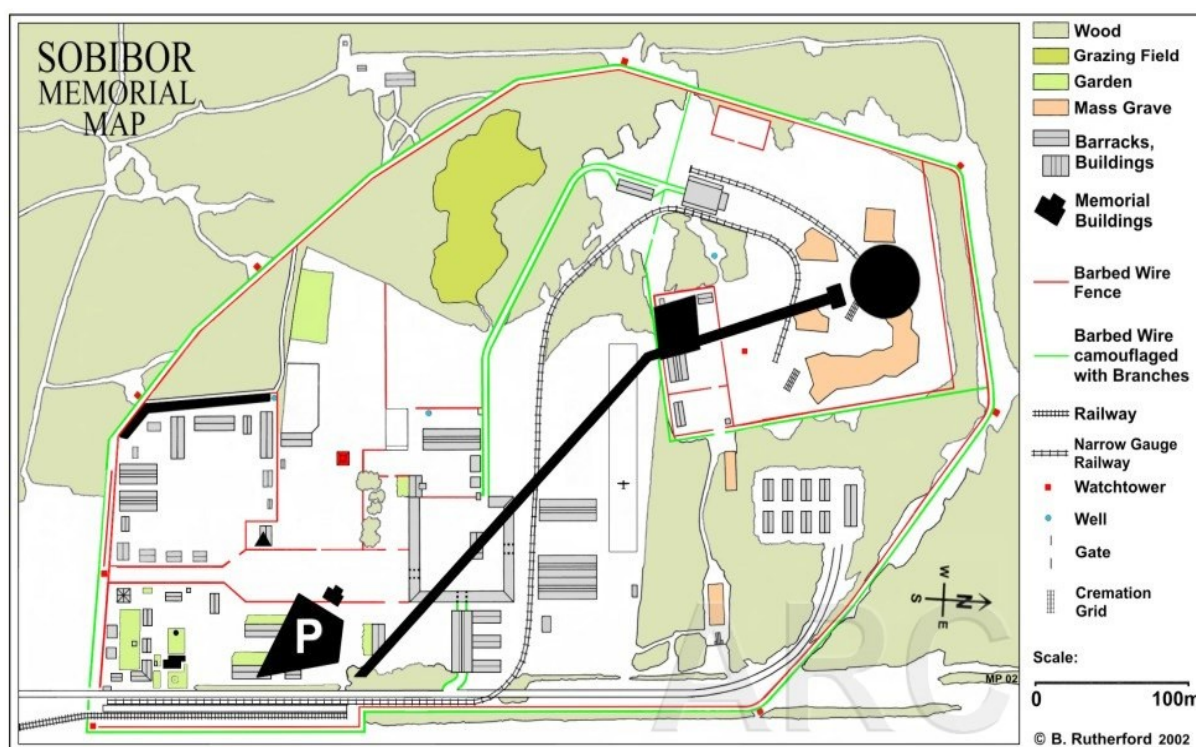
**Figure 20:** Sobibór Extermination camp with memorial site overlay. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org (4 April 2012).

A temporary halt in the flow of deportees allowed for redevelopment and additions to the gassing facilities, which increased the camp's killing capacity with a new block that housed six chambers. Effectively this doubled the throughput of the extermination process that saw an estimated total number of victims rise to approximately 250,000 (Winstone 2010, 253). Arad (1999, 75) suggests that the regime introduced, utilised, adapted and continued what was "an improved version of what had been implemented in Bełżec". The extermination machinery of Sobibór was shaped and modelled around deportation transport and the way in which they were processed (ibid. 79).

### 9.2.4 Treblinka

Established originally as an *Arbeitslager* (forced labour camp) known as Camp I, which held both Poles and Jews, Treblinka I was located adjacent to a gravel pit, 1.5km from the site of the death camp and functioned from June 1941 until 23 July 1944 (Webb and Lisciotto 2007; Winstone 2010, 225/226). Construction work began in April 1942, which meant that the facility was already functioning in its role as a detention centre in terms of the 'concentration' of prisoners. Arad (1999,

37) confirms that the experience gleaned from the construction of Bełżec and Sobibór meant that as far as planning and construction were concerned, Treblinka was the most proficient of the finished camps thus far. It was an irregular rectangle-shape with dimensions of 400m x 600m and covered an overall area of 17 hectares (42 acres), surrounded by camouflaged barbed-wire fences that restricted views from the exterior (Kopówka 2009, 58). An additional security fence was constructed that incorporated 8m high watchtowers at each corner of the camp, with supplementary towers built in the extermination zone (Webb and Lisciotto 2007). The extermination area, approximately 200m by 250m, was in the south-east section of the camp, isolated and surrounded by a disguised barbed wire fence and a substantial earthen mound. Winstone (2010, 228) explains the existence of a 90m long pathway that led from the reception area to the extermination zone was reminiscent of the other death camps. The initial phase of gassing had three chambers, 4m x 4m, and 2.6m high, similar to those developed at Sobibór. An ante-room housed a motor that introduced the carbon monoxide gas delivered through pipes into the chambers whilst a generator supplied electricity to the camp (Webb and Lisciotto 2007; Arad 1999, 42).

The Nazis realised that killing efficiency and capacity had to be increased in a similar expansion that mirrored Bełżec and Sobibór. Between early September 1942 and the beginning of October 1942, the decision to build larger extermination facilities was implemented. This saw the total new floor space covered by an additional construction encompass an area of 320m², an eight fold increase (Webb and Lisciotto 2007). Ceiling height was lowered by 40cm reducing the amount of gas required. A central corridor ran along the length of the building, with five gas chambers on either side of the passage. Entrance and exit points were of a similar design to the replaced buildings, with viewing panels inserted so that observation could take place. The new facility could exterminate a maximum of 3,800 people simultaneously whereas the replaced structure had a capacity of 600 (Webb and Lisciotto 2007). Winstone (2010, 225) also alludes to the efficiency of the methods undertaken at Treblinka in that the camp operated for just over a year but was the deadliest of all the 'Reinhard' camps. Kopówka (2009, 58) suggests that over 800,000 people were exterminated at Treblinka (**figures 21 and 22**).
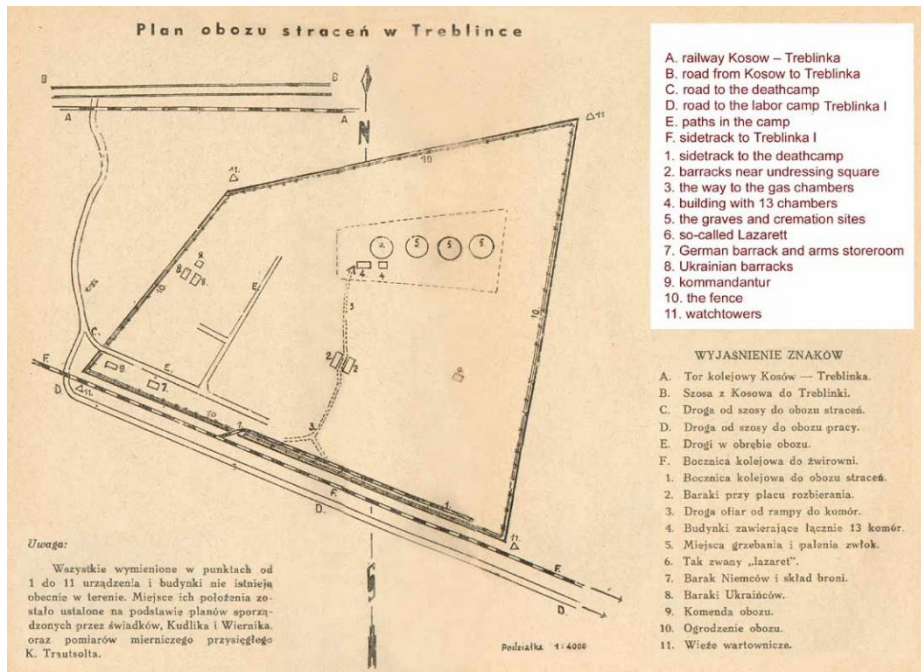
**Figure 21**: One of the only survivor maps of Treblinka, drawn in 1945 which, regarding the ground plan, corresponds with the site as it appears today as well as aerial photo evidence. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (4 April 2012).
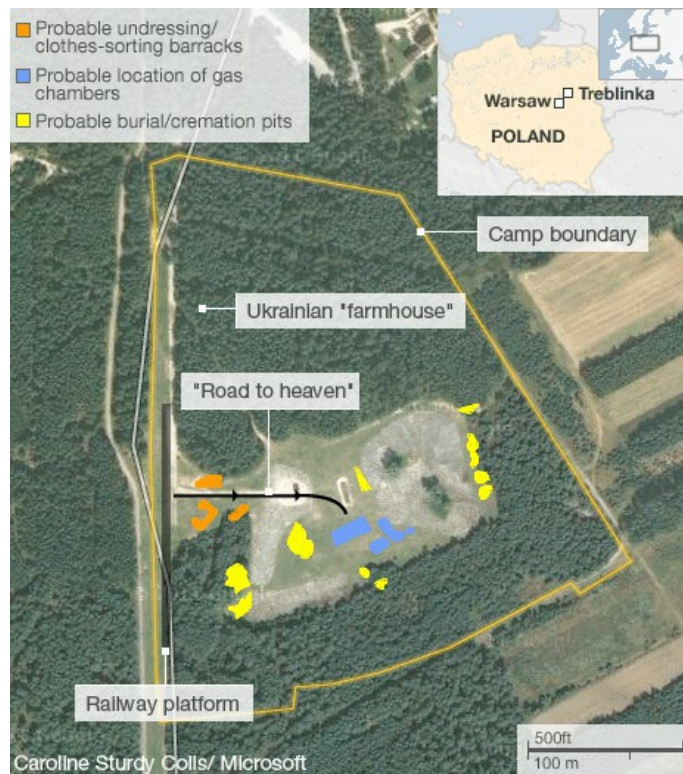


**Figure 22**: Recent aerial photograph of Treblinka with camp features overlay. Available HTTP: http://www.bbc.co.uk/ (27 January 2012) (After Sturdy Colls 2013).

112

**9.2.5 Majdanek**

Majdanek death camp **(plate 16)** consisted of 270 hectares (665 acres) of land to the south-east of Lublin. From 1941 to 1944 280 structures including 227 barrack buildings, 25,000m of sewers and water mains, 4,050m of paved roads and 5,600m of double barbed-wire fences were built (Webb and Lisciotto 2007b; Kiełboń 2009, 70). The detention area that contained basic wooden barrack constructions was spread over a series of five fields with the inter-connecting field boundary strips also utilised as a laundry area and small crematorium (Kiełboń 2009, 70). All fields were surrounded by double rows of barbed wire and strategically positioned watchtowers. A strip of land labelled 'the Death Zone' was created on the inner field-side of the security fence and was in essence a 'no-man's land' (ibid. 70).



**Plate 16**: Aerial view of Majdanek. Available HTTP: http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/ (4 April 2012).

From the second half of 1942, gassing became the principal method of extermination, with construction of facilities over a three-month period completed in October (Webb and Lisciotto 2007b). The gas chambers were positioned adjacent to Compound or Field 1, in close proximity to the bathing barrack (Winstone 2010, 246), with surviving documentation suggesting initial use was for disinfection purposes (Kiełboń 2009, 70). Nevertheless, whatever the original idea, the decision was taken to adapt the gas chambers for extermination purposes. In early plans the facility had two rooms, with one subsequently divided into two. One chamber was adapted for use with Zyklon B pellets and carbon monoxide. A lack of forensic evidence or trace of electric supply suggests that the second, smaller chamber was not used for extermination purposes. It is thought the larger chamber was constructed specifically for use with carbon monoxide (Webb and Lisciotto 2007b) (**plate 17**).
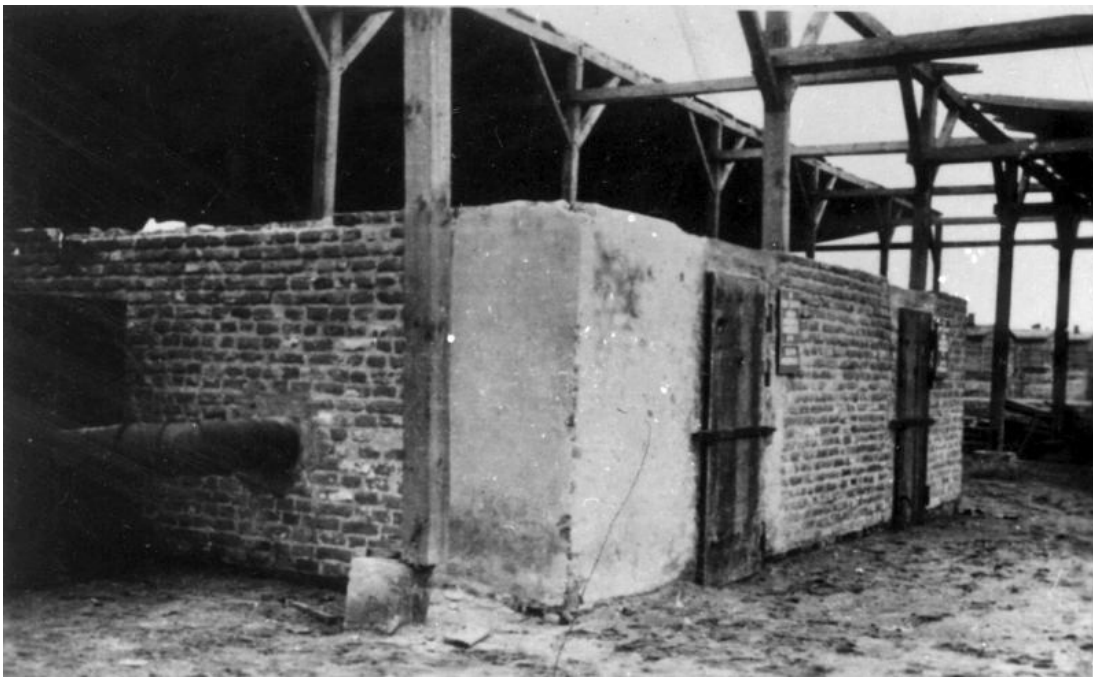


**Plate 17**: Gas chambers at Majdanek. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (5 April 2012).

The camp was dissolved in July 1944 with research suggesting that of the 150,000 people that were sent to the camp, approximately 80,000 were exterminated by various means of forced starvation, inhumane conditions, disease, brutality, torture and gassing (Kiełboń 2009, 71). Winstone (2010, 245) comments on complexity issues regarding the classification of Majdanek as first a

concentration camp, and then as a extermination centre, due to the different methods utilised as gassing was not the sole technique implemented.


**9.2.6 <u>Auschwitz-Birkenau</u>**


Auschwitz-Birkenau developed in a different manner to those camps specifically introduced for extermination as it was established as a concentration camp of the type that the Nazis had set up from the early 1930's onwards (Piper 2008a). It functioned in this role throughout its existence, even though, in 1942, it became the largest of the death camps, part of a network comprised of more than 40 branch camps (Piper 2008b). From 1940 to early 1942 a system of manufactured deprivation was employed, as prisoners were replaced by the steadily increased volume of deportees (ibid. 2008b). Auschwitz evolved over its period of use, through expansion and transformation, and within five years moved from the concept of a quarantine camp to the new type of camp that had been under trial under 'Operation Reinhard' (ibid. 2008b; Rees 2009, 61). Expanding the Auschwitz capacity, both for extermination purposes and to assist in the Nazi war effort through the use of slave labour, was of national importance.


Again, confirmation is forthcoming from Steinbacher (2005, 96) as she explains that technical installations and logistical planning meant that extermination volumes developed gradually and accelerated following the abandonment and liquidation of the 'Reinhard' camps. Steinbacher (ibid. 3) also theorises that Auschwitz was the amalgamation and embodiment of ideological ideas from the creation of Germanised settlement to that of extermination forged in conceptual, temporal and spatial terms. The tri-camp setting was the hub for industrial exploitation, whilst Auschwitz town, heavily influenced by Jewish presence for many years became German at the zenith of genocide policy, which in the following years, has enabled questions to be asked about the knowledge of public perception of the camp mechanisms and purpose (ibid. 4). The three main Auschwitz camps became an extensive complex, eventually encompassing not only gas chambers and the camps themselves, but also sub-camps, factories, and mines in Upper Silesia and the Sudetenland (**figure 23 and plate 18**).
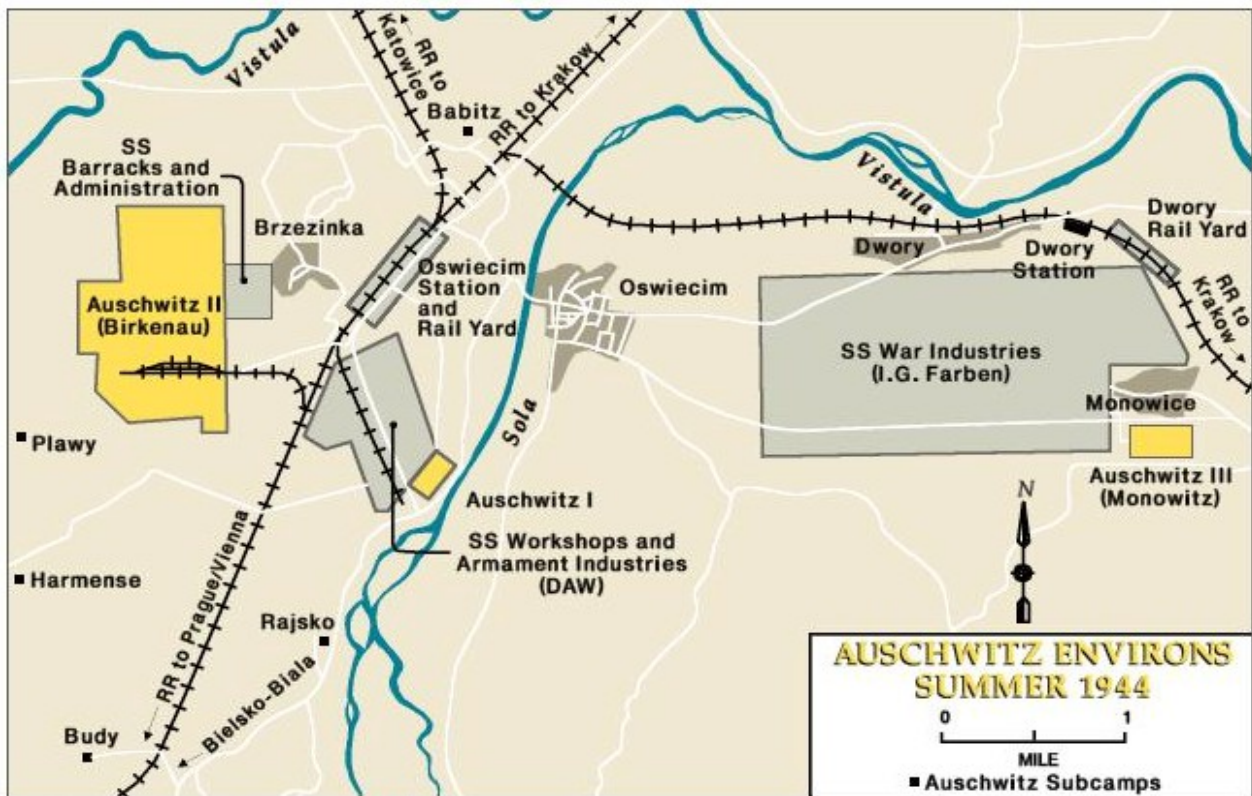
**Figure 23**: As described. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (5 April 2012).



**Plate 18**: View of Auschwitz II (Birkenau). Available HTTP: http://en.auschwitz.org/ (6 April 2012).

The regimes of concentration camps utilised prisoners for slave labour readily available to work wherever the Nazis required. Camps including Auschwitz and Majdanek were later retrofitted with Zyklon-B gas chambers and crematoria, remaining operational until the cessation of conflict in

1945 (Bülow 2009; Friedländer 2007).

The camps are a vivid testimony to the nature of Nazi policy and are visualised and experienced through symbolic remains. Iconic entrance gates, numerous structures associated with the cynical manipulation of people and their personal effects, exhibitions and cultural artefacts can be listed as such. The collections at Auschwitz are remnants of the lives of victims before they were deported to the camp and also portray the after-use of possessions and belongings. The site and the former genocide landscape have high levels of authenticity and integrity since the original evidence has been carefully conserved without any unnecessary restoration. Auschwitz-Birkenau is a key place of memory for Holocaust representation and presentation, which transmits the contemporary past to future generations.

The components of the Holocaust machinery have now been described and from this point the following chapters will be a discussion relating to the elements that illustrate the nature of the acts, and why the presence of terror and the control of fear or lack of was of vital importance to Nazi policy-makers and perpetrators. Aspects of archaeological and anthropological research utilising monumentality, the built environment, liminality and landscape theory will show that the Holocaust was not only planned and carried out to affect millions of people but involved intricacies of human behaviour not necessarily recognisable or obvious in original analysis. Inevitably throughout the discourse there will be areas of crossover which could not be fully separated and would have seen a lack of fluidity descend upon the research. Archaeologically and anthropologically, remnants of the pre-conflict anti-semitic message can be seen through analysis of behaviour, structures and cultural remains.

# 10 Liminality

The second half of the 20th century witnessed the use of terms "liminal" and "liminality" gaining popularity through the writings of Victor Turner. He adapted and expanded upon Van Gennep's concept of liminality, ensuring widespread usage of the concept not only in anthropology but also in other fields of research. Turner first introduced his interpretation of liminality in 1967, drawing heavily on Van Gennep's three-part structure for rites of passage mentioned above. He focused entirely on the middle stage of rites of passage; the transitional or liminal stage. He notes that "the subject of passage ritual is, in the liminal period, structurally, if not physically, 'invisible'" (1967, 95). That is, the status of liminal beings is socially and structurally ambiguous. While in the liminal state, human beings are stripped of anything that might differentiate them from their fellow individual, they are in between the social structure, temporarily displaced. Yet liminality is midway between a start and an end point, and as such, ends when the initiate is reincorporated into the social structure.

## 10.1 Liminality; The Yellow Star and Ghosts

Liminality as an interpretative concept illustrates the precise nature of the effects of propaganda in a perpetrator versus victim context. The measures introduced by the Nazi Regime convey the necessity to expel "The Jew" by gradual introduction of anti-semitic persecutory policy that placed them "outside" conventional Germany society and assigned them to a liminal position from which there was no means of emerging. Aspects of liminality are recognisable visibly during the course of Hitler's campaign against the Jews. Hitler agreed to Goebells' request that the Jews of Germany be marked with the yellow star. Ghetto inhabitants had worn "Jewish" symbols from the early days of the war, something that the German Jews had avoided up until this point. This construction of an imaginary boundary which required "The Jew" to wear a 10cm wide yellow star of David on outer apparel in public spaces subjected them to territorial restrictions (Cole 2003, 46), as well as racial exclusion. This was a delineation of human categories that was recognised by a cultural marker and had its origins in definitional legislation (ibid. 46).

Visible social and racial exclusion placed "The Jew" on the periphery of urbanisation within the creation of an anti-semitic enclave, as Cole cites Hilberg (1967, 509) referring to the segregation of Hungarian Jews of Budapest in 1944;

*"the Hungarian Jews were living on an island. But the island was not surrounded by water; it was a land-island enclosed and protected only by a political boundary."*

Oskar Rosenfeld, Jewish playwright and journalist, served in the statistics department of the Łódź ghetto from February 1942 to July 1944, and recorded notes on life and conditions prior to his deportation and death at Auschwitz. He discusses the ostracisation of Jewish families constricted "by about 50 decrees" (Loewy 2002, 5). Liminality and the liminal space were ever present in all ghettos, the yellow star was inscribed with the word "Jude" in an attempt to imitate Hebrew script (**plate 19**). Rosenfeld describes how people reacted unexpectedly, averting their eyes with expressions of contempt. "The Jews'" star meant they were unable to merge with the crowd and were representative of displaced persons from an earlier time, wandering through the streets like vestiges of the Middle Ages (ibid. 5). The distinction between "Jew" and "non-Jew" that was at first an imaginary boundary had been enacted and become visually noticeable, to clear the way for "dejudification". Liminal areas within militarised environments that had been instigated and created by propagandistic rhetoric become "internal zones of violence and enclaves of protection, both spatial and metaphorical, mapping out geographies of power" (Gilsenan 1996, 4).

The concept of ghosts (Bell 1997, 816) is close to the archaeological imagination and as such is present in terms of liminality as an interpretive theory. The reader could identify this as apparition-like but is more likely to apply to those individuals that are "missing" or "disappeared", who still occupy a space at a certain point in time. Ghosts can include the disappeared, the past and how much apparitions capture creative thought processes, that are horrifying and comforting (Buchli and Lucas 2001, 11). Bell (1997, 816) suggests ghosts can be "rooted, friendly and affirming, and they are never dead, although they may be of the dead, as well of the living." He continues that although uncanny, ghosts of place are familiar and an integral part of our lives. It also focuses the research on aspects of liminality and social memory that could be described as tangible, created by propaganda, that is the policies and misguided truths that ultimately assigned communities to displacement and being "absent", both mentally and physically.

**Plate 19**: Yellow Star of David with *Jude (*Jew). Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org (25 February 2013)

Buchli and Lucas (2001, 12) cite Vidler (1992, 48) in discussing the 'uncanny' or '*unheimlich*' act of archaeology that reveals evidence that should have remained invisible, almost resembling a haunting. Gilbert (1999, 36) reflects on the "presence" of German Jewry in a part-restored Synagogue in Berlin, he refers to John Izbicki's account of the re-inauguration of the building in 1995, where as a boy he prayed before emigration to Britain in 1939;

*".... As I listened to the speeches of eminent personalities and looked up at the windows……I thought I saw-and certainly felt-the presence of so many others who had once prayed there."*

Bell (1997, 813) also alludes to this as he suggests that the landscapes we travel through are still being lived in, by unseen spectres but whose presence we can still detect. This is reference to the ghosts of the past but also to the ghosts of place, spaces that are memorialised and known for their interaction with past events. Buntman (2008, 422) believes that memorials are visually striking and produce emotive responses and suggests that the reconfiguration of the invisible makes the horror and collective loss of the original settings of vital importance. Ulrich Baer highlights that not all visitors to violent landscapes capture the sense of the "missing" (2000, 48). He also comments on a Polish survivor of the Holocaust on a visit to the former atrocity location of Ohrdruf in Germany;

*"They drove to the site and saw nothing, they got out of the car and saw nothing". The visitors "experienced an overwhelming feeling of nothing in the inhospitable terrain."*

This author believes that although, as Baer comments, the "missing" or the "disappeared" are not sensed by everyone at a particular site, it is fair to deduce at a given point the perpetrator's act or the victim's suffering surely must become more tangible as the visitor experiences an atrocity location and attempts to associate themselves with the contemporary past.

## 10.2 <u>Liminality and Ghettoisation</u>

Liminality in the context of ghettoisation has to be viewed in terms of the area of application, individuals placed within and the time designated to leave their residence (Cole and Giordano 2012). Ghettos appeared in cities through the utilisation of existing buildings that were effectively isolated from the surrounding cityscape. The creation of an exclusion zone within cities defined the space and allowed for the erasing of the 'family' as most were dislocated by it (Ofer 1998, 18, 19). Physical and mental barriers were erected in the streets and in the mind, that prevented the continuation of normality, where laws and decrees were part of a reign of terror.

Jackson (2005, 2) cites ethnographic studies conducted by Besnier in Polynesia (1994, 287) that illustrate the use of Turner's "betwixt and between", an outsider status, and social inferiority. Similarly Malkki's, research (1995, 6) discusses the ways refugees in Tanzania occupy a liminal space that would mean movement backwards or forwards, as well as alluding to the fact that refugees are "matter out of place" that challenge a categorical system in conjunction with national identity. Jean Hatzfield (2005, 60-61), as an aside to his examination of the Rwandan Genocide, suggests that different cultures through urbanisation and industrialisation contributed to the four stages of genocide that made the Holocaust unique. Each stage can be regarded and classified as a form of liminality and has been adapted in this instance to align with the Holocaust;

1. Humiliation and loss of rights (Persecution and propaganda)

2. Designation and marking (Ghettoisation and concentration)

3. Deportation and Concentration (as described)

**4.** Elimination (internment, extermination and concentration)

Hatzfield is correct in his assessment that individual components overlapped, rather than succeed the other at pace, although this author argues that one stage would not have occurred without the preceding one, "for an urban society, an urban kind of genocide" (ibid. 61). For the purposes of analysis, **4** would not have happened without **1**, **2**, and **3**, but without **2** the purpose of **1** was negligible. The weakening of the spirit and the undermining of a culture put into place a system that required a realignment of urban accommodation. The argument being that without the concentration of Jews in constructed liminal spaces the mechanics of genocide would have been fragmented and unable to function, as Bauer (1980, 42) states "to concentrate them so as to facilitate a later massive expulsion". Ghettoisation is a recognisable allocation and restructuring of space to create a Jewish presence facilitating further manoeuvrings at a later stage. Nazi and 'local authority' recognition of spatial behaviour was accompanied by knowledge of environments and prevailing circumstances of the time, something that may have had limited success without the ability to learn about a new milieu (Kitchin and Blades 2002, 1).

When a dominant group yields space to the other, boundaries are redrawn in an urban setting. However, as migration increases, the other becomes increasingly diverse. Distinct spatial boundaries within overlapping areas sees access to distinct spaces negotiated over time within migrant groups. Ghettoisation can be seen in terms of the role of norms of public behaviour and modes of socialisation in defining divisions in public space (Noussia and Lyons, 2009).

The control of space reminds this author of that invoked in the first instance by ghettoisation in Budapest as set out by Cole (2003) (**figures 24 and 25**), further exploited in the deportation process and completed by extermination. Elements of architecturally imposed conditions explained by Katyal (2002), highlight components that can be introduced to produce segregation and to control the flow of human traffic into certain areas. Whereas other zones have prohibited access thus creating an air of uncertainty, power and ultimately fear as inmates recognise that movement is limited and restrictions are in place. Finoki (2007-2008) also presents these points in discussion of contemporary utilisations of conflict spaces relating to the 'war on terror'. In a general appraisal of securityscapes and individual components that are effective, Brunn, Andersson and Dahlman (2000, 68-84) suggest walls and gatehouses create isolation and non-isolation as well as expressing the overall spatial functionality of security settings. Isolation measures associated with human activity

create a discriminatory theme as walls, gatehouses, the use of guard-dogs and effective lighting define a boundary (ibid. 71). Barriers constructed to a higher level differentiate from one side of the wall to the other.
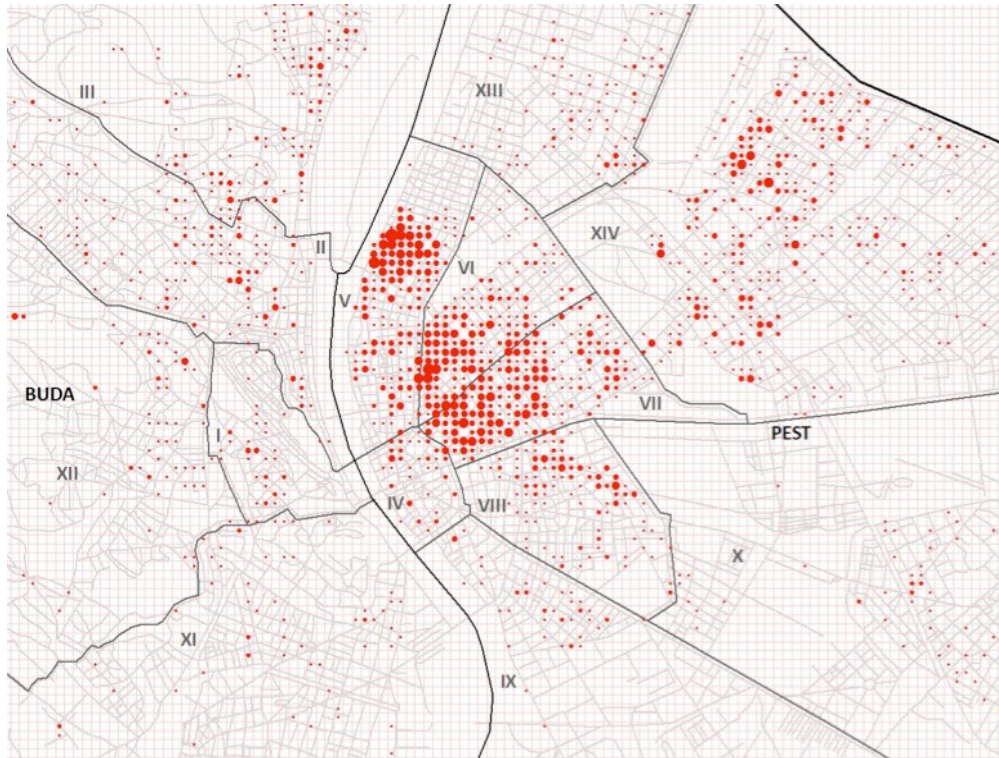


**Figure 24**: Number of Jewish-designated residences (22 June 1944) per 100m² cell. The size of the circles is proportional to the number of residences and varies between 1 and 13. Selected districts in Buda and Pest. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org (16 March 2012). (After Cole and Giordano 2012).

**Figure 25**: Estimate of streets in Buda and Pest most likely to be used by Jews walking to the closest market hall (red dots), during the time window (2-5 pm.) they were allowed to leave their place of residence. The thickness of the green line varies between 1 and 512 individuals. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (16 March 2012). (After Cole and Giordano 2012).

Intrator views the workings of Theresienstadt through the filter of intellect as she discusses the library facilities and what it offered to the "prisoner" . This author believes the library acted as a liminal space, or a space within a space, outside the world of propaganda created terror as she comments;

*"through its very normalcy as an institution of leisure and learning, the library provided a means for prisoners to resist Nazi attempts to completely humiliate, dehumanise, and annihilate them" (2007, 513).*

## 10.3 Liminality and Deportation

Transportation within a transitory liminal state that bridged zones of terror saw the train as a portal for the 'raw material' of the Holocaust (Evans 2008). The Nazis sought to portray the deportations as 'resettlement', as Jews were transported within violent and passive landscapes and across borders, becoming a euphemistic expression for movement to the killing centres. Packed in sealed, overcrowded freight or cattle cars, deportees were deprived of food and water. Jews endured

extremes of temperature in summer heat and frozen conditions throughout the winter. A solitary bucket was provided for use as a toilet which meant the stench of urine and excrement added to the humiliation and suffering of the deportees. Decline was both psychological and physical as many of the deportees died before the trains reached their destinations (Gigliotti 2009).

Liminality and the recognition of thresholds in the Holocaust are perceptible from the viewpoint of all those associated, from perpetrator, victim and bystander. As far as deportation is concerned, this was seen as the removal of the virtue of justice and the willingness of the perpetrators to establish a zone in their thought processes that approved the sub-human treatment of Jews. This is evident in most aspects of Holocaust analysis, but within the process of deportation emphasis is on the spatial and experiential suffering from the perspective of a deportee (Gigliotti 2006, 256).

The 'vortex' of ghetto life that Dvorjetski (1963, 196) described is an area of research that can be seen in deportation studies and interpreted within the sphere of liminality theory by Gigliotti (2006, 256-277). Conditions in a cramped cattle-car mirrored the squalid, forced isolation of the ghetto. The world that the Jew existed in was unrecognisable from that before the war, as individuals and communities were a voice in the wilderness (Dvorjetski 1963, 194), crossing thresholds constructed for them by their oppressors through various stages of captivity. A form of existence was created that facilitated a weakening of the human form and a "natural decline" (ibid. 195) and at every turn, the sense of deprivation and exclusion was accompanied by fear and terror. Deportation presented in liminal terms is a summation of the historical processes that bought the Jews to their wartime state, exclusion, expropriation and isolation (Gigliotti 2006, 258). The journey between ghetto and camp put the deportee through a transit experience, into a space of displaced encounters and experiential psychological suffering.

The transitory liminality of a cattle-car was a bridge of continuity between zones of terror, with the passing of real time immeasurable in terms of minutes, hours and kilometres, instead by physical and emotional outbursts and the transgression of bodily function boundaries (ibid. 261-262). An attack on the senses delivered by spatial compression and transport affected the acoustic ability of the individual to assess their plight. Sensory and physical deprivation was enhanced further as individuals were unable to process sounds that may otherwise communicate normality. The perception of acoustic threat was further enhanced with the verbal assault of the German spoken

word that was immediately familiar as the language of genocide (Doerr 2009, 47). Doerr explains further that certain words, then and now, for survivors and their offspring trigger frightening memories. They were callously adapted for the situation by the perpetrator, euphemistically projecting hope and psychologically deceiving the victim. For the majority that suffered throughout the Holocaust, the German language will be associated with the Nazis, a fact that has ultimately determined that individuals haunted by the sound of German voices would under no circumstances return to or visit the locations of deportation and/or resettlement (ibid. 47-49).

The re-enforcement of an otherworldly experience is portrayed by Rymkiewicz (1994, 47) who refers to the act of and commemoration of deportation using the cattle-car as the "antechamber of death" **(plate 20)**. A zone of indistinction (Dicken and Lausten 2002, 291) is defined with far greater clarity when placed in the context of deportation of 'bare life' as hypothesised by Agamben (1998) that is portrayed as spatial, inside versus outside. Although the liminal state of exception continued and persisted simultaneously on the outside as disorder reigned. Dicken and Lausten (2002, 294) suggest that the camp terror thrived in an environment of fear enhanced by uncertainty and insecurity, which in the confines of a cattle-car was exaggerated as disorientation came in the form of spatial attack. The theme of spatial distinction is further enhanced and embellished by the notion of the arrival space or 'unloading ramp' at Birkenau classified by this author as a liminal zone where previously known societal order came to an end and 'concentration world' reached its peak **(figure 26)**.



**Plate 20**: Deportees looking out of small openings barricaded with barbed wire, within the "antechamber of death" of a cattle car. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org (15 March 2012).
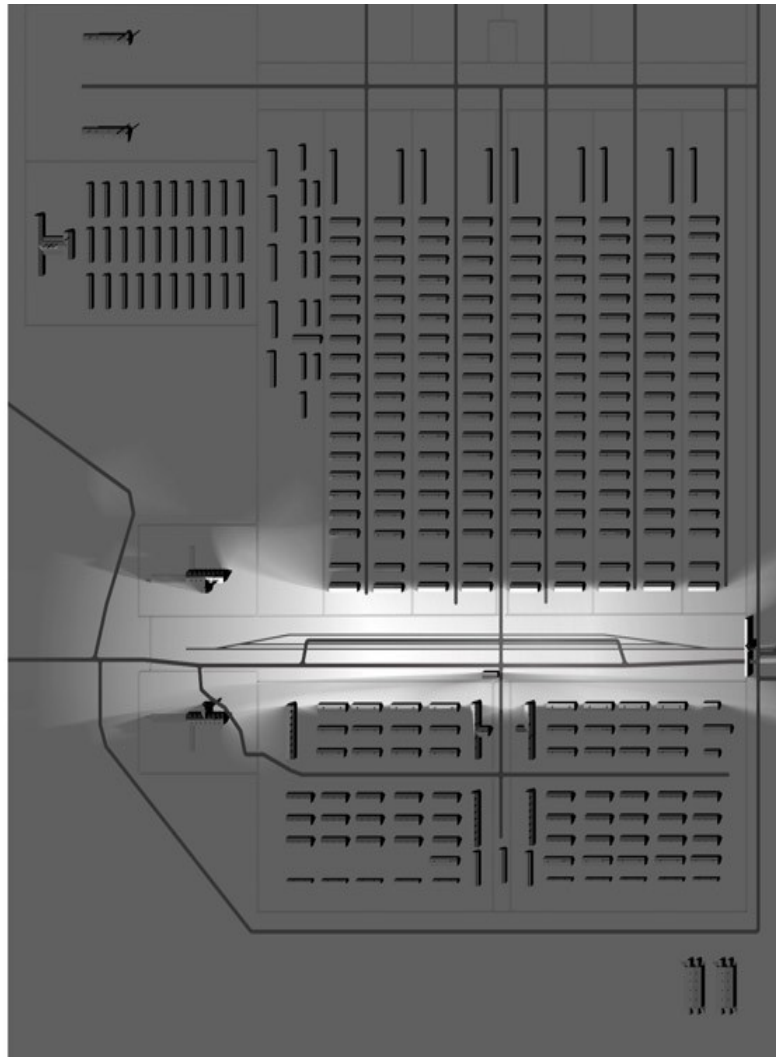
**Figure 26:** The liminal space of the ramp. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org  (after Harvey, Knowles and Jaskot) (15 March 2012). Auschwitz-Birkenau space showing approximate lines of sight of an SS Officer on the Ramp (c. 1944). The light cast from a single point indicates the range of sight as well as where the sight would have been blocked by intermediary structures. This author would like to postulate that lines of sight could also be interpreted in this study, as the liminal view of the unloading ramp from the 'Gate of Death'.

Dicken and Lausten (2002) explain further, which again can be interpreted in a deportation setting, that inclusion and exclusion occur in control societies in association with mobile surveillance under cross-border regulations and networks, witness to the fact that discipline became the instrument of immobilisation (ibid. 297). The train became a portal that transgressed the inside/outside divide to relocate to indistinct zones and environments, as the rail network cancelled the physical geography of landscape in the form of transpolitics and geopolitics. Terror within the liminal space and time of a deportation journey was where social reality disappeared and hope that normality would return to the everyday existence attempted to penetrate the psyche. Žižek (2001) describes World War I in a

way that for this author defines how violence was perpetrated on an unsuspecting public, which also conjures an image of how the Holocaust entered the historic psyche leaving an indelible mark that could be described as an "out of world" experience.

*"The ultimate and defining experience of the 20th century was the direct experience of the real as opposed to the everyday social reality – the real in its extreme violence as the price to be paid for peeling off the deceiving layers of reality."*

Human beings became a commodity of the Holocaust and in such a way, were placed into a zone that saw them being moved from life to death, transported through surplus landscapes (Nielsen 2000) for the benefit of their oppressors. The cattle-car became a transitional and transformative zone where the social reality discussed by Žižek became the traumatic intervention of destruction, a creation of space for sub-human captivity. Žižek (2001) describes the space that is occupied by those that receive the unwanted attention of terror, which is a wholly suitable assessment in the eyes of this author to explain the evolution of the Jewish Holocaust;

*"really-existing men" are reduced to the stock of raw material which can be ruthlessly exploited for the construction of the new."*

Gigliotti (2006, 262) sees the enforcement of a mobile compressed space as a deconstruction and effacement of status and entitlement. The physicality of degradation was accompanied at all levels with psychological decline that undermined any perception of reality, confining the deportee in a temporal displacement pushing the boundaries of suffering beyond cognition. Gigliotti (ibid. 270-271) quotes Bessie, K. From Greene and Kumar (2000, 109-110) as she described the traumatic assault that led to "a life within a life" trapped in a cattle-car that had departed Vilna ghetto in 1942;

*"To me, I was dead. I died and I didn't want to talk about it. And I didn't want to admit to myself that this had happened to me. I don't know how long we were going in the train, but to me it was a lifetime. The way I felt is I was born on the train and I died on the train."*

Liminality is vividly exposed in the context of deportation, itself a transition from one element in the process to another. The deportees movement through 'stolen landscapes' exaggerated their

physical, auditory and sensory experiences, as well as their interaction with the infrastructure associated with the rail journey.

## 10.4 <u>Internment, Extermination and Liminality</u>

Transitory liminality was preceded and followed by a form of static but fluid form of liminality. Jews were concentrated in areas that were specific in their characteristics and functional requirements, whereas the geopolitically motivated mass movements between terror zones were a passage between two fixed points that meant crossing a number of thresholds within the parameters laid out for "The Final Solution".

Comments by Crossland (2002, 13) reflect a similarity with the conditions that prevailed within Nazi Germany and particularly with the establishment and running of extermination centres. The creation of absence was witnessed through organisational and technological advancement when discussing the 'disappeared' in association with the military dictatorship of 1976-1983 in Argentina who were often described as *'fantasmas'*. An official government report in 1984 commented that those individuals being absent possessed the quality of a "sinister ghostly category" (CONADEP 1984, 3). That was supported by archaeologists excavating Avellaneda cemetery in Buenos Aires who suggested the 'disappeared' are "like ghosts, neither alive nor dead" (Crossland 2002, 123). A zone within a zone that created a limbo-like setting for the graves of the 'disappeared' with no purposeful symbolism, no tombstones and none of the associated architecture of death. This seemed to suggest that the lack of any funerary ritual meant that they had not passed into the world of the dead in a temporal sense (ibid. 2000, 153-55).

Within the framework of internment and extermination this author would like to convey a necessity in that throughout any discourse revolving around liminality, the language of 'ghosts of place' should be accommodated, following on from that utilised by Bell (1997) and connected earlier in this thesis through the construction of propagandistic, ghetto and deportation settings. Although quasi-mystical and peculiar, the subject content relates to territoriality and is site specific, suggesting a presence and an absence that provides a connection with the 'other world' which many may have some experience or knowledge of. Bell (1997, 815) refers to ghosts as the "scary spirits

of the unsettled dead…disturbed souls who came to a bad and frequently unjust end" that appears to have some resonance with atrocity locations, in particular those of the Holocaust. This conforms with theories of portals and places 'in-between' that not only identifies place but also with human actors who were present either individually or collectively and have become fixed, being never dead, although of the dead as well as the living (ibid. 816).

The concept of the reinstatement of ghosted borders or walled perimeters, which are demarcations that may have been forgotten but still persist in some way perhaps through memory or retained through narrative, is an analysis of landscape that also interjects on the discourse of liminality. The notion is of unmasking hidden borders, uncovering their lost significance, political pasts, and superimposing them over contemporary contexts (Finoki 2007c). The implication that a border or perimeter is something much greater than a physical, geographic, spatial or political boundary is a theory worth pursuing. The Nazis implemented the regional evolution of constructing and reconfiguring contested borders and in turn created thresholds for liminality discourse to analyse.

Perimeters, walls, fences, and borders linger and persist in our consciousness, in the form of things not built but ingrained in the captive psyche (Finoki 2007c). Wilson (2011, 3) alludes to a 'sense of place' incorporated within a no man's land setting as he describes the post-processual research of the World War I Western Front, which is an analytical approach that should be considered in association with Nazi extermination centres. The landscape, built environment and the actors within the death systems of occupied Poland were in a position that was unique even in a conflict setting. As Tilley (1994, 5) suggests, perpetrators that followed hierarchical orders actually had the perception of their surroundings shaped for them. This author suggests that the crossing of a death camp threshold meant entry into a 'different' place, possessing liminal characteristics, with conditions between life and death and one that was purposefully modelled for the deterioration of life. A feature further corroborated by Leed (1979, 148) who has offered similar analysis again in connection with the Great War, but one that should be associated with Holocaust studies. The new concept of identity that had been ordered was synthesised throughout military personnel, and no doubt in a death camp environment would have been recognised by inmates. Wilson (2011, 5) refers to Ferguson (2004, 158) and Horne and Kramer (2001, 96) in consolidating these thoughts as he suggests that aggression and terror had its foundations in and was encouraged by propaganda.

In a modern context Paglen (2011) explores the beginning of the War on Terror, describing how the CIA set up a network of secret prisons in Afghanistan and other locations around the world, illustrating how hundreds of 'ghost prisoners' have 'disappeared' through the system. The so-called black sites have become synonymous with allegations of torture, which suggests that Holocaust settings could well have been the fledgling sites of this nature, even though the magnitude and scale of operations would have dwarfed the modern day scenario.

Finoki (2008b) describes the psychological torture and the experience of being 'disappeared' through the words of Bashmilah, a former 'ghost detainee' in the CIA's extraordinary rendition program, which has alarming similarities to the conditions suffered in the Nazi death camps.

*"Bashmilah said in the phone interview that the psychological anguish inside a CIA black site is exacerbated by the unfathomable unknowns for the prisoners. While he figured out that he was being held by Americans, Bashmilah did not know for sure why, where he was, or whether he would ever see his family again."*

Finoki (2008b) also suggests that human beings were placed into an indifferent area of disappearance, which was not just a death space, or a place where they knew they were going to die. Being the disappeared, a prisoner in unknown conditions, removed from the rest of the world would have been almost worse than death itself. Serial kidnapping during the Holocaust in the form of deportation and the mental torture that followed was pursued on a Europe-wide scale at such intensity that the 'factories of death' struggled to maintain their throughput. The systematic construction of extermination places that were industrialised 'death spaces' where people existed, even before any additional measures had taken place, seems the cruellest basis for any form of human existence. To be the subject of "a regime of imprisonment designed to inflict extreme psychological anguish" was only the initial stage of incarceration for those fortunate enough to manoeuvre past the selection process. Wilson (2011, 5) with reference to Taussig (1987, 133, 7) describes the 'space of death' from the context of the western front from World War I as a place of transformation, which conforms with the theory of liminality that is postulated within this study of genocidal landscapes of National Socialism. Gas chambers within the extermination camp setting could be described as 'a death space' within 'a place of death', as Bernstein (2002) relates his findings to liminal figures within such a location;

*"Auschwitz is the site of an experiment that remains unthought today, an experiment beyond life and death in which the*

131

*Jew is transformed into a Muselmann and the human being into a non-human."*

The central figure for Agamben (1998) and Bernstein (2002) was the *Muselmann*, a name in the death camps for prisoners reduced to "living corpses," human but seemingly devoid of dignity, spontaneity, or humanity (**plate 21**). For Sofsky (1997, 200), the creation of the 'otherworldly' being was a deliberate act of starvation and deprivation that saw the construction of a so-called third realm, or as he describes it "a state of limbo, trapped between life and death". The *Muselmann* is the lead actor as the representation of extermination by natural means within the biography of death systems of the death camp terror zone, who suffered a lingering death from starvation. A degradation of the human presence, abandonment (ibid. 200) and a remnant of a scientific experiment of elimination in a controlled environment.



**Plate 21**: A so-called *Muselmann*. Available HTTP: http://www.jewishgen.org (6 April 2012).

The categorisation of the *Muselmann* into a 'third realm' within death camps (terror zone) is fully representative of the nature of the camp, the non-place where barriers of discipline ceased to exist. Agamben (1998, 81) describes a threshold being reached, where life in the political sense is irrelevant and can be exterminated without redress. Robert Antelme (1992) lived through the horror and provided a vivid insight and confirmation of the systems and conditions within Nazi war camps. He refers to an omnipotent presence of SS and *Kapo's* (criminal prisoners) that administered a

regime of oppression in the form of a slow death. Imprisoned at Buchenwald and later at Gandersheim, followed by liberation, he committed his thoughts to paper;

*"At Gandersheim there was no gas chamber, no crematorium. The horror there was darkness, absolute lack of any kind of landmark, solitude, unending oppression, slow annihilation. The motivation underlying our struggle could only have been a furious desire, itself almost always experienced in solitude; a furious desire to remain men down to the very end"* (1992, 5).

Agamben (1998, 104) suggests that the *Muselmann* could not define the boundaries between fact and law along with the removal of instinct and reason. He also alludes to the fact that the *Muselmann* lived in a world within a world, disconnected from reality, unable to communicate, seemingly anaesthetised from painful memory and unable to mourn (ibid. 104; Bernstein, 2002).

Another figure within the camp setting that was unique and held influence within the contacts of SS guards that literally meant the difference between life and death for the prisoners they supervised, was that of the *Kapo* (**plate 22**). They were individuals that had crossed the power thresholds within the camp hierarchy systems, had a dual identity of a prisoner and who also worked in tandem with their oppressors (Anon. 2006). The Nazis realised in the embryonic stages of the death camps that there was a requirement for permanent and experienced working groups of prisoners to ensure camp operations functioned efficiently. In charge of each working group (*Kommando*) was a *Kapo*, chosen from among the prisoners. The *Kapo* was responsible for the work the prisoners carried out, and had to be obeyed, with SS guards in overall charge of multiple *Kommando*s (Anon. 2006). During longer periods of imprisonment the influence of the *Kapo* as a group contact among the prisoners was fundamental, as they were closely associated with central power systems within the camp and would have had a direct bearing on decision-making with regard to labour and life expectancy. Recommendations came directly from the *Kapos* on who was suitable for each *Kommando* (Sofsky 1997, 127). The extant chain of command meant that *Kapos* were subordinate to SS *Kommando* leaders. *Kommandos* consisting of several hundred prisoners required the supervision of a *Kapo* assisted by a number of sub-*Kapos*, as well as a number of supervisors.

**Plate 22:** A photograph of K*apo* Emil Erwin Mahl stationed at Dachau, who was arrested when the
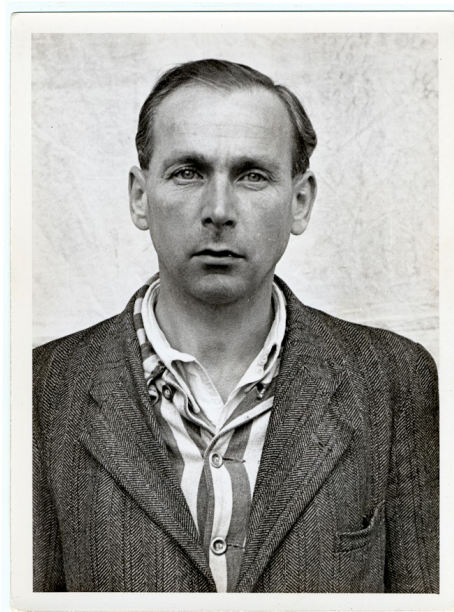
Rees (2005b, 47) labels them as "agents of control between the SS and the Polish prisoners". They were excused from other work, only supervising and dividing the prisoners into work columns, pushing them to work as part of the systematic economic exploitation within the camps. In essence, the function of the *Kapo* was limited to control measures and the continued instillation of terror. In terms of the day to day running of the camps, *Kapos* were largely independent in the administration of the camp, part of a work ethic and supervisory role controlled by the SS on the ground (Sofsky 1997, 132).

The administration and control of terror systems appeared at times to be in a state of flux as disputes arose over punitive authority. A *Kapo* of low status often carried out reprisals that occurred regularly as they beat and murdered Jews, although the central *Inspektion* insisted on maintaining its full control over corporal punishment (Sofsky 1997, 217). The polarisation of the status of the *Muselmann* and *Kapo* illustrate the nature of life in captivity under the Nazis, although both were to ultimately perish under the control and fear implemented by their oppressors. Each category of prisoner was placed in such a position that they were effectively 'isolated' from their immediate surroundings, suffused throughout the camp system. They possessed a similar vestige of characteristics and consequently requirements in order to survive. The *Muselmann* and the *Kapo* were liminal beings within a liminal setting with thresholds on either side, trapped in a no-man's land of existence. The *Kapo* had a greater degree of control of his immediate destiny but would be

134

as expendable as the *Muselmann* in the extermination centres.

Karin Doerr (2009, 51) comments that Holocaust survivors have recounted how in an almost self-serving appreciation of their surroundings and power control, the *Kapo* singled out the *Muselmann* for additional beatings and refers to Patterson (2006, 149) who suggested that the *Muselmann* was "human life transformed into creature". Hermann Langbein (2004, 91/92) was interned at Auschwitz in 1942 and classified as a non-Jewish political prisoner, was assigned as clerk to the chief SS physician of the camp complex, which granted him access to clinical documents and qualified his opinion on medical matters in post-liberation years. Langbein commented on how inmates he described as "destroyed human beings" were labelled as *Muselmänner* initially at Auschwitz, although eventually used in most other camps too. He describes how the destruction of the human frame and will to live was a multi-stage clinical breakdown as starvation was either transitionally gradual or rapid (ibid. 92). This eventually resulted in a physical and mental degradation as "they were creatures in the final stage of humanness who acted only like unreasoning animals" (ibid. 92).

Liminality also crosses over with the built environment and deception features as components of the internment infrastructure can be categorised as 'other-wordly' and introduced into the vocabulary of thresholds. Sofsky discusses mass annihilation organised on the parameters of labour segregation. The process was integrated, resembled an assembly line, with stations co-ordinated in temporal sequence (ibid. 259). The 'Operation Reinhard' camps had at their core a narrow passageway, the "tube" (*der Schlauch*) and nicknamed the "way to heaven" (*der Himmelsweg*) by the SS, leading from the reception area to the gas chamber (ibid. 260). The path was enclosed by barbed-wire fencing covered with brushwood to screen visibility. Again another aspect of liminality alluded to by Sofsky, a transitional route for prisoners that saw them cross a threshold of life into death, was also present in another form at Treblinka. The entrance to the gas chamber had a dark ceremonial curtain draped over it, bearing  Hebrewic inscription and on the exterior gable wall, a Star of David was mounted with flowerpots on the entrance steps (ibid. 260). This design incorporated into death camps suggests to this author that although functional in every aspect, it also confirms the presence and utilisation of boundaries and thresholds that were methods of control and part of the deceptive methodology of the Nazis.

# 11 <u>Monumentality and the Built Environment</u>

## 11.1 <u>Associated with Propaganda</u>

The construction of monumental façades and structures emphasised the ceremonial aspect of propaganda that communicated a thirst for power and control (Jaskot 2000). The erection and adaptation of certain buildings had a unique purpose, deception from a distance as well as in direct use. Propaganda was evident in transit camps and ghettos as conditions were falsely portrayed to the outside world (Intrator 2007). The construction and presentation of monumental structures reinforced the political and militaristic facets of the National Socialist regime. It also assisted in the enhancement of propaganda and in turn had the desired effect on the German and non-German population and those witnessing Nazism from a distance, in terms of fear, its control and the heightening of terror.

Monumentality according to Jaskot (2000, 50) when referring to the party rally grounds in Nuremburg provided "a vast ceremonial setting for the yearly propaganda festivals". The Reich rally grounds were the largest single network of monumental government buildings ever constructed in Hitler's Germany. The aesthetics of politics were on full display at Nuremburg and provided the ideal setting for the staging of propaganda extravaganzas to acquaint the German population with new governmental policies and to re-ignite Party goals (ibid. 50) (**Plate 23**).

Jaskot (2000, 41) alludes to further aspects of monumentality as he describes that prisoner punishment was inseparable from the economic policy of the SS. He points out that camps such as Flossenbürg and Mauthausen were associated with the notorious German Earth and Stone Works (DEST) that were part of the movement to secure labour and raw materials for monumental building programs within the Reich. The efforts of a seemingly unlimited supply of prisoners of war were directly responsible for the procurement of stone and the construction of state architectural commissions. The DEST were unwilling to change or improve working conditions as Jaskot states that the killing of labourers who were used to create an economic empire ensured that the aims of the Nazi regime were maintained as its political power was enhanced (ibid. 42). The theme of Jaskot's research can be placed into the context of monumentality from the point of view of labour required, the effect of the completed construction, the themes of classical influence and durability.

136
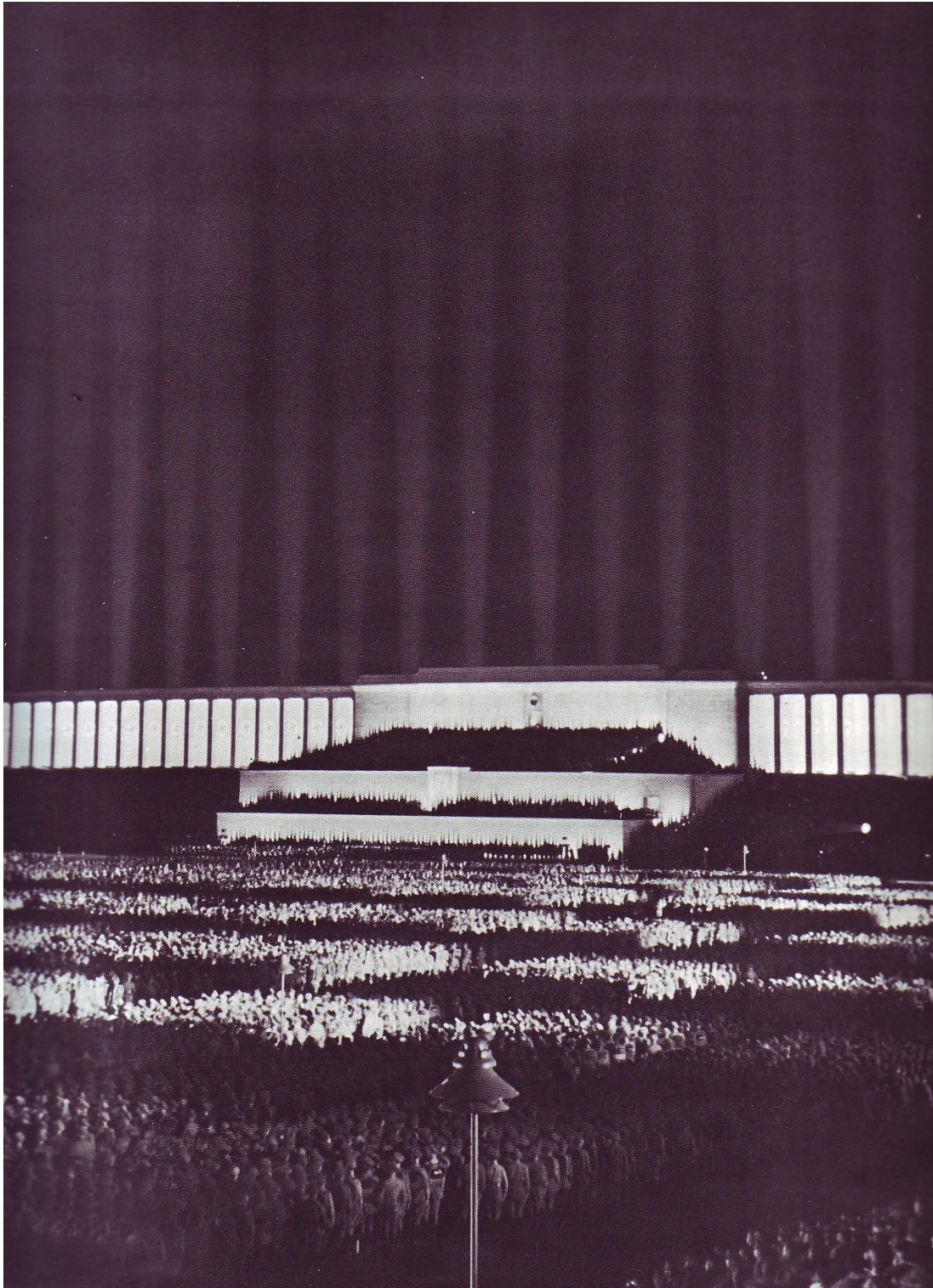
**Plate 23:** Monumentality and neo-classical architecture exuded power and control. The Zeppelin tribune during a night time rally. Available HTTP: http://sitemaker.umich.edu (25 January 2012).

The assumption that Loten (2003) conveys is that the effect of architectural power and associated rituals may have replaced the feeling of power that was directed from any one individual, effectively altering the sensory perception of those in attendance. Real power would be expected to produce real, material, pragmatic results such as good health and victory. Again this is an argument that can be applied to the Nazi ideologies throughout their time in government, in so much that propaganda had planted the seed and the physical mass attendance at Party gatherings enforced the belief.

The built environment illustrates unequivocally the remnants of military activity from conflicts globally. In the context of Nazi occupation the architecture of incarceration and mechanised extermination reflect the effectiveness of propaganda and represent the position of "The Jew" within a system of oppression. The structural remains of Nazi oppressive measures are a product of and symptomatic of propaganda. Construction and adaptation of certain buildings within the militarised landscape had the sole purpose of deceiving those who witnessed them from a distance and those who had direct contact with them. Discussion of specifically configured structures will take place at a later point in this research, but in general they are present in the form of domestic buildings to specialised structures, such as control towers, workshops and factories (Schofield 2005, 51).

The vast majority of structures due to their function are ruinous or present only as a 'footprint', but as Schofield alludes to, where they are more or less intact they provide a sense of authenticity and allow for constructive interpretations of activities. Schofield (2005, 52) cites Douet (1998, xiv) when commenting on the planning and architecture of a military installation as they effected "the structure of human relationships and the patterns of social behaviour within the armed forces". Again taking Douet's (1998, xvi) lead, Schofield (2005, 52) is in agreement that spaces in military occupation zones can be symmetrical in design used for ceremonial, instruction and the setting for disciplinary procedures. Buildings configured within the context of anthropologically derived theories were utilised for the control over movements of inmates, in the case of ghettos, concentration and extermination camps (Anderton 2002, 192).

Nazi architecture had three primary roles in the creation of their new order, which at its core had monumentality as its functionary and aesthetic goal. Firstly as a stage, secondly its symbolic impact and finally didactic meaning. To supplement these, structures had functionality but also

served a larger purpose (Anon. 2011). Many Nazi buildings were stages for communal activity, creations of space meant to capture the principles on which the Nazi ideology was based. The impressive size of the stage itself would magnify the importance of propagandistic rhetoric. The architectural styles displayed the influences of those who constructed the building or paid for its construction and visually hinted at the general architectural movements of the time intertwined with local variants that influenced them. Nazi buildings were an expression of the essence of the movement (ibid. 2011). In relation to the didactic role of architecture, Hitler saw it as a method of subconsciously or subliminally imparting a message. Most buildings are copies in some form or other, but for the Nazis, copying the past not only linked them to the past but specifically to an aryan past. Neo-classical and Renaissance architecture were direct representations of aryan culture (ibid. 2011)

## 11.2 Monumentality, the Built Environment and Ghettoisation

Monumental architecture, in an archaeological sense, refers to large, humanly constructed, buildings of stone or earth, generally public places and spaces. By definition monumental architecture is public in nature, built, created or adapted by a community, to view or share in the use of, whether the labour was forced or accepted by those who took part (Hirst 2013). Monuments or architecture that retain a sense of monumentality through its historiography are human landmarks, symbolic in aim and action and intended to outlive the period they were constructed in thus providing an associative heritage for future generations, forming a link between the past, present and future (ibid. 2013).

Monumentality in the context of ghettoisation can be described as an 'urban medium' that conveyed and provided for memory discourse. Present in physical form as *in situ* fragmentary remains of walls acting as public memorials that provide a physical counterbalance between the present and the contemporary past. The landscapes of the Holocaust as a whole are represented by a constellation of monuments that can be conceived as meaningless by certain groups having become detached from their original significance and appear sinister to the majority today. Paradoxically, ghettos and the creations of urban slums of exclusion could be said to be the antithesis of the concept of monumentality, structures with rare exceptions, that become empty shells (Sert, Léger and Giedion 1943, 1).

Both Scobie (1990) and Jaskot allude to the neo-classical styles conceived by Speer and his staff who had significant roles in determining architectural policy that emerged in the redesign of Berlin and the party rally grounds at Nuremburg (Jaskot 2000, 56). This author would like to project an alternative theory to those of Scobie and Jaskot. Both rely heavily on the monumental aspects of building and the notions behind them, whereas the ghettos were the least expensive form of re-urbanisation and derived the greatest success in relation to population control, at the same time as being a temporary measure. From this author's point of view, when Jaskot discusses Flossenbürg concentration camp he could also be describing the establishment of city ghettos; to paraphrase his thoughts "the great wall surrounding the complex (built by prisoners) was done so at minimal expense and maximum distress to themselves" (ibid. 133). The sealed ghettos of Poland reflect a two stage defensive mode of "construction", the realignment of city housing to accommodate an influx of "Jews" and the erection of defences to keep people imprisoned. Urban decay was a symptom of ghettoisation and created slum conditions, which Scobie (1986) has analysed in terms of Roman urbanisation and standards of living. He cites Townsend (1979) who suggested that slums consist of;

**1.** Structural defects (leaking roofs, damp walls, brickwork, ill-fitting doors and windows, etc.).

**2.** Inadequate housing facilities (lack of piped water, toilets, washing facilities, etc.).

**3.** Inadequate space, overcrowding (more than two people to one room).

With Hitler's penchant for all things classical, in particular Romanesque, the creation of urban slums in the form of ghettos may have been another attempt to align his fantasy with reality. As the above points indicate, ghetto conditions created in Poland and other occupied countries satisfied all the criteria necessary to label them as such. Even though Hitler seemed to view archaeological revelations that did not compare with his thoughts and visions with contempt, he was still more than happy to suggest that countries from the classical period should be emulated particularly in architecture and culture. An article by Arnold (1996) illustrates this viewpoint perfectly as she quotes comments accredited to Hitler made to Speer (1970, 94, 95);

*"Why do we call the whole world's attention to the fact that we have no past? It's bad enough that the Romans were erecting great buildings when our forefathers were still living in mud huts…All we prove by that is that we were still throwing stone hatchets and crouching around open fires when Greece and Rome had already reached the highest stage of culture".*

Katyal (2002) suggests that architects have been engaged in social control, as legislation that controls intruder crime can occasionally harness the power of physical space to shape and fashion social norms and allow them to use their discipline as an expressive tool to display certain commitments. In the context of ghettoisation and the majority of Nazi generated schemes to control and deceive their captives, the theme of a lawless environment is central to understanding how objectives were met in terms of restraint and fear suppression. "An ultimate culture of terror that utilised an inversion of order and meaning" (Lewin 1992, 163). Lewin also suggests penetrating the space between perpetrator, victim and bystander, by assessing the barriers and the implications of behaviour induced by architecturally constructed areas of control rather than an analysis of emotional responses (ibid. 162).

The creation of sub-standard impoverished zones of exclusion by design or accident heightened the sense of fear, but also enabled the victim to establish a will to survive and pursue routines that were seemingly unchanged. At this point, it is necessary to place emphasis on issues Katyal raises pertaining to security and control within an architectural environment and how they affected the plights of individuals throughout ghettoisation. He highlights concepts that illustrate how design can shape law and reinforce principles of architecture (**figures 27 and 28**). As Katyal (2002, 1041) states "many civilisations have used design to reinforce particular belief systems". In this research civilisation relates to the Third Reich, whilst belief systems can be construed as ideologies based on racial superiority. In many ways the constructed environment created the desired effect of control by oppression and could be said to be the antithesis of Katyal's hypothesis of architectural principles of control. The creation of physical space to fashion and shape a way of life that was alien to its inhabitants enhanced the stance of societal expression relating to discrimination. Architectural strategies introduced an expansion of social control into all aspects of Jewish life and powerful architectural standards influenced societal opinions and choices. As Katyal (2002, 1045) suggests, there is no neutral architecture, it favours certain groups in society as design shapes attitude. He also warns that architecture that ignores aspects of community is likely to have a destructive effect (ibid. 1045), which was the desired result with the initiation of ghettoisation and associated architectural features of genocidal landscapes. Katyal's (2002) principles refer to;

**1.** Aspects of surveillance that create spaces that are easily viewed (ibid. 1050).

**2.** Territoriality; a technique in the sense that the construction of landscapes and buildings that create and reflect a sense of ownership or stewardship (ibid. 1058), in this context viewed by the perpetrator.

**3.** Effective architectural design in using structures that build communities instead of dividing them (ibid. 1062). For this research (perpetrator)-sections of society brought together and then divided from the rest of the community.

**4**, Strengthening targets against attack. Improved architectural design in crime prevention (ibid. 1067). For this research (perpetrator)-isolation to exaggerate and enhance the excluded community.
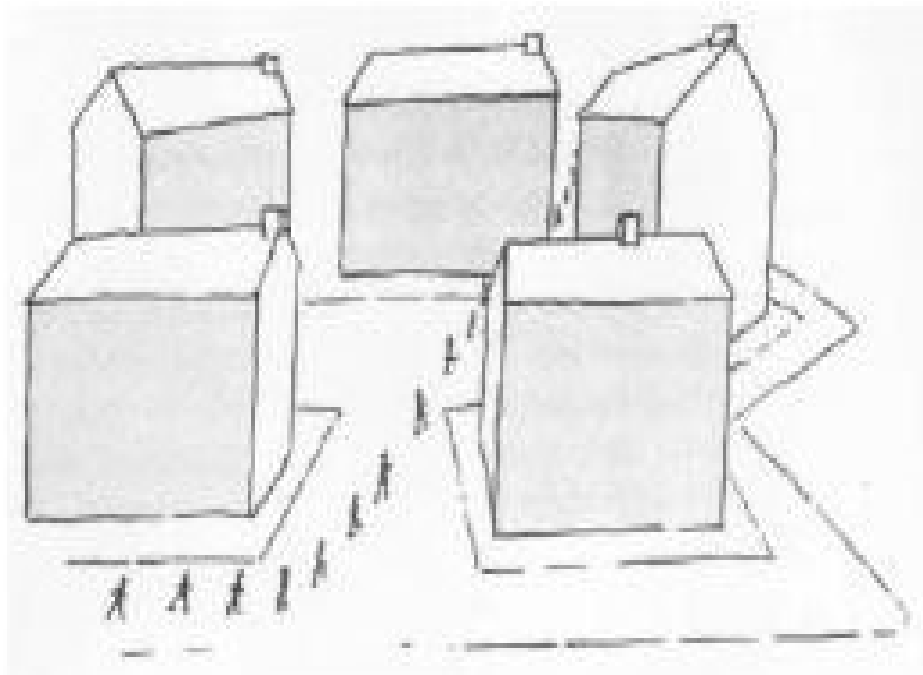


**Figure 27:** A sketch depicting normal urban usage of space as people are allowed to move where they like. Image from Katyal (2002), differs from his interpretation of surveillance and security, but illustrates the point of 'free-space'. The space lacks the divisions of public space suggested by Noussia and Lyons (2009).
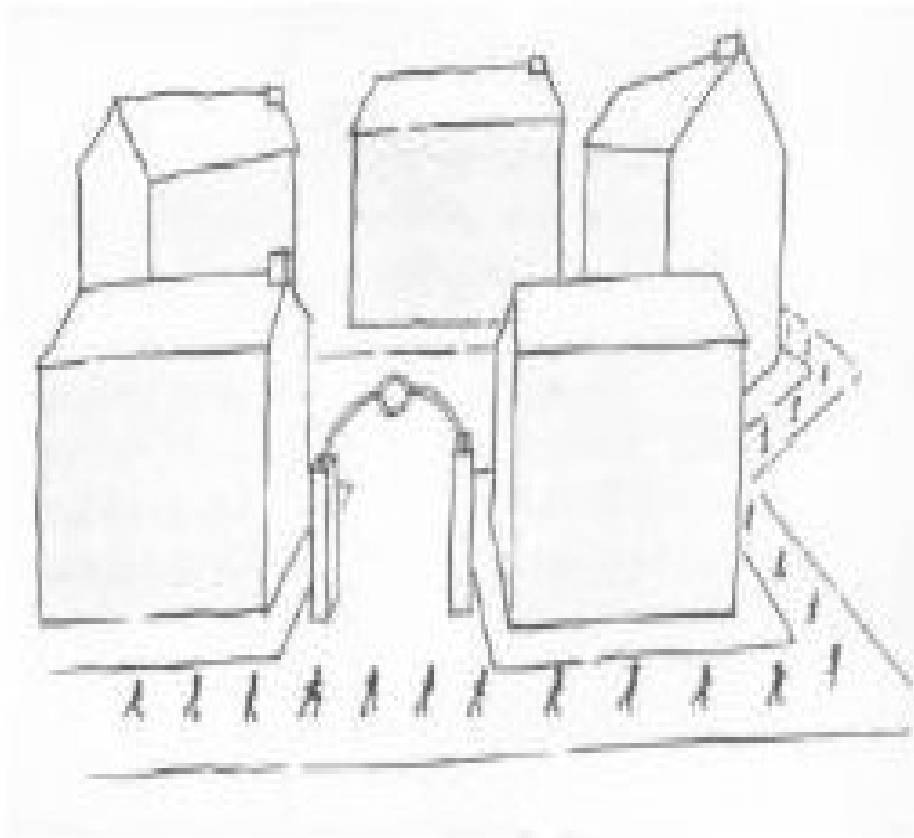
**Figure 28:** A sketch depicting that the overhead arch creates a sense of private or constructed space. The building of walls, gated communities and enclosed space was the initiation of ghettoisation and distinct spatial boundaries. Adapted from Katyal (2002).

The contestation of space saw destruction and creation, although the former was more significant and its effects longer lasting. The idea, that a wall or a perimeter delineated to keep communities apart could be as significant as a weapon, is perceptive (Leonard 2011b, 67). A simple fabrication of steel and stone incorporating barbed-wire could alter the outlook of a landscape in morphology, how it was used and the way it was thought of. Gone are the open spaces and free access, replaced by isolation, compartmentalisation and check-points.

The effects of the construction of the Berlin Wall provides an instant recall to those city and rural landscapes deliberately manufactured and architecturally adapted for persecution, ghettoisation, deportation and extermination. At all these given intersections of policy, the subdivision of society was a central theme and pivotal to the mechanics of genocide. Walls can be seen as an architecture

of conflict and reconciliation, a collision zone within a cityscape. Built to separate, destroyed to signify the end of conflict, the mental scars of segregation do not dissipate, while geo-social questions remain over the construction and use of humane space (Finoki 2007e).

Leonard (2011, 67) expresses the fact that two differing views were a component of the influence of the Berlin Wall, which is a line of thinking that can be projected back to Nazi imprisonment architecture. From the east, western values coupled with democracy and capitalism that supposedly represented corruption were blocked from sight whereas, from the west, communism that encompassed rumour, propaganda and fear was not visible (ibid. 67). In the context of a ghetto or death camp setting, the perimeter wall again defined terror locations and enhanced deception theories. The view from the exterior was one of uncertainty and denial although rumours abounded, whilst from within penal correction transformed to mass execution amid thoughts of escape, freedom and life following the 'concentration world' of the death camp.

Ironically, contemporary Israeli security issues have an all too familiar theme of association, although it is a reflection of past and current security scapes globally. Azaryahu (2000, 103) suggests that "security is also concretised in the landscape…and security measures amount to a virtual rite of passage" thus illustrating a link with liminal spaces and the crossing of thresholds to progress within contested and protected spaces. Azaryahu explains further that military landscapes are the most obvious manifestation of a security scape combining military functionality within a framework of discipline and authority, describing secure areas as enclaves governed by a different set of rules to that of civilian communities (ibid. 105-106). Ordinary landscapes, either urban or rural are transformed into defensive, restricted zones protected by fortified gates making them inaccessible and secretive places. According to this author all of these measures are a reflection and indicative of the process of Nazi incarceration policy.

Solutions through architectural planning and construction can be seen in the ghettos and concentration camps of World War II in an over-ridingly negative manner. Communities became isolated and segregated because of the utilisation of urbanisation that was carried out in a pre-empted calculated manner, ordered on a national level and implemented in various ways locally. Nevertheless individuals learned to cope with hardship and reacted positively to rumours that were

fed back to them.

Elements of control that were put into operation were scale, sector, culture, permanence and technology.  Cole (2003) referred directly to individuals and committees that engineered policy to create ghettos, as 'doctors of space', which compares to the actors and decision-makers of modern security scapes, whereas the elements of control in many ways compares to how Jaskot discusses the theme of monumentality in Nazi construction methodology. Brunn *et al.* (2000, 68) also discuss how individuals create policy that in turn develops an ethos of power at the heart of security and landscape planning. They suggest that the presence of overt symbols of power emanate from conscious decisions of governing or corporate leaders (doctors of space) to exercise their wishes and "persuade others through propaganda, advertising or even fear to construct elements of a defence landscape".

## 11.3 Deportation, The Built Environment, Monumentality and Functionality

Deportation provided the bridge between the static locations of the Holocaust, thus making it mobile and providing the impetus in terms of human throughput for extermination on an industrial scale. Heydrich's orders of concentration for all Polish Jews in 1939 into cities and towns with transport connections, which would enable large-scale and rapid movements of ghetto populations, hints at what was to follow when the necessary adaptation and construction had taken place (Stackelberg 1999, 219). Deportation also provides the link to the built environment and aspects of monumentality, from ghettos with austere and utilitarian façades to camps with monumental and foreboding appearances. In addition the success of deportation meant that individual elements of rail infrastructure were adapted especially for the requirements of the accelerated and metamorphosed killing process, such as unloading ramps, stations, spurs and improved rail-links.

This author would like to proffer at this stage in the discourse that the opposite could also be stated in that buildings that were austere and understated in appearance were as much an integral part of the mechanism that lead to the success of "The Final Solution". In many ways the construction and adaptation of railways in Nazi Germany created a juxtaposed reality for those that embarked on

deportation journeys who had deception enforced for them. Bloxham and Kushner (2005, 80) utilise a comment attributed to Heydrich from the 1942 Wannsee Conference to illustrate how a minimal amount of capable Jewish labourers would eventually see an "additional natural reduction of the population" through infrastructure development. Although additional workforce was required for state construction projects such comments were of a euphemistic context. Ironically the sheer volume of people and the organisation of those deported clouded the issue for many, even though a vital rail link project to the eastern front facilitated the mass transport of east European populations that saw 20,000 Jews die in its construction (ibid. 2005).

Monumentality is fixed in the presentation of what would otherwise be a benign rail entrance, which has become cemented in global iconography in association with the Holocaust, the so-called 'Gate of Death' at Birkenau (**plates 24 and 25**) (Niessner 2008, 215). Jaskot (2000, 121) suggests that the entrance building became the central feature designed to have a lasting symbolic effect that was translated into physical and emotional reactions from those who witnessed it. Jaskot continues that even the most basic of structures consisting of brick and plaster with some stone structural or aesthetic elements were considered monumental architecture and were the first buildings that the prisoners saw and inevitably formed their initial impressions. The entrance building at Birkenau was the central axis of the camp that aligned the importance of the SS with the concentration and extermination camp as institutions, with focus maintained on a monumental unified structure (ibid. 122). Nazi buildings were designed to intimidate and overwhelm, and the 'Gate of Death' at Birkenau along with numerous other examples of entrances to labour, concentration and extermination camps projected their domineering presence onto those who passed through them.

The building, whose primary function was dual purpose, gate and guard post, had one entrance for pedestrian and vehicular traffic and another section for rail traffic. As volumes into the camp increased the building was expanded accordingly. An interesting footnote to the appraisal of the memory associated with the main gate at Birkenau is the choice of some of the materials used in its construction. The lower floors of the guard tower have swinging sashes as an integral part of the casement windows, which probably came from demolished houses that belonged to the Jewish residents of the nearby village of Brzezinka (Jaskot 2000, 218).

**Plate 24**: Exterior of the 'Gate of Death' Birkenau. Available HTTP: http://en.auschwitz.org (March 2012).



**Plate 25:** The unloading ramp and 'Gate of Death'. Available HTTP: http://en.auschwitz.org (14 March 2012).

The role that transportation played was key in the successful planning and day to day routines of the death camps, with access points and disembarkation zones for the arriving trains and deportees. Rail spurs and unloading ramps were central elements to nullify the vision of by-standers and to facilitate the turnover in human traffic. At the extermination site of Sobibór in March 1942 a new spur was constructed that terminated at an earthen ramp, opposite a station building (**plate 26**). The camp fence, constructed with interwoven branches, was built in a manner that ensured the spur and the ramp were located inside the camp (**plate 27**), preventing passengers at the station from observing activities in the camp. The deportation trains entered the ramp through a gate and disappeared behind the camouflaged area or 'green wall'. In the vicinity of the station three larger buildings existed: the station, a forester's house, and a two-storey post office (Arad 1999, 30-36; Friedländer 2007, 356-357; Webb, Smart and Lisciotto 2009). The '*Vorlager*' (SS administration area) included the ramp with space for 20 rail cars. A narrow gauge track was constructed from the station that led to the burial pits and a local sawmill engine pulled the rail cars that contained corpses (ibid. 2009).



**Plate 26**: Sobibór Station 1942 prior to the establishment of the death camp. Later a barbed wire fence interwoven with pine branches blocked the view from the ramp to the station. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (15 March 2012).

**Plate 27**: The Sobibór ramp area (circa. 1960's). In the background the new three-sided watchtower (*Waldturm*). The former SS site is also visible in the background. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org (15 March 2012).

The site of Bełżec death camp (**figure 29**) was on a railway siding, about 400m from the village railway station (**plates 28, 29 and 30**) and only 50m east of the main Lublin to Lvov line. Bełżec was divided into two sections, Camp 1 in the north and west sections, was the reception area and included the rail ramp, which could only accommodate ten rail cars. Some sources suggest that a disused siding was subsequently added to provide a second ramp for the later phase of exterminations. The two ramps would have provided additional capacity for the unloading facilities of numerous rail cars (Arad 1999, 23-29; Lemons 2006, 407-409; Webb, Lisciotto and Smart 2009).

According to testimonies, each transport at Bełżec was divided into ten rail cars. Initially, only the first portion of the transport was shunted into the camp, those following waited at the station until the preceding section had been processed.  A spur, 200m in length, led through a gate on the north-west side of the camp. A secondary inner gate was constructed at the point where the two sidings inside the camp converged, in close proximity to the start of the second ramp (ibid. 2009)

An enclosed yard acted as a holding pen at the far end of the second ramp and was used for the overflow from the larger subsequent transports. Deportations to Bełżec arrived from two directions; from the Lublin District and from eastern Galicia, with trains from the Lvov ghetto in the period March to August 1942. Transports arriving at Bełżec station marshalling yard were held on spur lines in strict order of entry. In rotation, the rail cars were uncoupled in blocks of ten and shunted into the camp. Deportees that arrived in darkness were held overnight on the trains (Webb, Lisciotto and Smart 2009).



**Figure 29**: Plan of Bełżec Extermination Camp circa. 1942 showing the strategic positioning of rail links. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org (15 March 2012).

**Plates 28, 29 and 30** : Station building (top two images from 1942 and below from 2001). Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org; from the Michael Tregenza collection (15 March 2012).

Treblinka (II) death camp was conceived shortly proceeding the Wannsee Conference, with the site chosen primarily because of the existence of an established rail link, the Malkinia to Siedlce line, east of Warsaw. The Malkinia junction served as the Treblinka village station (**plate 31**) with the camp 2.5 miles to the south-east (Lemons 2006, 411; Arad 1999, 81; Friedländer 2007, 431). Spurs were added from the station to the death camp and from there to Treblinka I labour camp, as trains from Warsaw consisted of approximately 60 cars of which up to 30 would be shunted in a separate journey to Treblinka II (**plate 32**). The transports arrived at the reception area in the south-west section of the camp which included the track, a 200m long station platform, and the station itself. At the rail entrance on the spur into the camp, a wooden gate was clad in barbed wire intertwined with branches. The rail line ended with a wooden buffer and gate that was permanently locked (Webb and Lisciotto 2007).

**Plate 31**: The small station building of Treblinka village. Deportation transports were broken up and shunted to the camp from this point. A brick building constructed by the Germans, replaced the previous wooden structure. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (15 March 2012).



**Plate 32**: Spur close to Treblinka Station and siding towards the camp. The former spur has been dismantled. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (15 March 2012).

**11.4 <u>Internment, Extermination and the Built Environment (incorporating monumentality)</u>**

Buildings, their associated spaces, along with the different scales to which they are set, have become instruments of power, dependant on the extent of alternate social and technological constraints (Hirst 2005, 3). Space allows for the interaction of political force, armed conflict and the discipline of 'undesirable' social elements, effectively constructing power systems where control is administered on the weakened social groups, a form of "exclusive territorial governance" where frontiers and demarcation limits had important roles to play (ibid. 3). Hirst also discusses the "micro spaces of power such as ….fortresses and prisons", which are particularly relevant within the macro and micro forms of liminality concept that have already been discussed in this research.

Buildings and walls have a dual role as both territorial markers and as a means of maintaining and reinforcing identity, although their physical context in conflict and warscapes have not been extensively analysed and de-constructed in the literal sense. Walls have had multiple uses and meanings, as they can be not only blank canvases to facilitate communication but also physical barriers that solidify social relations and prevent interaction. The dual role of walls both during and in the aftermath of conflict is a means of highlighting their positive and negative attributes and de-essentialising their existence (McAtackney 2011, 77-98). Finoki (2007d) suggests the use of physical walls in imposing a political obedience on people in conflict situations, literally like an architectural filtration system, not only used to control entire populations, but essentially to establish a discipline onto them.

A focus on war-torn areas sees aspects of unrest and incarceration to the fore with monumental walls and violent features prominent in their appearance.  Similarities in conflicted places face their own histories, with political walls and the scars of military action still present (Finoki 2007b). The remnants of destruction and the castle-like edifices of oppression, interspersed with random historic barriers and iconic gates, increase in both capital and cultural value, as they gradually become part of World Heritage portfolios. In reality they are graveyards of a defiant architecture at war, buildings that have become ruins somehow persist and resist an absolute death. These buildings display a devotion to the cultures that erected them, to the people that survived and those that perished within them (Finoki 2007a). A vivid example of seemingly defiant structures are the remains of crematoria II and III at Birkenau (**plates 33 and 34**), as they were part destroyed on the 20th January 1945 by the SS during the dissolution of the camp (Steinbacher 2005, 127). They

remain in a collapsed state and form part of the memorial museum.

Jaskot (2000, 131) explains that the proportions of the camp at Auschwitz, its monumental administrative buildings, as well as the expected characteristics of detainment such as security fencing and purposely constructed entrance features "projected the institutional authority of the SS" to all those that passed through them. The creation of gas chambers at the six death centres were an extension of the euphemistic 'clean' violence as opposed to other forms of execution such as shooting. It became a way of murder that was seen as medical killing in disguise, which grew from the original euthanasia programme of the killing centres for the handicapped, to the further refined 'Reinhard' locations and to the culmination of gassing at Auschwitz (Berenbaum 2003, 13).



**Plate 33**: Ruins of crematorium and gas chamber II (Birkenau). Available HTTP: http://en.auschwitz.org/ (7 April 2012).

**Plate 34:** Ruins of crematorium and gas chamber III (Birkenau). Available HTTP:
http://en.auschwitz.org/ (7 April 2012).

Buildings and spaces that were associated with or specifically linked to the crematoria and gas chambers, occupying the 'death space' of Birkenau are central components to the understanding of how symbolic and ritual space functioned within terror zones, as well as those spaces within the 'Operation Reinhard' camps. Areas such as *Kanada* Warehouse, the Sauna (**plate 35**), the 'ramp' and the walkway to the gas chambers and crematoria II and III (**plate 36**), as well as paths linking reception areas to extermination zones in the other death camps, are places and spaces that acquired simultaneously liminal and ritual connotations .

As previously alluded to, interpretations that subscribe to the 'unknown' and activities that cannot be categorised into theories of certainty are often described as 'ritual' or 'sacred' in nature. This leads the author to postulate that actions from the past require a more thorough analysis as to their purpose and aim. Ritual and symbolic space is something that presents itself in all societies and creates an access point from which interpretational reality crosses over to aspects of thresholds and liminal boundaries.

**Plate 35**: The Central Sauna. Available HTTP: http://en.auschwitz.org/ (7 April 2012).



**Plate 36**: Unloading ramp (Birkenau). Available HTTP: http://en.auschwitz.org (7 April 2012).

This author would like to illustrate, in so much as Sofsky (1997) discusses place and space, that the

'ramp' at Birkenau and the associated route to the 'death space', along with the narrow passageways present at other death camps could be representations of, or corridors to, an intermediate area or 'no-mans land' and represent the operational scale of monumentality **(plate 37)**.



**Plate 37**: The 'unloading ramp' (central strip) to the gas chambers at Birkenau, emphasising the death space and the monumental scale of operations. After Swiebocka, Pinderska-Lech and Mansfelt (2007, 15).

In essence, 'the ramp' at Birkenau acted as a neutral buffer zone and provided the essential link from the deportation and arrival process that culminated in the extermination process, an integral component of a ritual landscape. As Lewis-Williams and Pearce (2005, 209) describe the palimpsest of landscape features and monuments at Newgrange, Co. Meath Ireland, in which the "tombs became silent witnesses to the past" in much the same way the gas chambers and crematoria ruins are today at Auschwitz.

Continuing the theme of the built environment and with symbolism in mind, Menzel's analysis of decorated fence-posts located in close proximity to the 'death-space' of Birkenau allows for a certain amount of speculation as to their provenance and purpose **(plate 38)**. They were designed with motifs that were repeated frequently, including stylised floral patterns, cogwheels, stripes and posts with various year-indicator monograms. Menzel (2008, 75) cites Held (1991, 8) in suggesting that the concrete posts "left signs of their presence" and could be regarded as "secret graffiti, coded messages or aesthetic subterfuge", representative of individual resistance. There appears to have been no strict positional layout of the concrete posts within Birkenau, as they are not arranged in groups with similar decorations which is an apparent inconsistency (Menzel 2008, 76). Although it

157

is clear that concentration took place around *Kanada* Warehouse and crematoria IV and V.

Decorated fence posts have also been associated with the surrounding villages of Oświęcim in the form of boundary stones that demarcated garden plots which dispensed of the need for wire (ibid. 80). Throughout southern Poland similar patterns have been identified within rural settings as posts bearing dates or surnames are traditions that have been continued for many years. The range of styles and the monograms of dates and initials all pre-date the German occupation of Poland and suggest a provenance from Polish farmsteads and were not manufactured in the camp environment (ibid. 82).

Although Menzel (ibid. 82) suggests that neither a component of Nazi architecture or recognisable as resistance symbology, it is accepted that the posts are unusual in the context of the death camp among the un-ornamented architecture, leaving purpose and meaning open to speculation and interpretation.



**Plate 38**: Decorated fence posts; cogwheel and stripes motif located between sectors BIIa, BIIb, Kanada and Crematorium IV. Available HTTP: http://www.auschwitz.org (After Menzel 2008, 76).

The built environment of Nazism embraced the concept of monumentality that enhanced the ritual process being represented in all forms of the architecture of oppression. Social and political

historians have contested that the impressive size and stone façades of monumental buildings achieved more than just their function, as the appropriation of Jewish wealth funded the construction and prosperity of Nazi Germany (Berghahn 2006, 117). Berghahn (2006) continues, with a similar approach to Taylor (1974), Scobie (1990) and Jaskot (2000), by expressing that those who viewed monumental structures were "in awe of and overwhelmed by their massiveness and splendour."

Function and aesthetics were central to the Nazi detention centres, in the establishment of camps that were systematic in approach and delivery and provided the monumental façades that induced fear and portrayed a sense of power and deception thus enhancing the euphemistic atmosphere that prevailed. Jaskot (2000, 133) confirms the visual aspect of all death and concentration camps as an assertion of permanence, not only to the planners, architects and SS employees but to the nearby town population of Mauthausen and the prisoners of the camp themselves. He suggests the image created was to destroy the enemies of the Nazi party (ibid. 133). Brunn *et al.* (2000, 82) also suggest that, in a contemporary context, elaborate and expensive landscape features are meant to signify power, control, wealth, privacy and protection and that any consideration of security should concentrate on landscapes, designers, actors and decision-makers, security providers, the built environment and 'instillers of fear'.

Sert, Legér and Giedion (1943) stated that some structures became empty shells and monumentally did not represent the spirit of contemporary cultures. However with the passage of time and the accompanying historiography of the sometimes ruinous state of the built environment's contemporary past, they give rise to an alternative interpretation, but maintain the original concept of the formulation of a link between the past and the future. At the same time it highlights the plight of archaeological sites of cultural significance in that the supermodernity or destructive impact of innovative modes of communication and transportation have assisted in the decline of the built environment of the recent past (González-Ruibal 2008, 247). The remnants of conflict construction and the housing of terror installations in certain instances have been prevented from physical and natural erasure, consequently they have been adapted into museulogically spatial entities commemorating monumental death (Whitehead 2010, 4).

# 12 Landscapes

## 12.1 Landscapes and Propaganda

In a similar vein to liminality, the built environment and monumentality, analysis of landscapes allows for the recognition of change in attitude towards "The Jew" and the creation of environments that excluded their presence. The militarised or socially engineered landscape was a deliberate manipulation for the purpose of conflict and inflammatory confrontational occupation (Schofield 2005, 44). The consequence of removal from an area means relocation to another, which is reflective of propagandistic narrative. Schofield (ibid. 45) cites Saunders (2002, 106) alluding to a definition for a genocide landscape;

*"multi-vocal landscape: an industrialised slaughter house, a vast tomb for 'The Missing', a landscape of memorialisation and pilgrimage, a location for archaeological investigation, cultural heritage development and tourism."*

National identity implicit in propagandistic narrative was as complicit as the representations of military installations in the genocide landscapes of occupied Europe. Woodward (2004, 120) suggests the image of a military landscape and what it represents allows for discourse on the development or enhancement of nationhood. She also pursues the argument that landscapes establish connections between the military and national identities (ibid. 2004). The construction of an all-powerful racially pure society was implicit in the formative approach of ideas of Nazi Germany's identity and was also geographically specific. With this in mind it is possible to connect Woodward's theory of rurality encompassing harmonious social relations in times of military engagement in the United Kingdom, with the ideologies of the National Socialist Party. Woodward implies that the rural vision of England was the antithesis from the battlefields of Flanders, which was an 'anti-landscape' and held the necessary incentive for the sake of morale, of an idealised vision of the world beyond conflict (ibid. 121). Stackelberg (1999, 126) also emphasises this point as he discusses the Nazi idealisation of an agrarian way of life, although paradoxically, accelerated industrialisation was also seen as a means of development. The theory that prescribed peasants or *Bauer* as the people's strength and a vision of rural romanticism (ibid., 126) could be readily applied to the inmates of 'concentration world'. A means of psychological freedom or a return to what they knew prior to Nazism, for those involved.

In terms of propaganda and artificially created barriers of division, Schofield cities Dolff-Bonekaemper (2005) who suggests they are visual boundaries imbued with meaning and symbolism, imposing control and influence. Violent environments require an isolation of memory, to be placed aside in a context of their own, producing a zone of liminality. Peluso and Watts (2001, 6) cite Dumont (1992, 277) suggesting that violence has a place in the landscape. They are structured in that they have an historical position, socially, geographically and politically embedded in cultural recognition. Violence has emanated from past encounters and frustrations and is currently structuring the contemporary landscape theory, as violence is inlaid in human actions, determined by acceptance, complacency and the ability to erase controversy (ibid. 277).

The implicit and explicit nature of propaganda saw the development locally and nationally of micro and macro-scales, landscapes of exclusion and inclusion from a "Jewish" perspective, which again was a Nazi construct. Active and passive measures in terms of physical interjection were measures of persecution and segregation that Cole (2003) throughout describes as "Jewish absence and presence". Friedländer (2007, 10) agrees when he discusses Jewish belief in the rule of law, only to discover that "The Jew" under Hitler was "outside the domain of natural and contractual ties and obligations".

This brings into play "The Jewish Question" posed by the Nazis, and zones of exclusion. Laws and 'actions' (again a construct) enforced areas of isolation that were carried out verbally by the enactment of new laws and physically by re-zoning, removal and attack (pogroms). Friedländer (2007, 10) cites Arendt (1978, 84) who suggests "The Jew" was a "pariah", which connects with Cole's (2003, 21) landscapes of exclusion and spaces of domination, and Whitehead's (2010, 1) description of habitats and domains being demon and pariah settings. Whitehead (ibid. 3) explains further that specific landscapes were intended to 'house' genocide activities, not necessarily because of their topographical elements or architectural integrity but derived from cultural and political processes. Peluso and Watts (2001, 38) suggest three conditions that enabled violent environments to be created. The direct and indirect roles of state agencies and individuals who assembled the necessary elements and manipulated the conditions for the mobilisation of violence; the intricate relationships between resources and community identities culminating in violent defence or contestation; and the way that violence interacts with social groups, in their creation, maintenance and protection. These conditions can be applied to landscapes of exclusion created by oppressors that become isolated from but were still associated with local communities. Baechler (1998, 24)

succinctly summaries the nature and causes of conflict and the reason for their appearance on the landscape;

*"Political, social, economic, ethnic, religious, or territorial conflicts, or conflicts over resources or national interest, or any other type of conflict, are seen as the manifestation of deeper environmental conflict."*

Landscapes are broad representations of the influence of military activity and according to Schofield (2005, 44) impact is best observed on the physical environment and/or on its inhabitants. Kaplan (2011, 2) refers to traumatic landscapes and the remains contained whether actual or in the form of memorial that induce a reflection upon the activities associated with the Nazi occupiers.

## 12.2 <u>Landscapes of Ghettoisation</u>

Urban landscapes of ghettoisation are present as fragmentary remains, as well as memorials created to represent the cultural significance of absence and presence. Persecution occurred on a Europe-wide scale although the structural reorganisation of major city communities 'reduced' its perception to a local outlook. This in part is the uniqueness of the events preceding the Holocaust as measures played out on a macro-scale were reconstructed and introduced to individual cityscapes throughout Poland.

It is important to recognise the duality of landscape interpretation that Holocaust studies have to offer. There is the connection between conflict and death that has initiated the study of localised environments given emphasis by analysis of military activities that were a precursor to genocide and the aftermath of such operations establishing landscapes as places for the living and the dead. Urban spaces through ghettoisation were remade strictly for the purposes of exerting military and political control over a population. Where the less than visible spectrum of politics of space (Cole 2003) overlapped the landscape incorporating architectural features such as security barriers, military checkpoints, alternate forms of urban infrastructure, and military backed civilian settlements to enforce the politics of separation (ibid. 2003). The widespread ruining of the urban environment became the genocide of cultural heritage through architectural obliteration.

Ghettoisation, seen as a consequence of spatial clustering, is according to Marcuse (2005, 15), an inevitability and often associated with urbanisation. Although the fear derived from ghettos created in Poland for Jews was due to the failure to recognise the dividing line between clusters that should have been of public concern and those not associated with Nazi urban de-construction. Contemporary studies have shown the conceptualisation of ghettos was seen as a temporary phenomenon. In reality they have become permanent and with this, urban segregation or "concentration" has become inextricably linked with immigrant colonies (Peach 2005, 48). The Nazi implementation of ghettoisation was an extreme version of a physical form of confinement and has become known as "walling in" or an enforced ghetto (Marcuse 2005, 17).

The similarities of urbanised and green-field sites of genocide are shown as the influence of the dead on landscape form. They can be either physically or culturally apparent, they 'empower the mind' as the respect accorded to human remains is common to most cultures and societies (Worpole 2003, 20).  Kuletz (2001, 249) comments;

*"Places are where people live and sometimes sacred, while space is abstract or empty, used both to hide in and to buffer possible contamination of the world outside the violent forbidden zones."*

In application, this could refer to the Nazi attempt to conceal violent landscapes, either in excluded urban zones (**plate 39**) or in the fields of extermination camp locations in Poland. An element of the built environment that is often referred to in Holocaust studies is the attempt by western architects to revive and reproduce the opulence of the ancient Roman world, as substantial engineering structures have often drawn influence from the classical world (Ballantyne 2002, 78). Ballantyne goes on to suggest that architect Albert Speer projected a version of classicism that was meant to display totalitarian and oppressive façades, but simultaneously suggested decadence and austerity. Similar theories on Nazi architecture are put forward by Scobie (1990) and Jaskot (2000). The slum conditions of the ghettos were juxtaposed with the grandiose edifices of Berlin and the symbolic structures associated with the National Socialist regime. Sections of rural landscapes as well as those in urban and industrialised areas 'housed' components of the genocide plan that ultimately were camouflaged by the day-to-day activities of Germany and occupied Poland at war and this author contests that it is the 'invisible' nature of the conflict that facilitated the efficiency of the campaign against the Jews.

**Plate 39:** Cityscape of the Warsaw ghetto. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org (25 February 2013).

It is the urbanism and cityscapes of the ghettos that are largely overlooked by scholars. They are central to the philosophies and ideologies that constructed the ideal conditions that were the precursor for future plans.

## 12.3 Deportation Landscapes

Deportation trains provided movement within landscapes, the intrusion of networks and the establishment of violent settings. It can be argued that train journeys helped to forge their creation. The concept of Nazi attrition, although fully engaged militaristically, also pushed beyond the front-line and deep into landscapes that were previously detached from the industrialisation of conflict. The landscapes of the Holocaust had an emphasis on concealment (Schofield 2005, 46). Although the movement of millions was assisted by the involvement of the German rail authorities, deportation and final destinations were a guarded secret and an act of concealment that to this day is difficult to quantify.

Death factories located within landscapes that have been described as primitive by Gigliotti (2009, 174) are juxtaposed with those that were in settings that were idyllic and welcoming. They appeared lush and green, as the rural arena provided the ideal cover and confirmed to the deportees that some of the Nazi euphemisms and rumours were well intentioned and unfounded. Transportation through empty landscapes was the continuation of a process that had primarily been static and had now moved into a dangerous phase of mobility. The threat of genocide was now encroaching through the connected networks of travel that saw the inclusion and exclusion of millions, in the form of victim and bystander. Rail tracks became the scars of death traffic on the cumulative itinerary of landscapes as geographies were traumatised by militarisation throughout Europe (Gigliotti 2009, 12). The physical infrastructure of rail transport emphasised the geographical core of the events of the Holocaust, disconnected individuals were collected and delivered as one, from panoramic cityscapes and transit in mobile compression, to arrival at the then ubiquitous camps. The visual aspect of deportation is portrayed as one of necessity, complied with and carried out with passivity, with heavily sanitised archive material that does not represent the endless transit through fused landscapes of the masses (ibid. 7, 83). The deportees (**plate 40**), although aware of their surroundings, witnessed social breakdown and fracture in a spatial context and became distanced from the natural world they were travelling through.



**Plate 40**: Jews awaiting deportation from Łódź. Available HTTP: http://yadvashem.org (25 January 2013).

The housing of genocidal equipment had been successfully created, adapted and utilised against an agrarian back drop rather than in the urban streetscape of the city, meaning that a violent landscape had been 'lost' in a rural environment. Typically this occurred at numerous sites of death and concentration camps, so the intended visual imprint of land occupied by the Nazis was one of total deception, as the observational inclination of deportees was perceptive and spatial **(plate 41)**. Chief statistician Richard Korherr was commissioned by Himmler to assess the numeric success of "The Final Solution", in terms of emptying landscapes and the military achievements of the Third Reich. His findings quantify the magnitude of absence and the numbers of people that were forced on journeys to create *judenrein* (Jew free) space. Territories that had been earmarked for German *lebensraum* (living space) saw the Jewish population drop from 3.1 million in March 1939 to 606, 103 at the end of 1942 (Mazower 2008, 389). So, as Cole (2003) has theorised on the subject of "absence and presence" in the creation of enclaves for Jews within the confines of a cityscape, this now has to be applied on a macro-scale to the swathes of rural landscapes that were systematically emptied of Jewish presence. The reduction in Jewish population figures for Germany and Austria, was for the most part down to emigration rather than deportation, but in relation to the annexed countries in the General Government the principal reason for the population drop was deportation to death camps. This is overwhelming evidence for the decisive role that 'Operation Reinhard' had played (Mazower 2008, 389-390).



**Plate 41**: Invisible geographies of the Holocaust. View from the road to Zory, west of Pszczyna, Poland, south towards the forest of Suszek through which thousands of women from Birkenau marched on their way to Wodzislaw. (After Masurovsky 2010). Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (3 April 2012).

Urban and rural landscapes were transformed into militarised zones and became a part of the Holocaust as deportation trains were filled with human freight that crossed borders that may have otherwise not been affected. Cooper (2008, 72) discusses the awareness of individuals in a rural space in contrast to individuals who existed in anonymity in an urban setting, although the advancement of genocidal policies started from a recognition of the "disgusting others" targeted for destruction in an urban environment (ibid. 59). Cooper suggests in his analysis of the characteristics of genocide that certain geographical conditions can favour one group whilst working against another. Jewish communities that were embedded in the heart of a European continent were strong and had expanded. Although the growth of anti-semitism under Nazi rule exposed and exaggerated their perceived ethnic frailties and were encroached on all sides through persecutory measures that culminated in the rounding up of Jews from rural areas to city 'concentration' in ghettos, and from there, deportation to death camps (ibid. 59-67). Cooper suggests that the draining of European cities of hybridity or the bodies of an "other" was a key racial element of the Jewish genocide, seen as a purification measure that was facilitated by mass transport movements to clean spatial environments (ibid. 67).

The nature of the landscapes that deportees travelled through is best described as concealed and secretive. Landscapes belied the quantifiable level of military intention, from the execution of acts of armed violence, to the preparatory steps taken in order to carry them out **(plate 42)** (Woodward 2010, 24). In addition, the secretive institutionalism of the constructed militarised landscapes of Nazism and its occupied countries almost rendered invisible the death factories of the east as well as the labour camps of Germany and its neighbours, owing to monumental architectural policy and the militarised economy in general (Jaskot, 2000). Woodward (2010, 24) continues by suggesting that the component of invisibility, hidden from civilian gaze, contributed to the overall effectiveness and control of space within landscapes in a militarised context **(figure 30)**.

**Plate 42**: View of the Krupki (Belarus) killing site. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (After Beorn 2009). (15 March 2012).
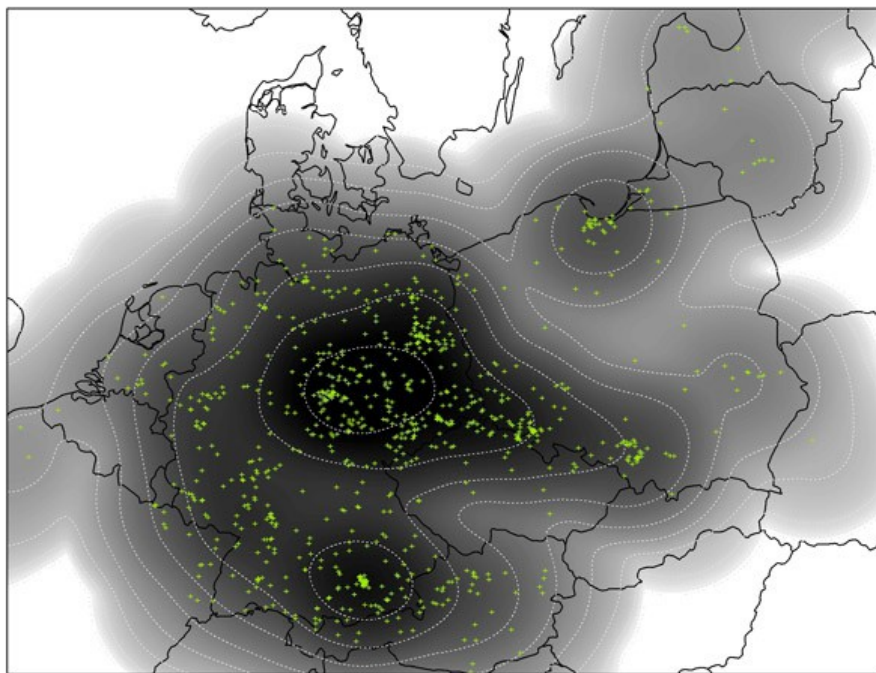


**Figure 30**: Map Showing the Density of Concentration Camp and Subcamp Construction, 1933-1945. Each dot represents a main camp or subcamp, and darker zones indicate denser clusters of camps. Landscapes of violence although 'invisible' to deportees are shown to be intensively utilised within the parameters of ghettoisation, deportation and internment. (After Patel and Kelly Knowles 2009). Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (15 March 2012).

## 12.4 <u>Landscapes of Internment and Extermination</u>

The landscape of torture and extermination is where the unthinkable is morally permissible within the culture of the death camp. Torture, be it psychological or physical, existed as a space, spatially integrated within the violent settings of landscape (Finoki 2008a).

*"Space is 'secreted' by society: it is produced by patterns of social interaction, but also imposes itself on its users and thus shapes society. Space encourages and discourages certain forms of interaction and gives form to social structures and ideologies. It thus perpetuates the power of dominant groups"* (Sunderland 2011).

Sunderland makes clear with his statement that landscape and societal development are inextricably linked, whether in a negative or positive format with restrictions that have to be accepted, as well as enabling an hierarchy to function in multi-tiered domination that in extreme circumstances, result in landscapes of violence.

Ingram and Dodds (2009, 11) discuss the contested nature of geographies of terror that incorporate landscapes of security, which in turn also reveals landscapes of insecurity. These human geographies are labelled geometries of power that have been constantly reconstituted and re-manufactured to suit the different requirements of the time. The genocide landscapes constructed within the scope of death camps could be a claim to the effective use of creativity and ingenuity as well as a blanket refusal to conform to the extant techniques of warfare, in a scripted pre-empted attempt to remove 'asocial groups' and places from the geopolitical landscape. This simultaneously emphasised in a militaristic fashion the influence of those in power. (ibid. 11).

Articles by Bryan Finoki of *Subtopia*, although relevant more so in a modern context of architecture and the effects of military urbanism, resonate with the postulations and hypotheses associated with the conflict sites of the contemporary past, in particular those that have links to genocide. The abolition of time in landscapes scarred by war is not detached, but spatially and temporally connected, amplified by our attempts to understand through established disciplines of recording and archiving. The brutality and materiality of conflict prevents amnesia and projects the past into the present, actively reminding us of threats posed by rogue regimes. The archaeology of the contemporary past is a process of reminiscence or a way of physically recollecting what we already know (González-Ruibal, 2010). The Nazi 'war of terror' as opposed to the modern twist of the 'war

on terror' that followed the terrorist attacks on 9/11, 2001 in New York and Washington, possess similar geographical attributes. These reflect how the powerful administer space, inflict politically motivated control and create geographies that oversee and manipulate people and space (Ingram and Dodds 2009, 12) **(plate 43)**. The production of space itself can be recognised in the context of militarism and warfare, with the remnants of war littering the landscape post-conflict, and where the military influence pervades into the background of the majority of geographical locations **(plate 44)**.



**Plate 43:** Image shows part of the closed Camp X-Ray overgrown with vegetation at US Naval Station Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, December 9, 2008. Available HTTP: http://subtopia.blogspot.com/ (6 April 2012).

A contemporary landscape of social, political and cultural assumptions is evident today as much as it was during World War II. Such ideas are incorporated into the structures of the built environment; economic, physical, and institutional that affect the recent past, uncertain present and near future. The analysis of landscape and its use could be categorised as an abstract archaeology, as they can pose a series of geo-social questions that can be answered through discovery and interpretations of conflict situations that trace the morphology of humane space (Finoki 2007e). Certainly in the context of Nazism, places for humane treatment were limited if not non-existent, as through the processes of ghettoisation, deportation and extermination a clear divide is portrayed for humane and non-humane space.

**Plate 44**: The architecture of authority. Available HTTP: http://subtopia.blogspot.com/ (6 April 2012).

In the context of landscape and the built environment a series of juxtapositions have developed that would define the visual presence and use of architecture and space; architecture against shelter (permanent against temporary), site against place, and prescribed space against reclaimed leftover space (Finoki 2007e). There were also issues that were a precursor to land use for extermination purposes, that involved planning and use of urban areas. These came to prominence in association with ghettoisation in the context of informal space, borders, and urbanism that were in favour of the indigenous majority and urban homelessness. Design, land use of remote landscapes and planning or otherwise, led to poverty and the creation of detention and migration zones. These are contexts that defined the most concerning aspects of spatial practice, present in post-military landscapes as memorials and heritage sites, as the Nazis saw them.

The contemporary maintenance of atrocity sites and their reclamation to neutral places has been achieved against a backdrop of transformation from violent hidden spaces enabling them not to be haunted by the uneasy ghosts of absence (Crossland 2002, 130). Although this has to be tempered by the fact that Holocaust memory maintains a tangible presence across Europe and America and any development that impacts negatively will attract public criticism (Wilson 2011, 2). McCain and Ray (2003, 713) refer to heritage development in the sense of legacy tourism. A sub-segment of the heritage market that sees tourists 'connect' with their ancestry, to engage in genealogical endeavours, to search for information or simply to associate themselves with ancestors and ancestral

roots, connecting landscapes, memorialisation and ghosts of space. Landscapes are a space and place and do not necessarily refer to their contents such as structures and other building components. It is the macro-scale of analysis and overview which is more applicable in an attempt to decipher violent and stolen vistas.

# 13 <u>Archaeology</u>

## 13.1 <u>Introduction</u>

Relph (1976, 15) points out that a 'sense of place' is derived from human interaction with a specific region that moulds and shapes certain responses to a particular space. A sense of place in the context of Holocaust studies has provided numerous geographical locations imbued with a diversity of reactions and emotions captured in conflict and incarceration. When undertaking studies of social life within pre-literate society, cultural archaeologists have as their central framework words such as ritual, myth, ceremony and symbolism (Gusfield and Michalowicz 1984, 417). Any analysis of contemporary sociology seems to lack the emotive terminology of ritual and symbolic space that is often associated within the archaeological and anthropological sphere and consequently utilised as a misnomer or when all avenues of understanding have been explored.

So if the interpretative labelling by anthropologists and archaeologists alike is sufficient for excavations at ancient sites, then it must be possible for researchers and academics when analysing contemporary situations to a adopt a similar understanding. Most people when confronted with Holocaust material believe they have some knowledge of the events that unfolded, but are certainly vague when attempting to answer direct questions. The solution probably lies in the fact that the contemporary past is precisely that, people are living today that had direct involvement, which vindicates the use of the term 'past reality'. Schofield (2009, 3) casts doubt over the concept of a familiar past as archaeology can be utilised as part of a process to reinvestigate and answer anomalies from a well-documented period.

Documentation and archive material can only inform of the events, not the reasoning and thought processes behind plans and implementation. This is where an interdisciplinary and theoretical crossover occurs between the built enviroment, landscape, liminality and archaeology that allows for a recognition of symbolic and ritual space. Faro (2008, 27) points out that, in the context of Minoan extra-urban ritual space, regions and localities forged their own requirements, the remnants of which shaped the form and presence of material culture on the ritual landscape. This concept illustrates how archaeology, through artefact studies, can recognise the presence of ritually symbolic

space. The dynamics of material culture in association with modality, location and activity that could be defined as unusual or special are thought to be indicative of these parameters (ibid. 28). The research of Loten (2003) on Ancient Mayan civilisation illustrates how monumental constructions or functional segments of buildings are cultural artefacts and would have seemed more effective than natural places for ritual ceremony. This illustrates an angle of research that this author associates with Holocaust remains in terms of the 'ritual disposal' of extermination. Buildings established by political powers may have been able to serve a broader range of social agendas than natural places. Prominent buildings can be tied to groups such as governmental headquarters, in ways that natural places could not. In many ways the rendering of the Holocaust to invisibility behind monumental façades that enclosed a ritual space is resonant of research associated with cultures from prehistory and eras disconnected from the contemporary past.

## 13.2 <u>Archaeology of Internment and Extermination</u>

Archaeological excavations and specific survey techniques have been carried out at a number of death camp locations with cultural remains and memory narrative providing a framework of understanding for individual sites (Kola 2000; Theune 2010; Bay 2008a, b, c; Gilead *et al* 2009; Myers 2008; 2009; O'Neil and Tregenza 2006; Sturdy-Colls 2012; 2013). An exchange of interpretational knowledge coupled with factual information from conflict archives should confirm the presence of large swathes of the Jewish population, that were deceived, manipulated and transported as part of a deliberately constructed ceremonial death ritual. Visibility of the built environment of captivity projected aspects of unrest and terror that may not have been present in more conventional elements of architecture. The scars of oppression exist whether in memory or extant remains and the greater their state of preservation the more intense their perceived association with acts of genocide.

Dunnel (1992, 29) argues that the archaeological analysis and interpretation of landscapes have too often taken the stratigraphic results from conflict sites for a particular section or site and inferred human interaction across a broad region rather than just a limited, localised area. A wider, more peripheral viewpoint is now more acceptable through post-processual archaeological theory that takes into account how individual excavation sites have impacted on landscapes of fear and violence (Thomas 1993, 23; Ashmore and Knapp 1999, 3).

Productive interdisciplinary interaction and exchanges of interpretation and ideas from the late 1980's in post excavation analysis of conflict and atrocity sites have been established and has led to a greater understanding of the specific nature of such settings. Archaeological remains and objects from historic and prehistoric eras help retrace the history of cultural development and the associated relationships of the communities within. Buildings, archaeological remains and artefacts from the period of National Socialism certainly meet these criteria. Four different sources interact and must compliment each other, text documents, pictures, oral history and archaeology, to obtain a complete overview of the sites of Nazi atrocities as possible (Theune 2010). Archaeological sources can inform about everyday life, while the written sources, especially those from the National Socialist perpetrators, illustrate the propagandistic official view, but not the terror inflicted on the victims (ibid. 2010).

Internment and extermination as discussed by Gilead, *et al.* (2009) is referred to as a past reality, which suggests in terms of evidential material that the process has already been proven as a series of historically established events, negating the requirement of archaeological analysis to confirm one way or the other. The many facets of the discipline do however allow for the assessment of related objects and structures that may supplement understanding in terms of functionality and layout of such sites. Destruction processes that have taken place naturally or through the intervention of looting and pillaging, has meant certain contextual evidence becoming lost or distorted, leaving *in situ* material culture and extant above and below ground structural remains vital for reconstruction and interpretation purposes (ibid. 2009).

As far as this author is concerned the existence of the extermination process within an internment environment and the throughput as regards human death within the system is indisputable. An accurate figure for the statistical evidence of annihilation does fluctuate within various publication sources, which on reflection is more an indicator of poorly managed records and a manipulation downwards by historic revisionists. For example, many prisoners within Auschwitz-Birkenau were not registered on arrival, were deselected from the labour camp system and sent to the gas chambers, which brings an immediate uncertainty to the collation of figures pertaining to Jewish death statistics.

A more pertinent area for analysis, which would require the assistance of archaeological research,

would be the spatio-presence and absence theme that is encountered in a selection of publications. This requires archaeological evidence to confirm Jewish presence within death camps thus allowing for the affirmative appraisal of extermination systems and its aftermath. The Jewish Holocaust is a subject that has been analysed and re-examined scientifically, forensically, and historically to establish clarity in the overall picture, but the spectre of the revisionists still remains. With this in mind Crossland (2002, 115) comments that excavation practice in the form of forensic archaeology will "assess and attest to human rights violations", highlighting an overriding importance for the reasons to conduct archaeological research.

For the death camps in Poland there are only archaeological remains **(plate 45)**, apart from Auschwitz-Birkenau where there is substantial evidence, which means that excavations are the main source of information (Theune 2010). A further important aspect concerns the special meaning of material culture. Each period and culture uses objects and each artefact possesses contextual properties such as in time and place (ibid. 2010). They can hold significant biographical qualities that relate directly to the object, the owner and its use, as well as being symbolic hosts of meaning for something not visible, for a mental image or an idea. They demonstrate how the prisoners attempted to retain their individuality. Knappet (2005, 108) refers to the importance of material culture studies, as mundane everyday objects once thought of as detached and obscure, have been integrated into human living systems, thus making them inseparable and projected into specific situations that reflect social dimensions.



**Plate 45**: Foundations of 'the palace' or 'castle' uncovered during archaeological excavations at Chełmno. (After Pawlicka-Nowak 2009).

Knappet suggests that for a full theoretical reappraisal of material culture, disciplines such as cognitive science, psychology, sociology, anthropology and history need to be called upon (ibid. 1). All of which could be connected, embraced and be inclusive of "sociocultural studies" to identify the relationship between mind and matter as well as agent and artefact (ibid. 3).

The discovery of artefacts that were personal effects enables direct engagement with the people that utilised them and ultimately forced to abandon their belongings. They are representative of segments of pre-incarceration living as well as being indicative of aspects of prisoner life, enabling interpretative narratives to take place to ascertain where certain events took place, illustrating the internal mechanisms of the functionality of death camps. Depositional contexts and scatter patterns display where activities were at their most intense and reflect movements around the internal walkways of the camps. Excavations at Bełżec by Kola (**figure 31**) revealed areas "rich in personal belongings" that included fragments of medicine bottles and glass phials, plastic combs, remnants of a mess tin, the cover of a silver cigarette case, coins and various eating utensils (Bay 2008b; Kola 2000, 49-52). A structure in close proximity to the second gas chamber produced constructional debris and objects that were again personal to prisoners. These included tar paper from a flat roof and iron nails, whereas pieces of dentures, female combs and Polish coins more than likely belonged to deportees (Kola 2000, 61). O'Neil conducted investigations with a metal detector that produced a miscellany of enamel kitchenware and assorted scrap metal. He also discovered a metal oven door and numerous pre-war Polish coins, although the only specifically personal item was a silver cigarette case that bore no inscription (O'Neil and Tregenza 2006). Theune (2010, 3) explains difficulty in reconciling archaeology with the only archive material relating to Bełżec, those being free-hand sketches drawn by nearby residents of the site components that did not match the remains on the ground as all traces of the camp were removed in 1943 by the Nazis when they dismantled it.

Theune (ibid. 3) explains the requirement for non-invasive archaeological survey methods and approved excavation techniques as death camp survivor numbers dwindle year on year meaning that material culture discovery becomes a necessity for interpretation at terror sites. Theune discusses Witten-Annen in Germany (ibid. 5), a sub-camp of Buchenwald concentration camp where documentary evidence and below surface archaeology in 1988 were consolidated to highlight the function of particular structures.
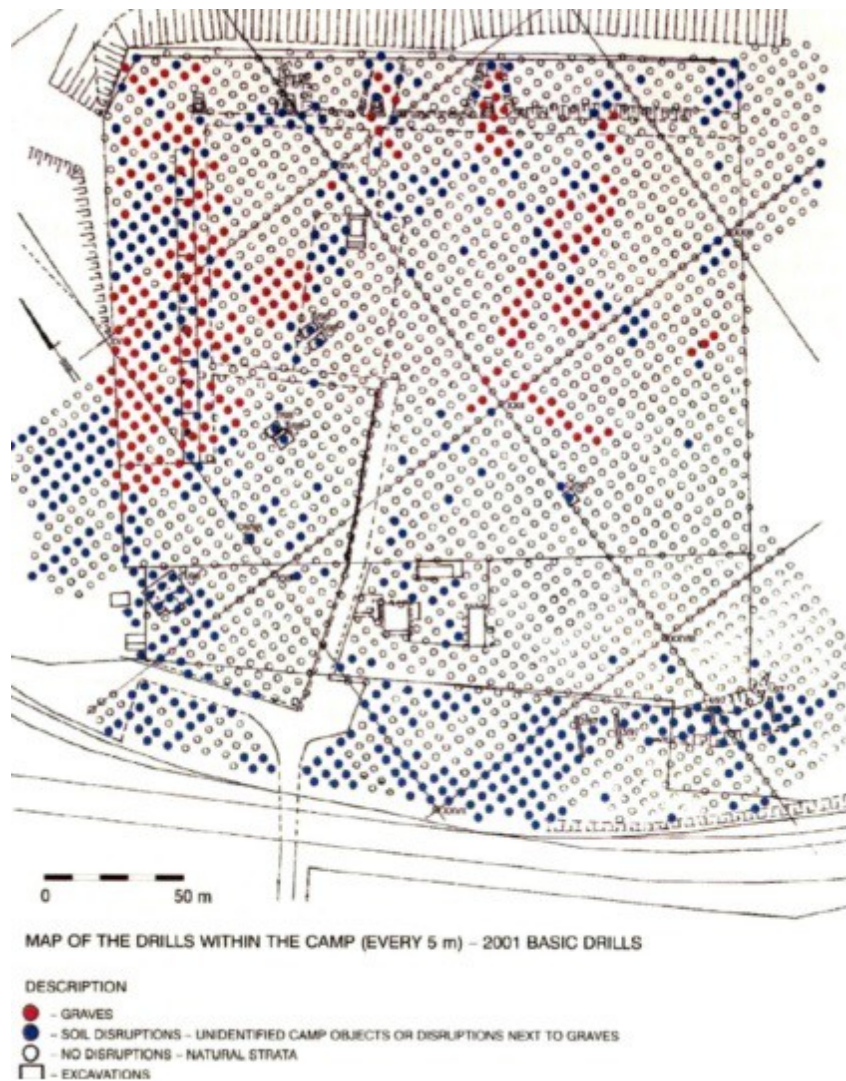
**Figure 31:** Borehole and excavation locations at Bełżec. After Kola (2000) and Theune (2010).

Theune (2010, 6) also analyses excavations that were carried out at Hartheim in Upper Austria in 2002 where the remains of a Nazi euthansia centre that operated from 1940 until 1944 were discovered as well as personal belongings and cremation deposits. Similar results were obtained from Sachsenhausen, Berlin in 2001, known for its triangular layout considered ideal for the control of inmates and known as a 'geometry of terror' (ibid. 6). Excavations discovered ash pits, structural remains including execution installations and the original paved floor of the gas chamber that revealed the teeth of the victims between the bricks. Personal effects from this excavation and further work in 2006 amounted to a total weight of 5,556.3kg that included iron objects, bottles, other glass items and porcelain. The number of finds meant classification groups were established such as construction, clothing, toiletries, household, militaria, coins and miscellaneous. Possessions could be readily identified as either perpetrators or victims (ibid. 7). Theune (2010, 10) also

highlights the use of geophysics, drill sampling and excavations at Mauthausen concentration camp, Austria that commenced in 2009 and followed a similar methodology to that of Kola (2000) at Bełżec.

Sturdy-Colls (2012, 91; 2013, 52) has carried out archaelogical survey work at the site of the former Treblinka death camp which utilised survey techniques that prevented disturbance of human remains in accordance to Jewish Halacha law. Archival research, analysis of aerial photography, and topographic and geophysical survey were conducted that uncovered the presence of structures, mass graves and ash pits (2013, 52). Photographs following the end of the war have shown human remains scattered on the landscape thus giving rise to the theory that the structures at Treblinka had not been entirely destroyed, only deconstructed, meaning there was no standing evidence thus leaving residual below ground evidence (2012, 91). The footprint for buildings such as the gas chambers, barrack blocks and the *Lazarett* (fake hospital), that acted as another execution site were located (ibid. 52) (**figure 32**). The overlaying of memorial stones in the 1960's at the site was found not to reflect the northern edge of the original camp limits being approximately 50m short that excluded areas of SS living quarters. Artefacts continue to be discovered on the surface at the memorial site, in and around the forest and close to the symbolic cremation pyre (ibid. 52).

Sturdy-Colls (2012, 95) also discusses, with a hint of caution, that although Holocaust archaeology is a relatively new sub-dsiscipline there needs to be a move away from the 'well-known' locations of atrocity to those sites that provide an inter-connection of how the Holocaust evolved and became a fluid rather than a static event. She suggests that sites such as those that were connected by transport, the movement of belongings and round-up points where victims boarded trains to the camps are key to producing a greater understanding of the logistics and infrastructure laid down to facilitate and enable a steady flow of human traffic (ibid. 96).

*Features identified to date at Treblinka extermination camp*
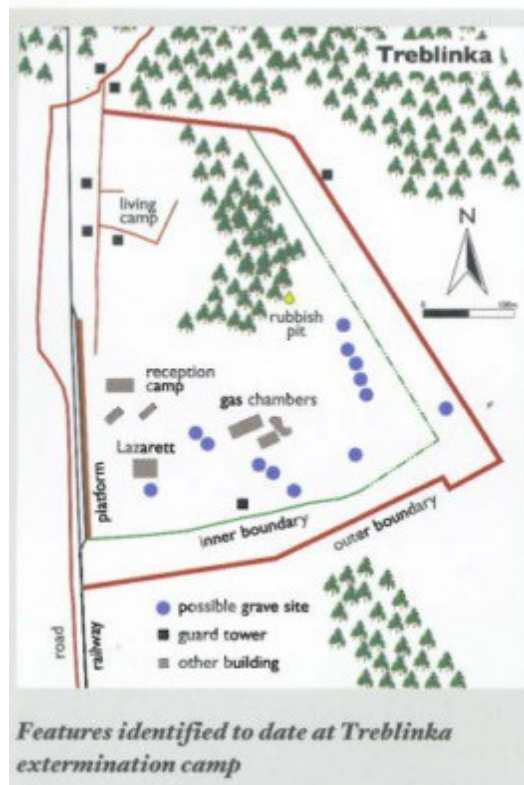
**Figure 32**: As described. (Sturdy-Colls 2013, 52).

The discovery of the outer limits of the former death camp site obviously delineates its presence within a genocidal landscape and the identification of structural ground features assist in analysis towards function and purpose. This author believes that similar techniques of investigation and survey should be conducted at other atrocity locations to reveal traits and patterns that would show movement and act throughout the duration of a sites 'life'.

**13.3 Archaeology and Emotion**

Increasing numbers of archaeologists have drawn attention to the importance and the cultural variability of emotion surrounding death (Tarlow 1999). Death represents a rich context for the identification and theorisation of the significance of emotion present in archaeology (Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013). Not only do aspects of the mortuary ritual represent evidence for emotional practices but the remains themselves, the method of disposal and the material culture also offer an insight to emotional responses (ibid. 2013). Objects that could have been associated with the bystander, perpetrator and certainly the victim, affected by the death ritual have unique qualities in terms of relationships within settings at certain points of time. They act as a reservoir for

experiences and memories both mundane and special (ibid. 2013).

The artefacts that evoke emotion, symbolic meaning and remembrance be it individually or collectively are the personal effects of the people, particularly those from a deportation setting as they provide evidence of their owners holding onto objects until the last moment before appropriation took place. Dr. Igor Bartosik, Head of the Collections Department in Auschwitz Museum, has described how medicines, small keepsakes, cosmetics, tobacco, beverages and childcare essentials, including small toys, have a "powerful emotional impact" on visitors (Sawicki 2009, 4). By means of contrast, Myers (2007, 57) in his analysis of the portable material culture from Auschwitz describes the remains as "the detritus of this most efficient genocide". They convey the deepest symbolic meaning and contextualise emotion in that thousands of items of everyday life such as kitchen utensils, shoes, eyeglasses, shoe-polish containers, brushes, and combs provide evidence for the scale of the atrocity as well as the suffering for those involved with the death ritual. Suitcases with names, birth dates, transport numbers, and addresses have important documentary value and are often the only proof that an individual was deported to Auschwitz. The collections also include objects left behind by the perpetrators, such as helmets, boots and instruments used for punishment and control by the SS such as whips and clubs used for beating and flogging. Many of the items reflect the level of detail that characterised the planning and organization of the camp bureaucracy. These include notice boards for announcements, statistics, and record keeping.

The material culture of death and concentration camps hints at the volumes of human throughput within the industrial-sized Nazi death systems, along with the physicality of the structural remains, although there are certain areas that require further clarification and updating as to specific purpose and use. This author is in general agreement with the summations of Theune (2010) and Myers (2007/2008) as they both suggest a primary role for the interpretation of the interface between humans and material goods, and how to conserve and preserve them through memorial and museological disciplines. Although, there is a requirement to emphasise that the analysis of cultural remains must reflect a victim and perpetrator presence, recognised through depositional processes and the extent to which contextual discovery can enhance further our understanding of the workings within Nazi camps.

The study of artefacts relating to Nazi death camps and the conditions that they were used in altered

the perspective, utilisation and requirement of 'everyday' objects (**plates 46-50**), placing them into entirely different contexts. The aesthetics of death camps and the preoccupation with extermination machinery has enabled interpretation in part of the processes involved, as well as an analysis of the components of industrial mechanisation and the artefacts of life and death within confinement, albeit of a limited existence. In this way, objects from former concentration and death camps can become objects of power or relics of powerlessness, of repression and humiliation (Donald 1998). It is at this point where emotion, liminality and extermination converge, as the 'death space' is one of habitation and social interaction, a portal within an 'anti-landscape' of empty space. The 'place' of extermination was unconventional in the normal sense of the word, as it was unsecure in terms of personal safety and could not have been representative of establishment and sanctuary (Wilson 2011, 5).



**Plate 46**: Chelmno; a fragment of a denture with a Hebrewic date which translates to November 29, 1940. (After Gilead *et al.* 2009).

**Plate 47**: Sobibór 2007 excavations; hangers for security fencing. (After Gilead *et al.* 2009).
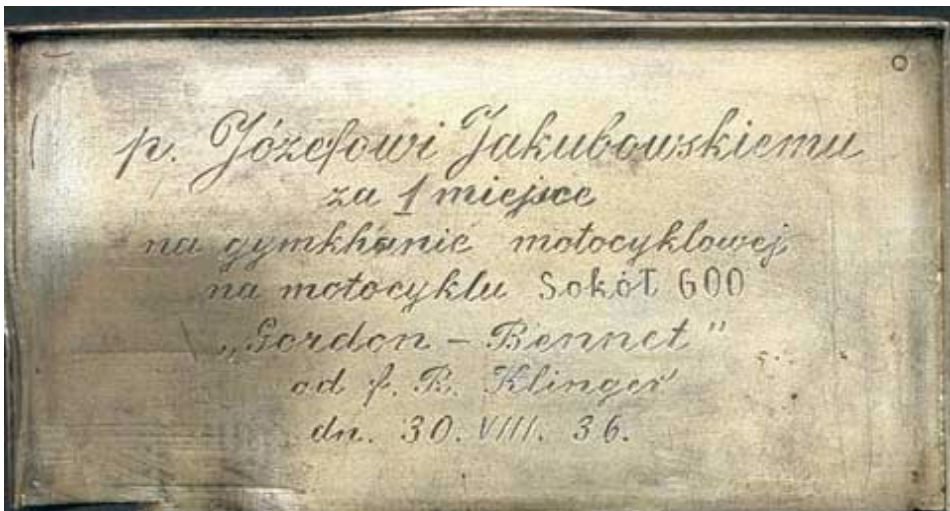


**Plate 48**: Chełmno; a fragment of a cigarette case lid. Translated reads: First prize awarded to Jósef Jakubowski in a motorcycle race in 1936. (After Gilead *et al.* 2009).

**Plate 49** : Remnant of hair slide from Bełżec. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org (7 April 2012).



**Plate 50**: Hand painted ceramic fragment from Bełżec. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (7 April 2012).

There is also residual emotion present in the contemporary responses of individuals to the archaeological community as they continue to survey and discover aspects of the death ritual and as human remains continue to be found at atrocity locations. In the view of this author it has eminated from the original death ritual and disposal of bodies that contravened all aspects of Jewish law. Preservation of life in Judaism is paramount and extensive mourning rituals demonstrate the value placed on the life of each individual. According to Jewish law the dead may not be cremated, which illustrates that victims of the Holocaust were violated in death as well as life (Anon. 2009). The time spent at Bełżec by Kola was heavily criticised by Rabbi Avi Weiss (2003);

*"Our worst fears have been realised, the utter disregard for the remains of our brothers and sisters is both shameful and inexcusable. The desecration's taking place at Bełżec are without parallel."*

Unfortunately initiatives taken by the archaeological team at Bełżec were meant to have put in place "strict rabbinic supervision" but were absent while the work proceeded. Following Rabbi interventions complaining of desecration, work was moved to another area. Hersfield and Weiss also condemned Kola as they suggested numerous violations were carried out in the name of archaeology as the site was blatantly desecrated (ibid. 2003). Emotions, research and commemoration are clearly sensitive issues to reconcile as it seems one cannot be carried out without causing unrest, even if it happens to be years removed from the initial act.

In summary, internment and extermination, for the purpose of this research has been viewed as a single component within a multi-elemental process. Analysis has been of specific locations such as those under the control of 'Operation Reinhard' in addition to others that were designated killing centres. Each setting had components that defined their use, buildings and associated features and material culture that signified the nature of their presence. Documents, pictures and archaeological investigations enhance our knowledge of atrocity locations revealing how deception was vital to the success of all death camps. Emotion and symbolism is evoked from *in situ* remains as well as the personal effects of people which has lead to fresh interpretations and new ideas on the mechanisation of death.

# 14 Anthropology-Memory and Emotion

## 14.1 Propaganda, Art and Symbolism

Understandably, propaganda acquired an association with written accounts and visible material culture evidence. An interpretation of the effectiveness and consequential legacy of propaganda can be best illustrated through interdisciplinary research theories outlined previously in collaboration with historical accounts. Taking a broader and more complex view of memory, its intricacies and flaws provide an opportunity for archaeological work to contribute to the creation and negotiation of memory narratives of a World War and other conflicts. Archaeology as a process of commemoration can be used to extract individual memories and make memorialisation a collective endeavour.

An approach to observe propaganda by is to examine the construction of the concept through its transmission artistically and symbolically which has at its core memory narrative and is easily retrievable. It was evident visually through the production of art, posters and film which has surviving remnants available for analysis in the form of material culture that evoke in some respects the subliminal nature of the power of conflict and the emotions produced. Artistic expression is diverse and the emphasis of this is significant and was responsible for conveying the nature of human response to politically mobilised conflict in the first instant through propaganda (Schofield 2005, 75). According to Kershaw (2001, 111), the Nazi party had answers or opinions for most subjects, including those of art, peace, equality and, paradoxically for them, the Jews.

The foundation for all propaganda claims centred on the omnipresence of the achievements and goals of the *Führer* (ibid. 111). Kershaw explains how Hitler was the central figure for a population examining the effectiveness of Nazism as state propaganda elevated the party leader with "supra-dimensional qualities" (ibid. 111). Evans (2005, 122) explains how the full resources of the state helped to immerse the German public in the cult of Hitler, which was promulgated in the normal way of words and imagery, but also in significant symbolic means. The majority of main squares throughout the country were renamed Adolf-Hitler-Platz, parades were convened for the leaders 40th birthday celebrations, as well as specialised shop displays, bunting and church services to recognise

the personal landmark (ibid. 122). As Kershaw states (2001, 59);

*"Above all, the image that Nazi propaganda ceaselessly portrayed was that of power, strength, dynamism and youth-an inexorable march to triumph, a future to be won by belief in the Führer."*

Propaganda itself can be seen as a format of artistic representation as Goebells individual speeches were the embodiment of the regime's style (Hoffman 1997, 75). Friedländer (2007, 472) suggesting that "whipping up of anti-Jewish frenzy was carefully stage managed and orchestrated". Propaganda appealed to the emotions, which meant it was entirely reactive, based on what was seen and heard the German population did not have to procrastinate over information.

Bauer (2000, 3) comments that the Holocaust itself is symbolic of the evil that pervades modern society and is expressed visually through artistic representation and cinematic productions. The use of material culture through art and imagery brought about a new level of self-awareness and consciousness that moved beyond political dogma, although manufactured sentiments were the initial breakthrough to those who looked askance at the National Socialist acquisition of control, post 1933 (Welch 2003, 93,96). The dissemination of powerful images portrayed the concept of a charismatic leadership and maximised the attempt to channel social motivations that forged a close association between Hitler's personal and Nazi Party ideologies (ibid. 93). As Friedländer (2007, xx) comments, "anti-Jewish culture" thrived in Germany, and consumed the majority of the population in Germany fed by a history of anti-semitism nationally, and from throughout Christian Europe.

Zelizer (1998, 5), when discussing images in collective memory, could also be offering discourse on the images of propaganda that are descriptively similar, as she comments on depictions that have consisted of painting, photography and ideographic systems to communicate messages that the public could and can identify with. She continues by citing Goldberg (1991, 135) who suggests that iconic images "almost immediately acquire symbolic meaning" and are imbued nationally or globally with significance. They helped to fixate hopes and fears of countries and established instantaneous connectivity with profound episodes in the contemporary past. As an alternative, the word 'consequences' could easily be inserted to illustrate the situation that unfolded in Nazi Germany as the symbolic image of the *Führer* culminated in 'dire consequences' for millions in

Europe.

Artists in the Third Reich provided the necessary visual stimulation to assist the verbal doctrine of the National Socialist ideology to project the German character that depicted racially pure roots, sympathetically aligned towards the aims and ideals of the government (Welch 2003, 98). There was a distinction between art sponsored by the Nazi Party commissioned for the party and that on general display. Party art consisted of images that featured leaders and events, dominated by portraits of Hitler often alone and painted in full body armour. Welch cites Adams (1992, 171) suggesting that this portrayed Hitler's apparent messianic image. Welch (2003, 99) also explains that to propagate the *Führer* myth, Hitler was never painted in his home surroundings in an attempt to extend his mythical qualities and project his divine status. Artists also worked on poster creation and imagery as they interjected importance to the burgeoning domain of propaganda. Posters captured the essence of the propagandistic image conceived to portray the power of "communities listening" that infiltrated the visionary field of Germans. A painting by Hubert Lanziger 'The Flag Bearer', featuring Hitler on horseback as a Teutonic warrior, was published in print and poster format that became popular in German households **(figure 33)**. The recruitment of adolescents into the Hitler youth was assisted and associated with a poster campaign that was adopted by their female counterparts, The League of German Girls (*Bund deutscher Mädel*), who created their own poster (Welch 2003, 101).



**Figure 33:** *The Standard Bearer* also known as *The Flag Bearer*. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/(25 January 2012).

lllustrative design encouraged people to purchase subsidised radios to listen to Hitler, the poster slogan proclaimed 'All Germany Listens to the Führer on the People's Receiver' (Welch 2003, 99) (**figure 34**). A theme of Nazi ideology based on ethnicity was to emphasise the Aryan myth that recalled the heroes of pre-Europeanisation and pre-Judeo-Christianisation values of *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil), which were activated through a steady flow of festivals, rituals and propaganda (Griffin 1995, 105).
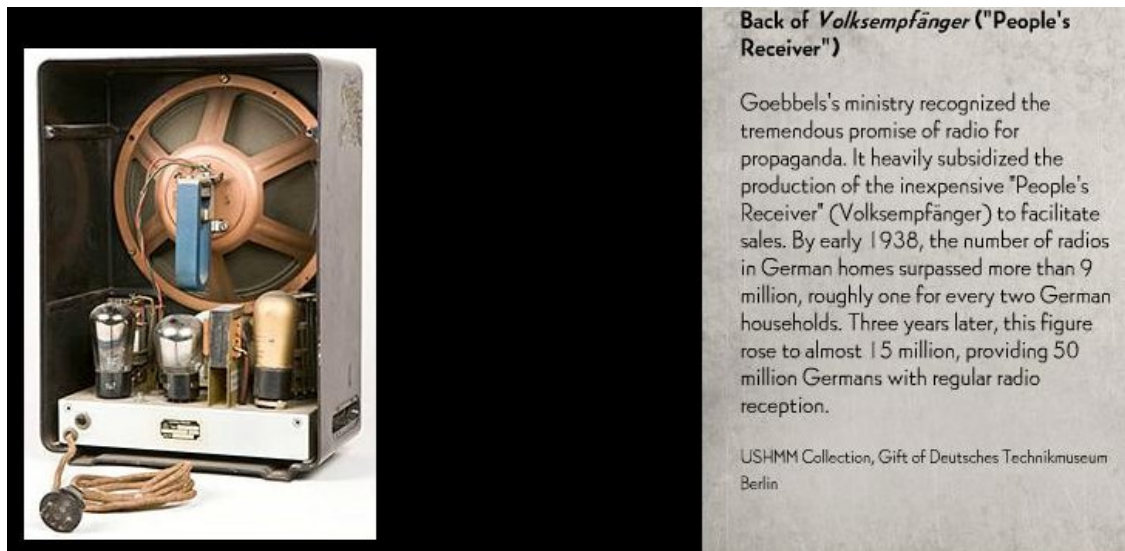


**Figure 34:** Subsidised radios encouraged the German population to listen. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/(25 January 2012).

## 14.2 <u>Cinema and Image</u>

It is justifiable to characterise National Socialism as a 'propaganda movement' that later developed a Nazified eclectic mass culture that was inclusive of the original strategy (Hoffman 1997, 74). Stage-managed public appearances of the *Führer* that were transformed into euphoric mass rallies were important components of the visual charade. Hitler preferred to travel across Germany by aircraft and would appear resembling a mythical saviour to the expectant masses of followers below. The Nazis love of theatrical effects and spectacular stage shows are already well known, and they considered propaganda their policy objective that perfected the art during their rule (ibid. 75).

Hitler pursued his plans to control the output of the press, the cinema, and the arts to suit the agenda of Nazi propaganda with rigorous efficacy (Hoffman 1997, 76). The foundations had been laid previously, as a connection between 'propaganda' and 'film' was identified, in a letter to the War Ministry, by General Erich Ludendorff in 1917. With a view to the "further course of the war ...

German film propaganda must make a special effort to clarify the German point of view" (ibid. 76). Rees (2005b, 17) comments that Hitler was more clinical in comparison to the sophisticated Goebells when it came to a propaganda approach towards film and the representation of "The Jew". Artistic representation and manufacture, for Goebells, was the main purpose of subtle cinematic efforts, such as *Jud Süs*, a film portraying the rape of an 'Aryan Girl' by a Jew. Goebells saw the development and enhancement of existing prejudices of an audience as opposed to the infiltration of an individual's mind with a new concept (ibid. 17).

Rees (1992), in *Selling Politics,* compares Goebells influence to that of modern-day political consultants. Many of the same methods were and are used to achieve success; manipulate the media, create a myth, inspire the young and misinform. Above all, modern political consultants use television to create a politician as much able to sway public opinion by image as by intellect. The insidious characteristics of political propaganda extend beyond an analysis of Nazism but the recognition of the central themes is essential. The imposition of segregatory policies were approached with stealth, the technique was to move "like a convoy, always at the speed of the slowest vessel" (ibid. 1992).

The attraction of fascism was the outlying portents that were recognisable within individuals and communities such as songs, forests of flags, parades, the cult of the body beautiful and symbols of fire. This is why we are prepossessed with the aesthetics of fascism. The symbolic scaffolding of fascism was intertwined with the strategic plans of Nazism, with implicit religious connotations. Hitler decided in favour of a secularised, surrogate nationalist-religious self-image that culminated in his pronouncement: "I awakened the masses" (Hoffman 1997, 65). The intellectual elite of German society actively associated themselves with the propagandistic ideology of the utopian elements that were aligned with the genocidal program that eventually and subconsciously, in reality allowed for the peripheral individuals and those from the middle classes to follow (Bauer 2000, 14; Griffin 1995, 105). As Gerstenberger (2000, 34, 35) suggests, when the 'secondary publics' accepted the first waves of discrimination against the Jews they entered into a contract with the state that shaped the attitudes and behaviour of individuals that enabled the government to organise mass murder as a consequence of their actions.

The inextricable link between propaganda, politics and the economy of Nazi Germany was the

driving force that disabled the functionality of the Jews and cleared the way for all that followed (Fischer 2000, 225). Baechler's (1998, 24) earlier summation of conflict characteristics is associated with the Nazi domination over 'asocial' individuals as it refers to the national interest as well as the political and economic aspects of the racially motivated attack on "The Jews". Although Baechler refers to "deeper environmental conflict" it could reflect on the way Nazi ideology had its motivation from deep-rooted economic and social problems that developed into radical anti-semitism, producing environmental discrimination and conflict. Memory and narrative related to propaganda and its effects has been kept alive by the words and images that were transposed and transmitted through the medium of art, photographic and cinematic production and has enabled a revisitation to its effects owing to the archiving of material and the discourse evoked by memory recollection.

## 14.3 <u>Memory and Ghettos</u>

The incomplete nature of physical remains on the ground can be heavily reinforced by memory studies. The built environment in the form of fragmentary remains and memorials erected in the urban landscape  have instilled a source of commemoration in post Holocaust years. As Schofield (2005, 106) comments;

*"But for me, a quiet and empty landscape that once rattled to the sound of artillery; a peaceful landscape that once saw death; and a cultural landscape which retains physical traces that link the past with the present are the necessary conditions for sensing sites of conflict in an intimate and engaging way."*

In an analysis of ghettos, Schofield's quote can be applied, as it resonates with particular poignancy among Holocaust survivors who revisit landscapes and urban areas that may no longer have visible traces of incarceration but will appear in a way to preserve the memory of events. Bernard Offen (2008, 3-4) reflects on his childhood when returning to Podgórze, Krakow;

*"Before Podgórze became a ghetto, it was just an ordinary neighbourhood, as it is now-a neighbourhood where people live. The streets were full of life and activity. There were friends and neighbours everywhere…."*

He then describes the outlook of Podgórze district as ghettoisation was introduced (ibid. 5);

*"My family's neighbourhood was surrounded by ten-foot-high walls, barbed wire fences and armed SS, Gestapo men or members of the blue-uniformed Polish Police."*

This followed Krakow Regional Governor Otto Wächter's decision on 3rd March 1941 to create a 'Jewish residential district' in the town. Little visible sign of the original ghetto remains although a plaque is located on part of the former ghetto wall. The inscription reads;

*"Here they lived, suffered and perished at the hands of Hitler's executioners. From here they began their final journey to the death camps"* (Offen 2008).

A memorial located at *Plac Bohaterow Getta,* the work of two Krakow architects, Piotr Lewicki and Kazimierz Latak, was officially opened in December 2005, and features an arrangement of empty chairs on the main square in close proximity to the tram stops. The inspiration and reason behind this design was the witness account provided by Tadeusz Pankiewicz in *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy* in which he noted the scene in the streets after the ghetto's liquidation, the poignant scene of furniture and belongings left behind (**plate 51**). Pankiewicz was the only non-Jew allowed residence permanently in the ghetto, running its pharmacy. Consider the geographical setting:

*"And, in the distance, beyond the Vistula one could see Cracow with the tall hill of Wawel on whose steeple flew the hated flag of the swastika."* (1988, 51).

Kargan (2009, 121), discussing the Holocaust Memorial in Baltimore, United States could just as well be commenting on the position of the Krakow Memorial. He suggests these memorials contribute to the activity of city life in that they should not detract from the ongoing normality of urban living. They should be fully integrated rather than having their own spatially segregated space. Young (2000, 169) is in agreement with this and comments that the construction of shared spaces allows for common spatial awareness of subject matter that promotes experiences and understandings that otherwise may be at odds with each other.

**Plate 51**: Memorial at *Plac Bohaterow Getta*, Krakow Available HTTP:
http://www.voiceseducation.org (27 July 2013).

On April 19, 1988, the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, a Memory Lane was marked out through the former ghetto where a plaque informs of the site's history. The buildings had been severely damaged during the fighting, and the ghetto was demolished. Jewish prisoners were sent to Warsaw from Auschwitz to clear the ruins. At a point on Memory Lane a monument has been erected that honours the Jewish resistance fighters. In Budapest, the last remaining section of the ghetto wall was demolished in 2006 during construction work. It was situated to the rear of a property (No. 15 Király Street) and was a stone wall used by the Nazis in 1944 with the addition of a line of barbed wire. A memorial wall was erected in 2008, using original material, although not fully restored to the war era appearance.

Worpole (2003, 10) refers to Young's (1993) study of Holocaust memorialisation in order to seek a clear distinction between memorials and monuments and achieves this by citing Arthur Danto (1985) who stated that "we erect monuments so that we shall always remember and build

193

memorials so that we shall never forget." Sturken (1991, 120) develops Danto's corrective by suggesting that monuments are constructed to recognise victories whereas a memorial represents grief and loss and is symbolic to the life or lives given up for a particular set of values, demanding text and names of the dead.

Cityscapes where memorials are positioned sit juxtaposed in physical representation and interpretation. Austere monoliths such as reconstruction of ghetto walls are "monumental" in the traditional sense, whereas public works of art reflecting absence illustrate intimacy as a characteristic that encourages reflection and attention relate not to size but to scale, the perceived relationship between one's body and another object (Kargan 2009, 122). Memorials fill the physical void of absence, as territory marked by memorialisation becomes an intimate personal experience. Kargan believes that the physicality of monuments can testify more powerfully than books or film to the reality of the Holocaust (ibid. 119). Smith and Bugni (2006) similarly to Sturken (1991) suggest that particular monuments are designed to reflect a collective sense of loss and absence to honour those who lost their lives and to provide a sense of hope, ultimately a place where people can identify. They also comment that surviving remnants may have a greater impact on viewers, seen as solidarity against oppression in a "place denied" in contrast too an ordinary place.

## 14.4 **Deportation and Memory**

Memory narratives reveal how uncertainty was harboured in a train journey along with a sense of hope (Rajchman 2011; Smith 2006). Remnants of cattle cars that are represented in memorials are seen as symbolic of the Holocaust as memory itself is transported from the past to the present. In general terms, this is reflected in the way in which atrocity memory has developed, as Zelizer (1998, 142) suggests that there has been no framework of understanding to help people decipher the events of the Holocaust. She comments further referring to global memory that three separate cycles of memory are clearly discernible (ibid. 141), starting with a period of high attention lasting until the end of the 1940's followed by a lull in the attentive thoughts of many or amnesia up until the end of the 1970's. From then until the present day (including 1998 and beyond) Zelizer claims a "renewed period of intensive memory work has persisted" (ibid. 142). Iconic photographic images have become symbols of the Holocaust, just as the material remains are preserved as monuments or museums. Composition and presentation practices consolidated the image effect on the viewing

public (ibid. 108) and photographs taken by the SS in 1944 of the unloading ramp at Birkenau depict the scale and nature of the selection process as deportees arrived. As well as capturing the scene in the foreground, the viewers gaze is also fixed in the distance with the main camp gate, the 'Gate of Death', and the railway spur visible in the background (**plate 52**).



**Plate 52**: SS photograph of Birkenau, the 'Gate of Death' in the far distance and rail siding. Available HTTP: http://www.worldwarhistoryonline.com/ (14 March 2012).

Emigration became deportation as the process of transportation matched the invisibility of the act of killing. Dwork and Van Pelt (2009, 191) refer to a comment in 1942 from American writer Oswald Garrison Villard;

*"This mass-migration by force has been begun now, in the dead of winter, and in a manner that cannot be interpreted as anything else than a determination to create, not a Jewish state, but a most horrible concentration camp, which can certainly become nothing else than a habitation of death."*

There are numerous accounts of the conditions that were endured en route to the extermination camps with many highlighting the conditions and the suffering, but there are stories that described the attempts made to overcome adversity and find ways to survive. Barbara Stimler, a young Polish Jew destined for Auschwitz-Birkenau, conveyed her feelings (Smith 2006, 157);

*" Before we got to the wagons they gave us bread. In the middle of the wagon there was a barrel with water. We were*

*like sardines. In one corner a young couple were sitting with a baby, warming some milk or water with a candle to give the baby something to drink. The stench in that train! I cannot tell you. It's impossible to visualise. We were like animals."*

Gertrude 'Trude' Levi a young Hungarian Jewish woman comments on the resilience of those in the trains (Smith 2006, 212);

*"The deportation of the Hungarians started in the summer of 1944. The normal load for the trucks was 60-90 people, we were 120. When we were locked in we decided to deal with the situation in a civilised manner and from our luggage we built up seats and then we sat down very very close, back to back, with very tightly pulled-up knees."*

Rail cars preserved at Auschwitz-Birkenau (**plate 53**) illustrate and encapsulate the memorialisation that is present at numerous sites around Europe and have become symbolic of the deportation process. The material remains of cattle cars represent the suffering of millions of Jews, not just at Auschwitz, are reflective of the policy to forcibly remove people as a group. The location of the cattle car at Birkenau also plays a significant part as a memorial role being positioned strategically to represent the exact place where the selection process for either being 'fit for labour' or 'extermination' took place. Two other rail cars are located on the *Altejudenrampe*, the ramp between Auschwitz I and II, where between 1942 and 1944 trains stopped until the tracks were extended adjacent to the gas chambers and crematoria at Birkenau (Sawicki 2010, 4). Memorials take the form of restored rolling stock echoing the materials utilised in an industrialised landscape, such as at Grunewald station to the south-west of Berlin, the departure point for most of the transports from the city. Metal sheets located on the deportation ramp feature departure dates **(plate 54)**, passenger numbers and destinations, whilst to the exterior of the station entrance a concrete wall with mounted silhouettes **(plate 55)** is a further tribute to those who suffered during the Holocaust (Winstone 2010, 89). Stier (2003, 38) comments on similar rail car memorials located in America and Israel **(plate 56)**, which in the view of this author can be applied interpretatively to those in Europe as Stier (2003) suggests that death is not only represented but enacted by the presence of transport artefacts. The rail car becomes the physical embodiment of the Holocaust, dragging it from the past and engaging the present as a narrative of deportation.

**Plate 53**: Cattle Car memorial at Birkenau. Available HTTP: http://en.auschwitz.org/ (14 March 2012).



**Plate 54**: Memorial at Grunewald. Translated: In memory of the more than 50,000 Jews of Berlin who between October 1941 and February 1943 were deported by the National Socialist state mainly from the Grunewald train station to extermination camps. Available HTTP: http://fcit.usf.edu/ (14 March 2012).

**Plate 55**: Silhouettes in memory of Jews deported from Grunewald Station. Available HTTP: http://fcit.usf.edu/ March 2012).



**Plate 56**: A Memorial to the deportees was established at Yad Vashem as a monument to deported Jews transported from all over Europe to the extermination camps. This is an original cattle-car, appropriated by the German Railway authorities and given to Yad Vashem by the Polish authorities. Available HTTP: http://www.yadvashemusa.org/ (14 March 2012).

## 14.5 Memory and Mnemonic Qualities

Terminology such as *mindscape* or *timemap* relates to the act of memory, where memory is a collective recall "shared by families, ethnic groups, nations and other mnemonic communities" (Zerubavel 2003, 4), where memorials can be a conduit to past events and serve as *aide memoirs* to present day populations. Components of memory relive actual events although in essence it is how such acts are remembered. Not everything is preserved in our memory bank, as some incidents are "cast into oblivion" (ibid. 2) because there is nothing to act as a trigger or to revisit, being nondescript and not worthy of recall. The composition and choreography of the European Jewish catastrophe that was an integral factor of the rise of the Third Reich was so cataclysmic in a memory context, that not just individuals in terms of victims and survivors, but communities locally, nationally and globally engage in mnemonic battles of recall.

## 14.6 Memory-Dark Tourism, Internment and Emotion

The presence of the dead in the landscape captures an emotional aspect of commemoration that has been socially constructed and can trigger varying reactions (Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013). Kluger (2004, 73) suggests that "place captures time and can display its victims like flies caught in amber". This analogy is perfectly understood when referring to the countless visits made to the "sprawling death facility" of Auschwitz. Kluger has difficulty in understanding the true nature of the establishment of the former death camp site as a memorial location, as the realism of memory is lost with ingredients absent, such as the stench of death, "the odour of fear, the concentrated aggression, the reduced minds" (ibid. 73).

Although physically trauma-less, the advent of 'dark tourism' is an aspect of memory, remembrance and commemoration that represents a seismic realignment in the way in which death and atrocity sites are handled by tour operators (Lennon and Foley 2006, 3). It is of interest to note how reactions of tourists compare to those of survivors and their relatives. Throughout the year certain poignancy is attached to dates that have acquired importance over time, for example, liberation dates of Holocaust sites have become a characteristic of memorialisation of death in calendrical terms. This has led to greater volumes of tourists coinciding their visit with anniversary dates that

emphasise the significance of an individual site at a given time.

Reasons for visits to macabre attractions vary from remembrance, education, or for entertainment, however, dark-tourism locations present moral and ethical dilemmas to local and government authorities as recent tragic history comes face to face with commercialism and exploitation. Much of the focus appears to be on the visitor, although complex issues surround the extent and content of the experience including interpretation, governmental attitude and managerial appraisal that should take into consideration in respect of local residents, victims and relatives. An uneasy reality pervades a wide spectrum of sites world-wide that feature death and atrocity as their main theme, almost re-launched as visitor attractions that function in a similar manner to shrines and pilgrimage sites (Lennon and Foley, 2006).

The fact that such locations hold popularity perhaps signifies the horror of the original event whilst holding onto the fear encapsulated within as well as acquiring a sinister sense of foreboding that enhances a visit. This author, having taken in the 'Auschwitz experience' in 2010, suggests that it is exactly this feeling that is present and again is a reminder of Bell's (1997) *Ghosts of Place* and Crossland's papers (2000, 2002) on the 'disappeared' of Argentina. Bell's (1997, 820) association of spirits within particular spaces assists in the identification of a place in a social context, labelling it as shrine-like, treating it with the "respectful ritual distance no matter how close we come to it". Ghosts or spirit entities can generate and transfer a fear that originates from a juxtaposition with their original presence and a social experience mediated by the landscape 'they' inhabited that connects the past with the present across time and space. The 'disappeared' possess a ghost-like aura and their absence is treated with associated religious connotations (Bell 1997). Although presumed murdered, many Jewish victims of the Holocaust are revered as their 'disappearance' was unexpected and ultimately unlawful. The only tangible link to lost relatives is within the exhibition halls of death camp settings.

### 14.7 **Memory-Photographs and Symbolism**

The murdered, deceased or missing inhabit our thoughts and places, as Bell (1997, 813) suggests that the "sense of presence of those who are not physically there are a ubiquitous aspect of the

200

phenomenology of place." Crossland (2002, 122-123) elaborates further that Mothers of the 'disappeared' in Argentina represented their loved ones by filling the void they left behind, the symbolic carrying of their children's photographs and the wearing of white head-scarves embroidered with their names bears testament to this.

Photographs have direct association and resonance with the tragic histories of place whether in the recent past or the contemporary past as exhibitions at Auschwitz I carry many images of the victims of the Holocaust. Lennon and Foley (2006, 29) comment that imagery captured by camera communicates the true horror of the death camps portraying a realism that shocks in a way that words cannot reproduce fully. Although they are cautious of the archiving of such material  that leads to the recurrent use of photographs of victims and the deportation process as they claim that they re-create the past in a blur of unreality.

Irish photographer Simon Watson discusses the sense of place coupled with that of the changing face of the site of the former Nazi death camp, from one of mass murder to museum, to cemetery as the space inhabited connects the visitor at all times to the past.

*"In my work I seek to expose and find the past of human presence. I am very interested in the ideas of memory and transformation and exploring the melancholy within"*  (Antonczyk cites Watson 2007).

Watson elaborates further;

*"Almost every metre of ground and every fragment of the walls at the Auschwitz Concentration Camp is imbued with voiceless narrations, marked with the memory and knowledge of the witnesses. Fields of human ashes, the ruins of the crematoria and gas chambers, documents and photographs remain"*

*"The barracks that still stand and the ones that lie in ruins, the original paint on the walls of the rooms where prisoners were confined, and the items found here that once belonged to the victims of the Nazis are material traces of their presence here. They connect us with that time and with their experience then"* (ibid. 2007).

These comments portray in a profound manner the level of symbolism that is present at locations of atrocity. Even those sites that were partially destroyed penetrate the inner psyche of the viewer as they connect the present with the contemporary past. Photographs that portray symbolic imagery are

dramatic and possess mnemonic qualities that cannot replace or replicate in the view of this author time spent at atrocity locations to take in the atmosphere and almost become part of the events that have been narrated in iconic images and words.

## 14.8 <u>Sacred landscapes and Memory</u>

Saunders generalises by citing Bender (1993), Ucko and Layton (1999) and Tilley (1994) suggesting that the analysis of landscape is central to the objectives of anthropological archaeology. Death and destruction have created new landscapes that are immersed in meaning, and may be at odds with the content of the original archaeological palimpsest, significant portions of which have now become revitalised as tourist landscapes (Saunders 2002, 7, 8). Ucko and Layton (1999, 1,2) discuss that landscape refers to an environment, generally sculpted by human intervention and to a representational snap shot, signifying the meanings accompanying such a setting. Gosden and Head (1994, 113) view landscape study as a "useful ambiguity" that consists of both the physical and the conceptual, being culturally a "pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings".

Leonard (2011, 64) comments that there is a balance between realistic perception of industrial warfare and the awareness that such traumatic events are on the cusp of living memory, as landscapes of destruction exist as a concept of a world without form or shape. The memorial aspect of zones of conflict, terror, and large-scale death can be played out in decision-making at the highest level for those interested in tourism, national identity, preservation and legitimisation. But the over-riding factor in any validation of a particular site must be that of remembrance, confirmed by Leonard (ibid. 2011), with which this author is in full agreement. The 'creation' of mythological landscapes and the 'accoutrement of genocide' set within is a necessary layer amongst the archaeological palimpsest to assist individuals to cope with traumatic past events. Structural ruins of gas chambers, fragments of ghetto walls, monuments against fascism and the material culture of conflict have "become the focus of people's grief" (Leonard 2011, 64). Landscapes that have housed industrial warfare appear to have undergone changes that have witnessed physical loss and moved on to traumatic reparation through emotional and mental healing. The processual act of remembrance suggests that certain places, spaces and settings were, and are a living entity, as Leonard (2012, 60) suggests "a landscape alive with the dead".

Landscapes that are sacred also invoke a religious connotation, especially those littered with the remnants of genocide and have become symbolic of the loss of life. These have been subsequently enhanced as a memorial site through the erection of monuments that bear testament to a dark episode in human behaviour. Niessner (2001, 160) suggests that aside from the specific materiality of sites of mass suffering, it is the emotional burden that is associated with the setting that has the greatest effect, and as a consequence, directly relates to the traumatic memory discussed by Lifton (1983).

Preservation and memory are inextricably linked, as modern day pilgrims perceive the heritage of holocaust sites as both cognitive and emotional. A dilemma has ensued over the construction of memory at such sites to simultaneously convey respect whilst being informative. Whereas preservation is vital, the fact is that visitors pay less attention to architectural integrity in favour of the ideological sense of place (Niessner 2001, 160), as the presence of a ruinous structure or artefact that can be visibly associated to a certain individual causes the viewer to reflect on past events.

Walter (2009, 46) indicates that there should be a formal distinction between memorials and shrines in terms of the interaction that takes place with the deceased. Memorials are where the memory of the individual remains internalised or shared amongst a group, whereas a shrine is a virtual portal through which 'communication' takes place with the dead, through prayer and where guidance is sought. This author believes that memorial structures appear to offer the sanctity of reflection and remembrance, although the latter is not memory as this refers to the direct experience of the individual and where remembering is a next generational aspect of recall.

# 15 Deception and Fear Control (incorporating emotion)

## 15.1 Ghettos; Deception and Fear Control prior to Internment

Deception and fear control is an aspect of this research in relation to ghettoisation that saw the creation of the illusion of Jewish controlled areas, which allayed the worries of many. *Judenrat* (Jewish councils) were formed and present in all ghettos, supervised by a Jewish elder (Bauer 1980; Friedländer 2007). However, ruling administrations were illusory and non-functional, serving as conduits for the Nazis, which nurtured the misconception that ghettos were productive and beneficial to Jewish survival. Ultimately ghettos were required to facilitate Nazi orders, including the assembly of transports for deportation to the extermination camps (Stackelberg 1999; Rees 2005a, b and c). The process of over-crowding in a deliberately constructed and contrived space is best viewed in respect of conditions and suffering and how the control of terror, or lack of, manifested itself. Architecturally, ghettoisation should be analysed for the purpose it was originally created as a means of social control in purposefully manufactured slum conditions that harnessed the power of physical space and affected behavioural traits. They were grossly overcrowded and inhabitants were deprived of food and health care, with high volumes of elderly and infant deaths. Major European ghettos were designed to be temporary states of exclusion and inclusion, a transit point on the journey to extermination (Browning 2004; Cole 2003).

An area central to the reason why the Nazi regime was successful in achieving their extermination policies was the concealment of the fate of intended victims, as part of the organisational mechanics behind "The Final Solution". Fear management was an important factor that lulled the Jews to their death with the utilisation of reassurances (Rees 2005a, 82). Horwitz (2008, 197) discusses how the German Security Forces, including the Gestapo, restricted the movement of information into the Łódź ghetto fearing that the increased activity surrounding the implementation of the extermination program had alerted attention. A ban on mail to those inside the ghetto saw letters and aid packages destroyed or redirected to military hospitals. The *Kripo* (Criminal Police) establishment monitored the situation and for the most part relied on the victims' inability to construct the truth from the threads of information they had received. Evidence pointed to the fact that ghettos had been organised for work in a production initiative to assist the war effort (ibid. 198).

Sheinkinder, a journalist living in the Warsaw ghetto, kept a journal until his death that related to the initial Nazi invasion. Amongst other information, it stated that between July 22 and September 21, 1942, 300,000 Jews were deported to Treblinka death camp (Nussbaum Soumerai and Schulz 1998, 99). Writing in 1963 on the scarcity of food, Sheinkinder lamented;

*"There is no sadder hour for me than when I finish my work and make my way home, where my hungry family is waiting for me. They have prepared no dinner for me. I did not leave them anything for lunch in the morning"* (ibid. 99).

Ghetto Jews were systematically deprived of food, clothing, fuel, medicine, sanitation, living space, and sleep. They were forced to live in the bombed-out slums of Warsaw, Łódź, and other cities with no parks or open spaces (Nussbaum Soumerai and Schulz 1998, 104), and in one ghetto there was only a single tree (ibid. 1998; Dawidowicz 1975, 280). They also lived in constant fear of deportation and death. Nussbaum Soumerai and Schulz cite historian Raul Hilberg (1967, 173);

*"The ghetto starvation regime produced something more than the death of individuals; it spelled the doom of the community. The death of an individual occurs every day. The death of a community is an event which happens much more rarely in history."*

In the Warsaw ghetto, out of a community of 470,000 people, 44,630 deaths occurred in 1941 and 37,462 during the first nine months of 1942, at the rate of 5,000 people each month. In total, approximately 550, 000 Jews died in the ghettos and labour camps of Poland, or one-fifth of the Polish Jews (Nussbaum Soumerai and Schulz 1998, 105; Hilberg 1967, 173-174).

Participation in the struggle for survival in the ghettos demanded an optimistic belief in basic decency, hope, and even blindness to the prospect of further actions. Faced with deportation, the Jews asked themselves; "How can anything be worse than what we are going through now?" Rumours of the death camps seemed ridiculous, as the majority of Jews and the western world refused to believe in their existence. It seemed inconceivable that Germans would exert effort to destroy innocent human beings. It seemed senseless to destroy a labour source critical to the war effort (Feig 1981, 22, 23).

Deception constructed and disseminated by victim, oppressor and bystander, eased feelings of anxiety perpetuated by fear of mass evictions by harnessing the view that Jews were 'merely' being

resettled. Although analysed objectively, in essence, as opposed to death, eviction may well have seemed the lesser of two evils (Erber 2002, 298). Erber continues by suggesting that the victims were willing to accommodate and synthesise lies to quell their own feelings of fear and to help others adapt to their way of coping with segregation and the inevitability of imminent death (ibid. 298). Erber is willing to speculate that any individuals that were part of larger communities that were persecuted, forcibly evicted and then subjected to extreme deprivation "behind barbed wire might want to adopt a somewhat self-serving outlook regarding their future". This author partly agrees with Erber, as the ability to lie about future prospects and to communicate it to others may ultimately have been a crucial element of "ghetto mentality" (ibid. 298).

*"The ghetto inhabitant seized upon every optimistic rumour, and forced himself to believe it; thus he artificially bolstered up his courage. However, he was also on the alert for more realistic and tragic rumours, in order not to lose his reasoning faculty and to be misled"* (Dvorjetski 1963, 196).

Dvorjetski (ibid. 195) discusses the purpose of "concentration world" as a construction of a reign of terror to debilitate and depersonalise through a process of productive extermination. Although in the view of this author the means to an end was not always predictable and at times counter intuitive as Dvorjetski (ibid. 196) suggests the alertness and adaptation to conditions produced a inner strength to prevail against adversity. The recognition and ability to deal with imminent dangers and through all eventualities knowing the ghetto was a "passing episode" would save an individual's life. Ofer (1998, 18) suggests the individual and the family unit would show an order, a logic, and an aim to gain a measure of self-determination in a trial of endurance. This author's belief is that those who failed to retain any sense of 'normality' capitulated in a collapsed mental and physical state at an accelerated rate, compared to those who endeavoured to behave normally in abnormal conditions. In addition, it is crucial to recognise the fact that deception and fear were intrinsically linked to the perception and structure of ghettoisation. If not a contradiction in terms, the ghettos themselves were seen in the eyes of many as safe havens, as Ofer explains that inward deportees from rural Poland saw the ghetto as protection from the Nazis and "gentile" Poles (Tiedens 1997, 62). The residents of Łódź and Warsaw believed that different outcomes would eventually occur in so much as deportation from Warsaw meant death at Treblinka, whereas the destination of Auschwitz from Łódź was seen as a means of survival as many were under the misapprehension that Auschwitz was solely a work camp (ibid. 63).

In terms of psychology, large numbers of the population, including Jews, were lulled into a false sense of security, in the sense that rumours circulated were false and that the Protocol adopted at the end of the Wannsee Conference, a meeting of senior officials of the regime, held in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee on 20th January 1942, was to be implemented (Stackelberg 1999, 224, 225). Its purpose was to inform administrative leaders of departments responsible for various policies relating to Jews, that Reinhard Heydrich had been appointed as the chief executor of "The Final Solution to the Jewish Question" (Lebor and Boyes 2002, 149-151). Heydrich's plan was the deportation of the Jewish population of Europe and French North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia) to occupied Eastern Europe, to use those fit for labour on road-building schemes in extreme conditions. According to the Protocol, survivors were to be exterminated after completion of the projects (ibid. 149-151).

The propaganda or euphemistic language of bureaucrats claimed that "The Jews should in the course of the Final Solution be taken in a suitable manner to the east for use as labour" (ibid. 150). Euphemisms are crucibles for important concepts. They disguised an abhorrent practice and diverted attention utilising another name. Nazi euphemisms were used to de-sensitise and to deceive society to the horrors of a program of genocide (Mitchell 1999, 255). The misguided thoughts of Polish survivor Stanley Faull talking about the Warsaw Ghetto provided a sense of the magnitude of deception;

*"The easiest option was to report to the railway station for work promised in the east and tell yourself, 'Look, we'll get our bread, we'll get work, we'll be together as a family and if we've got to help the war effort, well, we've got to help, at least we'll survive.' Tens of thousands of people went and were never heard of since. The 'work' was not work, it was extermination"* (Smith 2006, 119).

## 15.2 Deportation and Deception in association with terror and violence systems

Walters's (1964 248-257) analysis of violence and terror systems is one that this author is in agreement with and would like to adopt in part to categorise and compartmentalise the control of fear in the Nazi/Jew sphere of a 'relationship' construct, underpinned by terror processes and 'systems of terror'. Deportation maintained and emphasised through social dislocation and deprivation the isolation that persecution and ghettoisation created. The invisibility of Jewish "absence and presence" takes on another dimension when the train journeys from exclusion to

extermination are considered. As Kogon and Gutman (1947, 40) pointed out, the German citizen knew very little of the creation and running of concentration camps because information systems at that time were of a strictly secretive nature. This author offers the following scenario that specific zones of terror can be applied within the overall Nazi system of terror;

Zone$^1$ = Persecution and ghettoisation

Zone$^2$ = Deportation

Zone$^3$ = Concentration and extermination

'Zones of terror' were separated from the society that contained them, whilst the system of terror may have been generated under certain conditions of self-perceived threat, in the case of Nazi Germany, that coming from the Jew and the anti-semitism it produced. Violent actions that induce the psychic state of extreme fear, along with the event that terrifies, are characteristic elements of processes of terror; the act or threat, the emotional reaction, and the social effects (Walter 1964, 248).

We see at certain junctures an amalgamation of zones of terror. Departure from the ghetto and journey by train to an extermination centre could be classed as zone$^1$ + zone$^2$ + zone$^3$ and would have heightened the sense of terror immeasurably. Numerous individuals would only have endured zone$^1$ and others zone$^1$ + zone$^2$. The Nazis, by incorporating a number of stages to the experiential process of terror, may have inadvertently established a method of controlling fear and anxiety that was adopted by the Jews, borne out of resistance and refusal to accept the inevitable. Deportation preyed on the psychological condition of the deportee as well as worsening their physical well being. The system of mass transportation continued the effacement of the personality and created an unrecognisable entity, liquidated the individual, and in the eyes of the Nazis, incapable of productive output (Dvorjetski 1963, 195).

The comments of Helena Dunicz-Niwinska (Fackler, 2007), a member of the Birkenau women's orchestra, illustrate how the deception was continued after disembarkation from trains;

*"Frequently someone listened avidly to the sounds of music, someone often reached their hand across."*

However, not all the new arrivals were deceived by this musical "greeting". It also remains clear that the arrival of new transports, the selections or the walk into the gas chamber were not always accompanied by music, only occasionally (Fackler 2007). Gilbert (2005, 91) has suggested a direct correlation between survival conditions in the ghettos and the performance of musical revues that encouraged and provided optimism for performers and audience alike. As in other circumstances, these mood shifts were aligned in a direct relationship with the inhabitants' successive phases of shock and adaptation in reaction to their ongoing plight. Shock was experienced during and after violent events, and was often expressed through direct description and the articulation of it through song; adaptation was revealed in the gradual return to 'normality' as known in the ghetto in the form of defensive coping strategies. Conditions invariably deteriorated, the requirement for hope unsurprisingly grew stronger (ibid. 91). Dvorjetski (1963, 196), as a survivor himself, saw it as the control of nerve and emotion that produced a state of alertness that removed the threat of danger. The toleration of discomfort for Jews that re-enforced the belief that ghetto or camp life was temporary, with liberation a certainty, made internment in every sense bearable.

A theory postulated by Gigliotti (2009, 174) suggests for the deportees that arrived at remote locations the sight of a limited number of buildings in the visible streetscape secured hope that open communications remained with the outside world. A small station with an adjacent post office at Bełżec was perfected deceit and designed to allay the fears of new arrivals at the camp. Gigliotti (2009, 175) also refers to Rajchman (2011, 19), a survivor of Treblinka, who referred to the station as ordinary and professionally built in appearance. Grossman (2011, 131) illustrates further credence to the maintenance of deception by the Nazis, that prompts the conclusion "appearance is not what it seems." He describes the landscape surrounding Treblinka as dull and the station buildings as dismal as his eye is drawn to the spur that runs from the station into the pine forest, a miserable wilderness chosen as a construction site for a "vast executioner's block" (ibid. 113-114). He confirms that the mock station appeared to be a normally functioning transport junction,

describing a building with a ticket office, a lost luggage section and a restaurant. Signs pointed to towns to create the illusion of an ordinary journey, an orchestra performed in the main building as a uniformed station guard collected tickets (ibid. 131). Grossman captures the behaviour and psychology of the guards (*Wachmänner*) and SS by suggesting they resembled cattle drivers at the entrance to a slaughterhouse (ibid. 132). The power of deception was further emphasised as Glazar (1995, 6) commented on his arrival at Treblinka in September 1942;

*"This looks like a little train station in the Wild West, and right behind it there is a farm with a high green fence. The fence is a very pretty green. It must be a big farm with lots of cattle-and I know how to handle cattle."*

The presence of mechanisms to cope with anxiety and terror is one that this author is in general agreement with. The Nazis in their attempts to cover minute details unwittingly produced the spark for prisoners to be able to respond, create their own defensive mechanisms as well as dealing with aspects of incarceration. Arad (1999, 227) also alludes to this as he suggests that attempts by the Nazi authorities to create deception in 'concentration world' only heightened and exacerbated the desire to survive and utilise what time was left to the maximum. Gigliotti (2009, 4) attempts to familiarise herself with the perpetrator versus victim intersect and tries to extract an understanding of the mechanisms of self-will in an analysis of spatial deprivation in the deportees journey that was a direct impact of Nazi policy. She has collated, along with many other historians and academics, a sensory history of deportation through the filter of memory studies, as events such as round-ups prior to deportation, the surveillance of deportees in transit as well as unloading at the camps have been recalled (ibid. 4). The Jews and the social outcasts, according to the Third Reich, had now become the freight of the final solution.

## 15.3 <u>Deception, Fear Management and Internment</u>

Whatever the scale or method of extermination, inmates were subjected to a standard system of deception during all stages of the process so that calm and order could be maintained (Smith 2006, 157), an effective management of fear, that comprised camp orchestras and disguised installations. The Nazi extermination policies were, according to Rees (2005b, 82), successful because of the

methods of concealment surrounding the fate of victims and the fear management integrated within the organisational mechanics. Rubenstein and Roth (2003, 198) highlight the importance of the concentration of Jewish communities in close proximity to transport hubs, and the location of death camps near the eastern border of the General Government. These factors helped to maintain the deception of deportees not being on 'death transports' but in transit to 'resettlement'. With these elements operational it seemed a natural progression to further enhance the deception. It was matched by the misrepresentation of vistas deportees experienced on arrival at train stations. Some of the techniques were simple illusory tricks that convinced an individual that rumours of work in the east were true, that Jews had entered a holding centre to be transported a greater distance. Buildings with fixtures and fittings that on initial inspection, could have fulfilled normal purposes, but were disguised to subdue fear and to propagate control. A number of the situations faced by Jews are listed in the following text, although by no means a comprehensive and inclusive inventory.

### 15.3.1 <u>Chełmno</u>

When extermination restarted at Chełmno in 1944 owing to the liquidation of the Łódź ghetto, the destruction of the "castle" and the mobile crematoria in the *Waldlager*, operations were maintained and centred within the Rzuchów forest. New arrivals were given the impression they were to be held in newly constructed barracks within a labour camp (Winstone 2010, 299). Facilities resembled a larger temporary camp with numbered barracks, as signs gave directions from the gate to the bathhouse and from the barracks "to the Doctor". In addition, "dressing room" signs were fixed to the doors. Jews were given the impression that they would be sent to work in German cities such as Leipzig and Cologne (Anon. 2007). The Nazi pretext was to establish a false sense of security by suggesting prisoners were to be deloused and accommodated within their family groups in newly constructed barracks. Speed was of the essence as Jews were told they could avail of the next transport leaving the camp (ibid. 2007; Pawlicka-Nowak 2009, 84).

After undressing the Jews followed instructions to continue to the bathhouse along a narrow, wooden passageway approximately 25m in length. The passage turned at a right angle and led to a ramp that entered an enclosed gas-van (Anon. 2007). The deception that the Nazi authorities constructed was carefully engineered with attention to detail, and for the most part successful in its delivery from its appearance through to its delivery (**plates 57 and 58**).



**Plate 57**: Chełmno; one of three gas vans. Available HTTP: http://www.jewishgen.org/ (5 April 2012).

**Plate 58**: Site of one of Chełmno's two extermination centres. Available HTTP: http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org (5 April 2012).

### 15.3.2 Bełżec

Bełżec death camp was a testing ground where the system of automated murder was conceived and refined (**figure 35**). Experimental techniques were installed, monitored and if need be adapted to determine the most efficient method of handling the transports of Jews, from arrival to their death and burial (Webb, Smart and Lisciotto 2009).

Basic concepts for the process of extermination and camp infrastructure were monitored in terms of functionality to maximise efficiency. The reoccurring aim of deception was to provide the impression that the initial destination had been a transit camp, from where Jews would travel to a labour camp. The overall effect was one of inducement, as deportees believed this until they were led to the 'death space' of the gas chambers (ibid. 2009). The Bełżec extermination facility was a primitive wooden barrack constructed and adapted to give the impression of a bathing facility (**figure 36**). To enhance this deception false shower-heads were installed with signs that indicated the presence of a bathhouse. Arad (1999, 69) explains that the separation of males and females, changing rooms and haircuts for women contributed to the misconception.

213

The SS strengthened the belief of the deportees and further enhanced the illusion as they were given a routine induction on arrival (Arad 1999, 69). The key element was to calm and settle the Jews to prevent hysteria and the realisation of deception. SS orders encouraged co-operation that would have resulted in order and cleanliness under normal circumstances (Webb, Smart and Lisciotto 2009). Within the framework of extermination, the crucial part of deception was that anything initially communicated was genuinely believed by Jews, such as being sent 'to the bathroom' and to have clothes disinfected. Bełżec was seen as the 'laboratory' because of the techniques and procedures developed there. All of the daily routines included general persecution and beatings and were accompanied by the music of the camp orchestra. Once vulnerable within the extermination apparatus no additional deception was required (ibid. 2009).



**Belzec camp plan, winter 1942**
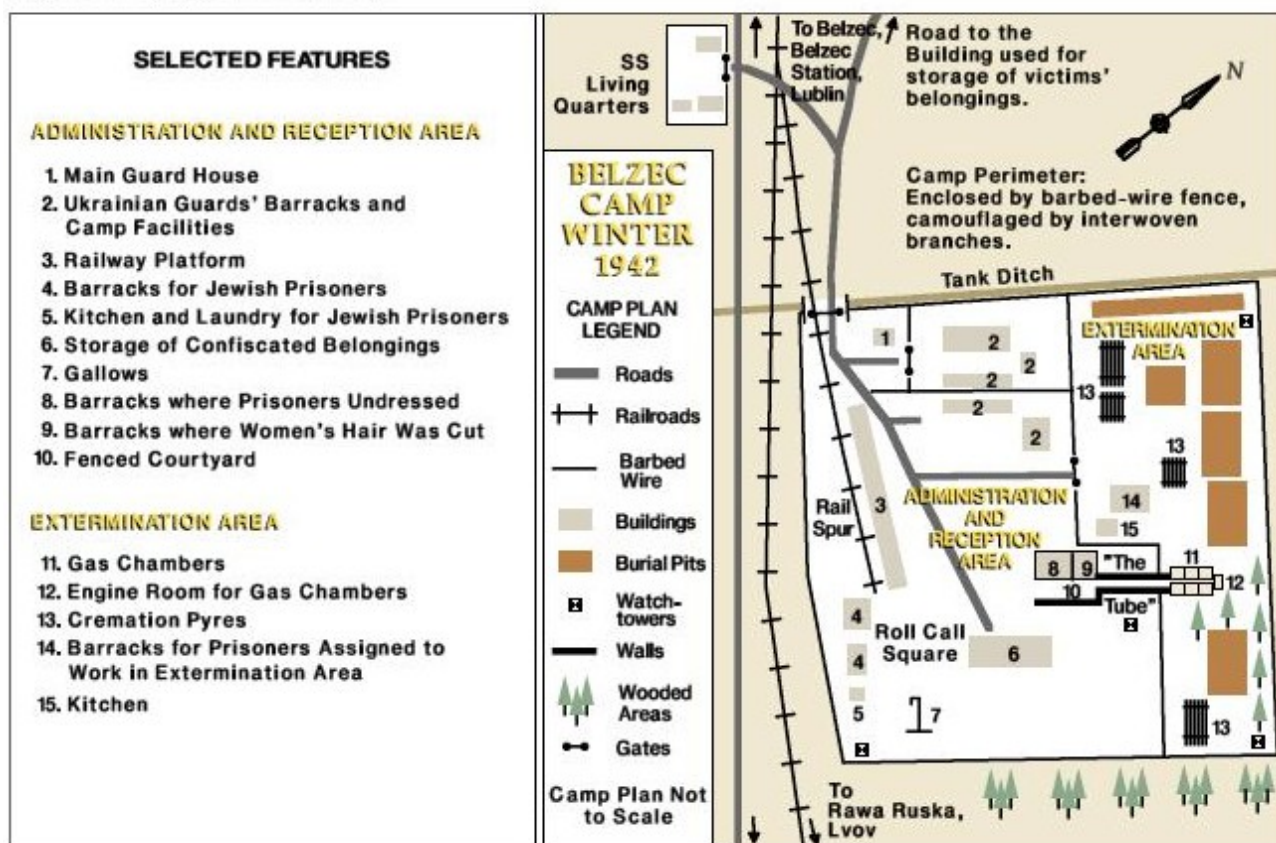
**Figure 35**: Detailed plan of Bełżec camp showing "the tube" (camouflaged extermination pathway). Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org (5 April 2012).

214

**Figure 36**: Rutherford's drawing of the Bełżec gas chambers called *Stiftung Hackenholt*. Note the deception measures of the Star of David and the flowers at the base of the steps. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (5 April 2012)

The artefact evidence corroborates the presence and operation of concealment tactics as Winstone (2010, 260) describes how material culture housed in the Bełżec memorial building indicates evidence of deceit, as a plaque that greeted deportees with instructions for undressing and the handover of valuables is displayed there. Concrete discs discovered at the site have an unknown purpose although Winstone (ibid. 260) believes they are tokens that were exchanged for money and documents, enhancing the ruse that they were about to enter a bathhouse. Gilead *et al.* (2009) refer to Kola (2000) as they confirm the presence of 304 concrete discs with a hanging hole and five digits carved in the centre, although they cannot offer an interpretation as to their function. It has been noted that aluminium discs with four digit numbers were discovered at Chełmno in association with human remains uncovered in Rzuchów forest (Pawlicka-Nowak 2004, 62).

Whatever the processes at work, the archaeological evidence is suggestive of the presence of substantial prison populations, with routines and material culture available for interpretation. The artefacts that have come to light in connection with death camp inmates could lead to an exclusive sub-discipline of the main frame of archaeological research, that being the archaeology of deception accompanied by the memory narratives of fear management. From an interpretative aspect, an archaeology of deception should examine layout, structures, site processes, spatial organisation and the formation of a functioning assemblage.

215

### 15.3.3 <u>Sobibór</u> (figure 37)

Aspects of deception and fear management are prevalent in their similarities throughout the entire death camp system either through processes or bureaucratically organised elements of control. This allowed perpetrators licence to adopt a cynically false narrative that synthesised a tangible thread of hope throughout the prisoner population, even though the reality of the situation became evident as the built environment along with the extant atmosphere suggested that longevity within the camp system was unfeasable. Personal accounts rather than physical evidence illustrate that an arena of deception existed, as individual comments portrayed a situation designed to deceive, through words, appearance and behaviour. Arad (1999, 68) suggests that secrecy and deception were the central characteristics of the extermination technique.

SS *Oberscharfuhrer* (Senior Squad Leader) Kurt Bolender testified how deception and fear control at Sobibór was managed within the parameters of the extermination process (Webb, Lisciotto and Smart 2009);

*"Before the Jews undressed, Oberscharfuhrer Hermann Michel made a speech to them. On these occasions, he used to wear a white coat to give the impression he was a physician. Michel announced to the Jews that they would be sent to work."*

The SS addressed transports from the Netherlands in a way to calm and induce an air of certainty, at least during the initial reception phase. Selection for labour was carried out on arrival, which was another way of perpetuating secrecy and instilling the belief that deportees had actually been transported to a labour camp, as some individuals were actually sent to work camps close to Sobibór (Arad 1999, 78). Deception was inclusive as the elderly, the sick and disabled were informed that they would receive medical assistance at a fake *Lazarett* (infirmary) in another part of the camp (**plates 59 and 60**). They were placed in carts, taken to Camp III, to open pits behind the chapel where they were shot (Webb, Lisciotto and Smart 2009; Arad 1999, 77). Bem (2009, 46) describes how the gas chambers were designed and painted in order to simulate the appearance of authentic bathhouses and how routines took a similar form for the arrival of each transport, with an orchestra welcoming new arrivals to the camp. Camouflage and false signage played its part as it did at all death camps, as well as the issuing of a fake system of numbers that acted as receipts, for money and personal possessions that had been handed over, that would never be returned (Arad

1999,77). This was a contrived attempt to calm nerves and fuel the idea that Jews would assume that Sobibór was a transit camp to be transported from to the war industry factories in the east (ibid. 50).



**SELECTED FEATURES**

**ADMINISTRATION AREA**
1. Railway Platform
2. Dentist and Jail for Ukrainian Guards
3. Guard House
4. SS Service Buildings
5. Garage
6. Living Quarters of the Camp Commandant
7. Armory
8. Barracks for Ukrainian Guards
9. Service and Storage Buildings
10. Barracks for Male Prisoners
11. Barracks for Female Prisoners
12. Water Ditch

**RECEPTION AREA**
13. Barracks for Undressing
14. Sorting and Storage of Victims' Belongings
15. Undressing Yard
16. Storage of Confiscated Food
17. Electrical Generator
18. Storage of Confiscated Silverware
19. Stable and Barns
20. Administration Building and Valuables Storage
21. Barracks for Storing Property
22. Barracks Where Women's Hair Was Cut
23. "The Tube"
24. Abandoned Chapel

**EXTERMINATION AREA**
25. Barracks for Prisoners Assigned to Work in Extermination Area
26. Kitchen and Workhouse
27. Gas Chambers
28. Engine Room for Gas Chambers
29. Fenced Yard

**OUTSIDE CAMP AREA**
30. Railway Station Building
31. Living Quarters for Railway Workers

**SOBIBOR CAMP SPRING 1942**

**CAMP PLAN LEGEND**

— Roads
⊢⊢ Railroads
⊢⊢⊢ Narrow Gauge Railroad
▢ Buildings
▮ Burial Pits
▨ Watch-towers
▣ Forester's Tower
— Walls
🌲 Wooded Areas
— Barbed Wire
— Gates
∵∵ Minefield

Camp Plan Not to Scale

Camp Perimeter: Enclosed by three rows of barbed wire, camouflaged with interwoven tree branches and surrounded by a minefield 50 feet wide.

**Figure 37**: As described. Note "The Tube" heavily camouflaged, as well as the camp perimeter. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org (5 April 2012).
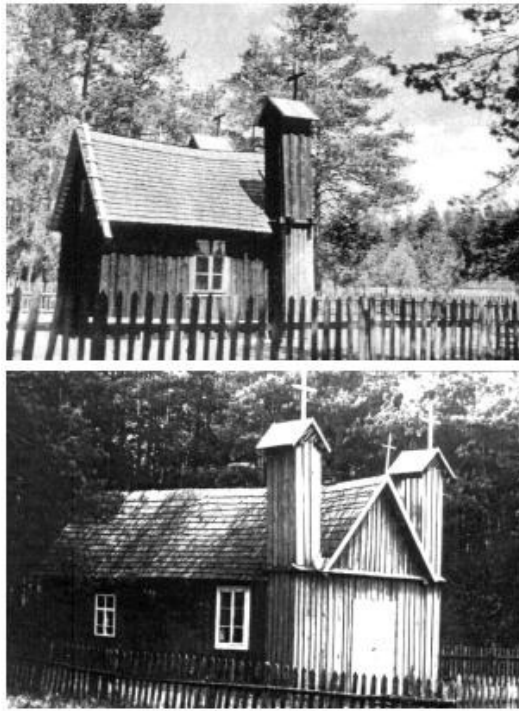
**Plates 59 and 60:** Sobibór chapel used as the *Lazarett* for shooting elderly or infirm arrivals. Behind this building the victims were shot into a pit. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (5 April 2012).

Disguised walkways that led from reception areas to the 'death space' of the gas chambers were omnipresent features of 'Reinhard' killing centres and as such should be accepted as another component of the archaeology of deception as Jews although aware of their general surroundings would not of been cognisant of imminent extermination.

### 15.3.4 Treblinka (figure 38)

The entrance to the gas chamber at Treblinka was covered by a Jewish ceremonial curtain, removed from a synagogue and positioned at the entrance to the building (Webb and Lisciotto 2007). Placed either on the curtain or on the building was the Hebrew inscription "This is the Gateway to God. Righteous Men will pass through". The gable wall over the entrance bore a large Star of David (ibid. 2007). Whether this was a blatant construct of cynicism or a simulation of religious connotation is debatable, but the purpose was to engineer an air of control and an attempt to ease the panic of deportees entering Treblinka and the uncertainty that was present (**figure 39**). To reach the entrance, the victims had to climb five steps, decorated on either side with potted plants. The

walls of the gas chambers were partially covered with white tiles. Showerheads and piping crossed the ceiling, designed to maintain the illusion of a shower room (Webb and Lisciotto 2007). The arrangement of clothing and the deposition of personal items created the impression that they would be returned and fresh clothing made available (Arad 1999, 83). Storage and hanging facilities were provided for valuables as clothing was supposedly chemically cleaned (Anon. 2007; Arad 1999, 83).
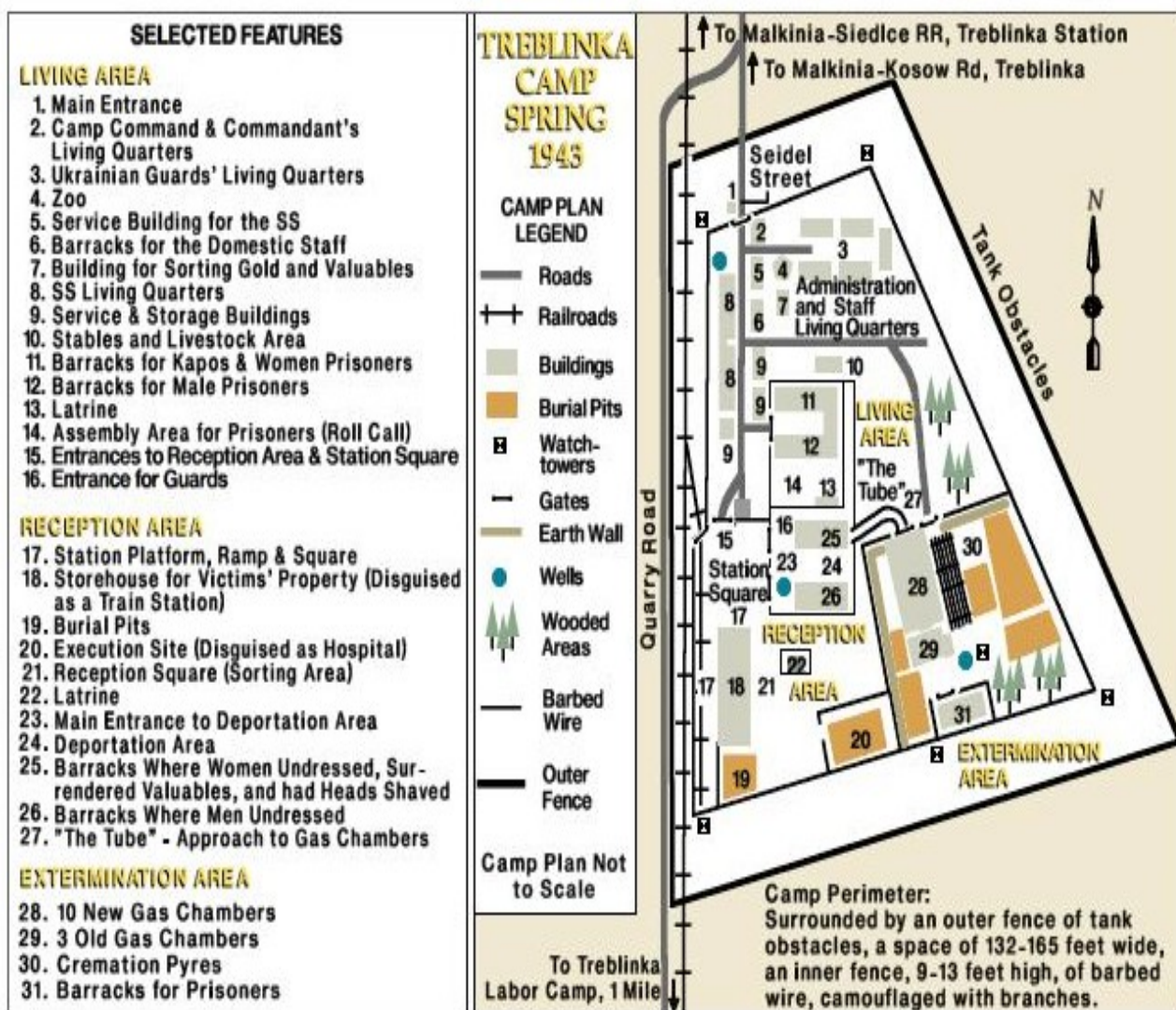


**Figure 38**: As described. Again note the camouflaged areas. Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (5 April 2012).

**Figure 39**: Reconstruction of Treblinka gas chamber. Available HTTP: http://www.deathcamps.org/ (5 April 2012).

**15.3.5 <u>Majdanek</u> (figure 40)**

Memory narratives from reporters and journalists in the early stages of post-liberation eastern Europe captured the essence of deception, concretised the housing of genocide within relatively unassuming surroundings and above all provided the evidence of Nazi atrocities by means of image and film. Russian invitations to view Majdanek Camp offered the initial opportunity for the press to record the events within the death camps of Europe, which kindled the interest of Western attention (Zelizer 1998, 49/50).

Zelizer (ibid. 54) utilises the comments of *Saturday Evening Post* correspondent Edgar Snow (1944, 18), which highlighted the use of deception mechanisms;

*"I went through this immensely efficient human slaughterhouse"* and *"I saw lethal chambers into which new arrivals were invited to go for baths."*
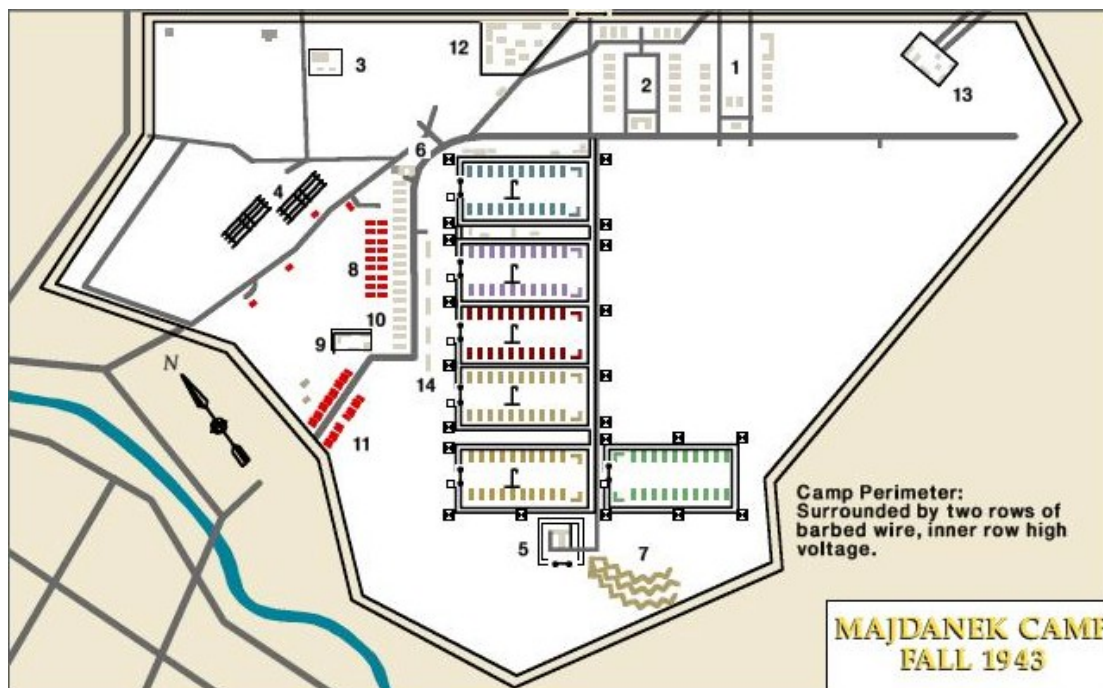
**Figure 40**: Majdanek camp detailed map. Note the area no. 7 associated with November 3rd 1943 "Harvest Festival". Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (6 April 2012).

Observations were made and doubt cast of the authenticity of so called disinfection rooms at Majdanek by *News Chronicle* reporter Paul Winterton (1944, 4);

*"Hot damp air was found to give the best results-hence the showers and the hot air fan. I made a mental note that the room could (I repeat could) really have been used for the innocent purpose of disinfection. But what of the next room I*

*saw? This was a hermetically sealed concrete room, seven feet high and about fifteen feet square, with an iron gas pipe leading into it from a smaller white-washed room where there was an apparatus for attaching cylinders of carbon monoxide. Between one room and the other was a small glass peep-hole with a grating over it. You would not need a peep-hole to watch clothes being disinfected."*

The events of 3rd November 1943, code-named the 'Harvest festival' or '*Aktion Erntefest*', portrays scale and method simultaneously (**plate 61**). At Majdanek and the sub-camps of Trawniki and Poniatowa, following the normal procedures of roll call, the SS officers ordered Jews to separate and undress (Anon. 2011b; Rubenstein and Roth 2003, 202). Previously, prisoners had dug large ditches on the perimeter of the camps, to which they were led. Loudspeakers were wired up, marching music played and the massacre began. Also dubbed 'Bloody Wednesday', this action saw the deaths of 18,000 Jews (Rubenstein and Roth 2003, 202), as one unknown source recalled (Anon. 2011b);

*"After the first rounds the noise from the loudspeakers drowned out the further shots. The speakers that had been attached to the watchtowers broadcast in full volume cheerful dance music . . .the music flooded the entire camp. Only in the short pauses necessary to change records did the shots echo through the air . . . around 4 PM the music was silenced. Now (we) heard only occasional single shots that echoed to us from the crematoria."*

The vocalisation of memory prevents its dormancy, which can be projected into arenas that reflect positivity and reconciliation within the recognition of absence and loss. Zelizer discusses the accoutrement of atrocity (1998, 237) in connection with Rwandan genocide, which prompts this author to suggest that the multi-disciplinary approach to the analysis of deception and fear management through ghettoisation, deportation and extermination reveals aspects of the Nazi genocide as possessing the accoutrement of deceit in tandem with the archaeology of deception. This is illustrated by memory narratives, material culture and archaeological remains, as emphasis should be placed on contextual and artefact integrity to determine the robust nature of the evidence. Accounts that amount to re-visitation of memory could be categorised as ethnographic statements that pertain to an association with the accoutrement of deception. They illustrate, as well as confirm, along with material culture, the presence and absence of a population imprisoned and annihilated with deceit and fear management at its core.

**Plate 61**: Jews being marched on "bloody Wednesday" at Majdanek. Available HTTP: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ (6 April 2012).

### 15.3.6 <u>Auschwitz-Birkenau</u>

Auschwitz-Birkenau kept apace with the 'Operation Reinhard' centres, however the killing spree that took place during 1944 accelerated its position as the site with the largest victim numbers recorded in history (Rees 2005a, 277). Death estimates are difficult to quantify and clarify although the general perception of historians is that over one million people died within the complexes of Camps I, II and III, with Birkenau (II) the most lethally efficient. The statistics suggest the extermination was of a steady nature rather than large single atrocities. Rees (ibid. 277) explains that the spring and summer of 1944 saw an escalation in the killing as the presence of Hungarian Jews "stretched the capacity of Auschwitz and beyond".

The infamous vista of the 'Gate of Death' at Birkenau has become, over time, the symbol for the concentrated efforts of extermination operations. Killings were accelerated from 1943 onwards when Bełżec had been abandoned, a cessation had been called at Sobibór and Treblinka following attempted uprisings and when deportations to Majdanek were stopped (Steinbacher 2005, 96). Friedländer (2007, 508) emphasises that Auschwitz-Birkenau illustrated the difference between the concentration camp and the exterminatory nature of the death camp with its specificity in anti-Jewish behaviour.

The masking of operations at Birkenau included the distance that the gas chambers and crematoria were away from the main prison population and the attempted disguise of installations with electrified barbed wire, trees, shrubs and armed personnel (Steinbacher 2005, 99) (**figure 41**). On the steps leading to the changing rooms in crematoria II and III there were multi-language panels with directions to the 'bathroom' and the 'disinfection room' (Friedländer 1997, 502). Numbered clothes hooks completed the illusion, which was suggestive of items being returned later after the 'cleansing process'. At the entrance to the gas chamber further signage suggested that delousing would continue, even SS guards were said to have handed out soap and towels before closing the chamber door. Fittings within the 'death space' amounted to a fabrication as sieves hung from sections of wood to mimic the appearance of shower-heads (Steinbacher 2005, 100; Rees 2005b, 219/220).
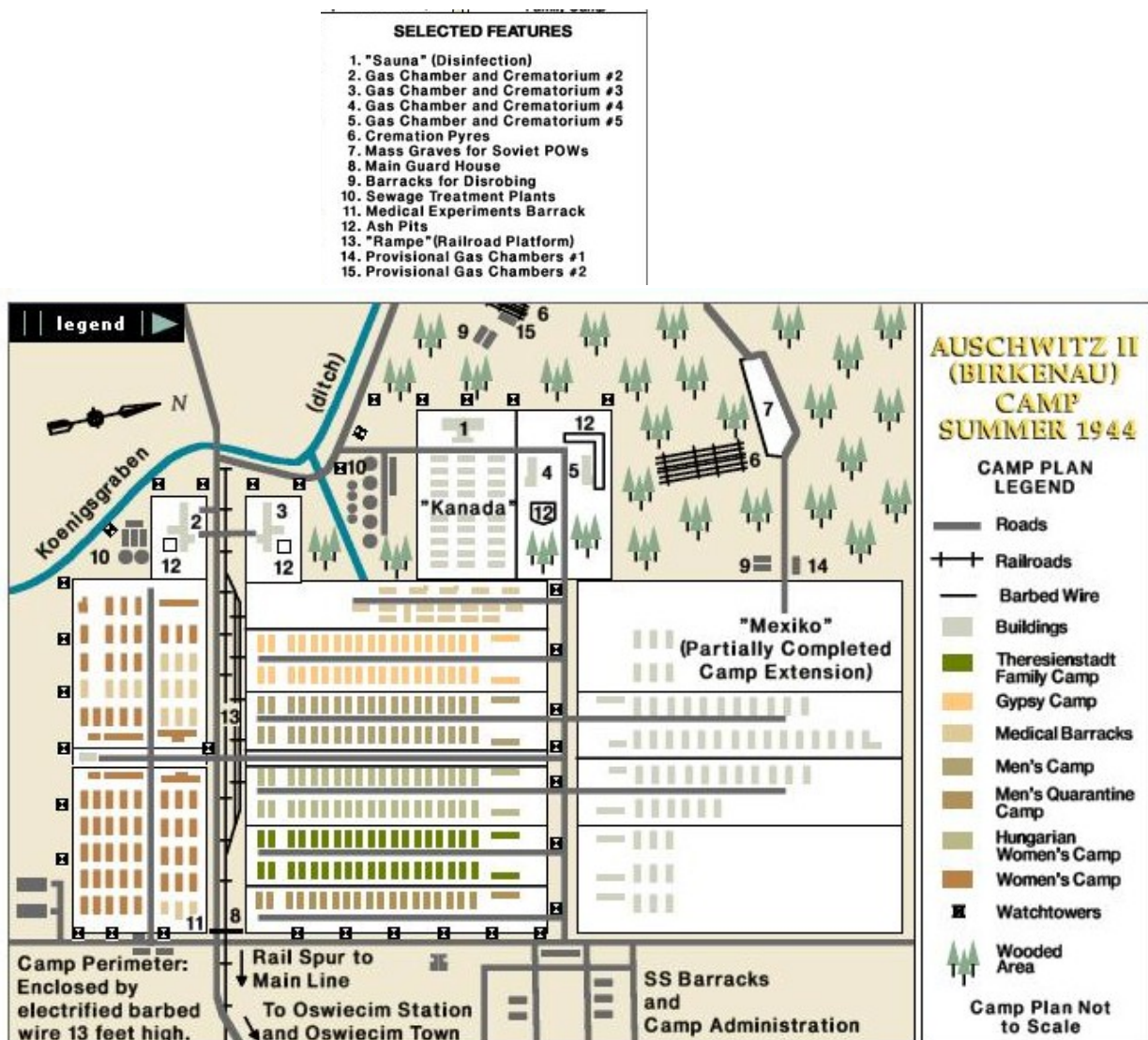


**Figure 41**: Auschwitz II (Birkenau). Available HTTP: http://www.ushmm.org/ (6 April 2012).

Rees places into context the construction of places like Auschwitz and the other death camps, which seems to be a reference to the cynical movement towards deception from bureaucrats, leaders and architects alike (ibid. 220);

*"The massacre in hot blood of women and children has occurred at various times throughout history, but this seems something entirely new-**the careful creation** of places where human beings were to be murdered in entirely cold blood."*

Setkiewicz (2008, 42) discusses the arrangements and construction plans for security fencing at Birkenau that illustrates the consistency in thought the Nazis possessed for deception within the extant architecture of the death camp. Wickerwork and wire fences were erected to conceal entrances to gas chambers, which also meant that *Sonderkommando* prisoners were shielded from sight as they carried corpses to the crematoria and purged the floors of the 'death space'. Separate fencing was also present at the sites of the original gas chambers, converted farmhouses, the so-called 'Little Red House' and 'Little White House' that featured wicker screening with interwoven branches which created a screen (ibid. 44). A witness has suggested that the 'Little White House' was surrounded by a rectilinear 70m x 100m fence draped with sacking and rags (ibid. 44) that prevented a direct view into the gas chamber compound.

Music played a part in the deception as part of the programme of work ethic, systems and processes. The main function of the orchestra was to usher Jews marching to and from labour duties, so that the rhythm would, to a degree control and manage fear. Musicians performed in all conditions, although they were allowed to play indoors during inclement weather. Prisoners formed bands and played in camp concerts, although it has been difficult to estimate the amount of freedom that they had towards development of musical activities which was site specific (Fackler 2011) (**plate 62**).

*"Music could be found in the extreme situation of concentration and death camps, as well as in other camps where the conditions for a differentiated cultural life were more favourable. The decisive difference lies in the use of the music. In Theresienstadt and the Nazi ghettos, for example, music making was primarily self-determined, rarely occurring as a result of a direct command of the perpetrators"* (ibid. 2011).

**Plate 62:** Prisoners Orchestra Sunday concert for SS Auschwitz. Available HTTP: http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/(6 April 2012).

In general terms, Rubenstein and Roth (2003, 198) refer to Hilberg (1967) who suggested that in planning, development and construction the death camp layouts followed the same pattern although there were individual variations. The system in its entirety was one to convince Jews they had arrived in transit camps, for temporary holding that included disinfection in mock shower rooms, to be transported further to the 'east' for work in the Nazi war effort.

Tuan (1979), suggests that human existence has been pervaded by anxiety. Fear has been present throughout history in all cultures and societies emanating from natural disasters, supernatural phenomena and by the behavioural traits of fellow humans. Humankind is more menacing than any environmental force, not only as direct inflictors of harm through violence but by their mere presence in creating powerful institutions for social control and increasing threats.

Pain and Smith (2008, 9) comment that fear is an emotional response to a material threat. This originates from individuals, places and actions that could inflict physical or psychological damage on a person or family members, friends or material objects that have sentimental importance. They continue by suggesting fear is 'moral panic' induced by media representations, criminal justice scapegoating and policing crackdowns that have the affect of stirring societal outrage against criminalised people and places (ibid. 9).

226

This sociological and geopolitical approach is reminiscent of and has echoes from National Socialist Germany and the attempt to marginalise and strike fear into the European Jews. Pain and Smith also state that fear is endemically present in a network of moral and political geographies (ibid. 9). Fear is produced through national and global political events and actions and is felt in all aspects of everyday life, although the heightening and intensity will vary in different situations. Geopolitics and daily routine interact with each other at events, encounters, movements, dialogues and actions, illustrating that fear is ubiquitous (ibid. 8).

# 16 <u>The Holocaust from a Jewish Perspective; New Interpretations</u>

This author suggests two theories that will bind the findings of archaeology, anthropology and memory studies. One being legacy monuments, referring to the structures and artistic representations that provide a link from the contemporary past to the present, where notions of conflict and the associated human tragedy are difficult to recall directly without their presence. The second theory, timescape, is a vivid connection between archaeology, material culture, memory narratives and memorial construction. Acts of viewing are replaced by recall, experience and imagination. A timescape is by definition a view of time, that is a specific time, not before or after (Fairclough 2006). Place can capture time and illustrate in terms of the archaeology of internment, the victims that were incarcerated, the perpetrators that carried out the extermination policy and the bystanders that were convinced otherwise by propaganda and methods of deception and concealment. A timescape, much like archaeology, can be indicative of the nature of a place in time, endeavouring to capture that same moment.

Timescapes and legacy monuments alongside those introduced within the body of evidence assist in the presence of terror and deception utilised in the Nazi 'concentration world'. They simultaneously portray the methods that have been and probably will be employed by regimes adopting extreme measures in terms of control and power. There is an emphasis on landscape and environmental impact issues as memorial structures feature prominently in the assessment of recollection narratives. Legacy monuments represent experiences at the hands of the Third Reich and World War II and mark the global landscape. Memory that is constructed through memorials often reflects the contestation of space that signifies conflict over remembering the Nazi past.

## 16.1 <u>Memory and Archaeology (Timescapes and Legacy Monuments)</u>

Social memory in an archaeological context as intimated by Van Dyke and Alcock (2003, 3) when referring to Gosden and Lock (1998), Meskell (2003), Manning (1998) and Papalexandrou (2003), especially in relation to this research, is identifiable by direct connections to ancestors in a remembered past. These may have become obliterated and ultimately intergenerational by being

subsumed and dominated, conquered and dismantled. Narratives that contain anecdotal information have been passed on orally and in some cases archived for future interpretation or recorded textually producing historical annals of quality and coherence (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, 4). Representations and material culture contain commemorative functions and often possess life histories that are directly associated with known victims (ibid. 5) whereas places and spaces contain mental inscriptions of commemoration as a consequence of events irrevocably present within memory constructions (ibid. 5).

This author suggests that Holocaust survivors interactions with violent landscapes, architectural components and monumental buildings either physically or for what they represented induced the feeling of oppression and fear. Transitions across imposed thresholds into liminal spaces had the ability to reinforce experiential traumatic memory. The commemoration of such events has involved representations of the trauma through legacy monuments within all forms of landscapes and cultures. Memory can be evoked in spaces and places that are marked by memorial construction or simply from images that capture the act of remembrance, that being a timescape. These can be forests or clearings where thousands of individuals perished, locations of destroyed religious houses, endless cemeteries in urban and rural settings where many graves have been desecrated or former death camp settings (Leigh 2006, 160). Paradoxically such sites earmark the 'presence of absence' as they have been transformed into sacred sites of pilgrimage where the individual can connect with the past, although the visitor must rely on their imagination since areas of atrocity are often 'invisible' spaces occupied by destroyed or ruinous buildings.

The positioning of Nazism within a setting and consequently adding to the archaeological palimpsest is present in the desecration of memory and simultaneously visible within urban settings, such as the 16th century Remu cemetery in the old Jewish ghetto of Kazimierz in Krakow, Poland, defiled by the Nazis. The cemetery was utilised for storing rubbish, during which time multiple gravestones were cleared and destroyed. After the war, the eastern cemetery wall, using damaged headstones, was constructed as a memorial to the Holocaust, becoming known as the 'Krakow Wailing Wall' (Jacobs 2008, 94). Following construction of their own deposits of genocide within Remu cemetery in the form of the building of Plaszow Concentration Camp in 1942-1943, the Nazis destroyed the monumental cemetery buildings then removed the remnants, as well as the graves, leaving it in ruins. In addition, the design of the ghetto wall, 2-3m high, was inspired by the

gravestones in Remu and its functionality suggested one of delineation alongside representing the forecourt to death for thousands (ibid. 97).

The site of the disposal of incinerated human remains within the confines of the Birkenau death camp perimeter became part of urban planning discussions in the decades following the war, thus adding a further layer to the archaeological palimpsest of the landscape of Bzrezinka (Birkenau). Lennon and Foley (2006, 49) confirm that the Polish who lived in close proximity to Birkenau "began to rebuild their lives in the ashes of the concentration camp". Policy makers at a local level had to balance the needs of residential property requirements against those who were willing to commit to commercial development in the short to medium term as camp boundaries were reconsidered in the 1950's. This led to the abandonment of construction near to the museum grounds as Bzrezinka became a protected area (ibid. 49). Sites and places with links to the Holocaust adopt shrine-like qualities and characteristics as visitors become pilgrims paying their respects and often leaving momentos and keepsakes.

Traumatic memory has come to symbolise and proliferate the Jewish ability to collectively recall the Holocaust. It then takes the form of fragmentary sensory and/or memory re-plays, inexplicable rage, crying, and terror or immobilising body states.  This has enabled an ability to cope with previous horror; with the destruction of historical continuity, of symbolic immortality. It is the symbolism that is created by monuments in the landscape that represent a re-creation of past events and reveal a common theme of victims trying to find purpose and meaning in their experiences (Lifton 1983, 177). Hoffman (2001, 289) suggests that "trauma may be a culturally informed concept" and that only complete personal and community recognition made the experience bearable. Furthermore the second generation relatives of those that suffered trauma and thus experienced it themselves are seen as  a "hinge between the past and the future" (ibid. 291).

Memory can be encapsulated in national monuments, historic landmarks or World Heritage sites that for the most part are available for public viewing. Many are marked by the erection of a stone or concrete memorial that are solid and enduring. Others have a less than permanent feel to them by the naming of places and features that suggest particular events took place at certain points in the landscape. Interpretive signs can portray the preservation and management that is active as well as

230

reflecting how a site is understood in the present (Garman and Garman 2006, 28). This type of marking or compartmentalising a specific zone is indicative of a legacy construct and should be recognised as such.

Bereavement acts as another aspect of memory and anniversary ceremonies, as suggested by Garman and Garman (2006, 29) citing Tarlow (1999), suggest that an emotional fixation on monuments and landscape becomes a physical association. Monuments to the Jewish catastrophe that are preserved or those that have been constructed for commemoration purposes represent public and individual memory. Pividori (2008, 87) suggests monuments "remind viewers of both their past experiences and public history, but also return the story to a past that is inevitably connected to the present, precisely through visual representations". Sites, according to Garman and Garman (2006, 9), are a spatial phenomena, bounded in the physical sense, framed within a setting rather than a landscape in its entirety. Although integrated as a whole there is a certain delineation that separates activity from non-activity, or perpetrators and victims as opposed to bystanders in a Nazi timescape. The conceptual barrier of theorising over a site boundary denies the opportunity to associate a place with its surroundings and the ability to interpret its meaning within the overall landscape context. Timescapes are alluded to in an analysis of battlefield landscapes by Garman and Garman (2006, 10) as they suggest a site is "a point in space and can be frozen in a moment of history". They also point out that a site is easily marked, either by an object or by fencing, whereas a landscape can be recognised for its collective or individual qualities with reference to morphology enhanced by geological features or biological, agricultural and industrial processes.

## 16.2 <u>The Ritual Elements: Landscapes and Site Components</u>

A statement from Andrew Fleming (1990, 6) in relation to archaeology in general adequately places into context the approach and the assessment of this author, with respect to the recent and contemporary past compared to historical and prehistoric analysis of sites and places;

*"To the sceptical historian or anthropologist, this may occasion no surprise; how, they would ask, can pre-historians, with neither the anthropologist's supply of living informants nor the historian's archive of written records, ever deploy the degree of detail necessary for the successful resolution of socio-political questions?"*

To add further to this debate interpretations of apparently sound conclusions must be contested when the geo-social and socio-political data is absent. Goulding (2009, 2) explains that he believes archaeology is based on visual methodologies to glean knowledge and ultimately, interpretative skills. In addition, excavation is also driven by visualisation, as layers of history are uncovered, observation through visual awareness enables ideas to flourish and facts to be found.

In *Buildings Analysis*, Goulding (2009, 3) comments that constraint is where spatiality has been closed down, brought about by social restrictions through crime and vandalism. This author points out that elements of this research can be directly applied in an interpretational context to 'concentration world' as awareness of camps operating outside socially accepted laws and conditions is a quantifiable known. The overall effect of the camp system was to restrict and punish movement through exclusion and isolation and to prohibit the routines and normality of community life, punishable by extreme violence. Ultimately, they deprived many of the will to live, placing them in an 'other-world' state of liminality between the living and the dead. Whatever the source of violence, the damage, to the moral sense and the moral world of the victims was profound (ibid. 3).

Nazi architectural methodology was a complete 'tool-kit' of oppression as the visual qualities of construction did not outweigh other considerations. The very fact that neo-classical domineering façades juxtaposed stark oppressive building features reflected changes in doctrine and secular authority. For victim, perpetrator and bystander the fundamental aspect of a building and the space it generated was the interaction between the individual, group and structure (ibid. 3). Goulding suggests further "being inside, outside or near a building is to engage with the totality of what those spaces offer and not just the way they look". Although the appearance of monumental façades was imposing it was the functionality of the structure that provided the 'fear-factor'. Success was achieved in terms of instilling terror through the ability to control it and organise systematic extermination methods with deception at its core. Koonz (2003) indicates that the camps were a by-product and direct consequence of the terror regime.

Elements of ritual behaviour that witnessed the movement of people along avenues and trackways are etched in remnants of architecture and industrialised landscapes (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, 4) (**plate 63**). The 'funneling' of people through a landscape and ultimately through specific sites such

as death camps is central to the re-interpretation of methodology involved in the construct of the Holocaust. Similar in use, perception and appearance to landscape features seen at prehistoric sites and interpreted as such, taking the form of a cursus monument or resembling a cursus-like feature (processional route or avenue). Barrett, Bradley and Green (1991, 54) suggest that the vision and enactment of the cursus was an extension of the mortuary enclosure, itself an exposure area for the dead, in this case 'the ramp' linked the living to the 'death space' of the gas chambers and crematoria. The cursus feature in a death camp emphasised an important division in site use, and was the corridor between habitation and the construction of the 'death space'.

The thoughts of Barrett *et al.* (ibid. 54) can be projected forward and be applicable to the social circumstances that prevailed in extermination centres, the cursus being a prominent divide between "Aryan" and "asocial" space or a major boundary, which resonates with theories on monumentality, liminality and rites of passage.



**Plate 63**: The Stonehenge Cursus can be seen on this aerial photograph as a long rectangular earthwork which ends at the break in the trees. A ritual routeway acting as a 'funnel' in the landscape. The author believes that this type of feature is contained in the death camp settings. Such features have been interpreted as sporting arenas or a pathway for the dead. Available HTTP:http://www.english-heritage.org (5 February 2013).

The Holocaust was a premeditated, contrived sequence of events, ritualistic in nature that saw many people isolated, transported and held at centres for the purposes of labouring for the Third Reich followed by certain death. Although for the majority of deportees arriving at extermination centres death was immediate. The timescape of Nazi death camps within a genocidal landscape is

represented directly by remains on and below the surface, architectural footprints, material culture and documentary evidence within archive systems. We can label this, just as prehistory and history is allocated an era within the time spectrum, industrialised Nazi genocide. It is the connection with the physical architectural remains and the residual material culture that holds special significance and that capture the timescape of terror where innocent people had their freedom removed, their belongings confiscated and their lives ended.

In conjunction with the known identification of liminal states active within Nazism this author believes it is pertinent to highlight terms that reflect the paradigms at work within this research; micro and macro liminality. The former being the theory associated with the individual and which is related to those that portray the necessary characteristics of the theory. The communities of the ghettos and the camp settings, located in the surrounding landscapes illustrate the latter. As previously introduced transitory liminality is that which relates to the forced community movements from ghetto to camp by train. Familiar rural spaces within the mechanics of genocide became non-places or liminal zones and yet simultaneously fugitive locations, an anonymous part of culture. Areas of mass killing such as extermination camps are heavily encumbered with militaristic intrusions that can interfere with a place of memorialisation, almost becoming a "non-man's land" or an abandoned space that is being erased physically and mentally. It could be argued that the Holocaust itself in its entirety became a liminal zone encased in time and space, which may in part offer the explanation for survivors engaging in rituals of remembrance. As Haas (1996, 51) suggests, survivors choose a symbolic date that identifies certain events within their memory such as liquidation of a ghetto and the subsequent journey to and arrival at a death camp. Some of those that choose to return are emotionally traumatised by smells, sights, tastes and sounds that were real or are imaginatively triggered by their memories of the 'other place' they had previously inhabited.

All of these elements contributed to the overall effect of the death ritual as individual components and routines within extermination centres all pointed towards a deliberate selection of methods to end life. The bathhouses, sauna, selection ramps and the routines adhered to impacted on the Jew from beginning to end. Washing, shaving, selection of camp uniforms were on the one hand a deliberate attempt to ritualise the process but were also a means to an end as millions of Jews became the 'raw material' of the Third Reich. Deprivation of names, humiliation and terror that was further exaggerated by the tattooing of an identification number. Even at the very end, the

deposition of human ashes in ponds and rivers could be construed as a ritual act, whilst forensic archaeology and ground investigation surveys have located numerous mass burial sites.

It is the biological and industrial components that make the Nazi world-view a compelling palimpsest of activities that defined the very nature of their objectives, once again recognisable through archaeological, anthropological and memory narratives within their settings. Tilley's phenomenological approach to landscape analysis is one that has an application worthy of association when discussing violent settings as geographical arenas have to be experienced to understand the implication of the accusation. Observation is a necessary factor, as well as placing oneself within a particular location (1994, 75) to appreciate scale and the 'invisibility' of sites and places of mass murder. Schofield (2005, 107) concurs with this as he states that "there is something that communicates to me a sense of past events; not always, but sometimes and in some places". He also refers directly to Holocaust sites as he discusses Gilbert's Holocaust Journey (1998) in that visitors are visibly traumatised by pilgrimages to former extermination sites, possibly overwhelmed by a perception or connectivity to past events. Place it seems, can hold a presence, not in the literal sense, but more to do with association of, and the understanding of, perceived actions that are connected with sites of death and suffering (Bell, 1997). Schofield (2004, 106) cites Fairclough (2003) suggesting that spiritual theorisation associated with site, place, space, and landscape refers to the aura and atmosphere that appears to envelop a setting, enhanced by the characteristics of incarceration often defined by personal experiences.

The construction of genocidal landscapes that became 'invisible' to those experiencing them are now apparent and have been analysed in a 'presence and absence' context, almost bringing them to life, interpreted as urban and rural planning, scarred by infrastructure advancement and designed to fulfill biological policies. All these components are indicative of a rituallistic sequence of events that had a single goal in mind. Studies of landscapes have illustrated how extermination settings managed to blend within vistas with natural ease. An examination of monumentality and the associated elements of the built environment combined to suggest that the components may not have been present contemporaneously and suggest a state of counter intuitiveness. Liminal positions in terms of inmates and the areas of the camps they interacted with, as well as the thresholds that were 'constructed' for them to cross portrayed the emphasis placed on symbolism and the attitude towards death, both from a victim and from a perpetrator perspective.

This author believes that the spatial analysis of landscapes and the buildings within them are a direct reference to the attempts of Nazi leaders, architects and perpetrators to instill and utilise concepts of fear and deception on the European Jewish population. In a broader examination of exclusion within communities Shirlow (2000, 96) suggests that the nature of security deployment is a "spatialisation of fear, commemoration and suffering" linked to methods of enclosing space through the mechanism of religious and political separation. In summary, as the contestation of events occupies academic and especially historian's research, the precise nature of the Holocaust has been examined and analysed many times over. Rather than an arguement over fact it is best to utilise archaeology and anthropology to illustrate the events, places and processes that were an integral part of the Nazi timescape of genocide. The processes of fear control, deception and the presence of terror for the victim has been illustrated throughout the components of "The Final Solution". New interpretations have also introduced terms such as timescapes, legacy monuments and a fresh analysis of certain landscape features that illustrate ritualistic processes at work.

# 17 Conclusion (including Statement of Learning)

The arguement is, although there is no doubt that the Holocaust in Europe occurred, an accurate number for the killings is a problem for certain onlookers, as they are often described as exaggerated, inflated and inaccurate. But what is the correct figure? Unfortunately conjecture will always remain within this area of study. To develop this further it is best to examine population figures and movements pre and post-war as this 'contestation of space' will illustrate how communities became 'invisible'and ultimately 'missing'. In other words to portray the euphemistic phrase "sent east to work" for what it was, a fallacy. If it was a statement of fact by the Nazi hierarchy, the inference is that the Jews would be alive or have survived beyond the war years, albeit in another country. So where did they move to, and are there any statistics or demographic studies that suggest movement on an unprecedented scale to other countries?

Lang (1999, 4) has suggested that the decline in years and mortality of individuals who had a direct involvement or association with the Holocaust is a threat to how memory is recorded and archived, as time shows no respect to victims, perpetrators or bystanders. The last 20 years has seen acceleration in the publication of Holocaust statements of recollection whose relatives have recognised that without intervention, narratives will be consigned to a forgotten history. The future interpretation and understanding of the Holocaust will lie between history and memory, as remembrance will be infused with memory, albeit second or third generational. This author believes that the structures and places in the landscape can amount to a theme park of remembrance littered with objects that attempt to kindle imagination and history in the mind of the visitor. A re-creation of traumatic memory without the original trauma.

Ethnicity and biological origins were a major factor of Nazi ideology, however the strategy of isolation implemented and associated with personal beliefs is generally a common theme throughout conflict. The binding of the German building economy with the pursuit of nationalistic architectural goals and the emergence of state security as a political and economic force, portrays the link between Nazi construction typology and its punitive institutions. The amalgamation of culture and politics, architects and SS administrators enabled a process of annihilation to be undertaken.

The elements described and analysed have illustrated the nature of "The Final Solution", as well as portraying and offering an explanation as to how the mechanics of genocide operated. Evidence from an archaeological and anthropological perspective in association with memory narratives of the survivor has identified the death camp system and has also been corroborated in terms of surviving relatives' accounts. They also provide an insight into the suffering, the workings within the extermination centre regime and the terror zones that existed.

Whilst answering the claims of the thesis statement this author has simultaneously offered a new interpretation of the processes that had a bearing on millions of lives and continue to do so. Archaeology, anthropology and various sub-disciplines have highlighted the presence of deception and fear control methods as well illustrating that ritual acts were at the epicentre of events. As a matter of course it is necessary to highlight the key elements raised in relation to the thesis statement;

1. Demonstration of how in archaeological terms a theoretical approach can introduce new interpretations.

2. Provide evidence of presence and ultimately absence from a specific site.

3. The obliteration and rejuvenation of memory that corroborates excavations and artefact finds.

4. Interpretations that have been applied to ancient sites can be inferred on those of the contemporary past.

5. Propaganda was the binding element in terms of the incitement of action against Jews.

6. Micro and macro scales of oppression and terror.

7. Memory narrative that is either common to survivors and relatives and relived rather than recollected.

8. Archaeological sites and structures have life histories ranging from construction, use and

destruction/discovery

9. Landscape settings that encapsulate genocide from the "palpable sense of heaviness" to the industrialised remains within them. Stolen, violent and demon landscapes. Landscapes: Ghettos 'invisible' in a cityscape. Internment and extermination centres 'lost' in a rural environment.

10. The concept of a classical building style adopted by the Nazis in government offices, that witnessed the creation of monumental edifices

11. Monumentality and the Built Environment: Ghettos; The antithesis of the "Nazi concept of Rome" in the way ghettos (slums) were constructed, utilised and liquidated. Death space within a place of death. Iconic imagery; the 'Gate of Death' at Birkenau.

12. The creation of liminal places, spaces and characters. Space was transformed into a zone of social coercion. Liminality; Micro, macro and transitory liminality. All were introduced as matters of scale and the bridging of individual components. Viewed as boundaries or thresholds within the various zones of terror. Liminality also researched through the concept of ghosts and the 'disappeared'. The dead are represented in a temporal sense in that contemporary settings are 'alive' with them. Specialised locations and structures within them. Inmates and personnel within the death camp.

13. Image of travel and associated expulsion through deportation.

14. Concentration and death camp settings were zones of indistinction, beyond normal law where rules were suspended.

15. Trauma, terror, fear and the representation of emotion. The reversibility of culture changed basic psychological processes and created fear cues to heighten terror, produced intially by pseudo-politics. Zones of terror that permeated all aspects of the Holocaust and were bridged by concentration and deportation measures. Deception and Fear; Ghetto mentality and the ability to adapt and survive. Inner strength that controlled fear. Deceptive measures throughout. Euphemisms; 'sent to work', Propaganda at work in Theresienstadt and Warsaw. Deportation; 'the horror was the darkness'. Features and building components to deceive.

To supplement these we now have the ritual element of the death process. As indicated in the early stages of this reasearch there is an uncomfortable juxtaposition in some aspects of analysis and interpretation. Prehistoric and ancient sites are seen as ritual centres due to specific acts and the retrieval of artefacts. The same has now been introduced to the atrocity locations of Nazi occupied Poland. There is also the identification of a National Socialism timescape within the palimpsest of genocidal landscapes that permits of analysis of key structures and material culture. Similarly legacy monuments refer to the buildings and structures that revive traumatic memory associated with the Holocaust and remind us of a dangerous period within recent history.

Through archaeology and many of its associated disciplines it has been possible to confirm an interpretation postulated by the hypothesis statement. It is important to note that any Holocaust debate, if there is one to be had, seemingly fixates on the events at Auschwitz-Birkenau (Graf and Mattogno 2003, 11). However, from the evidence that has been presented in this research and a multitude of other publications, it is clear that this is far from the case. Revisionists believe that death statistics and events in 'concentration world' have been highly inflated and heavily embellished, although the evidence is in place to suggest otherwise.

From a purely academic stance with support from historical documents, this research has shown only a section of the vast library of works that has been published in association with the events of the Holocaust, where none of the authors have an agenda or reason to portray anything other than a statement of the events based on the evidence available. This author is keen to acknowledge that although Auschwitz-Birkenau is a central component of Holocaust studies, the death camps of Nazi occupied Poland are certainly of major equal significance when analysis of internment and extermination takes place.

Graf and Mattogno (2003, 10) claim that there should be "veritable mountains" of literature on the extermination centres, and whilst Auschwitz dominates in analysis papers, there is no doubt that there is information available that has enabled a comprehensive picture of industrialised killing to be assembled over a number of years and not just from selected sources. It is possible to navigate through the facts and figures and discover the sociological trauma utilising archaeological and anthropological processes in conjunction with memory narrative.

In a Nazi construct, analysis of biological processes for the purpose of this research refers to the manipulation of populations within urban and rural confines that culminated with the absence almost entirely of Jewish communities. This involved the restructuring of cityscapes, organised transport to and incarceration within specialised centres for the controlled undertaking of racial cleansing. An eclectic array of structures in major cities represent deeply ingrained mental and physical scars of Nazism. They consist of modern architecture, unsightly war ruins and striking remains of National Socialist neo-classical construction providing a highly visual display of archetypal impact. These forms of construction have influenced contemporary narrative and reasoning on genocide and atrocity within conflict. Propaganda, ghettoisation, deportation and extermination were individual components of an amalgam of ideas and processes that came together as one in an attempt to destroy European Jewry. Perpetrators and by-standers euphemistically detracted from the fear experienced by the victim by suggesting that 'work in the east' was the destination for those imprisoned.

The continuation of research from under-graduate to post-graduate degree has enabled this author to explore and analyse aspects of The Holocaust that throughout most research is overlooked or taken for granted. This work has examined, with the assistance of memory narrative, elements that could be described as 'new learning' and has added further substance to the debate on genocide. This author  believes that throughout the course of this thesis a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter has been achieved whilst illustrating independent thought and developing further lines of research. Having examined previous publications on the Holocaust this author has highlighted an area that has been previously overlooked and simultaneously enhanced the material available relating to the fields of archaeology, anthropology and related sub-disciplines. This author has acknowledged and been critically respectful of contemporary studies as well as presenting scholarly research that will be of use to others conducting such analysis.

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