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## **Austrian National Socialists: The Route to Argentina<sup>1</sup>**

**Edith Blaschitz**

### **Legal Emigration from Austria after 1945**

In the first days after the end of the Second World War, all Austrians were forbidden to travel. After 1946, a “confirmation from the National Socialist Registration Office” had to be presented with a passport application<sup>2</sup>; only those who were not members or candidates of the Nazi Party were permitted to leave the country. Only in special cases was permission to travel granted to members of the NSDAP, SA or SS<sup>3</sup>. After the 1947 de-Nazification Law, all former National Socialists who had been granted amnesty--so-called “un-contaminated”--were put in the same category as non-party persons; this meant they were allowed unlimited travel. In every case,

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<sup>2</sup> Police instruction 29.6.1946, Polizeidirektion Vienna P4105/c/46, Archiv Polizeidirektion.

<sup>3</sup> Police instruction 14.6.1946, Polizeidirektion Vienna P4105/c/46, Archiv Polizeidirektion.

foreign travel for people who were considered “contaminated” National Socialists required the prior approval of the occupation powers<sup>4</sup>.

Although six copies of the necessary travel documents had to be supplied to the responsible district commissioner, no copies have survived in Austria, making the quantification of legal emigration of “contaminated” National Socialists impossible. The quantification of general emigration from Austria after the war has proven to be difficult. No emigration statistics exist for Austria<sup>5</sup>. The only available data, the statistical handbook, reveals only a fraction of the actual number of emigrants. The data was made available by the office responsible for emigration, the *Wanderungsamt*, which, by nature of its unofficial character, was unable to give an exact count. According to reports from this office, between 1948 and 1955, 879 Austrians emigrated to Argentina<sup>6</sup>.

During this same time period (after 1947) the Argentinean emigration authorities recorded 13,895 émigrés who had been born in Austria: 9,710 of these later left the country, giving a balance of 4,185<sup>7</sup>. In addition to this, the data from the 1980 Argentinean census shows that of the 8,095 people in Austria who claimed to have been born in Austria, 2,014 had emigrated there in the period of 1947 to 1959.<sup>8</sup> The significant difference in the above numbers further reinforces the presumptive character of the Austrian statistics.

Like already before the Second World War, Argentina again was considered one of the most important countries for Austrian immigrants up until Austria’s independence in 1955. In August 1948, an article appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* identifying Argentina as the ideal country to emigrate to. In contrast to most other states, the Argentinean government was interested in taking in “millions of emigrants” and undertaking the travel costs as well. Moreover, the economic conditions were excellent; according to the above-mentioned article, new arrivals

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<sup>4</sup>Richtlinien für die Ausstellung und Bearbeitung von Sichtvermerken und Reiseausweisen durch die österreichischen Passbehörden. Ed.: Bundesministerium für Inneres. Vienna: Amtsdruckerei der Bundes-Polizeidirektion Vienna 1952, p. 12f. – for the legislation see below.

<sup>5</sup>Adelheid Bauer-Fraiji; Abderrahim Fraiji: Auswanderung von Österreichern und Österreicherinnen nach 1945. In: Traude Horvath, Gerda Neyer (Ed.): Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart. Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau 1996.

<sup>6</sup>1948: 425 people, 1949: 180, 1950: 132, 1951: 70, 1952: 32, 1953: 15, 1954: 12, 1955: 13, In: Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich. Ed.: Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt. 1955-1971, Jg. VI-XXII.

<sup>7</sup>Holger Meding: Flucht vor Nürnberg? Deutsche und österreichische Einwanderung in Argentinien 1945-1955. Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau 1992, p. 133. nach Statistik der „Dirección de Migraciones, período 1948-1957.

<sup>8</sup>Censo Nacional de Población y vivienda 1980: serie D población. Resumen Nacional Ministerio de Economía.

could “partake of the prosperity<sup>9</sup>.” When put in such terms, it was no wonder that when prospective emigrants who were living in occupied and impoverished Austria saw no opportunities for themselves, they would want to go to the alleged paradise of Argentina. In order to receive a passport, an “exemption” (*Freistellungserklärung*) from the employment office had to be submitted. This meant that the applicant did not belong to a part of the workforce essential to the economy. For a visa, a boat ticket, a valid passport and often a work contract were necessary. In order to obtain a visa, the passage had to be paid in U.S. dollars. However, it was not possible to get authorization for foreign currency in Austria<sup>10</sup>. That meant that most people were assisted by acquaintances or relatives who were already overseas. According to a 1936 census, the Austrian colony in Argentina consisted of 8,837 people who had been born in Austria<sup>11</sup>.

### **Illegal Immigration**

The division of Austria by the four occupation powers (France, Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U.S.) meant that in addition to different legislation there were different guidelines in the handling of war criminals. The individual occupation powers sought to carry out de-Nazification policies in their areas of influence; or rather on the basis of “black lists” to arrest and intern National Socialists in hiding. During the confusion of the first post-war days, there was movement between the occupation zones in order to escape prosecution. A targeted search without a common plan was impossible. It was only after the newly appointed Austrian government in 1946 received more sovereignty that such a search could be coordinated.<sup>12</sup> Search papers of the Ministry of the Interior for people from the respective police precincts, as

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<sup>9</sup>Wiener Tageszeitung, 8.8.1948. In: AdR/BMfaA/II pol 1948, Box 61.

<sup>10</sup>Richard Klatovsky: *Südamerika heute - Unentbehrliche Ratschläge für Auswanderer* (Sonderheft 3 der Wiener Wochenausgabe), Vienna (1949), p. 11f.

<sup>11</sup>República Argentina: Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. *Cuarto Censo General 1936*, Vol. 2, Buenos Aires 1939, p. 16-20. – Argentina served not only as an economic recipient land --or the NS refugees a role, after 1933 Argentina accepted the largest number of German-speaking immigrants in Latin American; approx 30.000 to 40.000 people emigrated to Buenos Aires for political or “racist” reason, of these 10 percent were Austrian. – for information on the different Austrian settlements in Buenos Aires see: Edith Blaschitz: *Auswanderer, Emigranten, Exilanten – die österreichische Kolonie in Buenos Aires. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Jahre 1918 - 1945*. Vienna: Unpublished thesis 1992.

<sup>12</sup>Dieter Stiefel: *Nazifizierung plus Entnazifizierung = Null? Bemerkungen zur besonderen Problematik der Entnazifizierung in Österreich*. In: Sebastian Meissl, Klaus-Dieter Mulley, Oliver Rathkolb (Ed.): *Verdrängte Schuld, verfehlte Sühne: Entnazifizierung in Österreich 1945-1955*. Symposium d. Instituts f. Wissenschaft und Kunst, Vienna March 1985. Vienna: Verlag f. Geschichte und Politik 1986, p. 28-37, here p. 31.

well as arrest warrants from the legal authorities were issued. (For offences, or rather suspicion of offences against the prohibition and/or war crimes law.) Even though the police could have closed off escape routes in the course of the investigation, the focus of the searches was to locate individuals. There were no attempts to focus on searching for escape routes.

If the person sought was no austrian citizen, an investigation into their whereabouts was carried out only on the basis of a concrete request by the responsible district attorney's office or on the basis of an international arrest warrant. In the case of German citizens who subsequently fled to Argentina, such requests could not be found in responsible section of the Ministry of Interior files up to 1957. In later years, after sufficient evidence was uncovered the escape routes as well as the names of those who helped were uncovered. (Such as the incident in 1985 involving the former mayor of the Tyrolean village Gries Jakob Strickner in the escape of Josef Mengele.<sup>13</sup>) On the basis of Austrian files, the escape route of Kurt Christmann could not be determined. Christmann was from Munich and leader of the Gestapo in Klagenfurt and Salzburg; he was later convicted for the execution of Partisans and was supposed to have fled through Austria<sup>14</sup>. What is certain, however, is Hans Hefelmann's stopover in Austria. Hefelmann was born in Dresden and responsible for the Führer's office for Euthanasia. After 1947 he was officially registered under his legal name in Innsbruck, Tyrol and that same year married a woman from Munich<sup>15</sup>. Because both had listed themselves on their registration forms as citizens of the Dominican Republic<sup>16</sup>, they presumably used a Dominican passport as the means of securing their emigration. Whether or not the Caritas also assisted in their emigration--as the press reports claim<sup>17</sup>--cannot be proven.

As far as we know, Tyrol was the hub even for Austrian National Socialists in exile. According to an investigation by the federal police, Armin Dadieu, Gauhauptmann in Styria, remained

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<sup>13</sup>After Jakob Strickner's role as a accomplice in the escape of Mengele came out, he publicly fought the accusations (Personal Paper of Jakob Strickner at the Dokumentationszentrum des Bundes Jüdischer Verfolgter).

<sup>14</sup>Kurt Christmann, born 1.6.1907 in Munich, from Autumn 1939 till July 1942 Head of the State Police office in Salzburg, Head of the Gestapo in Klagenfurt from 15.8.1943 until 1.1.1944, afterwards Leader of an Einsatzkommando in the Caucasus. After the war was captured by US troops near Saalfelden, briefly interred in a the camp Marcus W. Orr (Glaserbach), then moved to a camp in Germany. Is said to have fled from there through Austria to Rome in 1946. Returned to Munich in 1965, there sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in 1980 for the death of Partisans.

<sup>15</sup>Hans Hefelmann, born 4.10.1906 in Dresden, fled to Argentina in 1948, returned to Germany 1964, there he was put on trial in Limburg for aiding in the murder of 75.000 people. The proceedings were aborted, and Hefelmann was declared unfit to stand trial.

<sup>16</sup>Letter Tiroler Landesarchiv to the authoress, 2.4.1998.

<sup>17</sup>Press clippings on National Socialist War Criminals, DÖW, Keyword Kurt Christmann.

undetected in Graz until 1948 and fled in March of that year from Nauders in Tyrol to Italy<sup>18</sup>. Oswald Menghin, briefly Minister of Education in the “Anschluss Cabinet,” sought to flee from Nauders over the Italian border as well. He was apprehended by the Italian police, extradited to Austria and temporarily held in Nauders. On 30 March 1948, however, he managed to escape.<sup>19</sup> SS-Oberscharfuehrer and former camp Commandant of the Przemyśl Ghetto, Josef Schwammbberger<sup>20</sup>, fled in January 1948 from the French internment camp “Oradour” near Schwaz in Tyrol.

Particularly conspicuous was the flight of a group that had known each other since the time of illegality. Fritz Lantschner<sup>21</sup>, Erwin Fleiss<sup>22</sup> and Franz Sterzinger<sup>23</sup> sat together in the illegal

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<sup>18</sup>Personal data: Dr. Armin Dadieu, born 20.8.1901 in Marburg, died 6.4.1978 in Graz, after 1940 professor and head of the „Institut für Physikalische Chemie“, University of Graz. High-ranking member of the SS in Styria, Gauhauptmann, 1938–1945 „Landesstatthalter“. A warrant for his arrest was issued for his involvement in the violent National Socialist uprising in 1938. Dadie lived undetected in Graz until 1948, than fled to Italy and received amnesty in 1955. He became head of the „Institut für Raketentreibstoffe der Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Luft- und Raumfahrt Stuttgart“ in 1960.

<sup>19</sup>Letter of the tyrolian Landesgendarmierkommando, 31.5.1948 (LG Vienna, Vg 6b Vr 4105/46). – Personal data: Dr. Oswald (Osvaldo) Menghin, born 19.4.1888 in Meran, died 29.11.1973 in Buenos Aires, 1935/36 Rector of the University of Vienna, from August 1938 bis 1945 Head of the Prehistoric Institute. Member of the „Siebener Ausschuss“, did political work for the illegal NSDP prior to 1938, short-term Minister of Education in the „Anschluss-Kabinett“ Seyß-Inquart. 1945 sought under the war crimes law, amnestied in 1956. In 1946 fled to Italy. After 1948 professor at the University of Buenos Aires, Museo Etnográfico, in 1957 founded the „Centro Argentino de Estudios Prehistóricos“. Taught at the „Universidad Nacional“, La Plata. Conducted intensive archeological research in Chile and Patagonia.

<sup>20</sup>Personal data: Josef Franz Leo Schwammbberger, born Brixen, 14.2.1912, Brixen South Tyrol. SS-Oberscharfuehrer, 1942 commander of forced labor camp in Rozwadovw. 1943/44 Commandant of Section A of Przemyśl Ghetto, which was officially declared as a work camp. Took part in killings; killed 35 jews on his own through a shot in the back of the head. In february 1944 the Przemyśl Camp was dissolved, and all remaining jews were deported to Auschwitz. In early 1944 Schwammbberger was sought as a war criminal. He fled by ship from Marseille to Argentina and arrived in Buenos Aires on 19.3.1949. Became an Argentinian citizen by the name of Josef Franz Leo Schwamberger in 1965. In 1972 an international arrest warrant was issued. In 1974 afer a warrant was issued by Argentinian authorities, he disappeared. Arrested in 1987 and 1990. Extradited to Germany. In May 1992 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder and aiding and abetting in the murder of over 650 people.

<sup>21</sup>Personal data: Fritz Lantschner, born 10.3.1903 in Innsbruck. Part of the illegal Tyrolean Gauleitung before 1938; one of the key powerbrokers in July 1935 National Socialist coup attempt in Tyrol (suspected sponsor of the shooting of the Innsbruck chief of police Hickl). Fled to Munich. Expariation. Returned th Tyrol in 1938. Gauamtsleiter. Government Director of the Reichsstatthalterei Tyrol-Vorarlberg. Suspected under the Verbotsgesetz, amnestied in 1957. New warrant for his arrest issued after the discovery of his role in the murder of Franz Hickl. Fled by ship from Genoa to Argentina. Arrived on 14.7.1948. Became an Argentinian citizen. Since 1961 managed a building company in San Carlos de Bariloche, Rio Negro.

<sup>22</sup>Personal data: Erwin Fleiss, born 16.1.1910 in Innsbruck, died 11.10.1964 in Cipolletti, Rio Negro. High level illegal NS-functionary. Early role in connection with the events of the so-called “Reichskristallnacht” in 1938. 1938-1939 leader of the SS in the Gauleitung Tyrol. Warrant issued for his arrest for his active role in the pogroms in Innsbruck in 1938. Amnestied in 1957. New warrant issued after the discovery of his role in the murders of Richard Graubart and Wilhlem Bauer during the “Reichskristallnacht” in Innsbruck in 1938. On 19.9.1948 arrived in Argentina via Praguay. Lived in Rio Negro.

Gauleitung in Tyrol; the Tyrolean police and SS members Franz Rubatscher<sup>24</sup> and Fridolin Guth<sup>25</sup> were well acquainted with at least Fritz Lantschner<sup>26</sup>. According to current information from the Dirección de Migraciones, Franz Rubatscher was the first of the Tyrolean group to reach Argentina. He crossed by land from Uruguay to Argentina in October 1947. What is not known is how he reached Uruguay. It is possible that Rubatscher served as the contact person for the others. On his arrival in October 1948, Guth listed “Franz Rubatscher--Hotel San Carlos de Bariloche” as his reference. Fritz Lantschner arrived in Argentina in the summer of 1948, and it is likely that Franz Sterzinger traveled from Italy to Argentina in this time period as well.<sup>27</sup>

The former commandant for the Riga Ghetto Eduard Roschmann<sup>28</sup> and the SS man Josef Vötterl<sup>29</sup> arrived in autumn of that same year.<sup>30</sup> All of the above-mentioned arrived via ship

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<sup>23</sup> Personal data: Franz Sterzinger, born 5.12.1903 in Vienna. Imprisoned in Innsbruck from July 1934 to August 1935 for National Socialist activities. From 1935 to 1937 illegal Kreisleiter in Innsbruck and representative Gauleiter. After 1938 Gauhauptstellenleiter in the Gauwirtschaftsamt and Gauamt for technology affairs. Brought to an American camp in Germany in 1945. Fled. Since 1946 proceedings pending against him under the Verbotsgesetz. Amnestied in 1957. Supposed to have fled to Argentina via Italy in 1947. In 1953 moved to Sao Paulo, Brazil.

<sup>24</sup> Personal data: Franz Rubatscher, born 19.9.1908 in Innsbruck. Police officer for the illegal NSDAP, therefore convicted for misuse of force. Sentenced to 10 months in prison. In July 1935 fled to Munich. A warrant issued for his arrest after 1945. Amnestied in 1956. In 1945 held imprisoned in a camp in Darmstadt, Germany. Fled in 1946. Afterwards, suspected to be in Tyrol. Arrived in Argentina on 29.10.1947, via Uruguay. After 1957 allowed to take up residence in Munich.

<sup>25</sup> Personal data: Fridolin Guth, born 28.10.1908 in Schönberg, Tyrol. Took part in the national Socialist coup attempt in Innsbruck in 1934. Fled to Munich. Expatriated. Returned to Innsbruck in 1938. SS-Hauptsturmführer. Suspected to have, as Company Commander of the Second Company of the 19th Police Regiment in France (Annemasse Region), taken part in the murder of Partisans. Was handed over by the German authorities to the Austrians. Received an International Red Cross Pass and arrived in Argentina, via Genoa, on 8.10.1948.

<sup>26</sup> See the files of Rubatscher and Guth, both gave F. Lantschner as a reference, all three illegal National Socialists fled to Munich after the coup attempt in July 1934. AdR, GA 335.215 (Franz Rubatscher); AdR, GA 174.487 (Fridolin Guth).

<sup>27</sup> Jackisch (note. 1), p. 11. Erwin Fleiss came to Argentina from Paraguay in the same time period; the escape route cannot be reconstructed. – see *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Personal data: Eduard Roschmann, born 25.11.1908 in Graz-Eggenberg, died 10.8.1977 in Asunción, Paraguay. SS-Obersturmbannführer. Stationed in France in 1939. After August 1941 Commandant of the Riga Ghetto. During the dissolution of the so-called „Big Ghetto“ in Riga in November 1941, some 25,000-28,000 Latvian Jews were liquidated. Between December 1941 and early 1942 some 16,000 German and Austrian Jews deported to the Riga Ghetto became victims of mass executions. Warrant issued by the criminal court in Graz for the murder of at least 3,000 Jews between 1938 and 1945, overseeing forced laborers at the Auschwitz work camp, and the murder of at least 800 children under the age of 10. Arrest warrant issued by the District Court in Hamburg in 1963. Interned by the British in Graz in 1945, but later released. Recaptured in 1947. Fled in 1948. Went via ship from Genoa to Argentina with an International Red Cross Pass. Arrived on 2.10.1948. Founded a wood import-export firm in Buenos Aires. In 1968 became an Argentinian citizen under the name Federico Wegener. In October 1976 the prosecutor's office in Hamburg filed a request for his extradition from Argentina. In July 1977, the Argentinian government issued a warrant for his arrest. Roschmann fled to Paraguay and died shortly afterwards.

<sup>29</sup> Personal data: Josef (Francisco) Vötterl, born 1.6.1910 in Salzburg. After 1940 SS-Hauptsturmführer, not suspected in Austria. Went by ship from Genoa to Argentina with an International Red Cross Passport. Arrived on 13.9.1948. Lived in Buenos Aires.

from Genoa and were provided with an International Red Cross Pass with a visa from the Argentinean Consulate in Genoa.<sup>31</sup> This route via Genoa was also chosen by the former NS Minister and General Commissioner for Finance and Business Hans Fischböck<sup>32</sup> and SS-Obersturmfuehrer Josef Janko<sup>33</sup> in February 1951, once again with an International Red Cross Pass.

Whether or not the agreement on the escape route and travel papers was the result of a network of structures cannot be determined on the basis of current declassified documents in Austria. The existence of an organization that aided in escape, such as an organization of SS members (ODESSA--Organization of Former SS Members) or "The Spider" ("*die Spinne*")<sup>34</sup> was not checked by the Austrian authorities--even less so the roll of helpers such as Bishop Alois Hudal, the involvement of the Vatican, Caritas or the International Red Cross. Because Austria was a transit land for "displaced persons" after the Second World War, control of emigration by officials was only partially possible. Between the end of the war and 1950, approximately one million people passed through Austria.

There is not a complete picture of the escape route of the remaining Austrian National Socialists in exile. Josef Schwammerberger, who fled from a camp in Tyrol, reached Argentina via ship from Marseille. According to his own testimony, Reinhard Spitzzy came via Spain in 1948. An invitation from the Argentinean government was indicated only in the case of pre- and early

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<sup>30</sup>Whether Roschmann and Vötterl were connected with the group from Tyrol is unknown..

<sup>31</sup>Jackisch (note 1), p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> Personal data: Dr. Hans Fischböck, born on 24.1.1895 in Geras, suspected death on 3.6.1967. 1938 Minister for Business and Trade and from May 1938 to April 1939, Finance Minister in the Seyß-Inquart Government. After the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1941, became General Commissioner for Finance and Business. In this position, Fischböck is suspected to have been responsible for the deportation of hundreds of thousands of forced laborers. Proceedings brought against him in 1947 at the District Criminal Court in Vienna under §8KrVG and §§10, VG 1947. Amnestied in 1959. Disappeared in Germany after 1945. Traveled via ship with an International Red Cross Pass under the name of Jacob Schramm from Genoa to Argentina, arrived on 2.2.1951. After he was amnestied, Fischböck travelled several times back to West Germany as an Argentinian citizen.

<sup>33</sup> Personal data: Dr. Josef Janko, born 9.11.1905 in Ernsthausen, Banat. Lived in Klein-Sölk, Styria, Austrian citizen, Lawyer. In 1947 was sought as an SS-Obersturmfuehrer from the British internment camp in Wolfsberg. Suspected to have participated in war crimes as the leader of a radical group of Banat Germans in Serbia. No criminal proceedings brought against him in Austria. Travelfled by ship from Genoa to Argentina with an International Red Cross Pass under the name of „José Petri“. Arrived in Buenos Aires on 17.2.1951. Sucessfully sought an Argentinian residency permit under his true identity in 1955.

<sup>34</sup>See Rena Giefer, Thomas Giefer: Die Rattenlinie. Fluchtwege der Nazis. Eine Dokumentation. Frankfurt / Main: Hein 1991.

history historian Oswald Menghin.<sup>35</sup> The former director of the technical high school in Graz, Armin Schoklitsch<sup>36</sup>, followed his family who had emigrated to Argentina in 1949.<sup>37</sup> Admittedly, the ongoing legal procedures against him were suspended in 1948; whether the “contaminated” Schoklitsch received official permission to travel--he was rehabilitated in 1952--could not be determined.

The first indication of Argentina as a place of refuge for former National Socialists can be found in the Austrian media in 1950. In connection with the Tauschitz affair (see below) the communist Mexico–emigrant Bruno Frei portrayed Buenos Aires in the press as a “well known illegal Nazi Center” .<sup>38</sup> The escape routes were also known: In the Schwammberger case, the Federal Police Headquarters in Innsbruck divulged in 1954 that the suspect could have “fled to South America (Argentina) via Bozen-Genoa like a large percent of the former members of the SS who fled.”<sup>39</sup>

However, in some cases Argentina’s supposed connection with escaped National Socialists was erroneous. In 1956, former Tyrolean Gauleiter Franz Hofer was still listed in federal police records as “at this time supposedly [residing] in Argentina.” It was also suspected that former SS Standartenfuehrer Richard Hochreiner was in Argentina as well. However, both were living once again under false names in the German speaking regions: Hofer in Mühlheim a. d. Ruhr and Hochreiner in Salzburg.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Menghin was presented in an extremely positive way, see Salzburger Nachrichten, 18.12.1956, p. 3 (=DÖW 13.169).

<sup>36</sup> Personal data: Dr. Ing. Armin Schoklitsch, born 23.4.1888 in Wolfan, Styria. After 1940 held the chair in hydraulic engineering at the Technical University in Graz. After 1944 Rector of the Technical University in Graz. SS-Untersturmfuehrer, Gaumtsleiter in the Gauamt for Technology. Warrant issued for him in 1945. Interned in the American Camp Marcus W. Orr (Glasenbach). Transferred to Graz in 1947. Proceedings brought against him in 1948. His family possibly immigrated to Argentina in February 1949. Schoklitsch is suspected to have followed shortly afterwards.

<sup>37</sup> For the date of the family’s purchase of their boat tickets, see AdR/BMI/ZI. 113.303-2/52.

<sup>38</sup> Der Abend, 17.1.1950, Nr. 13, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Der Abend, 17.1.1950, Nr. 13, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Staatspol. FBI 1/56, 31.01.1956 as well as press clippings on National Socialist War Criminals, DÖW, keyword Richard Hochreiner (Neue Zeit, 15.9.1961). – Also suspected in Argentina, but without verification: Rudolf Mildner, born 10.7.1902 in Johannestal, Schlesien, Austrian citizen until 1935, representative of the head and later head of the Gestapo in Vienna. The Argentinean connection was established based on information from Adolf Eichmann that he had met Mildner there in 1958. Mildner was considered missing since 1946; it was suspected that he had fled to Egypt, among other places. – Siegfried Uiberreither, born 29.3.1908 in Salzburg, Gauleiter in Styria.

The case of Erich Rajakowitsch--Member of the SS and responsible for the deportation of Jews in the Netherlands-- documents that NS refugees sometimes choose Argentina only for a brief stay. Rajakowitsch, who lived in Trieste after 1946, moved to Buenos Aires in 1951 as a result of a pending arrest warrant in order to file a motion for release (*Belassung auf freiem Fuss*) from a safe distance. The application was granted, and Rajakowitsch moved to Graz in August 1952.<sup>41</sup>

### **De-Nazification and Searches for War Criminals in Austria**

De-Nazification in Austria was undertaken jointly by the four occupation powers and the three parties in the Austrian Parliament.<sup>42</sup> The Austrian government passed two laws: the Prohibition Law (*Verbotsgesetz*)--National Socialist Parties and all their organizations were forbidden, all National Socialist actions would be punished, certain high-level Nazi Party functionaries who were members since the prohibition period and who committed particularly despicable acts and crimes against humanity were prosecuted--as well as the War Crimes Law (*Kriegsverbrechergesetz*), which covered all crimes committed during the war that were done out of political hatred or out violence that was committed in the line of duty. The “Public Courts” (*Volksgerichte*) applied these laws.<sup>43</sup>

In 1947 a modification of the De-Nazification Law was put into force: It differentiated between “contaminated” National Socialists (those who had a particular position in the Nazi Party) and

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Fled from the internment camp in Dachau. Press reports reported that he and his family with assistance from Bischof Hudal fled to Argentina in 1948. It was suspected that he died in Bolivia or that he lived in Germany under a false name. – Gustav Franz Wagner, born 18.7.1911 in Vienna, died in Brazil in 1980, SS-Oberscharführer and representative of the camp commandant in the labor camp in Sobibor. Officially departed Argentina in 1946. Fled to Damascus, Syria and in 1949 traveled to Brazil where he was discovered in 1978. Attempts to extradite him were denied by the Brazilian government; committed suicide in Brazil in 1980.– Dr. Aribert Heim, born 28.6.1914 in Bad Radkersburg, doctor at Mauthausen concentration camp; sought by Interpol since 1962; was falsely assumed to be in Uruguay or Argentina.

<sup>41</sup>Personal papers of Erich Rajakowitsch, Dokumentationszentrum des Bundes Jüdischer Verfolgter (from files: II Vr. 2400/46 LG Graz). – it is possible that Rajakowitsch was connected with Hans Fischböck, since he knew Fischböck from his activities in Vienna and in the Netherlands– Personal data: Erich Rajakowitsch (later: Raja), born 23.11.1905 in Trieste, lawyer and SS–Untersturmführer, leading personality for Aryanization and emigration issues; after 1941 was in Holland as coworker for the Reich Security Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*) that was responsible for the deportation of Jews from the Netherlands. In 1953 the proceedings against him were dropped; were reinstated in 1964 for participation in a murder. Sentenced to 2 1/2 years prison.

<sup>42</sup>Stiefel (note 12), p. 29.

<sup>43</sup>Karl Marschall: *Volksgerichtsbarkeit und Verfolgung von nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen in Österreich*. Vienna: Bundesministerium für Justiz 1987, 2nd edition, p. 6-14.

“slightly contaminated” (mere Party members). That meant that out of 537,000 registered Party members, only 42,000 were considered “contaminated.”

Only a year later, amnesty was declared for all “slightly contaminated.” Extensive amnesty for the “contaminated” took place after Austria regained her sovereignty in 1955 and was renewed in 1957.<sup>44</sup> The War Crimes Law was suspended in 1957; from then on the Penal Law (*Strafgesetz*) and the code of criminal procedure applied only to NS-violent crimes; (that meant murder, manslaughter, cruel and unusual punishment, etc.) The Prohibition Law was lifted almost entirely in 1957 and the “Public Courts” were dissolved.<sup>45</sup>

In total, legal action was taken against 130,000 people. Of these there were 23,000 sentences, 75,613 dismissals, and 10,261 discontinuances (that meant a provisional dismissal if the defendant was unknown or could not be brought before the court, for example if they had fled overseas [§412 StPo]<sup>46</sup>, which was applied to most of those who fled to Argentina.)

De-Nazification was to serve less as a penance for and punishment of an unlawful system, rather, the reasoning was that the reintegration of former members of the NS party would contribute to the reestablishment of a democratic system and to economic recovery. In the realm of the Cold War, the Allied Powers, particularly the Americans and British, wanted to avoid any fundamental criticism of the Austrian government. After the NS amnesty, crimes against humanity and violations of human rights could no longer be prosecuted. It was only after the prosecution of Adolf Eichmann in 1961 that attempts at serious punishment were undertaken. However, in a politically changed climate from 1970 on, there were still 800 pending cases filed by the district attorney throughout Austria and a significant number of warrants that were suspended. Complexes such as Auschwitz and Mauthausen were attacked and once again eight people were sued; however since 1975, there have been no more proceedings against NS.<sup>47</sup>

### **Austrian National Socialists in exile in Argentina: Steps of the Austrian Law**

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<sup>44</sup>Stiefel (note. 12), p. 33.

<sup>45</sup>Markus, Josef: Die Strafverfolgung von nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen und die völkerrechtliche Verantwortung Österreichs. In: Verdränge Schuld, verfehlte Sühne (See note 12, p. 137-149) p. 152.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid, p. 150.

<sup>47</sup>Wisinger, Marion: Über den Umgang der österreichischen Justiz mit nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechern. Vienna: unpublished thesis 1991, p. 66.

Even though at the end of the 1940s Argentina already served as a place for former National Socialists to flee to, there is no indication in the declassified records of anyone from Austria having running contact with Argentinean officials. In no case did Austria apply for the extradition of an NS refugee. Even though the responsible Austrian legal authorities had been informed since the beginning of the 1950s of communications from the Austrian Embassy in Buenos Aires on the presence of escaped NS Finance and Economic Minister Hans Fischböck as well as the Education Minister of the first National Socialist government Oswald Menghin--both had, in spite of outstanding arrest warrants, applied for an Austrian passport--no steps were taken to apprehend them.<sup>48</sup> In the case of Menghin, the district attorney's office in Vienna cited the considerable costs as justification for refraining from extraditing him; it was hoped that he would be apprehended when he attempted to travel to Austria: "In view of the considerable difficulty and of the costs of extradition from a South American country, we are refraining from applying for an extradition warrant, particularly as there is a sufficient reason to hope that Menghin will be apprehended when he travels to Austria."<sup>49</sup>

Because of changes in the law after the amnesties of 1955 and 1957, a large portion of the Austrians who fled to Argentina considered it unnecessary to keep their identities secret. After the Prohibition law was overturned, they were either no longer suspected as NS functionaries, or the proceedings on the basis of the absence of suspicion were suspended (i.e. de facto aborted). Three high ranking Austrian NS representatives, whose names appeared on the first official public list of war criminals in 1945 and who avoided arrest by fleeing to Argentina were now rehabilitated--for example, the above-mentioned Ministers Oswald Menghin and Hans Fischböck. While Fischböck returned to Germany with an Argentinean passport, Menghin remained in Argentina as a professor at the University of Buenos Aires, Museo Etnográfico, and even managed to successfully apply for payment of his Austrian pension.<sup>50</sup> Armin Dadieu, who was the regional governor and Gauhauptmann from Styria as well as a high-ranking SS officer in

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<sup>48</sup>The Austrian Embassy transferred Fischböck's exact address in Vicente López to the Ministry of Justice in 1953 (LG Vienna, Vg 7a Vr 414/46, Letter from the Minister of Justice to the district court in Vienna from 5.8.1953). Menghin's place of residence was known since 1950 (LG Vienna, Vg 6b Vr 6202/48), both applied for an Austrian passport from the Embassy.

<sup>49</sup>Letter from 5.4.1950 (LG Vienna, Vg 6b Vr 6202/48). Because Menghin was no longer with the Ministry than six weeks, his arrest was not seen as a top priority (See also his rapid amnesty in 1954, at the instigation of Minister Drimmel, AdR/BMfaA/II pol 1957/Arg. 49/Zl. 221.633).

<sup>50</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol 1957/Arg. 49/Zl. 221.669-Pol57.

Styria, served according to his own words as the head of the chemical section of the Research and Development Department of the Argentinean Defense Industry and returned to Germany after his amnesty in 1958 where he held a high position at a astronautics research institute.<sup>51</sup>

The proceedings against Armin Schoklitsch, director of the Technical High School in Graz and SS Untersturmfuehrer had already been dropped in 1948. The SS members Leopold Pribitzer and Reinhard Spitzky<sup>52</sup>, initially suspects under the Prohibition Law, were also amnestied. When Leopold Pribitzer filed a pension application to Austria from Argentina in 1967, it gave rise to a Parliamentary debate among the socialist Members. On the basis of legal precedence, Pribitzer's application was considered unassailable and was granted.<sup>53</sup> A concrete tip on the new address in Argentina of Franz Sterzinger in 1948 was not pursued, and the summons was finally revoked in 1957.<sup>54</sup>

In four cases a search was resumed after the 1957 NS Amnesty, but only in the context of the Austrian Punishment Law (*Strafgesetz.*) In 1961 the district court in Innsbruck issued a warrant against Fritz Lantschner, former Gauamtsleiter for agricultural policy in Tyrol, for the 1934 murder of a policeman. However, the warrant was only effective in Austria, even though Lantschner was known to be in Bariloche.<sup>55</sup> The decisive factor was the renewed difficulty brought about with the request for extradition--Lantschner, who was a German citizen since 1935 had, according to Austrian sources, become an Argentinean citizen in the meantime. The

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<sup>51</sup>Alois Kernbauer: Das Fach Chemie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Graz. Graz: Akademischer Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt 1985 (Publication from the Archiv der Universität Graz, Bd. 17): Biography of Armin Dadiou, p. 61f.; Nikolaus von Preradovich: Österreichs höhere SS-Führer. Berg am See: Vowinkel 1987, Biography of Armin Dadiou, p.232-235.

<sup>52</sup> Personal data: Reinhard (Reinaldo) Spitzky, born 11.2.1912 in Graz, SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer. Took part in NSDAP plans to overthrow the Dollfuß regime in Austria in July 1934. From 1936 to 1938 adjutant of the German Ambassador in London, Joachim von Ribbentrop. In 1942 export advisor to the German weapons mission in Spain and Portugal. Transferred to the Reich Security Agency (RSHA) in 1943. After 1944, SS-Fuehrer in RSHA. Disappeared in Spain after 1945. In 1948 fled from Bilbao to Argentina with a Spanish Passport under the name of Andrés Martínez López. Sought since 1949. Amnestied in 1954. Lived as a planter in Arroyo Ñancay, Dpto. De Gualeguaychú, Entre Ríos. Returned to Austria after his amnesty. Last lived in Maria Alm.

<sup>53</sup>AdR/BMI/ZI: 54.793-18/67. – Personal data: Leopold Pribitzer, born 27.4.1901 in Vienna, policeman, Worked for the illegal NSDAP. SS-Hauptscharfuehrer for the 89th SS-SSStandarte „Holzweber“. It is unclear whether Pribitzer participated in the liquidation of Jews in Ukraine. Warrant issued for him in 1948. Amnestied in 1957. Immigrated to Argentina without the knowledge of the Austrian authorities in March 1949.

<sup>54</sup>LG Innsbruck, 19 Vr 1279/55.

<sup>55</sup>LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 924/47.

informed Interior Ministry was informed that the Argentinean Government refuses to extradite its citizens.<sup>56</sup>

The accusations of murder and being an accomplice in a murder was facing former SS Sturmbannführer Erwin Fleiss, who had proceedings pending against him in the district court in Innsbruck since 1946. Fleiss died in 1964 in Rio Negro without having been prosecuted; it is unclear how long the Austrian Embassy knew of his location.<sup>57</sup> For a long time, Gerhard Lausegger, who was responsible for the murder of Representative of the Jewish Community (*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*) in Innsbruck Richard Berger, could not be located. It is certain that he died in Argentina in 1966 and had probably lived there for some time.<sup>58</sup> In 1960, fifteen years after the end of the war, the district court in Graz issued an arrest warrant against Riga Ghetto commandant Eduard Roschmann for murder and cruel and unusual punishment. However, the official request for extradition from Argentina in 1967 was not made by the Austrian court, but rather by the district attorney's office in Hamburg, where an arrest warrant for him had been pending since 1963.

The limits of the Austrian legal system were again made clear in the case of the camp commandant of the Przemyśl ghetto, Josef Schwammberger. Although there had been an arrest warrant for him at the district court in Innsbruck since 1947, because the illegal National Socialist was denied Austrian citizenship in 1934 and the illegal acts did not take place on Austrian territory, an application for extradition to Austria could not be made. Therefore, the summons would only be effective within Austria.

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<sup>56</sup>For more information on Argentina's refusal to extradite its citizens, see also reports from the German Ambassador (AdR/BMI/Zl. 10.203-18/74). Lantscher's place of residence was rechecked in 1976; the search for him was ended when he was 80 (1983), See LG Innsbruck, 20 Vr 924/47.

<sup>57</sup>When the district court in Innsbruck issued an arrest warrant against Fleiss in 1957, his whereabouts were once again unknown (LG Innsbruck, 10 Vr 104/46). In 1966 the Austrian Embassy transmitted Fleiss' date of death (Personal papers of Erwin Fleiss, Dokumentationszentrum des Bundes Jüdischer Verfolgter).

<sup>58</sup>Gretl Köfler: „Wir wollen sehen, ob das Kreuz oder der siebenarmige Leuchter siegt!“. Antisemitismus in Nord- und Osttirol seit 1918. In: Sturzflüge. Eine Kulturzeitschrift. V.5, Nr. 15/16, 1986, p. 93. – Personal data: Dr. Gerhard Lausegger, born 23.9.1915 in Klagenfurt, died 1966 in Argentina. Completed his law degree. , absolviertes Jurastudium. SS-Obersturmbannführer, Adjutant of the 87. SS-Standarte in Innsbruck. As leader of SS-Commando Troops during the 1938 pogrom „Kristallnacht“ responsible for the murder to the representative of the Jewish community in Innsbruck („Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde“) Richard Berger.. Wanted for murder of the War Crimes Law. Captured in 1945 and placed in the British internment camp in Wolfsberg. Fled in 1947, possibly to South Tyrol. Suspected to be in South America, his exact location could never be determined.

## **The Austrian Position towards National Socialists in exile in Argentina/ the Role of the Austrian Embassy**

As early as April 1946, the German publicist and Chilean immigrant Pablo Hesslein sent a note to Austrian President Karl Renner warning about active Nazism in Latin America.<sup>59</sup> However, the newly formed Austrian government saw themselves incapable -- in the true sense of the word -- of handling such distant affairs.

Even a 1947 tip from the security office in Salzburg could not be pursued. According to the information the National Socialist Mathilde Fürstin Kinsky (in spite of her clean record) was still active and had been in Argentina since 1940 and, together with a certain Don Felix Hesse, was taking part in an organization to rebuild National Socialism.<sup>60</sup> In 1948, Dr. Otto Günther was sent to Buenos Aires as the first post-war Austrian consul. Even after the reinstatement of the consulate, nobody was interested in dealing with the recent past; Austria's main goal lay with the establishment of economic relations with Argentina. The starving Austrians were hoping for economic aid from Argentina, starting with private aid packages to needy families up to the expansion of Austrian exports. After the far-reaching Amnesties of 1955 and 1957, the pursuit of fleeing National Socialists went against efforts to close the past and concentrate solely on reconstruction.

Only one reference to an existing interest in Nazi activities in Argentina can be found in the Foreign Ministry files. In 1949 the Ministry was following the journal "Der Weg". Because Bishop Alois Hudal published there, they were interested in obtaining a copy of this magazine, "where articles with neo-Nazi tendencies" appeared.<sup>61</sup> There were no consequences after obtaining the magazine, just as there weren't any due to the writings of an unnamed "dissident" that reached the chancellor's office in Vienna in 1957. In addition to anti-Austrian articles by the German Wilfred von Oven in the German language paper in Buenos Aires, "Freie Presse," the "Freie Presse" was also accused of "being under the influence of the current NSDAP (...) of

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<sup>59</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol 1946/ÖVB Chile, attachment to III.576-pol.

<sup>60</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol/ Arg 49/Zl. 106.142 pol/47.

<sup>61</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol/Arg. 6/Zl. 84.366-pol 49.

having developed into an anti-Austrian organ”: The paper had turned into “an organ that today follows completely in Hitler’s wake.”<sup>62</sup>

Demonstrably, the Austrian Embassy was aware of the NS past and of current searches for National Socialists in exile. In 1953 Hans Fischböck received via the Embassy a statement of residency (*Heimatrolle*) and a birth certificate, which indicated that he was possibly seeking Argentinean citizenship.<sup>63</sup> The Embassy shared Fischböck’s address with the relevant legal authorities in Austria.<sup>64</sup> When Fischböck applied for an Austrian passport in 1954, the Ministry of Justice rejected his application “due to criminal proceedings against him at the Vienna district court”.<sup>65</sup> However, no further steps were taken to apprehend him. Oswald Menghin, who was openly living in Argentina as a department chair at the Museo Etnográfico, tried to apply for an Austrian passport through the Austrian Embassy in Buenos Aires in early 1950. In that case as well, the informed Vienna district attorney didn’t intervene. The Austrian Ambassador Falser asked for instructions from Vienna on how he, as the official representative of Austria, should deal with Menghin.<sup>66</sup> The Austrian Embassy used the Fischböck case to point out to the Foreign Ministry that contrary to what the search warrants resting with the Austrian authorities should contain, “the above-mentioned person, just as numerous other people with similar records, is not included in the search records”.<sup>67</sup> The Embassy publicly admitted that some people without the necessary endorsement (*Vermerkungen*) were no longer being pursued. NS refugee Reinhard Spitzky even illustrated compliance on the part of the Ambassador at the beginning of the 1950s: “In spite of all the searches, I often had friendly breakfasts at the Embassy with the Ambassador, whom I was distantly related to.”<sup>68</sup> As the Menghin case shows, if at all possible, an official relationship with former NS was avoided. When there was a request in 1959 for intervention on behalf of the Austrian University Professor Franz Kastberger, whose emigration in 1948 on the

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<sup>62</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol/Arg. 6/Zl. 221669-pol57, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup>AdR/BMI/Zl. 55.189-18/67.

<sup>64</sup>LG Vienna, record Vg 7a Vr 4114/46 (Letter from the Minister of Justice to the district court in Vienna on 5.8.1953).

<sup>65</sup>AdR/BMI/Zl. 22.694-2/54. In: AdR/BMI: Zl. 55.189-18/67.

<sup>66</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol/Arg. 49/Zl. 221.633 Pol 57.

<sup>67</sup>AdR/BMI/Zl. 89.236-253. In: AdR/BMI/55.189-18/67.

<sup>68</sup>Reinhard Spitzky: So entkamen wir den Alliierten. Bekenntnisse eines “Ehemaligen”. Munich, Berlin: Langen Müller 1989, p. 292.

invitation of the Perón government at least appeared politically motivated, the Austrian Embassy first acquired a guarantee of his “impeccable pro-Austrian stance” from Kastberger’s hometown of Gmunden.<sup>69</sup>

However, after the Amnesty, there were no objections in Vienna to connections with previously suspect persons, as the Menghin case once again illustrates: “Due to the desire brought about by the NS Amnesty Law to put the final stroke on the past, no objections will be made to social actions between members of the Embassy with Prof. Dr. Menghin since it is known that during his stay in Buenos Aires his conduct has been impeccable and his attitude towards the Austrian Republic can be seen as positive.”<sup>70</sup>

At the beginning of the 1950s, the Austrian Embassy was in political turmoil. After his appointment in 1950, the Second Representative of the Austrian Consulate in Buenos Aires, Stephan Tauschitz, was charged in the Austrian press with harboring National Socialist sympathies. He was accused of having National Socialist opinions during his time as representative in Berlin in 1933. Tauschitz was accredited in Argentina; however, in Uruguay he was immediately denied accreditation on the basis of such press reports in Montevideo. Tauschitz dismissed these charges, which were never proven.<sup>71</sup>

Reports on the political activities or affinities of Austrians in Argentina in 1945 could not be found in the open records of the Austrian Foreign Ministry. Having said this, the existing reports illustrate the important fine line the Austrian Embassy had to walk between reacquired sovereignty and the bond with the members of the German-speaking colony in Buenos Aires. This economic connection was, as before the war, at least as important as compliance with the new political line from Austria. In 1955 when the Austrian Embassy wanted to celebrate the 10-year anniversary of Austria’s liberation, “some of the members of the Austrian colony raised doubts.” The Austrian-Argentinean Chamber of Commerce itself did not take official part in the celebration since “the members of this organization had lucrative business connections with Germany and with German firms and they feared upsetting their business partners with a

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<sup>69</sup>AdR/BMfaA/Kult/Arg 1959/Zl.: 281 1862.

<sup>70</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol/Arg. 49/Zl. 221.633 Pol 57.

<sup>71</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol 1951/Pol. Berichte/ ÖVB Buenos Aires/Zl. 132030 pol 51.

liberation party.”<sup>72</sup> Even the former Austrian Vice Consul Guido Forsthuber refused to take part on these grounds.

In 1960 after the abduction of Adolf Eichmann, the world’s eyes turned to Argentina. Numerous articles and analyses appeared in the international press that dealt not only with Eichmann’s abduction but also with the German-speaking colony in Argentina. In reports from the Austrian Embassy in Argentina during that year, there was only one that discussed Eichmann’s kidnapping as well as German and Austrian National Socialists.

*“The Eichmann incident has abruptly brought to light the problem, which, even though in the early post-War period it had been intensely dealt with worldwide and had led to much unpleasantness, has been pushed to the back burner in the past years. The issue is namely that under the Perón Era, Argentina was a safe country for all kinds of riffraff, including high-ranking Nazis who were being sought for war crimes, to flee to and assume a privileged lifestyle.”*<sup>73</sup>

Here the issue is dealt with only generally. The role of Argentina stands in the foreground; the connection with Austria and respectively with Austrian NS criminals is not mentioned. Up till now, official Austrian policy did not see the importance of dealing with the issue of “former National Socialists in Argentina”. After the general amnesties of 1955 and 1957, there were only a few people who were accused under the Austrian criminal code. It must be remembered that Austria did not apply for extradition of the accused in a single case. Amnestied “NS contaminated” either found a new life in Argentina or returned to Europe.

Austria’s role as transit state--the path over the Alps to a ship in Genoa--can be established through the analysis of the individual biographical data of those who fled. There is no evidence in the Austrian archives to support the existence of escape organizations comprised of SS members (ODESSA) or of “Rat Lines” (*Rattenlinien*).<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>AdR/BMfaA/Kult/Arg. 1955/Zl. 343271/55. – Guido Forsthuber, businessman and prior to 1938 Vice Consul of the Austrian Embassy in Buenos Aires; after the Austrian “Anschluss” denied a transfer to the German Embassy for political reasons; was co-founder of the exile organization “Comité Austriaco – Austria Libre”.

<sup>73</sup>AdR/BMfaA/II pol/Pol. Berichte 1960/ ÖVB Buenos Aires/Zl. 81.693-pol/60, p. 2.

<sup>74</sup>See Giefer (note 24).– Although, with the exception of Fritz Lantschner and the National Catholic Oswald Menghin, all listed were members of the SS.

The role of accomplices,<sup>75</sup> the involvement of the Vatican, as well as the--partly involuntary-- participation of international aid organizations such as the International Red Cross offers another topic that is ripe for research.

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<sup>75</sup>For information on the actions of Bischof Alois Hudal, see the CEANA study by Matteo Sanfilippo: Los papeles de Hudal como fuente para historia de la migración de alemanes y nazis después de la segunda guerra mundial“, informe final (1998), <http://www.ceana.org.ar/final/sanfilippo.zip>