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S:I.M.O.N.

SHOAH:
INTERVENTION.
METHODS.
DOCUMENTATI**ON**.

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Abstract

Taking stock of the Austrian television coverage of the Eichmann trial (1961) this article analyses how Austrian television reported about the events in Jerusalem. The daily news mentioned the coming event regularly; however, during the proceedings it barely reported about the trial. It was a weekly magazine that sporadically summarised the events in the court room. The analysis shows that Austrian television was mainly interested in Eichmann, ignored all other witnesses and suppressed any link to local and national history.

Als David Ben-Gurion am 23. Mai 1960 das israelische Parlament über die Ergreifung von Adolf Eichmann informierte, setzte diese Mitteilung ein globales Nachrichtenereignis in Gang: Weltweit berichteten Zeitungen vom Coup der israelischen Sicherheitsbehörden, die den SS-Obersturmbannführer und Leiter des ‚Judenreferats' im Reichssicherheitshauptamt, der für die Organisation der ‚Endlösung' zuständig war, aufgespürt und nach Israel verbracht hatten.[1] Nach der ersten Nachricht über Eichmanns Verhaftung lieferten das Bekanntwerden seiner Entführung aus Argentinien sowie der bevorstehende Prozess in den folgenden Monaten Stoff für weitere Artikel in der internationalen Presse. So wurde die Verletzung von Argentiniens Souveränität nicht nur im Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen gerügt, sondern auch in der Presse kommentiert, und löste die Mitteilung, dass Eichmann in Jerusalem der Prozess gemacht werde, juridische Diskussionen über die Zuständigkeit des israelischen Gerichts aus. Außerdem wurde die Gerichtsverhandlung journalistisch durch Hintergrundinformationen über Adolf Eichmann vorbereitet und mit dem Beginn des Prozesses berichtete die Presse schließlich über dessen Verlauf.[2]

Die Beschäftigung mit Eichmann fand nicht nur in den Printmedien statt. Als der Prozess am 11. April 1961 eröffnet wurde, waren unter den rund 500 Journalisten, die nach Jerusalem gereist waren, um das Gerichtsverfahren vor Ort zu verfolgen, auch zahlreiche Hörfunk- und Fernsehkorrespondenten. Vor allem in den USA und der BRD bestand großes Interesse an den Fernsehbildern aus dem Gerichtssaal: So zeigte ABC (American Broadcasting Company) im Senderaum New York täglich eine halbstündige Zusammenfassung des vorangegangenen Verhandlungstages, und berichtete das bundesdeutsche Fernsehen während der gesamten Dauer des

1 Das israelische Außenministerium veröffentlichte noch im selben Jahr einen Pressespiegel, siehe Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Eichmann in the World Press, Jerusalem 1960.

2 Eine detaillierte Auswertung der bundesdeutschen Presseberichterstattung über den Eichmann-Prozess liefert Peter Krause, Der Eichmann-Prozess in der deutschen Presse, Frankfurt a. M. 2002.

Prozesses zweimal pro Woche in 20- bis 30-minütigen Sondersendungen, die direkt nach den Nachrichten ausgestrahlt wurden, von den Ereignissen in Jerusalem.[3]

Die Fernsehbilder aus dem Gerichtssaal wurden von Capital Cities produziert, einer US-amerikanischen Firma, die von der israelischen Regierung Exklusivrechte erhalten hatte, um den Prozess zu filmen bzw. auf Magnetband aufzunehmen – denn Capital Cities nutzte die damals noch relativ neue Videotechnologie. Hierfür wurden im Gerichtsaal, hinter Wänden verborgen, vier Kameras aufgestellt und in einem Nachbargebäude ein Regieraum eingerichtet, wo Regisseur Leo Hurwitz entschied, welches der vier Kamerasignale auf Magnetband aufgezeichnet wurde.[4] Diese Videoaufnahmen, die allen Fernsehstationen, Wochenschauanbietern und Filmvertrieben für ihre Berichterstattung über den Prozess zur Verfügung standen, wurden in über 38 Ländern ausgestrahlt.

Wie das österreichische Fernsehen von diesem Bildmaterial Gebrauch gemacht und wie es über die Ereignisse in Jerusalem informiert hat, ist Gegenstand des vorliegenden Textes. Es gilt, einen ersten Überblick über die Beiträge zu geben, mit denen das damalige österreichische Fernsehen, der heutige ORF, über Eichmanns Verhaftung und den nachfolgenden Prozess berichtet hat. Hierfür wurde im Rahmen eines Fellowships am Wiener Wiesenthal Institut für Holocaust-Studien (VWI) das Fernsehmaterial gesichtet, das das österreichische Fernsehen in den Jahren 1960 bis 1962, also zwischen Eichmanns Verhaftung und seiner Hinrichtung, im Zusammenhang mit dem Prozess ausgestrahlt hat. Diese Beiträge sind im ORF-Fernseharchiv zugänglich.[5] Obwohl das gesendete Material ohne Tonspur erhalten geblieben ist, sind von nahezu allen Beiträgen Sendemanuskripte vorhanden, die es ermöglichen, einen Überblick über die Themenschwerpunkte der Berichterstattung zu geben.

(K)ein Medienereignis

Der Eichmann-Prozess gilt als Ereignis, das die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik einer breiten Öffentlichkeit bekanntgemacht und das Schicksal der Opfer in den Blick gerückt hat. Er wird als Zäsur, Wende oder Katalysator der Holocaust-Erinnerung bezeichnet, wobei Studien sich vor allem auf die Bedeutung des Prozesses in Israel, in der BRD und in den USA richten.[6] In Österreich, so konstatiert Heidemarie Uhl in einer Übersicht über den Stellenwert des Nationalsozialismus im österreichischen Gedächtnis, stieß der Prozess hingegen „nur auf geringe

3 Zum US-Fernsehen, siehe Jeffrey Shandler, While America Watches. Televising the Holocaust, New York 2000, 83 ff; zu den Sendungen des bundesdeutschen Fernsehens siehe Judith Keilbach, Une époque en procès. Le procès Eichmann à la télévision d'Allemagne fédérale [Der Eichmann-Prozess im Fernsehen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland], in: Sylvie Lindeperg/Annette Wieviorka (Hg.), Le moment Eichmann [Der Eichmann-Moment], Paris 2016. 99-117.

4 Die Bilder wurden außerdem live in einen Saal im einige hundert Meter entfernten Kloster Ratisbonne übertragen.

5 Mit Dank an Herrn Dr. Kurt Schmutzer vom Multimedia Archiv des ORF und allen Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern des Wiener Wiesenthal Instituts für Holocaust-Studien (VWI).

6 Annette Wieviorka, The Era of the Witness, Ithaca/London 2006 [franz. Original 1998]; Peter Novick, The Holocaust in American Life, Boston/New York 1999; Daniel Levy/Natan Sznaider, Erinnerung im globalen Zeitalter: Der Holocaust, Frankfurt a. M. 2001.

Resonanz".[7] Vielmehr sei es *Der Herr Karl* gewesen, der die öffentliche Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Vergangenheit in Österreich in Gang gesetzt habe. *Der Herr Karl*, ein Ein-Personen-Stück, in dem ein Mitläufer seine Lebensgeschichte erzählt, wurde 1961, also im Jahr des Eichmann-Prozesses, im österreichischen Fernsehen ausgestrahlt, und zwar im November, als die Beweisaufnahme bereits abgeschlossen war und die Richter sich zur Beratung über das Urteil zurückgezogen hatten. Die Sendung mit Helmut Qualtinger brach laut Heidemarie Uhl das „Schweigegebot", das im öffentlichen Diskurs über die Mitverantwortung der österreichischen Gesellschaft am Nationalsozialismus herrschte.[8] Der Holocaust, der im Mittelpunkt des Eichmann-Prozesses stand, kam in *Der Herr Karl* allerdings nicht zur Sprache.

Der Herr Karl war jedoch nicht die einzige Sendung, in der die NS-Vergangenheit im frühen österreichischen Fernsehen thematisiert wurde. Renée Winter zeigt in ihrer fernsehhistorischen Arbeit anhand zahlreicher Beispiele, dass es „weitaus mehr Sendungen […] gab" und dass „nicht grundsätzlich von einem Schweigen über Nationalsozialismus und Shoah […] gesprochen werden kann".[9] So strahlte das österreichische Fernsehen beispielsweise fiktionale und dokumentarische Produktionen aus dem Ausland aus, und wurde die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus darüber hinaus im Zusammenhang mit Jahrestagen und tagesaktuellen Ereignissen angesprochen.[10] Auch über den Eichmann-Prozess berichtete das Fernsehen in Österreich.[11] Doch während das bundesdeutsche und das US-amerikanische Fernsehen diesen mit ihrer Sonderberichterstattung zu einem Medienereignis machten, spielte er im österreichischen Fernsehen nur eine marginale Rolle. In der Datenbank des ORF sind 22 Titel aufgeführt, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Eichmann-Prozess ausgestrahlt wurden. Dabei handelt es sich ausschließlich um Beiträge in den Nachrichtenmagazinen *Zeit im Bild* und *Im Scheinwerfer,* die in unregelmäßigen Abständen auf die Ereignisse in Israel eingingen.

Bereits bei einer quantitativen Auswertung fällt auf, dass im Vorfeld des Prozesses ebenso viele Beiträge gesendet wurden wie über die Gerichtsverhandlungen selbst. So waren neben Eichmanns Verhaftung (28. Mai 1960) zwei Pressekonferenzen Anlass für Kurzbeiträge in *Zeit im Bild* (8. Juni und 30. Oktober 1960) und kamen die diplomatischen Spannungen infolge von Eichmanns Entführung aus Argentinien zweimal in der Nachrichtensendung zur Sprache (14. und 27. Juni 1960). Drei Beiträge widmeten sich der Prozessvorbereitung, wobei einmal gemeldet wurde, dass Eichmanns Verteidiger Robert Servatius in Israel eingetroffen war (8. Oktober 1960),

7 Heidemarie Uhl, Vom Opfermythos zur Mitverantwortungsthese. NS-Herrschaft, Krieg und Holocaust im „österreichischen Gedächtnis", in: Christian Gerbel/Manfred Lechner/Dagmar C.G. Lorenz/Oliver Marchart/Vrääth Öhner/Ines Steiner/Andrea Strutz/Heidemarie Uhl (Hg.), Transformationen gesellschaftlicher Erinnerung. Studien zur „Gedächtnisgeschichte" der Zweiten Republik, Wien 2005, 50-85, hier 65; Wassermann konstatiert, dass mit Ausnahme der Arbeiter-Zeitung die österreichische Tagespresse „quantitativ eher mäßig" über den Eichmann-Prozess berichtet habe. Heinz P. Wassermann, „Zuviel Vergangenheit tut nicht gut!" Nationalsozialismus im Spiegel der Tagespresse der Zweiten Republik, Innsbruck 2000, hier 42; Garscha bezeichnet den Eichmann-Prozess hingegen als „österreichisches Medien-Ereignis", da kaum ein anderes internationales Ereignis „ein auch nur annähernd so umfangreiches und anhaltendes Medien-Echo" hervorgerufen habe. Winfried Garscha, Eichmann: Eine Irritation, kein Erdbeben. Zu den Auswirkungen des Prozesses von Jerusalem auf das Österreich des „Herrn Karl", in: Sabine Falch/Moshe Zimmermann (Hg.), Österreich – Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zum Eichmann-Prozess 1961, Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen 2005, 186-229, hier 186.

8 Uhl, Vom Opfermythos, 65.

9 Renée Winter, Geschichtspolitiken und Fernsehen. Repräsentationen des Nationalsozialismus im frühen österreichischen TV (1955–1970), Bielefeld 2014, 34.

10 Ausführlich hierzu: Winter, Geschichtspolitiken und Fernsehen.

11 Ebda., 33.

und zweimal bauliche und organisatorische Maßnahmen, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Prozess getroffen wurden, im Mittelpunkt standen (29. und 31. Jänner 1961). Außerdem bot die Veröffentlichung von Eichmanns Memoiren in der US-amerikanischen Zeitschrift *Life* Anlass, auf den bevorstehenden Prozess hinzuweisen (12. Dezember 1960). In einem Beitrag wurde außerdem über eine Münchner Eichmann-Ausstellung berichtet (3. März 1961) und am Vorabend des Prozessbeginns gab *Zeit im Bild* schließlich einen Überblick über das Leben von Adolf Eichmann (10. April 1961).

Die umfangreiche Vorberichterstattung lässt erwarten, dass das österreichische Fernsehen auch ausführlich über den Prozess selbst berichtet hat – nicht zuletzt, weil den Fernsehsendern täglich Bildmaterial aus dem Gerichtssaal zur Verfügung gestellt wurde. Daher überrascht es, dass das österreichische Fernsehen in den 19 Wochen, die die Anklageverlesung und Beweisaufnahme in Anspruch nahmen, nur sechsmal auf den Prozess einging (12. April, 22. April, 7. Mai, 21. Juni, 23. Juli und 30. Juli 1961); zwei weitere Beiträge (10. und 17. Dezember 1961) wurden anlässlich der Schlussverhandlung und Urteilsverkündung ausgestrahlt. Nach Eichmanns Verurteilung im Hauptverfahren war der Prozess außerdem anlässlich der Berufungsverhandlung (1. April 1962), der Ablehnung von Eichmanns Gnadengesuch (1. Juni 1962) und seiner Hinrichtung (3. Juni 1962) ein Thema in den Fernsehnachrichten.

Angesichts der Anzahl und zeitlichen Verteilung der Sendungen entsteht der Eindruck, dass sich das österreichische Fernsehen für den Eichmann-Prozess vor allem als *bevorstehendes* Ereignis interessiert hat. Dem *Inhalt* der Verhandlung wurde hingegen weniger Beachtung geschenkt. Im Vorfeld des Prozesses nahm das Fernsehen in Österreich häufig Informationsveranstaltungen, die für die Medien organisiert worden waren, zum Anlass, um auf das bevorstehende Gerichtsverfahren hinzuweisen. So berichtete *Zeit im Bild* beispielsweise über Pressekonferenzen oder zeigte Filmaufnahmen von einer Besichtigungstour durch den Gerichtssaal. Hiermit wurde Aufmerksamkeit für den Prozess geschaffen und zugleich die Zeit bis zu dessen Beginn überbrückt.

Der Inhalt der Beiträge und die zeitliche Strukturierung der Berichterstattung erinnern an Vorberichte, mit denen üblicherweise Medienereignisse vorbereitet werden. Bei *Media Events* handelt es sich um vorab geplante Ereignisse, die von den Medien begleitet und vom Fernsehen live übertragen werden. Zwar lässt sich das Konzept, das Daniel Dayan und Elihu Katz mit Bezug auf die Mondlandung, Royal Weddings und Olympische Spiele entwickelt hatten, nicht einfach auf den Eichmann-Prozess übertragen, da dieser zu lang dauerte und überdies nicht live im Fernsehen übertragen wurde – was in der Definition von Dayan und Katz zu den zentralen Elementen von *Media Events* zählt.[12] Dennoch erinnern die Beiträge, die vor Verhandlungsbeginn gesendet wurden, an die Vorberichterstattung eines Medienereignisses, mit der die Zeit bis zum Stattfinden des Prozesses überbrückt wurde. Ähnlich wie bei ‚klassischen' *Media Events* wurden die Zuschauer auf das bevorstehende Ereignis eingestimmt, indem über organisatorische Vorbereitungen berichtet wurde. So ging das österreichische Fernsehen beispielsweise auf die Aufbewahrung des Beweismaterials, auf bauliche Maßnahmen im Gerichtsgebäude und auf die Einrichtung eines Pressezentrums ein.

Entgegen der Erwartung, die das österreichische Fernsehen mit seiner Vorberichterstattung schuf, war der Eichmann-Prozess selbst kein Medienereignis. Im

12 Daniel Dayan/Elihu Katz, Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History, Cambridge 1992.

Unterschied zum US-amerikanischen und bundesdeutschen Fernsehen sendete das österreichische Fernsehen nahezu keine tagesaktuellen Berichte aus dem Gerichtssaal und ging überdies nur sporadisch auf die Ereignisse in Jerusalem ein. Zwar akzentuierte *Zeit im Bild* die Ereignishaftigkeit des Moments, als sich Eichmann erstmals vor Gericht äußerte – worauf unten nochmals zurückzukommen sein wird. Die Mehrzahl der Beiträge, die während des Prozesses in Österreich zu sehen waren, blickte jedoch auf abgeschlossene Verhandlungsphasen (z. B. die Beweisaufnahmen oder die Befragung Eichmanns) zurück. Indem das österreichische Fernsehen retrospektive Zusammenfassungen sendete, rückte der im Vorfeld medial etablierte Ereignischarakter des Prozesses in den Hintergrund. Ähneln die Beiträge, die *vor* Prozessbeginn ausgestrahlt wurden, Vorberichten zu bevorstehenden Medienereignissen, so erinnern die Beiträge, die *während* der Verhandlung im österreichischen Fernsehen zu sehen waren, an entsprechende *Rückblicke*, da sie in der Regel die Höhepunkte von abgeschlossenen Verhandlungsphasen rekapitulierten. Das Ereignis selbst bleibt dabei in seltsamer Weise ausgespart.

In anderen Ländern waren es inhaltlich bemerkenswerte Momente, wie der Kollaps eines Zeugen oder die eindrücklichen Aussagen der Überlebenden, die in den ersten Verhandlungswochen die Berichterstattung strukturierten und über die das Fernsehen zeitnah berichtete. Wurde der Eichmann-Prozess in den USA und der BRD durch den Umfang sowie die zeitliche Unmittelbarkeit der Fernsehberichterstattung als besonderes Ereignis wahrgenommen,[13] trug das österreichische Fernsehen mit seiner Orientierung am prozeduralen Aufbau des Prozesses und seinen sporadischen Zusammenfassungen des Verhandlungsfortgangs wenig dazu bei, dem Prozess Resonanz zu verleihen.

Eingeschränktes Interesse

Da das österreichische Fernsehen in seinen Nachrichtensendungen über den Eichmann-Prozess berichtete, sind die Beiträge relativ kurz. Vor Prozessbeginn wurde das Thema in der Regel in weniger als einer Minute besprochen, Ausnahmen sind hierbei die Meldung von Eichmanns Erfassung (2:21) und kurz vor Prozessbeginn ein langer Bericht über Eichmanns Leben (11:57). Mit Beginn des Prozesses wurden die Nachrichtenbeiträge dann generell länger, wobei ihre Dauer nach Ende der Hauptverhandlung wieder abnahm, jedoch nie unter eine Minute sank.

Gleichzeitig fällt auf, dass die Berichterstattung im Laufe des Prozesses von *Zeit im Bild* nach *Im Scheinwerfer* verschoben wurde, d. h. das österreichische Fernsehen verlagerte seine Beiträge aus Jerusalem von der täglich um 20 Uhr ausgestrahlten Hauptnachrichtensendung auf die Wochenrückschau, die sonntagnachmittags zu sehen war. *Zeit im Bild* zeigte zwar Eichmanns erste Äußerungen vor Gericht; allen weiteren Ereignissen wurde jedoch kein tagesaktueller Nachrichtenwert zugeschrieben und *Im Scheinwerfer* überlassen.

Die zunehmende Länge der Berichterstattung aus Jerusalem steht mit dieser Verschiebung in Zusammenhang, wobei noch zu klären ist, inwiefern Beiträge in *Im Scheinwerfer* prinzipiell länger waren als in *Zeit im Bild*. Für den Eichmann-Prozess lässt sich in jedem Fall feststellen, dass *Im Scheinwerfer* ausführlicher auf die Ereig-

13 *Variety* beschreibt die Bemühung des US-amerikanischen Fernsehens, die Videoaufnahmen mit so wenig Zeitverzögerung wie möglich auszustrahlen, als „Instant TV". Eichmann, Gagarin: Instant TV, in: Variety, 19. April 1961, 43.

nisse im Gerichtssaal einging. Der Rückblick auf die erste Verhandlungswoche (7. Mai 1961) dauerte gut zweieinhalb Minuten, ein weiterer Beitrag (30. Juli 1961) fasste die Hauptverhandlung in knapp dreieinhalb Minuten zusammen und für eine Analyse von Eichmanns Verteidigungsstrategie (23. Juli 1961) nahm sich *Im Scheinwerfer* sogar mehr als neun Minuten Zeit. *Zeit im Bild* berichtete hingegen deutlich knapper über den Prozess.

Für die Verschiebung der Beiträge in das Wochenendprogramm sind vielfältige Gründe denkbar. Der Prozess war nach den ersten Verhandlungstagen keine Neuigkeit mehr, es gab keine lokalen Bezüge und andere Themen waren von größerer Dringlichkeit.[14] Immerhin spitzte sich die Polarisierung der Welt mit Gagarins Weltraumflug, dem Bau der Berliner Mauer und zahlreichen kriegerischen Konflikten im Kontext der Entkolonialisierung (z. B. Kongo-Krise, Algerienkrieg) während des Prozesses deutlich zu. Auch lässt sich die sporadische Berichterstattung und das Verschwinden des Eichmann-Prozesses aus den Hauptnachrichten mit der fehlenden Bereitschaft der österreichischen Gesellschaft erklären, sich mit der Mitverantwortung am Nationalsozialismus und der systematischen Vertreibung und Vernichtung der europäischen Jüdinnen und Juden zu beschäftigen. Allerdings kann auch konstatiert werden, dass es die Verlagerung der Berichterstattung in die Magazinsendung *Im Scheinwerfer* möglich machte, nicht nur länger, sondern vor allem auch differenzierter auf die laufende Verhandlung einzugehen. Hierauf wird unten noch zurückzukommen sein.

Die Länge der Beiträge wurde auch durch die Verfügbarkeit des Bildmaterials aus Jerusalem definiert. Während das Fernsehen in Österreich im Vorfeld des Prozesses ausgiebig von den Filmaufnahmen der Nachrichtenagenturen Gebrauch machte, die im Rahmen der oben erwähnten Presseinformationsveranstaltungen aufgenommen worden waren, wurden die von Capital Cities angebotenen Bilder aus dem Gerichtssaal nur selten genutzt. Dies kann finanziell, technisch und/oder organisatorisch begründet sein. So deutet der Beitrag vom 22. April 1961 in *Zeit im Bild* beispielsweise logistische Schwierigkeiten an, wenn der Nachrichtensprecher die Filmaufnahmen mit folgenden Worten anmoderiert: „Endlich hat uns ein Originaltonbericht vom 6. Verhandlungstag des Eichmann-Prozesses in Jerusalem erreicht" (22. April 1961).[15] Wurde das eingespielte Bildmaterial zwei Wochen später (7. Mai 1961) im *Scheinwerfer* kosteneffizient wiederverwertet, standen der Sendung vom 23. Juli 1961 fünf längere Einspielfilme von Capital Cities zur Verfügung, mit denen in einem über neunminütigen Beitrag Eichmanns Verteidigungsstrategie und Auftreten vor Gericht verdeutlicht wurde.

Anders als andere Fernsehsender hatte das österreichische Fernsehen keine Korrespondenten nach Jerusalem entsandt, die den Prozess vor Ort beobachteten und die Aufnahmen aus dem Gerichtsaal mit eigenen Beiträgen ergänzten. Dies lässt sich einerseits vergangenheitspolitisch erklären. Da es in der österreichischen Gesellschaft, die sich als erstes Opfer Hitlers verstand, kaum Interesse an einer Beschäftigung mit der nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungspolitik gab,[16] war es für das Fernsehen nicht nötig, vor Ort anwesend zu sein, um für seine Fernsehzuschauer Eindrü-

14 Zum Nachrichtenwert siehe Stuart Hall, Die strukturierte Vermittlung von Ereignissen, in: Ralf Adelmann/Jan-Otmar Hesse/Judith Keilbach/Markus Stauff/Matthias Thiele (Hg.), Grundlagentexte zur Fernsehwissenschaft. Theorie, Geschichte, Analyse, Konstanz 2002, 344-375, hier 347-349.

15 Es ist unklar, worauf sich dieser Kommentar bezieht, da auch die Aufnahmen, die am 12. April 1961 zu sehen waren, Ton enthielten.

16 Uhl, Vom Opfermythos, 59.

cke vom Gerichtverfahren zu sammeln.[17] Im Unterschied dazu hatte das bundesdeutsche Fernsehen für die gesamten Prozessdauer zwei Korrespondenten nach Jerusalem entsandt, die zweimal pro Woche für die Sondersendung *Eine Epoche vor Gericht* über den Prozess berichteten. Damals arbeitete eine Gruppe von Journalisten für das bundesdeutsche Fernsehen, die sich der Verantwortung für die nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen bewusst waren und „das Thema [NS-Verbrechen] immer häufiger auf die Tagesordnung setzten".[18] Zu ihnen zählte auch der österreichische Journalist Peter Schier-Gribowsky, der für *Eine Epoche vor Gericht* aus Jerusalem berichtete. Schier-Gribowsky war hierauf gut vorbereitet, da er sich für die Reportage *Auf den Spuren des Henkers*, in der Eichmanns Lebensweg rekonstruiert wird und die am Abend vor Prozessbeginn im bundesdeutschen Fernsehen ausgestrahlt wurde, bereits ausführlich mit dem Angeklagten beschäftigt hatte.[19]

Andererseits gilt es, auch den personellen und institutionellen Aufbau des österreichischen Fernsehens zu berücksichtigen, wenn es um den Umfang der Prozessberichterstattung geht. Ein Vergleich mit dem bundesdeutschen Fernsehen trägt auch hier zur Verdeutlichung bei, wobei nicht die Interessen und Überzeugungen von Journalisten im Mittelpunkt stehen, sondern die Kapazitäten der Fernsehredaktionen. Das bundesdeutsche Fernsehen, dessen Programm von neun in der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Rundfunkanstalten Deutschlands (ARD) zusammengeschlossenen Rundfunkanstalten produziert wurde, stellte bereits seit Ende der 1950er-Jahre Auslandsreportagen her. Hierfür hatte die ARD in verschiedenen Ländern feste Korrespondenten stationiert; darüber hinaus gab es spezialisierte Redaktionen, die über ein Netzwerk von internationalen Kontakten verfügten. Die Entsendung von Journalisten war für das bundesdeutsche Fernsehen daher keine Besonderheit. Ob auch die Österreicher über eine ähnliche ‚Auslandserfahrung' verfügten, lässt sich aufgrund fehlender Forschungsliteratur bisher nicht beantworten. Da die Sendezeit Anfang der 1960er-Jahre jedoch nur rund drei Stunden betrug und an der Qualität des Empfangs noch gearbeitet wurde,[20] ist zu vermuten, dass das österreichische Fernsehen zu jener Zeit noch nicht systematisch mit internationaler Berichterstattung beschäftigt war. Die sporadische Thematisierung des Eichmann-Prozesses und die Übernahme von Fremdmaterial ließen sich daher – ähnlich wie später auch die zahlreichen Programmimporte – mit der personellen und redaktionellen Infrastruktur erklären.

17 Die österreichische Regierung entsandte hingegen zwei Prozessbeobachter, um ihr Interesse an der Aufarbeitung von NS-Verbrechen zu demonstrieren sowie Verhandlungsgegenstände mit Österreich-Bezug zu erfassen. Siegfried Sanwald, Adolf Eichmann und die österreichische Justiz. Neue Aspekte auf der Grundlage des Akts des Bundesministeriums für Justiz der Republik Österreich (‚Ministeriumsakt'), in: Claudia Kuretsidis-Haider/Christine Schindler (Hg.), Zeithistoriker – Archivar – Aufklärer. Festschrift für Winfried R. Garscha, Wien 2017, 243-256, 248.

18 Christina von Hodenberg, Konsens und Krise. Eine Geschichte der westdeutschen Medienöffentlichkeit 1945–1973, Göttingen 2006, 271.

19 Schier-Gribowsky reiste für diese Reportage an verschiedene Aufenthaltsorte Eichmanns und spricht dort auch mit Menschen, die ihn kannten. In Linz befragt er beispielsweise einen Schulkameraden und in Bad Aussee spricht er mit einem Ehepaar, bei dem Eichmanns Ehefrau nach dem Krieg wohnte.

20 Monika Bernold, Das Private Sehen. Fernsehfamilie Leitner, mediale Konsumkultur und nationale Identitätskonstruktion in Österreich nach 1955, Wien/Berlin/Münster 2007, 105 f.

Definitionen des bevorstehenden Ereignisses

Die Bedeutung, mit der das österreichische Fernsehen Eichmanns Ergreifung und den bevorstehenden Prozess versah, veränderte sich im Laufe der Berichterstattung. Schon im Nachrichtenbeitrag über seine Verhaftung (28. Mai 1960) sind unterschiedliche Deutungsmöglichkeiten angelegt, denn *Zeit im Bild* geht (in überraschend unstrukturierter Weise) auf verschiedene Themen ein. Der Beitrag beginnt mit Eichmanns berüchtigter Aussage, dass ihm „die Gewissheit, sechs Millionen Juden auf dem Gewissen zu haben, […] eine gewisse Befriedigung" gibt, woraufhin er als Mann vorgestellt wird, „der die Ermordung von 6 Millionen Juden mit unermüdlichem Eifer und organisatorischem Geschick betrieben hat".[21] Etwas später wird seine Funktion als Leiter des Judenamtes in Berlin und seine Teilnahme an der Wannsee-Konferenz erwähnt. Außerdem wird „der Budapester Judenretter Joel Brand" eingeführt, über den Eichmann „mit den Engländern ein gutes Geschäft machen wollte", indem er „eine Million Juden für 10.000 Lastkraftwagen" bot.

Neben diesen Informationen über Eichmann geht der Nachrichtenbeitrag vor allem auf Israel ein. Nicht nur werden die Umstände, unter denen Eichmann gefasst wurde, als „Staatsgeheimnis" beschrieben, seiner Verhaftung wird auch „grosses innenpolitisches Gewicht für Israel" zugeschrieben, da Eichmann Fragen klären könne, „die seit Jahren den Zündstoff für geheime innenpolitische Auseinandersetzungen bilden". Diese Aussage wird nicht weiter erklärt, doch der Beitrag endet mit der Bemerkung, dass Ben Gurion das israelische Parlament über Eichmanns Verhaftung informiert und die Opposition dem Sicherheitsdienst gedankt habe.

An diesem Nachrichtenbeitrag, mit dem *Zeit im Bild* die Ergreifung Eichmanns bekanntgab, fällt nicht nur auf, dass das österreichische Fernsehen Eichmanns Tätigkeit in Wien übergeht und lokale Bezüge somit unerwähnt bleiben. Auch einzelne Formulierungen irritieren, so beispielsweise, dass der Vorschlag, „Blut gegen Ware" auszutauschen, als britisches Geschäftsangebot erscheint.[22] Mit der Erwähnung seines „unermüdlichen Eifers" und „organisatorischen Geschicks" stellt die Sendung Eichmann überdies ein positives Arbeitszeugnis aus. Und schließlich ist auch kritisch zu fragen, warum der Beitrag mit einem Zitat von Eichmann beginnt.

In den Nachrichtensendungen der folgenden Monate werden verschiedene Themen aus diesem ersten Beitrag über Eichmann aufgegriffen und weitergeführt. So interessiert sich das österreichische Fernsehen weiterhin für die Bedeutung, die Eichmanns Verhaftung für den Staat Israel hat, allerdings mit veränderter Perspektive: Während im Mai noch von innenpolitischen Konflikten die Rede war, geht *Zeit im Bild* im Juni zweimal auf die außenpolitischen Spannungen zwischen Israel und Argentinien ein, die durch Eichmanns Entführung ausgelöst worden waren.

Am 14. Juni 1960 wird mit Bildern von David Ben-Gurion auf einem Flugfeld über dessen Staatsbesuch in Frankreich berichtet. Der kurze Beitrag (0:52) weist auf Vermutungen hin, dass sich die französische Regierung um eine Vermittlung im „israelisch-argentinischen Konflikt wegen Eichmann" bemühe, da sich auch der argentinische Präsident in Paris aufhalte. Außerdem wird die „französischen Presse" erwähnt, die „zum Großteil für Ben Gurion Stellung genommen" habe und Argenti-

21 Die folgenden Zitate stammen aus den Sendemanuskripten, die im Multimedialen Archiv des ORF als Mikrofiche vorhanden sind. Die Rechtschreibung wurde nicht angepasst.

22 Im Bemühen um kriegswichtige Waren hatte Eichmann mit Himmlers Billigung Brand damit beauftragt, den Alliierten anzubieten, bei Lieferung von 10.000 Lastkraftwagen einer Million Juden die Ausreise zu erlauben. Vgl. Alex Weissberg, Die Geschichte von Joel Brand, Köln 1956; Raul Hilberg, Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden. Die Gesamtgeschichte des Holocaust, Berlin 1982, 767.

nien „eine gewisse Verantwortung" zuschreibe, „da die Regierung den [sic] in der ganzen Welt gesuchten Kriegsverbrecher Zuflucht gewährt habe". Das österreichische Fernsehen bezieht in dieser Frage hingegen keine Position. Auch hält sich die Sendung rhetorisch deutlich zurück, indem sie Mutmaßungen über den Grund von Ben-Gurions Reise anderen überlässt – was insbesondere im Vergleich mit den Spekulationen über „geheime innenpolitische Auseinandersetzungen" auffällt, die einige Wochen zuvor geäußert wurden. Wenige Tage später, am 27. Juni 1960, erklärt *Zeit im Bild* den Konflikt dann für gelöst. Mit der Annahme einer Resolution im UN-Sicherheitsrat sei die „Entführungsaffaire", so der Nachrichtenkommentar, „für beide Teile und die Weltöffentlichkeit" befriedigend geregelt worden.

Auch auf Joel Brand kommt *Zeit im Bild* nochmals zurück. Während der erste Nachrichtenbeitrag über Eichmanns Verhaftung Brand durch den Zusatz „Budapester Judenretter" als Held mit regionalem Bezug einführt, wird er in der zweiten Sendung (8. Juni 1960) als „Hauptzeuge" vorgestellt. *Zeit im Bild* nimmt eine Pressekonferenz der israelischen Ermittlungsbehörde zum Anlass, um nochmals den vorgeschlagenen Austausch von einer Million Juden gegen 10.000 Lastkraftwagen zu erwähnen – diesmal wird jedoch Eichmann als Initiator identifiziert. Dieser habe „Yoel [sic] Brand […] zu den Alliierten geschickt", so der Nachrichtenkommentar zu Filmaufnahmen, die zeigen, wie Brand Pressevertretern Auskunft gibt.

In Ermangelung an Aufnahmen von Eichmann, so scheint es, richtet sich das Interesse von *Zeit im Bild* zunächst auf Joel Brand. Die Nachrichtensendung führt ihn in ihren beiden ersten Beiträgen über Eichmann sowohl namentlich als auch visuell ein. Hierbei wird er als zentrale Figur im Prozess gegen Adolf Eichmann, ja sogar als dessen Gegenspieler dargestellt. Erstaunlicherweise greifen spätere Sendungen nicht mehr auf die derart etablierte Person zurück. Selbst Brands verzweifelte Aussage vor Gericht findet im österreichischen Fernsehen keine Erwähnung. Dies entspricht dem generellen Verzicht auf Holocaustzeugen, auf den noch zurückzukommen sein wird. Dass Brand jedoch auch im Vorfeld des Prozesses vom Bildschirm verschwindet, nachdem er zunächst als Eichmanns Kontrahent etabliert worden ist, erstaunt nicht zuletzt aufgrund Brands Präsenz im bundesdeutschen Fernsehen.[23] Es scheint, als habe man sich in der Wiener Redaktion nach den ersten beiden Beiträgen dazu entschlossen, in distanzierterer Weise über den bevorstehenden Prozess zu berichten.

Das österreichische Fernsehen verzichtete fortan auch auf nationale oder lokale Bezüge, wie sich an einem kurzen Filmbeitrag über eine weitere Pressekonferenz zeigen lässt. Am 30. Oktober 1960 berichtete *Zeit im Bild*, dass Simon Wiesenthal in Jerusalem „vor israelischen Journalisten Einzelheiten [von der] jahrelangen Suchaktion" nach Eichmann bekanntgegeben hat. Der Nachrichtenwert dieser Meldung speist sich für das österreichische Fernsehen aus Wiesenthals Bekanntheit in Österreich, doch der Beitrag geht nicht explizit auf seine Staatsangehörigkeit bzw. seine Aktivitäten ein. Indem *Zeit im Bild* die erwähnte Suchaktion überdies nicht weiter erläutert, sondern nur allgemein formuliert, dass Wiesenthal „seit 1945 die Spur des untergetauchten ‚Endlösers der Judenfrage' verfolgt" habe, enthält die Sendung ihren Zuschauern lokale Anknüpfungspunkte vor – wie beispielsweise die gescheiterte Razzia im österreichischen Bad Aussee, wo sich Eichmann im Dezember 1949 vermutlich aufgehalten hat. Dieses Ereignis schildert Wiesenthal in seinem Buch *Ich jagte Eichmann,* das noch vor Prozessbeginn auf Deutsch und Hebräisch veröffent-

23 Am 19. Oktober 1960 sendete *Hier und Heute* beispielsweise ein Interview mit Brand, in dem dieser den Versuch beschreibt, ungarische Juden vor der Deportation zu retten.

licht wurde.[24] Das Buch dürfte auch in Wien bekannt gewesen sein, da Wiesenthal nicht nur in Israel eine Pressekonferenz abgehalten hat, sondern vermutlich auch in Österreich auf seine Publikation aufmerksam gemacht hat. Dass *Zeit im Bild* die hierin erwähnten Aufenthaltsorte von Eichmann und seiner Familie nicht erwähnt, legt die Vermutung nahe, dass die Sendung Hinweise auf Eichmanns österreichische Vergangenheit vermeiden wollte.

Auch die biografischen Informationen über Eichmann, die im Beitrag über seine Ergreifung enthalten waren, wurden in den folgenden Monaten weder wiederholt noch weiter ergänzt – auch nicht, als *Zeit im Bild* am 12. Dezember 1960 über die Publikation von Eichmanns Memoiren in der Zeitschrift *Life* berichtet.[25] Am Vorabend des Prozesses (10. April 1961) strahlte der österreichische Sender jedoch einen längeren Bericht über Eichmanns Leben aus, wobei sich der genaue Inhalt aufgrund fehlender Unterlagen nicht rekonstruieren lässt. Inwiefern in dieser Sendung darauf eingegangen wurde, dass Eichmann in Linz aufgewachsen ist, bis zum Verbot der NSDAP im Jahr 1933 in Österreich gelebt hat und nach dem ‚Anschluß' wieder zurückkam, um in Wien die Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung aufzubauen, muss daher leider unbeantwortet blieben.

Die restlichen Beiträge, die das österreichische Fernsehen vor Beginn des Eichmann-Prozesses ausstrahlte, thematisieren dessen Vorbereitungen.[26] So nimmt *Zeit im Bild* die Publikation von Eichmanns Memoiren zum Anlass, um kurz auf die Aufbewahrung der Prozessdokumente einzugehen (12. Dezember 1960), berichtet über die Ankunft von Eichmanns Verteidiger Servatius in Israel (8. Oktober 1960),[27] über die Anfertigung eines Kastens aus Panzerglas (31. Jänner 1961), um Eichmann vor einem möglichen Anschlag im Gerichtssaal zu schützen, und über die Einrichtung eines Pressezentrums für internationale Journalisten (29. Jänner 1961).

Interesse an Eichmann (I): Erste Worte

Bereits einen Tag nach Beginn des Eichmann-Prozesses sendete das österreichische Fernsehen erste Bilder aus dem Gerichtssaal (12. April1961). Im Archiv des ORF sind Filmaufnahmen von der Prozesseröffnung erhalten, die zeigen, wie Eichmann in seiner Glaskabine wartet, wie die Richter den Gerichtssaal betreten und die Sitzung eröffnen und wie Eichmann die (in Hebräisch vorgetragene) Feststellung seiner Personalien mit „Jawohl" bestätigt. Da das Manuskript dieses Beitrags im Archiv

24 Tom Segev, Simon Wiesenthal. The Life and Legends, London 2010, 24.

25 *Life* veröffentlichte einen Teil der Interviews, die Willem Sassen mit Eichmann in Buenos Aires geführt hatte. Siehe hierzu Bettina Stangneth, Eichmann vor Jerusalem. Das unbehelligte Leben eines Massenmörders, Hamburg 2011, 485 ff.

26 Darüber hinaus beschäftigte sich ein Beitrag (3. März 1961) mit dem deutsch-deutschen Konflikt über Nazi-Täter. Anlass ist eine „Eichmann-Ausstellung", in der „ehemalige Insassen von deutschen Konzentrationslagern" Dokumente zusammengetragen haben, „die eine erschütternde Anklage gegen Adolf Eichmann und seine Helfer darstellen". Allerdings sei „nicht ganz sicher", so der Kommentar zu Filmaufnahmen aus dem Ausstellungsraum, „wer hinter dieser Ausstellung steht". Aufgrund zahlreicher Schriftstücke, die den „westdeutschen Politiker Hans Globke" belasten, sei anzunehmen, so der Beitrag, dass es sich bei Ausstellung um eine Kampagne der „ostdeutschen Kommunisten" handelt, die darauf ziele „die Adenauer-Regierung zu diffamieren". Mehr über diese Kampagne in: Judith Keilbach, Campaigning Against West Germany. East German Television Coverage of the Eichmann Trial, in: Kirsten Bönker/Julia Obertreis/Sven Grampp (Hg.), Television Beyond and Across the Iron Curtain, Cambridge 2016, 25-54.

27 Auch in dieser Sendung überlässt es die Nachrichtensendung anderen, eine Position gegenüber Israel zu formulieren. Zur Frage der Unparteilichkeit der israelischen Richter, die im bundesdeutschen Fernsehen explizit problematisiert wurde, paraphrasiert *Zeit im Bild* in einem Nebensatz Eichmanns Verteidiger Servatius, der „den israelischen Richtern volles Vertrauen schenke".

fehlt, lässt sich leider nicht klären, wie *Zeit im Bild* diese Bilder kommentiert hat und ob der Originalton in der Nachrichtensendung zu hören war. In jedem Fall wird der Bericht für diejenigen, die sich von Eichmanns erstem Auftreten Erkenntnisse erhofft hatten, eine Enttäuschung dargestellt haben.

Zehn Tage später, am 22. April 1961, verkündete *Zeit im Bild* dann, dass „endlich […] ein Originaltonbericht" eingetroffen sei.[28] Bevor dieser eingespielt wird, nimmt der Nachrichtensprecher dessen Inhalt mit folgenden Worten vorweg: „Während der ‚Schreibtischmörder' unbeweglich in seiner schussicheren [sic] Glaszelle sitzt, wird ein Teil seines Geständnisses von einem Tonband abgespielt." Da diese Aufnahmen nicht archiviert sind, lässt sich nicht rekonstruieren, welcher Ausschnitt dieses Geständnisses im österreichischen Fernsehen zu sehen bzw. hören war. Interessanterweise hielt *Zeit im Bild* es nicht für nötig, die Fernsehzuschauer über die Anklagepunkte zu informieren, die an den vorangegangenen Verhandlungstagen verlesen worden waren. Vielmehr ist es Eichmanns erster Äußerung (wenn auch von Band), die die österreichische Redaktion zum Anlass nimmt, um erneut aus Jerusalem zu berichten.

Der mit Spannung erwartete ‚Auftritt' des Angeklagten beschränkte sich also zunächst einmal auf ein spärliches „Jawohl", und als er dann endlich zum ersten Mal länger zu hören war, kam seine Stimme vom Tonband. Erst Mitte Juni ergriff Eichmann im Gerichtssaal selbst das Wort und äußerte sich zu den Vorwürfen. Am darauffolgenden Tag (21. Juni 1961) sendete *Zeit im Bild* ihren dritten und letzten Beitrag über die Hauptverhandlung.[29] Auch hiervon ist kein Manuskript, sondern lediglich das Filmmaterial aus Jerusalem erhalten. Eingespielt wurde Eichmanns Erklärung, dass zum Zeitpunkt seines Eintritts in die NSDAP das „Programm der Judenbekämpfung in ein Stadium der sekundären Linien abgerutscht" (d. h. die antisemitische Ausrichtung der Partei für ihn nicht erkennbar) war und dass später sein „Dienstgrad zu klein" und seine „Dienststellung zu gering" war, um das Ausmaß der „Maßnahmen" vorauszuahnen.

Diese Beiträge verdeutlichen, dass *Zeit im Bild* während des Prozesses ausschließlich an der Person Eichmann interessiert war. In den Nachrichten wurde weder auf die Anklageverlesung eingegangen, noch über Zeugenaussagen berichtet. Warum die Nachrichtensendung trotz ihrer Faszination für Eichmann und obwohl sich dieser vor Gericht ausführlich zu den Vorwürfen äußerte, nur einen einzigen Beitrag gesendet hat, in dem Eichmann ‚unvermittelt' spricht, lässt sich nicht mehr klären. Inwiefern dies mit der Art seiner Aussage zusammenhing, die von vielen Journalisten und Prozessbeobachtern als unerträglich empfunden wurde, muss Spekulation blieben.[30] Fest steht allerdings, dass durch die eingeschränkte Berichterstattung der Eindruck entsteht, als sei es *Zeit im Bild* vor allem um die Präsentation von Eichmanns ersten Worten gegangen.

28 Diese Bemerkung steht im Widerspruch zur Sendung vom 12. April 1961, für die ebenfalls Tonfilmaufnahmen zur Verfügung standen. Möglicherweise hielt die Redaktion den Ton aufgrund seiner Fremdsprachigkeit jedoch für unbrauchbar und hat die Filmbilder ohne Ton gezeigt bzw. einen eigenen Kommentar darübergelegt. Vielleicht bezieht sich der Begriff „Originaltonbericht" jedoch auch darauf, dass Eichmann erstmals über seine Taten spricht.

29 Lediglich am 1. Juni 1962 berichtete *Zeit im Bild* nochmals über Eichmann, und zwar anlässlich der Ablehnung seines Gnadengesuchs.

30 Die Berichterstatter des bundesdeutschen Fernsehens empfanden es als „Alpdruck", dem Angeklagten zuhören zu müssen (*Eine Epoche vor Gericht*, 30. Juni 1961), wobei sie sich zum einen auf die im „Hitlerjargon vorgetragenen Unschuldstiraden" und zum anderen auf Eichmanns Administrationssprache bezogen, hinter der die Unmenschlichkeit seiner Taten verschwinde (*Eine Epoche vor Gericht*, 4. Juli 1961).

Umgang mit der Vergangenheit

Neben den drei Beiträgen in *Zeit im Bild* ging das österreichische Fernsehen während des Prozesses noch fünf weitere Male auf die Entwicklungen im Gerichtssaal ein, und zwar in der Magazinsendung *Im Scheinwerfer*, die sonntagnachmittags ausgestrahlt wurde. Inhaltlich unterscheidet sich deren Berichterstattung in mehrfacher Hinsicht von den Beiträgen in *Zeit im Bild*. So blickt *Im Scheinwerfer* auf längere Verhandlungsphasen zurück, nimmt eine analytischere Perspektive ein und bezieht deutlich Stellung, wenn es um den Umgang mit der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit geht.

In der Sendung vom 7. Mai 1961 kritisiert *Im Scheinwerfer* beispielsweise die gängige Verteidigungsstrategie „aller Nazimörder", lediglich pflichtgetreu Befehle ausgeführt zu haben. Um dies im Fall von Eichmann zu entkräften, zeigt der Beitrag Dokumente mit Eichmanns Unterschrift, die beweisen, dass dieser „bei der Ausrottung der europäischen Juden eine treibende Kraft war". Wie zur Konkretisierung dieses abstrakten Begriffs werden daraufhin Filmaufnahmen aus den befreiten Konzentrationslagern eingespielt, auf denen Leichenberge, bis auf die Knochen abgemagerte Menschen, Massengräber und Verbrennungsöfen zu sehen sind. „Wir zeigen [diese Bilder] nicht gerne", erklärt der Kommentar, „aber all zu viele Menschen haben vergessen, zu viele Dunkelmänner versuchen abzuleugnen und abzuschwächen was geschah und zu viele Menschen können es einfach nicht fassen, wollen es nicht glauben." Diese Worte lassen keinen Zweifel daran, dass die österreichischen Fernsehzuschauer mit den Filmaufnahmen konfrontiert werden, um „die Wahrheit" der nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungspolitik vor Augen zu führen.

Auch in der Sendung von 30. April 1961 stehen historische Fakten im Mittelpunkt. Im Rückblick auf die Beweisaufnahme legitimiert die Sendung ihren Kommentar durch den Hinweis auf „112 Zeugen und 1500 Dokumente" sowie auf das Eingeständnis Eichmanns, „selbst beispiellose Greuel angeordnet beziehungsweise vorgeschlagen zu haben". Daraufhin konstatiert *Im Scheinwerfer*, dass „das Schicksal dieses Menschenschlächters" weniger wichtig sei als die Thematisierung und Anerkennung der Tatsachen. „Vor einem Weltforum" sei „einwandfrei festgestellt" worden, „daß Adolf Hitler selbst die Ermordung von 11 Millionen europäischen Juden angeordnet hat, und daß sich eine Mörderbande des deutschen Reichs bemächtigen konnte". Außerdem habe der Prozess anhand „unbestrittener offizieller Originaldokumente aus fast allen europäischen Staaten" nachgewiesen, „daß nicht nur Partei und Polizei, sondern auch Wehrmacht und Außenamt an den Massenmorden mitschuldig waren". Nachdem der Kommentar die Verantwortung für den Genozid zunächst Hitler und seiner ‚Mörderbande' zuschreibt, bezieht er in seinem folgenden Satz die Wehrmacht mit ein – und damit implizit auch österreichische Soldaten, die in der deutschen Wehrmacht Kriegsdienst geleistet haben und um deren Ehrenrettung man in Österreich seit den 1950er-Jahren bemüht war.[31]

Deutlicher wird der Beitrag, wenn es um den gegenwärtigen Umgang mit den nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen geht: „Niemehr [sic] werden Neonazistische [sic] Gaukler irgendjemanden [sic] weismachen können, es sei ja gar nicht so arg gewesen", stellt der Live-Kommentar fest. Dieses Argument wird – implizit wiederum unter Einbeziehung Österreichs – mit den Worten „dafür sind besonders alle demokratischen Bürger der deutschsprachigen Länder den israelischen Behörden zu

31 Zum Gefallenengedenken und zur Beurteilung des Kriegsdienstes in der deutschen Wehrmacht siehe Uhl, Vom Opfermythos, 60-64.

Dank verpflichtet" abgeschlossen. Hiermit bezieht *Im Scheinwerfer* deutlich Position gegen die Relativierung der NS-Verbrechen, wie sie im Österreich jener Jahre nicht unüblich war.[32] Mit der Betonung der Rolle Israels greift der Beitrag zugleich auf ein Thema zurück, das *Zeit im Bild* Monate zuvor im Rahmen der Berichterstattung über Eichmanns Festnahme etabliert hat. Der Beitrag endet mit Aufnahmen von der in Deutsch geführten Befragung des Angeklagten durch Richter Landau, der Eichmann mit seinen widersprüchlichen Aussagen über dessen freiwilligen bzw. unfreiwilligen Verbleib in der SS konfrontiert.

In den Beiträgen zu Beginn der Schlussverhandlung und anlässlich der Urteilsverkündung wird die Unbestreitbarkeit der Verbrechen ebenfalls betont. Erneut erwähnt *Im Scheinwerfer* die Menge des Beweismaterials, mit dessen Hilfe „das Mordprogramm der Nazi der entsetzten Welt vorgeführt" wurde (10. Dezember 1961) bzw. die Tatbeteiligung Eichmanns nachgewiesen (17. Dezember 1961) werden konnte. In beiden Sendungen werden die Verbrechen deutlich benannt: „Als Judenreferent des Reichssicherheitshauptamts wurde Eichmann mit dieser Aufgabe betraut [alle Juden Europas auszurotten]. Er organisierte zuerst die Einsatzkommandos der SS, die 2 Millionen Ost-Juden erschossen, und dann die Todestransporte von 4 Millionen Juden in die Gaskammern der Vernichtungslager", so der Kommentar in der Sendung vom 10. Dezember 1961. Eine Woche später wird neben Eichmanns Verbindung zu den Einsatzkommandos erwähnt, „daß er ferner die Einrichtung von Gaskammern in den Vernichtungslagern vorgeschlagen hat, daß er diese Lager inspizierte, ihre Kommandanten zu größerer Schnelligkeit im Massenmord anspornte und daß er persönlich die Todestransporte leitete". Zu diesem Kommentar sind jeweils Aufnahmen vom Prozess zu sehen.

Darüber hinaus betont die Sendung vom 17. Dezember 1961 nochmals, dass der Zweck des Prozesses nicht nur „die Abrechnung mit dem Oberhenker des jüdischen Volkes" war, sondern dass „die israelische Regierung derWelt [sic] noch einmalin [sic] unbestreitbarer Weise zeigen [wollte], was für unbeschreibliche Verbrechen von einer Mörderbande im Namen des Deutschen Volkes begangen wurden". Im Gegensatz zur Sendung vom 30. Juli 1961, in der die Mitschuld von Polizei, Wehrmacht und Außenamt erwähnt wurde, schreibt *Im Scheinwerfer* am 17. Dezember 1961 die alleinige Verantwortung nun wieder einer „Mörderbande" zu. Interessanterweise wurde der abschließende Satz, dass der Prozess „eine Tat Staatsbürgerlicher [sic] Erziehung für die Jugend der Welt und insbesondere für die heranwachsende Generation Deutschlands" war, im Manuskript gestrichen. Ob dies aus inhaltlichen Gründen geschah, oder um den Beitrag zu kürzen, lässt sich nicht mehr aufklären.

Im Vergleich der Beiträge zeigt sich, dass diese inhaltlich gegensätzliche Positionen formulieren – vor allem, wenn es um die Mitverantwortung für den Nationalsozialismus geht. Dieser Befund sowie die variierenden Perspektiven, unterschiedlichen Formulierungen, abweichenden Schreibweisen und stilistischen Besonderheiten (z. B. der Gebrauch von KZ-Aufnahmen) legt die Vermutung nahe, dass die *Scheinwerfer*-Beiträge über den Eichmann-Prozess von wechselnden Redakteuren verfasst wurden.

32 So weist Winfried Garscha beispielsweise auf die ausführliche Beschäftigung mit alliierten Kriegsverbrechen und auf die Schuldzuweisungen an die Alliierten hin, die sich in der österreichischen Presse finden lassen: Winfried Garscha, Eichmann: Eine Irritation, kein Erdbeben. Zu den Auswirkungen des Prozesses von Jerusalem auf das Österreich des „Herrn Karl", in: Sabine Falch/Moshe Zimmermann (Hg.), Österreich – Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zum Eichmann-Prozess 1961, Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen 2005, 186-229, 189 f.

Interesse an Eichmann (II): Fehlende Zeugen

In *Im Scheinwerfer* wurden nicht nur historische Fakten benannt und der gesellschaftliche Umgang mit den nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen adressiert, die Sendung ging auch auf Eichmanns Verteidigungsstrategie ein. So weisen beide Prozesszusammenfassungen vom Dezember 1961 auf Eichmanns Berufung auf den Befehlsnotstand hin. Die Sendung vom 10. Dezember 1961 verdeutlicht dies sogar mit Aufnahmen von Eichmanns Erklärung, unschuldig zu sein. Er sei nicht für politische Entscheidungen verantwortlich gewesen, und „wo keine Verantwortung ist, da ist ja schließlich auch keine Schuld", so Eichmanns Worte, mit denen der Beitrag endet.

Noch ausführlicher beschäftigt sich die Sendung vom 23. Juli 1961 mit Eichmanns Argumentation, wobei die analytische Beschreibung jeweils mit entsprechenden Filmfragmenten belegt wird. Der Beitrag blickt auf die kurz zuvor abgeschlossene Vernehmung des Angeklagten zurück und hebt unter anderem hervor, dass Eichmann „feine Unterschiede zwischen der Ermordung von Ost-Juden und der von deutschen Juden" gemacht habe. Nach der sarkastischen Bemerkung, dass „er sich immer wieder auf Befehle seiner bösen Vorgesetzten" herausgeredet habe und darum bemüht schien, „die Sympathie des Gerichtshofes […] zu gewinnen", indem er sich als „kleiner Mann, sozusagen der Reiseleiter des Todes" darstellte, werden entsprechende Aufnahmen aus dem Gerichtssaal eingespielt. Im Originalton belegt ein relativ langes Filmfragment (2:44), wie Eichmann zwischen „Juden aus dem Reich" und anderen differenziert und sein Handeln dabei mit dem Befehlsnotstand verteidigt. Ein weiteres Fragment (0:50) verdeutlicht anschließend, wie er die Befehlskette anführt, um die Verantwortung seinen Vorgesetzten zuzuschieben.

Als „bisherigen Höhepunkt" bezeichnet der Beitrag Eichmanns Versuch, „sich von den Bluttaten des 3. Reiches loszusagen". Bevor dieser Moment in einer Filmeinspielung (2:28) zu sehen ist, relativiert der Kommentar Eichmanns Aussage mit den Worten: „Man würde dieser verspäteten Reue vielleicht mehr Bedeutung beimessen, wüßte man nicht, daß sich der Angeklagte noch vor vier Jahren seiner Taten gerühmt hat." Erst dann zeigt *Im Scheinwerfer*, wie Eichmann den Mord an den Juden als „eines der kapitalsten Verbrechen innerhalb der Menschheitsgeschichte" definiert und wie er seine Erschütterung beim Anblick toter Juden schildert, in deren Folge er seinen Vorgesetzten um Entbindung von seinen Aufgaben gebeten habe. Nach einem kurzen Fragment, das dokumentiert, wie ein Prozessbesucher Eichmann beschimpft, stellt der Beitrag abschließend fest, dass Eichmann „nur dann nervös [wurde], wenn er sich in die Enge gerieben fühlte". Auch diese Beobachtung wird mit entsprechenden Filmbildern aus dem Gerichtssaal (2:16) belegt.

Auch am 30. Juli 1961 führte *Im Scheinwerfer* Eichmanns Auftreten im Zeugenstand anhand eines längeren Filmfragments (3:30) vor. Zu sehen ist, wie Eichmann während der Befragung durch Richter Landau zu erklären versucht, warum sich seine Angaben über die Möglichkeit einer Versetzung an einen anderen Dienstort widersprechen. Nachdem seine Ausführungen über seine Ohnmacht gegenüber dem „System" und das fehlende Entgegenkommen seines Amtschefs Richter Landau nicht zufriedenstellen, gesteht Eichmann schließlich ein, dass er „in diesem Durcheinander" überhaupt nicht darüber nachgedacht hat, sich von seinen Aufgaben entbinden zu lassen.

Wie die Analyse der Sendungen zeigt, richtete sich das Interesse des österreichischen Fernsehens vor allem auf Eichmann – sei es in Erwartung seiner ersten Worte oder in Form einer Analyse seines Auftretens vor Gericht. Diese Aufmerksamkeit

für den Angeklagten ging mit einem Desinteresse an den Überlebenden des Holocaust einher. Während diese im Gerichtssaal ausführlich zu Wort kamen,[33] wurden sie in den Sendungen des ORF ignoriert. So berichtete das Fernsehen weder über die erschütternden Schilderungen von Massenerschießungen, noch über den Zusammenbruch eines Zeugen im Gerichtssaal. Auch Zeugenaussagen, in denen es um Österreich ging, blieben unerwähnt, ebenso wie die Aussage von Joel Brand, der in der Vorberichterstattung nach als Hauptzeuge vorgestellt worden war. Obwohl die Anzahl der Zeugen mehrfach erwähnt wurde, wecken die Sendungen des österreichischen Fernsehens den Eindruck, als sei der Prozess (beinah) ohne Zeugen ausgekommen.

In den Aufnahmen aus dem Gerichtsaal, die in den Sendungen eingespielt wurden, sind insgesamt zwei Zeugen zu sehen, und zwar am 10. Dezember 1961, als *Im Scheinwerfer* anlässlich des Beginns der Schlussverhandlung auf die Hauptverhandlung zurückblickte. Der Einspielfilm zeigt zwei kurze Fragmente von Männern im Zeugenstand, bevor zu sehen ist, wie Eichmann seine Unschuld erklärt. Der erste Zeuge (es handelt sich um Ya'akov Friedman, der jedoch nicht vorgestellt wird) spricht hebräisch, wobei anzunehmen ist, dass die Bilder nicht mit ihrem Originalton gezeigt, sondern vom Nachrichtenkommentar ‚übersprochen' wurden. Der zweite Zeuge (Heinrich Grüber) spricht deutsch, und falls *Im Scheinwerfer* den Originalton eingespielt hat, konnten die Fernsehzuschauer seine Bitte hören, seine harten Worte nicht nur als „Ausdruck der inneren Erregung" zu verstehen.

Außer Friedmann und Grüber sind keine weiteren Zeugen im österreichischen Fernsehen zu sehen. Wenn in der Sendung der Originalton ihrer Aussagen überhaupt eingespielt wurde, so waren diese entweder nicht zu verstehen (weil in Hebräisch) oder bezogen sich nicht auf die Sache. Die Auswahl dieser Ausschnitte zeigt deutlich, dass beim österreichischen Fernsehen keinerlei Interesse an den Holocaustüberlebenden bestand, deren Schilderungen das Gericht und die internationale Presse über mehrere Wochen beschäftigte. Das bundesdeutsche Fernsehen konfrontierte seine Zuschauer demgegenüber mit den Erlebnissen von über 20 Überlebenden, deren Zeugenaussagen in der Sendereihe *Eine Epoche vor Gericht* zu sehen waren.[34]

Schluss

Als der Eichmann-Prozess stattfand, befand sich das österreichische Fernsehen noch in seinen Anfangsjahren. Für eigene Reportagen aus dem Ausland fehlte die nötige Infrastruktur, sodass das Fernsehen in Österreich auf Berichte und Bildmaterial aus anderen Quellen angewesen war. Diese Schwierigkeit gilt es bei der kritischen Analyse der Berichterstattung aus Jerusalem mit zu berücksichtigen. So lassen sich die umfangreiche Vorberichterstattung einerseits und die eingeschränkte Beschäftigung mit den Ereignissen im Gerichtssaal andererseits möglicherweise darauf zurückführen, dass das Bildmaterial von unterschiedlichen Agenturen angeboten wurde.

33 Vergleiche hierzu: Annette Wieviorka, The Era of the Witness, 56 ff.

34 Das ostdeutsche Fernsehen interessierte sich ebenfalls kaum für die Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungspolitik, sondern nutzte die Berichterstattung über den Eichmann-Prozess für eine Kampagne gegen die BRD. Siehe hierzu: Judith Keilbach, Campaigning Against West Germany. East German Television Coverage of the Eichmann Trial, in: Kirsten Bönker/Julia Obertreis/Sven Grampp (Hg.), Television Beyond and Across the Iron Curtain, Cambridge 2016, 25–54.

Nach der ersten Bestandsaufnahme der Fernsehberichterstattung über den Eichmann-Prozess lässt sich allerdings konstatieren, dass das Interesse des österreichischen Fernsehens hauptsächlich Eichmann galt – und weniger dem verhandelten Verbrechen oder dem Prozess. Das österreichische Fernsehen präsentierte dementsprechend keine Aussagen von Holocaustüberlebenden, sondern beschäftigte sich vor allem mit den Auftritten und Verteidigungsstrategien des Angeklagten. Auf lokale und nationale Bezüge wurde in der Berichterstattung jedoch verzichtet, d. h. Eichmanns Leben und Wirken in Österreich blieb unerwähnt.

Diese Analyseresultate bedürfen im folgenden Schritt einer Kontextualisierung. Aus fernsehhistorischer Perspektive wäre es beispielsweise interessant, die Produktionszusammenhänge der Berichterstattung und das Zustandekommen redaktioneller Entscheidungen genauer zu beschreiben, wobei sich die Rekonstruktion aufgrund fehlender Dokumente schwierig gestalten dürfte. Machbarer erscheint hingegen eine Diskussion der Fernsehbeiträge im Zusammenhang mit der österreichischen Vergangenheitspolitik. Hierfür gilt es, sowohl Presseberichte und andere öffentliche Äußerungen zum Eichmann-Prozess, als auch die politische und juristische Aufarbeitung des Nationalsozialismus (bzw. deren Fehlen oder schleppende Vorgehensweise)[35] systematisch auszuwerten. Dies würde es auch ermöglichen, die Rolle des damaligen österreichischen Fernsehen bei der Auseinandersetzung mit der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit besser einschätzen zu können.

35 Zur juristischen Aufarbeitung siehe Thomas Albrich/Winfried Garscha/Martin Polaschek (Hg.), Holocaust und Kriegsverbrechen vor Gericht. Der Fall Österreich. 2006.

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Article

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Edith Raim

Die justizielle Ahndung von NS-Verbrechen im anderen Deutschland

SBZ und DDR und das verbrecherische Erbe des NS-Regimes

Abstract

While West Germany's judicial dealings with Nazi crimes have been amply researched, their Eastern counterpart is less well known. Initially, the similarities are striking: both the Western zones and the Soviet zone had to reconstruct their legal system. Re-erection of bombed district courts as well as denazification of legal personnel dominated the first post-war years. Legal regulations were similar, too, to an extent: both West and East German jurists used the German penal code and – with the exception of the American zone – Control Council Law No. 10 (crimes against humanity). Furthermore, in East Germany Control Council Directive No. 38 (denazification) was employed as a penal law, too which meant that many defendants were sentenced for membership in Nazi organizations. However, although the Nazi crimes to be adjudicated were necessarily similar in both Germanies, the emphasis on certain crimes was very different: denunciations, crimes against political opponents and foreign workers and Nazi party membership were most prominent in numbers in East Germany. In the West, Nazi crimes against Jews played a bigger role in post-war justice.

Voraussetzungen

Mit dem Nürnberger Prozess vor dem Internationalen Militärtribunal und den Prozessen vor alliierten Militärgerichten setzten die Alliierten die u. a. in der Moskauer Deklaration im Oktober 1943 angekündigte Ahndung von NS-Verbrechen um. Dies betraf vor allem die völkerrechtlich relevanten Straftaten an alliierten Opfern, die meist während des Krieges begangen worden waren. Damit wurde ein großer Teil der NS-Verbrechen geahndet. Unberücksichtigt blieben hierbei die deutschen Opfer der NS-Diktatur. Parallel zu den alliierten Verfahren fanden daher bereits seit Sommer und Herbst 1945 erste Verfahren vor deutschen Gerichten statt. Die Demarkationslinie zwischen alliierten und deutschen Prozessen verlief im Regelfall entlang der Nationalität der Opfer: Alliierte Gerichte ahndeten Verbrechen an alliierten Opfern, deutsche Gerichte urteilten Verbrechen von Deutschen an anderen Deutschen ab.

Wiedereröffnung der Gerichte in West- und Ostdeutschland

Für die Jahre von 1945 bis 1950 ist anfänglich von einer großen, ja teils überraschenden Parallelität der Entwicklung in West- und Ostdeutschland auszugehen. In West wie in Ost ordneten die Alliierten die Schließung der deutschen Gerichte an, nationalsozialistische Gesetze wurden für ungültig erklärt, eine Rückkehr zum Strafgesetzbuch im Stand vor der ‚Machtergreifung' verkündet, sämtliche NS-Gerichte abgeschafft. Sowohl in West- wie auch in Ostdeutschland nahmen zahlrei-

che deutsche Amts- und Landgerichte ihren Betrieb bereits im Sommer 1945 wieder auf, obwohl die materiellen Bedingungen außerordentlich schwierig waren. Von einigen Gerichtsgebäuden existierten nur noch Trümmer, intakte Gebäude waren von alliierten Truppen beschlagnahmt, Akten ausgelagert oder vernichtet, Gesetzestexte und Kommentare, ja selbst Schreibmaschinen und Papier allerorten Mangelware. Ab 1946 wurden die Oberlandesgerichte als vorläufig höchste Instanz deutscher Justiz wiedereröffnet. In den westlichen wie in der östlichen Besatzungszone wurden die Strukturen der deutschen Justizverwaltung im Wesentlichen rekonstruiert. Im Osten blieben einige frühere Landgerichte nun geschlossen, wie etwa Stendal oder Halberstadt. Gründe waren u. a. Gebiets- und Bevölkerungsverschiebungen sowie schwere Bombenschäden wie in Halberstadt. Zwischen den Westzonen und der Ostzone wurde weiterhin Rechtshilfe praktiziert, d. h. ein Verfahren, das beispielsweise in Magdeburg begann, konnte in Braunschweig weitergeführt werden und umgekehrt.

Das größte Problem stellte das Justizpersonal dar, das durch die Beteiligung an der nationalsozialistischen Willkürjustiz jenseits jeglicher Rehabilitierung kompromittiert war. Zunächst waren sich die Alliierten einig gewesen, die Belasteten aus dem Justizdienst zu entfernen. Das alliierte Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 4 ordnete an, dass alle ehemaligen aktiven NSDAP-Mitglieder sowie diejenigen, die an der Strafjustiz des NS direkten Anteil gehabt hatten, nicht mehr als Richter und Staatsanwälte verwendet werden durften.

Im Westen Deutschlands waren es vor allem die US-Amerikaner, die anfänglich am unerbittlichsten die Säuberung vorantrieben. Sie verließen sich auf Richter, die schon 1933 pensioniert worden waren, was allerdings dazu führte, dass die Justizverwaltung in der US-amerikanischen Zone in weiten Teilen einem Seniorenheim glich. Die britische und die französische Militärregierung waren deutlich weniger restriktiv. Den Briten reichte es, zuverlässige Personen in den sogenannten Schlüsselpositionen – Präsidenten der Oberlandesgerichte, Generalstaatsanwälte und Justizministerien – zu haben. Die französische Besatzungsmacht fand es wichtiger, ein funktionierendes Rechtswesen zu haben als politisch unbelastete Juristen. Tatsächlich schlossen sich das Besatzungsziel des Wiederaufbaus einer funktionierenden Justizverwaltung und das Ziel einer unbelasteten Juristenschaft aus – und alle westlichen Alliierten opferten die gründliche Entnazifizierung des Justizpersonals dem Wunsch nach einer funktionierenden Justizverwaltung. Doch selbst wenn die Entnazifizierung des Justizpersonals von Historikerinnen und Historikern als gescheitert beurteilt wird, so war das Procedere doch mit einigen Härten für die betroffenen Juristen verbunden. Fragebögen und Entnazifizierungskommissionen zwangen zur laufenden Rechenschaft, Fragebogenfälscher riskierten Verurteilungen, einige Juristen gingen zumindest zeitweise ihrer Position und ihrer Einkommen verlustig. Vielen war über Jahre hinweg die Berufsausübung verboten.[1]

Ostdeutschland schlug in der Personalfrage einen anderen Weg ein. In der sowjetisch besetzten Zone wurde das Personal deutlich gründlicher gesiebt als in den Westzonen. In verschiedenen Säuberungswellen fand ein mehr oder weniger vollständiger Personalaustausch statt. Dem durch die Entnazifizierung entstandenen Mangel an Berufsrichtern wurde ab 1946 mit den sogenannten Volksrichtern entgegengewirkt. Allerdings kamen in den Verfahren zu nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen nicht vermehrt Volksrichter zum Einsatz. Tatsächlich ist es – auch unter

1 Vgl. Edith Raim, Justiz zwischen Diktatur und Demokratie. Wiederaufbau und Ahndung von NS-Verbrechen in Westdeutschland 1945–1949, München 2013.

Einbeziehung des Personals der Waldheim-Verfahren, einem speziell eingesetzten Gericht in Sachsen zur Aburteilung deutscher Gefangener aus sowjetischen Internierungslagern – vielmehr so, dass Berufsrichter, die etwa 1947 noch weitgehend rechtsstaatlich agierten, zunehmend harschere Urteile fällten und sich immer weiter von rechtsstaatlichen Normen entfernten. Die größte politische Einflussnahme auf die Verfahren zu nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen (NSG) lag nicht in der Richterschaft, sondern vielmehr in der Anklagebehörde: Anklagen wurden in den Verfahren nach Befehl 201 (ab 1947) nicht mehr durch die Staatsanwaltschaft, sondern durch die politische Polizei in Form der K 5-Referate (Kriminalpolizei) erhoben, Staatsanwälte genehmigten lediglich noch die teils dilettantisch zusammengeschusterten Anklagen noch.

Rechtsgrundlagen

Grundlage der deutschen Prozesse in West und Ost war zunächst das Strafgesetzbuch, das auf Befehl der Alliierten von NS-Gesetzen bereinigt und reformiert wurde. Die vielleicht größten Unterschiede der Rechtsgrundlagen bei der Ahndung der Verbrechen bestanden anfänglich nicht zwischen den westlichen Zonen und der östlichen Zone, sondern vielmehr zwischen der US-amerikanischen und den übrigen Zonen. Das Ende 1945 erlassene Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 10 mit der Definition des Straftatbestandes des Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit gab den Alliierten die Möglichkeit, deutsche Gerichte für die Ahndung bestimmter Verbrechen für zuständig zu erklären. In der Folge ermächtigten Briten, Franzosen und Sowjets – nicht aber die US-amerikanische Militärregierung –, die deutschen Gerichte, das Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 10 anzuwenden. Lediglich im US-Sektor in Berlin machte sie eine Ausnahme. Die deutschen Gerichte in der US-Besatzungszone urteilten in Ermangelung der Ermächtigung nur nach dem Strafgesetzbuch. So mussten Denunziationen entweder unter existierende deutschrechtliche Straftatbestände wie Freiheitsberaubung oder falsche Anschuldigung subsumiert oder an die Spruchkammern verwiesen werden. Diese unterschiedliche Handhabung des Kontrollratsgesetzes Nr. 10 führte zu großen Diskrepanzen in der Strafverfolgung und Rechtsprechung zwischen den Zonen.

In den deutschen Gerichten der ostdeutschen Länder wurde zunächst das Strafgesetzbuch, ab 1946/1947 auch das Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 10 (Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit) angewandt.[2] Am 16. August 1947 übergab die Sowjetische Militäradministration (SMAD) durch den Befehl Nr. 201 die Kompetenz zur Ermittlung von NS-Straftaten den Landesinnenministerien – und nicht den Landesjustizministerien. Von Herbst 1947 an mussten Sonderstrafkammern bei den Landgerichten eingerichtet werden, die die Kontrollratsdirektive Nr. 38 (vom 12. Oktober 1946) als Strafgesetz anwendeten.[3] Die Kontrollratsdirektive Nr. 38 basierte dabei auf dem US-amerikanischen Freiheitsgesetz, sprich der Grundlage der Entnazifizierung in der US-amerikanischen Zone. Wie bereits erwähnt, erfolgten nicht nur die Ermittlungen, sondern auch die Anklagen durch die Polizei, die Staatsanwaltschaft erhielt die Anklagen nur noch zur Bestätigung vorgelegt. Im Februar 1948 befahl die Sowjetische Militäradministration, die Verfahren zu beenden. 1949 kam es in Ost-

2 Vgl. Christian Meyer-Seitz, Die Verfolgung von NS-Straftaten in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone, Berlin 1998.

3 Kontrollratsgesetze hatten größere Verbindlichkeit als Direktiven, die als Weisung bzw. Empfehlung mit gewissen Spielräumen verbunden waren.

deutschland analog zu Westdeutschland zu einer Amnestie für geringfügige NS-Straftaten (bis zu einem Jahr Strafandrohung). Ab 1950 waren die DDR-Gerichte für sämtliche NS-Verbrechen – ohne alliierten Vorbehalt – zuständig. Mit der Übergabe der Gefangenen aus den sowjetischen Internierungslagern an die Justiz der DDR kam es zu den sogenannten Waldheim-Prozessen, bei denen über 3.000 Menschen in Schnellverfahren abgeurteilt wurden. Ähnlich wie in Westdeutschland brach in der Mitte der 1950er-Jahre die Ahndung von NS-Verbrechen fast vollständig zusammen.

Methode

An dieser Stelle möchte ich kurz auf die archivalische Überlieferung eingehen. Für den Westen ist die Suche nach Akten eine vergleichsweise einfache Sache: Die Akten der über 100 Staatsanwaltschaften und Gerichte befinden sich in über 30 westdeutschen Landes- und Staatsarchiven. Die Suche ist zeitintensiv und mühsam, aber mit herkömmlichen Mitteln zu bewältigen. Für Ostdeutschland war die Situation ungleich schwieriger: Traditionelle Findmittel (Findbücher, Repertorien etc.) gab es in den meisten Landesarchiven nicht. Die Akten waren in der Mehrzahl weder bei den Staatsanwaltschaften und Gerichten noch bei den staatlichen Archiven, sondern beim Bundesbeauftragten für die Stasi-Unterlagen in Berlin. Dort ist die Suche grundsätzlich personenbezogen, d. h. man muss Namen, Vornamen, Geburtsort und -jahr wissen, um nach einer Akte suchen lassen zu können. Das vorhandene Findmittel (Verurteiltenkartei des Generalstaatsanwalts der DDR) ist, wie schon der Name sagt, lediglich eine Verzeichnung der Personen, die verurteilt wurden. Die Freigesprochenen sind ungleich schwieriger zu ermitteln, bei den eingestellten Verfahren kann weder eine Schätzung hinsichtlich der Gesamtzahl noch eine Auswertung der Akten erfolgen, da die Aktenverluste hier am allergrößten sind. Zeitungsartikel und Hinweise in den Akten mit Verweisen auf weitere Verfahren halfen, gleichwohl kann keine vollständige Rekonstruktion erfolgen.

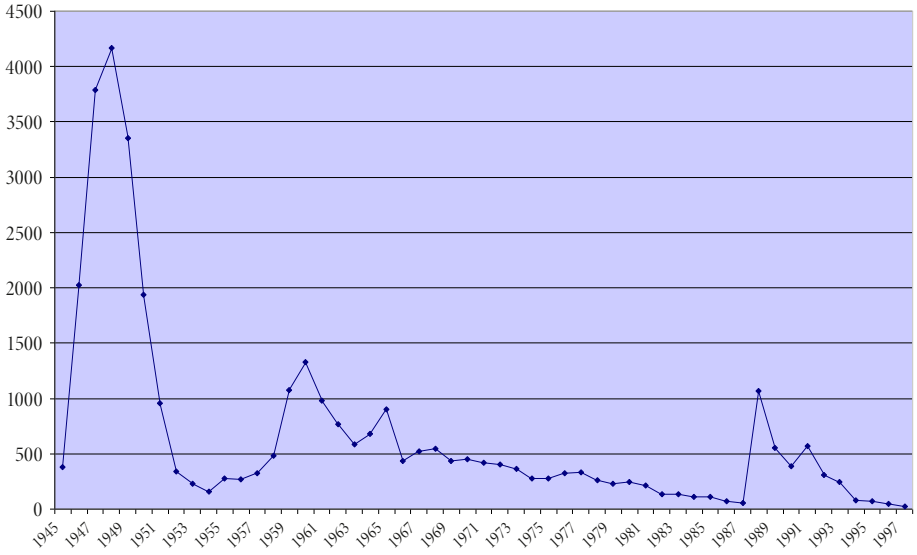
Ein weiteres Problem ergibt sich durch die Verfahren nach Befehl 201. Mit dem SMAD-Befehl 201 wurde die Bestrafung der NS- und Kriegsverbrecher weitestgehend der ostdeutschen Justiz übertragen. Personen, die von Säuberungskommissionen als Hauptschuldige und Belastete eingestuft wurden, wurden den deutschen Gerichten zur Aburteilung anvertraut. Entnazifizierungsverfahren orientierten sich am Wohnort der Beschuldigten, d. h. wer vor Ort greifbar war, wurde zur Verantwortung gezogen. Dies hatte zur Folge, dass z. B. Straftaten zu einem bestimmten Komplex – etwa dem Pogrom von 1938 – nicht an dem gemäß Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz für den *Tatort* zuständigen Gericht verhandelt wurden, sondern an verschiedenen Gerichte, die für die *Wohnorte* der Täter zuständig waren. Wer sich beispielsweise mit dem Pogrom im brandenburgischen Wittenberge beschäftigen will, wird mehrere Prozesse untersuchen müssen, die sich meist gegen Einzelpersonen richteten und bei nicht weniger als vier Außenstellen der Behörde des Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (BStU) in Magdeburg, Potsdam, Rostock und Schwerin verwahrt werden. Die Recherche wird dadurch außerordentlich erschwert.

Verlauf/Statistiken

In Ost- und Westdeutschland kam es insgesamt zu rund 51.000 Verfahren (Ermittlungen und Prozessen) mit über 200.000 Beschuldigten. Etwa 36.000 Verfahren entfallen auf Westdeutschland, etwa 15.000 Verfahren auf Ostdeutschland.

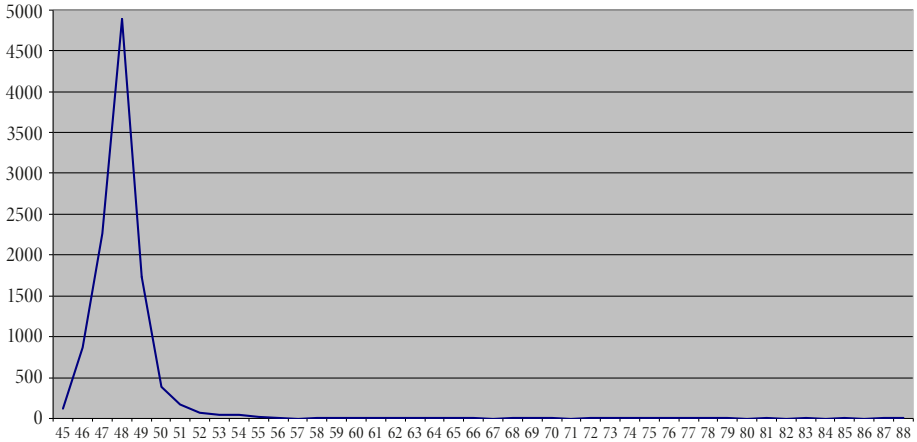
Überraschend ist, dass das Jahr mit den meisten westdeutschen Verfahren, Anklagen und Verurteilungen wegen nationalsozialistischer Gewaltverbrechen das Jahr 1948 ist.[4]

Zahl der jährlich von westdeutschen Staatsanwaltschaften neu eingeleiteten Ermittlungsverfahren wegen NS-Verbrechen 1945–1997



Die Verlaufskurve für die SBZ/DDR zeigt den Höhepunkt ebenfalls 1948.

Zahl der in der SBZ/DDR eingeleiteten juristischen Ermittlungsverfahren wegen NS-Verbrechen 1945–1989

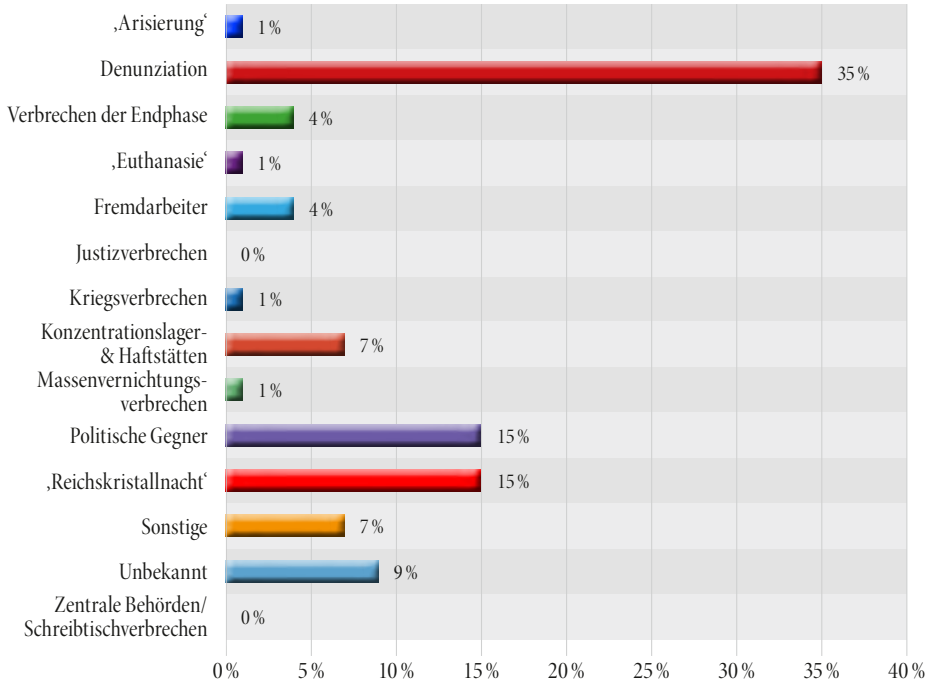


4 Sämtliche Statistiken stammen von Andreas Eichmüller, dem hier nochmals herzlich gedankt sei. Die exakten Zahlen zur ostdeutschen Ahndung werden in einem späteren Artikel veröffentlicht.

Auswertung der Verbrechenskomplexe Westdeutschland

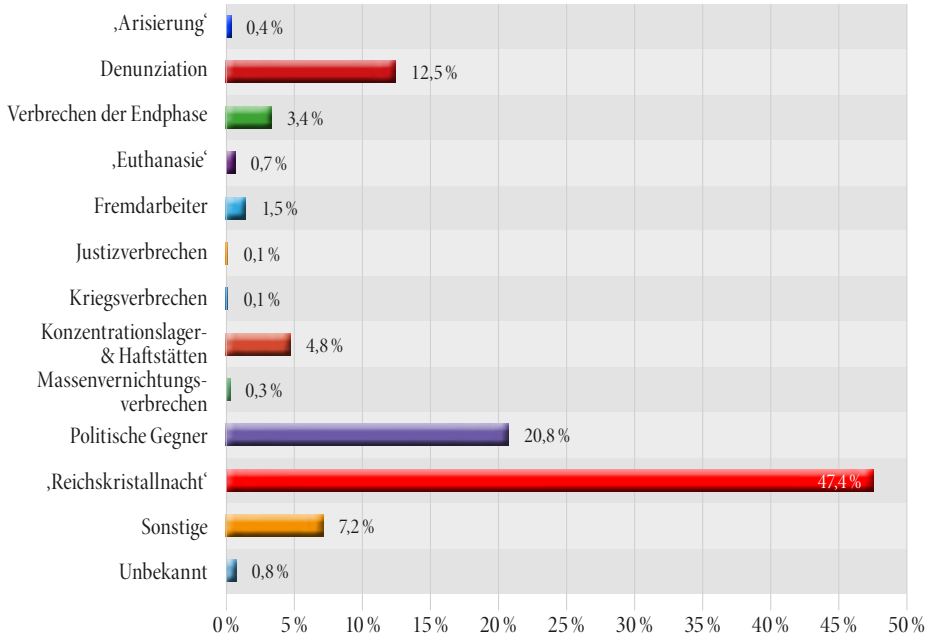
Bei den verfolgten Verbrechenskomplexen sind in den ersten Jahren Denunziationen (35 Prozent der Verfahren), Verbrechen der sogenannten Reichskristallnacht und an politischen Gegnern (je 15 Prozent) von besonderer Bedeutung.

Neu eingeleitete Ermittlungsverfahren der Jahre 1945–1949 nach Verbrechenskomplexen in Westdeutschland



Die Verurteilungen erfolgten insbesondere wegen Pogromverbrechen, wegen Verbrechen an politischen Gegnern und wegen Denunziationen.

Rechtskräftige Verurteilungen wegen NS-Verbrechen in den westlichen Besatzungszonen (einschließlich Berlin und Saarland) in den Jahren 1945–1949 nach Verbrechenskomplexen



Die Delikte waren dabei häufig Körperverletzung, Landfriedensbruch oder Freiheitsberaubung, teils aber auch Mord. So gab es bereits Prozesse zu Vernichtungslagern wie Auschwitz, Sobibor und Treblinka, die in den späten 1940er- und frühen 1950er-Jahren stattfanden. Insgesamt erfolgten 70 Prozent aller Verurteilungen wegen nationalsozialistischer Gewaltverbrechen bis 1949, weitere 20 Prozent erfolgten dann bis 1955. Zwei Amnestiegesetze aus den Jahren 1949 und 1954 beendeten diese erste Welle der ‚Selbstreinigung'. 1950 endete durch das Gesetz Nr. 13 der Alliierten Hohen Kommission[5] die Beschränkung der deutschen Justiz auf die deutschen Opfer. Außerdem verjährten einige Straftatbestände mit geringer Strafandrohung (etwa einfache Körperverletzung). Die Aufarbeitung der NS-Verfahren durch die Justiz schien sich ihrem Ende zu nähern, nicht zuletzt deswegen, weil die westlichen Alliierten, die ihre eigene Strafverfolgung bereits Ende der 1940er-Jahre eingestellt hatten, immer wieder auf eine Beendigung der Verfahren drangen. Bekannt ist, dass im Westen die Verfolgung von NS-Verbrechen als völlig gescheitert gilt.[6] Zu wenig, zu spät – so lässt sich die Bilanz in wenigen Worten zusammenfassen. In lediglich 16 Prozent der knapp 37.000 Verfahren kam es zu Anklageerhebungen (16.740 Personen), und nur 6.656 Personen wurden verurteilt (insgesamt vier vollstreckte Todesurteile, 166 lebenslange Freiheitsstrafen, der Rest zu zeitigen Freiheitsstrafen oder Geldstrafen). Nur etwa über 1.000 Verfahren widmeten sich Tötungsverbrechen.[7]

5 Von 1945 bis 1948 gab es den Alliierten Kontrollrat, der aus Vertretern der USA, SU, Großbritannien und Frankreich bestand und die höchste Regierungsgewalt in Deutschland ausübte. Die Sowjetunion verließ nach einem Eklat den Kontrollrat im Juni 1948. 1949 entstand die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, die westlichen Alliierten bildeten auf der Grundlage des Besatzungsstatuts die Alliierte Hohe Kommission, die von 1949 bis 1955 existierte. Sie hatte in dem nur teilsouveränen Westdeutschland bis 1955 die Möglichkeit, Gesetze zu erlassen.

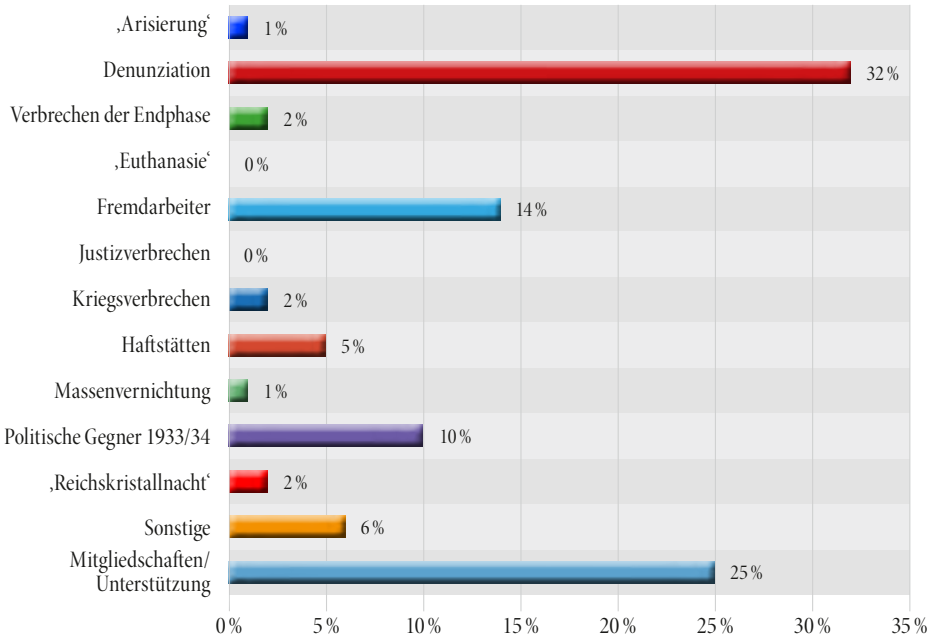
6 Vgl. Adalbert Rückerl, NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht. Versuch einer Vergangenheitsbewältigung, Heidelberg ^{2}1984; Norbert Frei, Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit, München 1996.

7 Detailliert dazu: Andreas Eichmüller, Die Strafverfolgung von NS-Verbrechen durch westdeutsche Justizbehörden seit 1945. Eine Zahlenbilanz, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 56 (2008) 4, 621-640.

Auswertung Verbrechenskomplexe Ostdeutschland

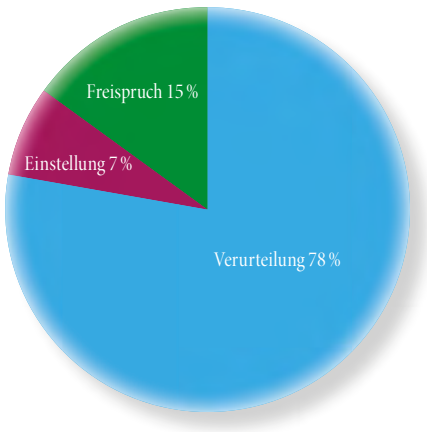
Von 1945 bis 1989 wurden in der SBZ und DDR über 15.000 Verfahren zu NS-Verbrechen durchgeführt. Diese 15.540 Verfahren richteten sich gegen 22.765 Personen. Der Vergleich mit Westdeutschland zeigt, dass bei den Verbrechenskomplexen andere Schwerpunkte gesetzt wurden. Insbesondere Denunziationen während der NS-Zeit und die Mitgliedschaft in der NSDAP und ihren Gliederungen standen im Mittelpunkt der Ahndung; zusammen mit der Ahndung der Verbrechen an sog. Fremdarbeiterinnen und Fremdarbeitern und politischen Gegnern bildeten sie mehr als Dreiviertel aller Verfahren.

Verfahren wegen NS-Verbrechen in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1989 nach Verbrechenskomplexen



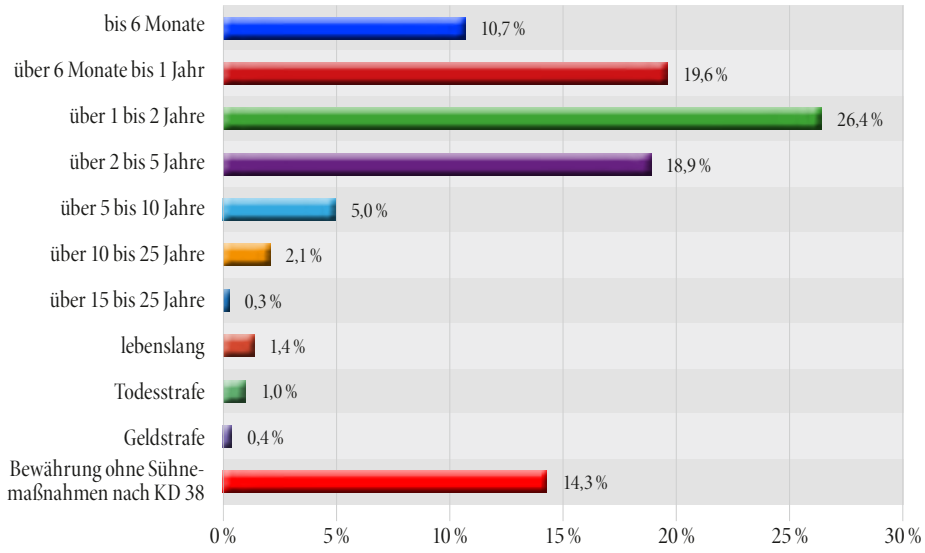
Die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Freispruchs war deutlich geringer als in Westdeutschland: Wer einmal vor Gericht stand, musste eine Strafe gewärtigen.

Abgeurteilte Angeklagte SBZ/DDR 1945–1989



Auch wurden teils längere und härtere Strafen als in Westdeutschland verhängt, allerdings waren die harten Strafen bezüglich NS-Verbrechen auch hier selten. Hinzu kommt, dass auch längere Haftstrafen mit Begnadigungen oder krankheitshalber früher endeten.

Strafen für abgeurteilte NS-Verbrecher in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1989



Vordergründig wirkt diese Bilanz – gerade im Vergleich mit Westdeutschland – quantitativ außerordentlich beeindruckend. Der niederländische Jurist Christiaan F. Rüter lobte die ostdeutsche Ahndung ausdrücklich als die gelungenere Form, NS-Verbrechen zu sühnen und die Täter einer gerechten Strafe zuzuführen.[8]

Allerdings ist eine derartige Wertung problematisch. In Ostdeutschland fand die strafrechtliche Ahndung wie die politische Säuberung vor denselben Strafkammern statt, während im Westen zwischen der politischen Säuberung und der justiziellen Ahndung deutlich geschieden wurde und unterschiedliche Spruchkörper (Spruchkammern/Spruchgerichte vs. ordentliche Gerichte) im Einsatz waren. Ein direkter Vergleich der ost- und westdeutschen NSG-Verfahren verbietet sich damit eigentlich: Entweder müssen für die SBZ die Entnazifizierungsverfahren abgezogen oder im Westen die Entnazifizierungsverfahren dazugezählt werden. Ein nicht unerheblicher Anteil der über 15.500 Verfahren im Osten sind der politischen Säuberung zuzurechnen. Hinzu kommt, dass die DDR fast ebenso großzügig wie die Bundesrepublik Deutschland amnestierte, so dass viele der zu Gefängnisstrafen Verurteilten nur für eine geringe Zeit ihrer Freiheit verlustig gingen.

Weiter zeigt der Vergleich, dass im Osten potenzielle Beschuldigte schon zu Beginn der ostdeutschen Ahndung rar waren. NS-Funktionäre wie politische Leiter der NSDAP oder höherrangige SA- und SS-Führer ebenso wie Bürgermeister und Landräte waren entweder in den Westen geflohen oder sofort bei Kriegsende von der sowjetischen Besatzungsmacht verhaftet worden. Sie wurden teils von sowjetischen Militärtribunalen anhand pauschaler Anklagen abgeurteilt, teils auch ohne Prozess in die Sowjetunion zur Zwangsarbeit abtransportiert, teils wohl auch liqui-

8 Christiaan F. Rüter, Das Gleiche. Aber anders. Die Strafverfolgung von NS-Verbrechen im deutsch-deutschen Vergleich, in: Deutschland Archiv 43 (2010), 213-222.

diert. Sie alle standen also für die ostdeutschen Verfahren nicht mehr zur Verfügung.

Damit waren einerseits die Ermittlungen erschwert, weil wesentliche (Mit-)Täter ihr Wissen für die Prozesse nicht mehr zur Verfügung stellen konnten, andererseits weitete sich damit der Kreis Verdächtiger in stärkerem Ausmaß auf Beschuldigte, die in der NS-Hierarchie auf unteren Karrierestufen steckengeblieben waren, weil die Sowjetische Militäradministration auf Prozesse drang.

Große Verfahren wie im Westen, wo gegen Hunderte von Beschuldigten ermittelt wurde, gibt es für die SBZ/DDR nicht. Das Vorgehen beim Genozid, bei dem eine Vielzahl von Tätern in Erschießungskommandos oder in Lagern mordete und das wir heute als eines der Kennzeichen des nationalsozialistischen Massenmordes an den europäischen Jüdinnen und Juden einstufen, findet in den ostdeutschen Verfahren keinen Reflex.

Zu Auslieferungen kam es schon in der Besatzungszeit selten. Einer der spektakulärsten Fälle war der des ehemaligen Görlitzer Kreisleiters Dr. Bruno Malitz. Malitz war unter Leugnung seiner NSDAP-Zugehörigkeit vom 26. Juli 1945 bis zum 24. Februar 1947 Abteilungsleiter im Ernährungsamt Bremen gewesen. Am 24. Februar 1947 wurde er von der Special Branch der US-Militärregierung in Bremen verhaftet, interniert und am 13. Dezember 1947 in die Sowjetische Besatzungszone ausgeliefert. Malitz musste sich nun gemeinsam mit dem früheren Görlitzer Oberbürgermeister Hans Meinshausen einem Prozess in Görlitz stellen, wo er wegen Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit und als Hauptverbrecher nach Kontrollratsdirektive 38 zum Tod verurteilt wurde. Beide wurden im Oktober 1948 in Dresden hingerichtet. Der Prozess wurde als Schauprozess inszeniert.[9]

Schauprozess gegen Malitz und Meinshausen in Görlitz 1948.

9 Bautzen 2 Js 241/47 = 9a/14 StKs 13/48; Behörde des Bundesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik [BStU] Außenstelle [ASt] StKs (Strafsache vor dem Schwurgericht der Großen Strafkammer) 13/48.

Gleichzeitig zeichnet sich hier bereits ein Muster ab, das viele der Prozesse in Ostdeutschland bestimmen sollte: Sie waren sehr häufig Reaktionen auf Entwicklungen und Prozesse in Westdeutschland, also teils nicht einem eigenen genuinen Ahndungsimpetus geschuldet, sondern dem Wunsch, es besser (d. h. in der Regel strenger und härter) als im Westen zu machen. Auf die Auschwitz-Prozesse in Frankfurt am Main (1963–1965) reagierte die DDR mit dem Verfahren gegen den KZ-Arzt Dr. Horst Fischer (1966).[10] Ebenso wurde der NS-belastete Bundesminister Theodor Oberländer (1960)[11] und der Chef des Bundeskanzleramtes Hans Globke (1963)[12] in Abwesenheit verurteilt.

Anders als im Westen waren viele der Beschuldigten Frauen. Als Beispiel für die Entnazifizierungsverfahren sei hier der Prozess gegen Eveline Thierack erwähnt, die 1947 als Nutznießerin des NS-Regimes angeklagt wurde, weil sie als Ehefrau des Reichsjustizministers an gesellschaftlichen Veranstaltungen des NS-Regimes teilgenommen hatte.[13] Zu den Vorwürfen der Anklage zählte, dass sie sich nicht zur Scheidung entschloss, obwohl ihr Ehemann eine Geliebte hatte, dass sie sich einen kostspieligen Kuraufenthalt von ihm finanzieren ließ, ebenso eine Acht-Zimmer-Wohnung im AG von Triebes und erhebliche Unterhaltsbeträge von ihm erhielt. 1948 wurde sie als Belastete eingestuft und gemäß Kontrollratsdirektive 38 zu sechs Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt.

Obwohl die ostdeutschen Prozesse auf der Ermittlungsebene teils äußerst schwach sind – oft reichten ein oder zwei Belastungszeugen zur ‚Überführung' eines Angeklagten – so sind manche der in den Urteilen festgestellten Tatsachen doch höchst bemerkenswert und werfen manchmal auch neues Licht auf die NS-Forschung.

Beispielhaft erwähnt sei ein Denunziationsprozess, der das tragische Schicksal jüdischer Sozialwaisen im Dritten Reich beschreibt: Rita Vogelhut wurde am 24. April 1933 als uneheliche Tochter von Netti Vogelhut geboren.[14] Ihre Mutter war polnische Jüdin und starb 1940, der Vater war unbekannt. Bereits 1933 war Rita Vogelhut von einem Ehepaar namens Zänker in Magdeburg adoptiert worden, das in der Kurfürstenstraße 13 in Magdeburg lebte. Dort verwaltete Frau Luzie Schwennicke die Lebensmittelkarten. In dieser Eigenschaft verteilte sie auch sogenannte Haushaltslisten, die für amtliche Statistiken und zur Ausgabe der Lebensmittelmarken dienten. Im Frühjahr 1943 wurde auch das Ehepaar Zänker aufgefordert, eine derartige Liste auszufüllen. Die Angeklagte versuchte Frau Zänker zu nötigen, das Pflegekind Rita darin als „Jüdin" zu deklarieren, während die Pflegemutter „Mischling" eintrug. Luzie Schwennicke machte daraufhin einen Angehörigen des städtischen Wirtschaftsamts Magdeburg darauf aufmerksam. Die Akten gingen über das Jugendamt schließlich an die Gestapo, die Staatspolizeileitstelle Magdeburg entschied, dass Rita Vogelhut nach den Nürnberger Gesetzen eine sogenannte Geltungsjüdin war. Sie wurde ihren Pflegeeltern weggenommen, am 24. Juni 1943 zwangsweise in ein Auffanglager in Berlin gebracht, von dort nach Theresienstadt. Dort verliert sich Mitte 1944 ihre Spur, vermutlich wurde die zehnjährige in Auschwitz ermordet. Die Angeklagte wurde 1946 wegen versuchter Kindsaussetzung und versuchter Freiheitsberaubung in Tateinheit mit Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit zu drei Jahren Zuchthaus verurteilt. Nach einer Wiederaufnahme wurde sie

10 Oberstes Gericht der DDR 1 Zst (I) 1/66; BStU Zentrale Untersuchungsvorgänge [ZUV] 84.
11 Oberstes Gericht der DDR Ia 107/60; BStU ZUV 28.
12 Oberstes Gericht der DDR 1 Zst (I) 1/63; BStU ZUV 83.
13 Gera 1 Aufs. 28/47 = KStKs 14/47; BStU Gera ASt KStKs 14/47.
14 Magdeburg 2 Js 48/45 = 2 Ks 2/46; BStU Außenstelle Magdeburg [Mdg ASt] 90/48.

1947 freigesprochen. In einem erneuten Verfahren 1949 wurde sie als Belastete gemäß Kontrollratsdirektive 38 zu zwei Jahren und neun Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt. Die Strafe galt durch die Untersuchungshaft als verbüßt.

Manchmal verwischen sich die Unterschiede zwischen Opfern und Tätern, wobei einem schmerzlich bewusst wird, wie wenig Chancen das Leben für einige bereithielt – sei es nun im NS-Staat oder in der DDR. Die Krankenpflegerin Katharina A. wurde 1937 beim illegalen Grenzübertritt nach Frankreich von der Gestapo in Saarbrücken festgenommen, als sie einen jüdischen Freund besuchen wollte, der nach Verbüßung einer zweijährigen Zuchthausstrafe wegen Zuhälterei aus dem Reich ausgewiesen worden war. Ein Jahr später wurde sie in Dresden wegen ‚Rassenschande' inhaftiert und kam wegen ihres stattlichen Vorstrafenregisters (u. a. Diebstahl, Betrug und Unterschlagung) in ‚Schutzhaft' in das KZ Lichtenburg. Dort wurde sie von der Lagerleitung angeblich als Spitzel gegen Mitgefangene eingesetzt, weil Katharina A. gute Arbeitsleistungen gezeigt und andere Mithäftlinge wegen ihres ‚kommunistischen' (d. h. zu langsamen) Arbeitstempos kritisiert hatte. Nach der Auflösung des KZ Lichtenburg und der Überführung der Häftlinge 1939 in das KZ Ravensbrück wurde sie dort Blockälteste und ab 1943 auch Lagerälteste. In dieser Funktion schlug sie Häftlinge entweder selbst oder meldete die Vergehen von Häftlingen der Lagerleitung, sodass eine Frau im Strafblock verstorben sein soll. In der Nachkriegszeit wurde Katharina A. von einem Dresdner Gericht 1948 zu 18 Jahren Zuchthaus wegen Verbrechens gegen die Menschlichkeit verurteilt, außerdem als Hauptverbrecherin nach Kontrollratsdirektive 38 eingestuft und ihr Vermögen eingezogen. Sie starb im Alter von 47 Jahren in der Justizvollzugsanstalt Waldheim.[15]

Es ist eine der wichtigsten Fragen hinsichtlich der justiziellen Ahndung von NS-Verbrechen in Ostdeutschland, ab wann sich politische Einflüsse bemerkbar machten und wo die Abkehr von rechtsstaatlichen Praktiken einsetzte. Es ist deutlich, dass die Verfahren seit 1947 in Ostdeutschland in immer stärkerem Maße einer politischen Funktionalisierung für die Ziele der SMAD bzw. der SED (Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands) unterlagen. Man wird allerdings keine offensichtliche irrtümliche Anwendung von Strafnormen finden:[16] wer beispielsweise ‚Fremdarbeiterinnen und Fremdarbeiter' während des Zweiten Weltkriegs misshandelte, wurde wegen Körperverletzung bzw. Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit angeklagt. Abweichungen von rechtsstaatlichen Praktiken sind vielmehr in der eigentlichen Handhabung der Verfahren erkennbar, indem die Ermessensspielräume von Polizei und Gericht gegen die Verdächtigen ausgenutzt wurden: Die Beschuldigten wurden meist schon bei geringsten Verdachtsgründen (etwa Besitz nazistischer Literatur o. ä.) inhaftiert und demütigenden Vermögensfeststellungen unterworfen. Vor Gericht wurden die Ladungsfristen zwar im Regelfall eingehalten, doch durfte der Angeklagte nicht in jedem Fall darauf hoffen, einen Rechtsbeistand zu erhalten, selbst wenn ihm eine längere Freiheitsstrafe drohte. Anderen wurden als Strafverteidiger unerfahrene Rechtsreferendare zur Seite gestellt mit den zu erwartenden Folgen für die Angeklagten.

Die Verfahren gemäß Kontrollratsdirektive 38 waren nicht selten anderen Motivationen geschuldet war als der Entnazifizierung, etwa der Enteignung oder auch

15 Dresden 1 Js 1244/46 = StKs 32/48; BStU Außenstelle Dresden [Ddn ASt] 32/48.

16 Gemeint ist hier, dass auch SBZ und DDR sich an das Strafgesetzbuch hielten, d. h. jemand, der beispielsweise beim Pogrom 1938 eine Brandstiftung verübte, wurde eben wegen Brandstiftung angeklagt (und nicht beispielsweise wegen versuchtem Mord o. ä.). Abweichungen von der rechtsstaatlichen Praxis sind jedoch in der Anwendung der Strafprozessordnung festzustellen (also z. B. Ladungsfristen, Stellung eines Rechtsbeistands, rechtsförmiges Verfahren etc.).

der Stilisierung mancher Betroffener als ‚Opfer des Faschismus'. So wurden Tote oder Abwesende angeklagt, denen aber immerhin großzügiger Weise die Verbüßung der Freiheitsstrafe erlassen wurde. So hieß es: „Durch das Ableben des Angeklagten kommt eine Freiheitsstrafe nicht in Frage."[17] Dafür wurde im ‚objektiven Verfahren' dann der Vermögenseinzug des Toten oder des Republikflüchtigen beschlossen. Häufig fand auch eine Verquickung von Straftatbeständen statt: Die ‚Vergehen' gegen den real existierenden Sozialismus (sei es in Form von ‚friedensgefährdenden Gerüchten' oder in Arbeitsbummelei in der örtlichen Landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaft) wurden in den Urteilen im gleichen Atemzug genannt wie die Verbrechen während des Dritten Reiches. Hier wurden NS-Verbrechen instrumentalisiert, um ganz andere Delikte zu verurteilen: Die Erschießung dreier Juden bei der Liquidierung des Warschauer Ghettos im Mai 1943 wurde auf der selben Ebene betrachtet wie Verfehlungen als Vorsitzender einer Landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaft („Hemmung der tierischen Produktion, Hintertreibung der Erhöhung der Schweinebestände, und Entziehung der Unterbringungsmöglichkeit für 200 Schweine").[18] So ist bei einigen der DDR-Verfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen weniger die NS-Vergangenheitsbewältigung zu erkennen als vielmehr der Kampf mit dem real existierenden Sozialismus.

Fazit

Sowohl in West- als auch in Ostdeutschland fällt der Löwenanteil der justiziellen Ahndung in die Besatzungszeit. Das kriminelle Erbe des Dritten Reiches lastete auf West- wie auf Ostdeutschland, doch beide Nachfolgestaaten setzten unterschiedliche Schwerpunkte in der Ahndung. In Westdeutschland bildeten Verfahren wegen des Novemberpogroms mit fast 50 Prozent der Verurteilungen einen der Schwerpunkte, während in Ostdeutschland dazu deutlich weniger ermittelt und geurteilt wurde. Hier bildeten Verfahren wegen Denunziationen, wegen Verbrechen an ‚Fremdarbeitern' und politischen Gegnern einen Schwerpunkt, hinzu kommt die NSDAP-Mitgliedschaft bzw. Unterstützung der NS-Herrschaft. Die Ahndung der Denunziation war für Ostdeutschland das quantitativ stärkste Feld.

In Westdeutschland kam es zu vielen Verfahren, aber nur wenigen Verurteilungen. Die Strafen waren häufig niedrig, die Verfahren langwierig und endeten nicht selten mit Einstellungen und Freisprüchen. In Ostdeutschland war die Zahl der Verfahren hoch, doch sie wurden oft schematisch abgehandelt, Dokumente (z. B. aus dem Berlin Document Center oder des Internationalen Suchdienstes Arolsen oder der Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle) fehlen, ebenso eine historisch-kritische Untermauerung des Sachverhalts. Oft wurde die Schilderung der Zeugen zum Tathergang ohne eine kritische richterliche Beweiswürdigung übernommen. Zeugen wurde eine wichtige Rolle in den Prozessen zugebilligt, sofern die Zeugen „politisch zuverlässig" waren. Schauprozesse, in denen das öffentliche Interesse gelenkt und gesteuert wurde, wurden theatralisch inszeniert, die angeklagten Täter teils zu den Stätten ihrer Untaten zurückgebracht, um mit ihren Straftaten konfrontiert zu werden.

Historikerinnen und Historiker beschäftigen sich seit einiger Zeit mit den Funktionen der Transitional Justice, also der justiziellen Ahndung von Verbrechen nach

17 Dresden Aufs. 135/49 = StKs 62/49; BStU Ddn ASt 62/49.
18 Erfurt I 141/60 = Ia Bs 157/60; BStU Erfurt [Eft] ASt 35/61.

dem Ende von Diktaturen und Unrechtsregimen.[19] Westdeutschland und Ostdeutschland gingen – trotz des identischen Erbes der NS-Verbrechen – auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise mit der NS-Vergangenheit um. Sie setzten unterschiedliche Schwerpunkte bei den Verbrechenskomplexen und ermittelten mit unterschiedlicher Intensität. Für Westdeutschland ist ab den 1960er-Jahren ein Schwerpunkt in der juristischen Aufarbeitung der Holocaustverbrechen erkennbar, der für die DDR in dieser Form nicht existiert. Für Westdeutschland bildeten die Nürnberger Prozesse und die zwölf US-amerikanischen Nachfolgeprozesse wichtige Referenzpunkte – in der DDR wurde so gut wie überhaupt nicht Bezug darauf genommen. Für beide Staaten spielte die juristische Beschäftigung eine wichtige Rolle in der Legitimation gegenüber den Alliierten. Allerdings drangen sowohl westliche Alliierte als auch die Sowjetunion seit den späten 1940er-Jahren auf die Beendigung dieses Experiments der Transitional Justice. Dass es bis heute Verfahren wegen NS-Gewaltverbrechen gibt, hätte 1950 wohl niemand für möglich gehalten.

Die Kritik an den NS-Verfahren in Westdeutschland ist bekannt: Viele Prozesse dauerten oft mehrere Jahre, es kam laufend zu Einstellungen und Freisprüchen. Nichtsdestotrotz ist die justizielle Beschäftigung mit dem verbrecherischen Erbe des Dritten Reichs mittlerweile auch von Israel gewürdigt worden. Trotz mannigfaltiger Probleme der Verfahren ist davon auszugehen, dass diese zu einem internationalen Prestigegewinn Westdeutschlands führten. Zwar wurden die Prozesse teils gegen den erklärten Willen der Mehrheit der Westdeutschen geführt,[20] doch hielt die Justiz an der Notwendigkeit der Verfahren fest. Sie bewirkte damit nicht zuletzt einen Mentalitätswandel in der Bundesrepublik, der sich spätestens ab den 1980er-Jahren abzeichnete und zu einer Integration des Gedenkens an Holocaust und NS-Verbrechen in der Öffentlichkeit führte.

In Ostdeutschland dagegen wurde die Justiz von der Bevölkerung immer stärker als Organ der Unterdrückung wahrgenommen, was u. a. zur Stürmung der Justizbehörden beim Aufstand am 17. Juni 1953 und zur Vernichtung von NSG-Akten (darunter zur ‚Euthanasie') in Magdeburg führte. Die NS-Verfahren, die der Legitimation der sozialistischen Herrschaft dienen sollten und die immer mit dem Anspruch geführt wurden, es besser als im Westen zu machen, wurden von der Bevölkerung vermutlich weit stärker abgelehnt, als dies die SED wahrhaben wollte. Die Kriminalisierung eines nicht unerheblichen Anteils der Bevölkerung wegen NSDAP-Mitgliedschaft und oft vergleichsweise harmloser Körperverletzungen gegenüber sowjetischen ‚Fremdarbeitern' stießen auf wenig Gegenliebe in der Gesellschaft. Beide deutsche Staaten begannen die Ahndung mit Verve und dem Wunsch, den Nationalsozialismus mit Stumpf und Stiel auszurotten. Bei beiden ist ein markanter Rückgang in den 1950er-Jahren erkennbar – was die politischen Interpretationen (hinsichtlich des restaurativen Klimas der Adenauer-Zeit) in einige Erklärungsnot bringt. Während die vielgeschmähten Prozesse in Westdeutschland bald auch internationales Interesse fanden, verschwanden die ostdeutschen NS-Prozesse fast vollständig aus dem Gesichtskreis der Gesellschaft wie der Historikerinnen und Historiker.

19 Vgl. Neil J. Kritz (Hg.), Transitional Justice. How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes, Vol. II: Country Studies, Washington D.C. 1995; Norbert Frei (Hg.), Transnationale Vergangenheitspolitik. Der Umgang mit deutschen Kriegsverbrechern in Europa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, Göttingen 2006.

20 Zum Zeitpunkt des ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozesses (1963–1965) plädierten zwischen 52 und 69 Prozent der Befragten einer Meinungsumfrage für das Ende der Ahndung von NS-Verbrechen durch die Justiz; vgl. Marc von Miquel, „Wir müssen mit den Mördern zusammenleben!" NS-Prozesse und politische Öffentlichkeit in den sechziger Jahren, in: Irmtrud Wojak (Hg.): „Gerichtstag halten über uns selbst…". Geschichte und Wirkung des ersten Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozesses, Frankfurt am Main 2001, 97-116, hier 103-104.

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Article

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Post-Holocaust Jewish Masculinity in German-Speaking Europe

Abstract

A rich body of scholarship has emerged which analyses the crisis of masculinity in German-speaking Europe following the end of the Second World War. The specific area dealt with in this essay covers the constructs of masculinity exhibited by German-speaking Jewish men who chose to remain in a German-speaking country after the war. Such men faced challenging circumstances as many official Jewish organisations declared Germany to be off-limits for the establishment or re-establishment of Jewish communities. Indeed, the World Jewish Congress passed a resolution in 1948 stating that Jews would never again settle on the "bloodstained soil of Germany".

A critical and interpretive analysis of three memoirs demonstrates how models of Jewish masculinity were carefully constructed and performed, and how they were influenced by the effects of the Holocaust. These memoirs serve as exemplars of why some Jewish men felt almost compelled to live in the lands so deeply connected with the destruction of more than two thirds of European Jewry. They offer new information about the fragility, the resilience, and the evolutionary nature of Jewish masculinities.

Bleib bei uns in Deutschland, es wird dir hier
Jetzt besser als eh'mals munden;
Wir schreiten fort, du hast gewiß
Den Fortschritt selbst gefunden.

In Germany stay, and thou'lt relish things more
Than thou wert formerly able;
We're fast advancing, and thou must have seen
Our progress so rapid and stable.
Heinrich Heine – Germany. A Winter's Tale, Chapter XXV[1]

Jewish men who remained in, returned to, or simply came to German-speaking countries after the Holocaust faced challenging and complex circumstances. In the immediate post-Holocaust period, many official Jewish organisations declared Germany off-limits for the re-establishment of Jewish life. In the wake of the genocide, it was believed that Jews should, and would, look to Israel, North America, or other countries as places to rebuild their lives. Indeed, living in Germany as a Jew was not understood or recognised as a realistic option by many representatives of the Jewish communities.

Ashkenazi Jewry, which constituted the majority makeup of Jewish communities in German-speaking Europe, had developed and even thrived in medieval times along the river Rhine. The everyday language used by the Jews was Middle High German, as spoken in the towns or in the country.[2] Hebrew however, was the lan-

1 This translation from Edgar Alfred Bowring, The Poems of Heine. Complete, Translated into the Original Metres with a Sketch of his Life, London 1859, 368.
2 Nachum T. Gidal, Jews in Germany, Cologne 1998, 32.

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guage for religious study and prayer. When the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) moved across Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its effects on countries and communities varied. In German-speaking Europe, it promised emancipation and full entry into civil society. Historian Matti Bunzl described how this quest for cultural normalisation was viewed by Jewish and non-Jewish Germans in positions of authority:

> "While Jews were seen as debilitated by centuries of rabbinic solipsism and the harsh life of the ghetto, they could be reformed through *Bildung*, which would render them productive citizens of the German cultural nation. Jews themselves embarked on this process of transformation with great zeal; by the middle of the nineteenth century, they had become fully German."[3]

Indeed, many Jews embraced German language, literature, and cultural and secular pursuits, further aligning themselves with a sense of German identity.

The Haskalah contributed to new self-conceptualisations among German Jews. Benjamin Maria Baader noted the development of "[a] new, scholarly, historical and critical approach toward Judaism that became known as *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Scholarship of Judaism)".[4] Some of the proponents of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* conceptualised the Jews as a *Volk*, independently of their religious traditions. Others, however, constructed Jews as a community within the German nation. Michael Brenner noted:

> "Liberal Jews, though rejecting the concept of a Jewish nation, also employed such ethnic terms as *Abstammungsgemeinschaft* (community of common descent) to express their belonging to a Jewish *Gemeinschaft* […] When such acculturated German Jews as Walter Rathenau spoke of a Jewish *Stamm* (and compared it to the Bavarians or the Saxons) to emphasize their Germanness, they clearly departed from the nineteenth-century conception of Jewish identity as purely religious."[5]

Jews in Germany thus broadly developed a sense of identity that linked them to a common German nation and its cultural values yet were differentiated by religion.

Jews remained separated from the mainstream, non-Jewish German society by a dominant culture that saw them as well as their religious and cultural traditions as different. Since their arrival in Europe, despite the fact that the Jewish contribution to European life has been enormous, Jews have ever been imagined as outsiders.[6] Whether it was their distinctive clothing, religious rituals, or dietary habits, Jews were coded as different from the majority non-Jewish populations among whom they lived. These differences were externally produced as well as a result of Jews supposedly being born with bodily differences. As George L. Mosse noted:

> "The structure of the Jewish body was thought to be different from that of normal men […] and that difference was made manifest through precisely those parts of the body that command most attention: nose, feet, neck, and coloration. All of these bodily features project ugliness as opposed to the standard of manly looks."[7]

Some believed that Jews were born circumcised, adding an additional layer that differentiated them bodily and sexually from their non-Jewish neighbours. Sander Gilman convincingly demonstrated that male circumcision was the most prevalent

3 Matti Bunzl, Jews and Queers. Symptoms of Modernity in Late-Twentieth-Century Vienna/Berkeley 2004,13.
4 Benjamin Maria Baader, Jewish Masculinities. German Jews, Gender, and History, Bloomington 2012, 11.
5 Michael Brenner, The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany, New Haven 1998, 37.
6 Doris L. Bergen, War and Genocide. A Concise History of the Holocaust, New York 2009, 7.
7 George L. Mosse, The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity, New York 1998, 63.

marker of Jewish difference, at least in the popular perception of the non-Jewish communities Jews lived in: "The centrality of the act of circumcision in defining what a Jew is, made the very term 'Jew' in the nineteenth century come to mean male Jew."[8] For Jews, the *brit milah* (ritual act of circumcision) symbolises the covenant between God and the Jewish people and is perhaps the most significant marker of identity for Jewish men.[9]

This perception of alterity intensified in the nineteenth century as the term 'Jew' assumed a racial dimension. The social significance of the reliance on circumcision as the marker of Jewish difference in European medicine in the nineteenth century is evident when one considers that Western European Jews had by that time become indistinguishable from other Western Europeans in language, dress, occupation, the location of their dwellings, and the cut of their hair.[10] For the community around them, circumcision marked Jews as different, weak, and effete. "Even after the Shoah", wrote Gilman, "the sign of circumcision marked a group fantasy about the hidden nature of the male Jew's body, even when the body in question was uncircumcised in German popular culture in the 1980s."[11] Yet simultaneously, the Jewish male was also imagined to be sexually rapacious. As Mosse noted: "Jews, then, were often 'feminized,' though for the most part they were pictured with their passions out of control, predators lusting after blonde women."[12] The prevalent view of the Jew as different and as an outsider survives through to contemporary times.

At the first post-war meeting of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), held in Montreux, Switzerland in July 1948, its political commission passed a resolution stressing "the determination of the Jewish people never again to settle in the bloodstained soil of Germany".[13] Jews who returned to German-speaking Europe did so without the blessing of the organised Jewish representative agencies. These Jews, and the communities that subsequently developed, were viewed with bewilderment and, at least initially, remained on the margins of the Jewish world.[14] In 1949, further complications arose for Jews who remained in or returned to Germany. As the Federal Repub-

8 Sander Gilman, Freud, Race, and Gender, Princeton 1993, 49.

9 In the German imagination, circumcision occupied a dichotomous place – either inflicted upon the male body as a ritual act, or as some believed, Jewish men were born circumcised and thus inherently different. Yet educated Germans would likely have been familiar with Goethe's memoir *From My Life. Truth and Poetry*, in which he spoke positively about his interactions with Jews at festivals and life-cycle events. Goethe stated: "I was consequently extremely curious to become acquainted with their ceremonies. I did not desist until I had frequently visited their school, had assisted at a circumcision and a wedding, and had formed a notion of the Feast of Tabernacles."; see: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, From My Life. Truth and Poetry, translated by John Oxenford, London 1848, 123. Additionally, Leonid Livak posited that visual artistic representations of Jesus' circumcision often depicted old, knife-wielding Jewish men and a recoiling Mary and child. Livak noted: "Exegetes begin to view Jesus' circumcision as the first shedding of blood homologous to the one during his Passion", thus further solidifying the place of circumcision in the European imagination about Jews, and Jewish men in particular; see:. Leonid Livak, The Jewish Persona in the European Imagination. A Case of Russian Literature, Stanford 2010, 64.

10 Gilman, Freud, Race, and Gender, 51.

11 Ibid.

12 Mosse, The Image of Man, 70.

13 Michael Brenner, In the Shadow of the Holocaust. The Changing Image of German Jewry after 1945, Washington, D.C. 2010, 3.

14 Atina Grossmann noted that there were approximately 8000 registered members of the Berlin Jewish community in mid-1946. Atina Grossmann, Jews, Germans, and Allies. Close Encounters in Occupied Germany, Princeton 2009, 97. Of this number, almost 5,500 had non-Jewish partners who had been instrumental in enabling them to survive the Nazi period. Michael Brenner noted: "By 1948, more than 100 Jewish communities had been founded, and a total of some 20,000 members were registered in the reestablished communities in 1948." Brenner, In the Shadow of the Holocaust, 3. These numbers reflect those communities in what would become the Federal Republic of Germany and do not include Jews who were living in Displaced Persons camps. Brenner noted that it was not until the mid-1960s that Jews in Germany felt accepted by the worldwide Jewish community.

lic of Germany was emerging from Allied occupation as a sovereign state, the WJC decided it was not realistic to completely abandon the Jews who had decided to live there. It therefore took the important first step of establishing an office in Frankfurt am Main to maintain contact with the Jewish communities in Germany. During the decades that followed, Jewish communities re-established themselves in the lands where, in recent memory, National Socialism had flourished. For some individuals, German acculturation provided career opportunities that would otherwise not have been possible. For all, rebuilding a life in German-speaking Europe meant reconstructing models of Jewish masculinity intrinsically interwoven with geographic location and German culture as well as with their personal experiences in the Holocaust.

The memoirs of three prominent Jewish men who returned to German-speaking countries and established themselves there in the post-Holocaust period provide insight into post-Holocaust constructions of Jewish masculinity. Each chose to continue the long-established Jewish tradition of contributing to European life, and each offers insight into the reasons why Jewish men chose to return to German-speaking countries while evincing the intersection of masculinity with concepts of *Heimat*, community, justice, and culture.[15] The three cases analysed here are Simon Wiesenthal, who remained in Austria after being liberated from the Mauthausen concentration camp, Marcel Reich-Ranicki, who returned to Germany from Poland in 1958, and Paul Spiegel, who returned to Germany from hiding in Belgium immediately after the Second World War.

Simon Wiesenthal, born in 1908, was 37 years old when he was liberated from the Mauthausen concentration camp in 1945. There was never any doubt in Wiesenthal's mind that Austria was where he would rebuild his life. In his 1967 memoir, *Doch die Mörder leben* (published in English translation as *The Murderers Among Us*), he detailed a life devoted to investigating, locating, and seeking to bring to justice Nazi war criminals. This commitment to justice for the victims of the Holocaust meant Wiesenthal had to continually interpret and negotiate his own position in Austrian society: as a Jew and an Austrian, and as a husband and a father. For Wiesenthal, these roles often appeared to be in conflict, yet his primary concern was always seeking justice for the Jews murdered in the Holocaust. He represents a construct of masculinity that seeks justice – not retribution – for those wronged. I refer to this conceptualisation of masculinity as the Solitary Justice Seeker.

Marcel Reich-Ranicki was born in 1920 in Włocławek, Poland, but spent his formative years from 1929 to 1938 in Berlin. He documented his life and meteoric career as a literary critic and arbiter of German literary culture in his 1999 German-language memoir *Mein Leben*. After remaining on Germany's bestseller list for 53 weeks, his autobiography was translated into English and published in 2001 as *The Author of Himself*. Reich-Ranicki's life, which was steeped in German literature, epitomised the intersection of German and Jewish cultures and provides insight into the connections between masculinity, high culture, and citizenship. George Mosse described this construct of masculinity as that of the *Bildungsbürger*, the educated, bourgeois man of letters. According to Mosse, the Jewish intellectual is the German Jew beyond Judaism, working out his role in society through acceptance of the level-

15 One senses from each of the three protagonists profiled in this chapter an at times unspoken sentiment similar to Sigmund Freud's comments upon his arrival in the United Kingdom after fleeing Austria in 1938: "The triumphant feeling of liberation", Freud wrote, "is mingled too strongly with mourning, for one had still very much loved the prison from which one has been released." Freud. Conflict & Culture, www.loc.gov/exhibits/freud/freud03a.html# (16 April 2018).

ling effect of the Enlightenment promise of equality, at least among intellectuals.[16] Reich-Ranicki represents a Jewish bourgeois masculinity reminiscent of the interwar period in Europe, which was predicated on an exacting knowledge of canonical German literature and other markers of high culture.

The final subject, Paul Spiegel, was born in 1937 in a farming community in the Westphalian region of Germany. He survived the Holocaust, along with his mother, in hiding in Belgium. Following a successful career as a journalist, Spiegel was elected President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany in January 2000, a position he held until his death in 2006. Spiegel's 2001 memoir, *Wieder zu Hause?*, which has to date not been translated into English, relates his experiences as a journalist and an executive member and eventually the President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany. Spiegel's construction of masculinity is informed by both agrarian values as well as the commitment to building community. I use the term Pragmatic Masculinity to define this conceptualisation.

The authors of the memoirs chosen for analysis here are all exceptional. Their stories demonstrate attachments to land, culture, and history. Simon Wiesenthal's case provides a poignant and compelling account of a life devoted to hunting Nazi war criminals; Marcel Reich-Ranicki's case provides a glimpse into the guarded and private life of one of Germany's most prolific literary critics; and, finally, Paul Spiegel's case reveals an attachment to Germany's rural farmland. An examination of each text elucidates the juncture of models of masculinity, hybrid identities, as well as the intersection of sexuality with cultural, social, and religious identity markers of Judaism.

The Man Who Lived for the Dead: Simon Wiesenthal

Wiesenthal spoke sparingly in his memoir about his personal and familial life. Since Wiesenthal made not a single reference to his wife and daughter in *The Murderers Among Us*, and in order to assess how he separated his personal and public life into two distinct spheres, it is necessary to look to his 1989 memoir *Justice Not Vengeance*, in which he succinctly stated: "I am married, I have a daughter, I have grandchildren – they mean everything to me, but they are of no interest to the general public. Of interest alone is my life in relation to Nazism: I have survived the Holocaust and I have tried to preserve the memory of the dead."[17] This reveals Wiesenthal's desire to protect his family and shield them from public scrutiny, but also something of his ego.[18] In a patriarchal manner, Wiesenthal decided and declared what would be of interest for readers of his memoir: namely, his work and dedication to tracking down Nazi war criminals that made him a household name in Europe and North America. His wife Cyla also survived the Holocaust, and it is reasonable to assume that her experiences in Austria following the Holocaust and her role in supporting her husband and raising their daughter in German-speaking Europe would have been of interest to some readers. Wiesenthal's reticence about discussing his person-

16 Gilman, Freud, Race, and Gender, 24.

17 Simon Wiesenthal, Justice Not Vengeance, New York 1989, 1.

18 Wiesenthal was consumed with bringing Nazi war criminals to justice, and it quickly became his *raison d'être*. Describing his work habits and demeanour, he wrote: "My work kept me up all day until late at night. When I went to bed and tried to sleep, things I'd read and heard during the day would fuse with memories of the past. Often, after a bad dream, I woke unable to separate the dream from reality."; see: Simon Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, London 1967, 59-60.

al life while declaring that his professional life alone was of interest to the reader may also be indicative of the manner in which he viewed women's roles in his life as of a secondary or supporting nature.[19]

The English translation of Simon Wiesenthal's 1967 memoir bears the provocative title *The Murderers Among Us*, evoking the 1946 DEFA film *The Murderers are Among Us (Die Mörder sind unter uns)*. This expressionist film by Wolfgang Staudte was the first film made in Germany after the war and dealt with the crisis of masculinity that resulted from the Second World War, which Wiesenthal symbolically invoked in his memoir's title.

Wiesenthal's attitudes towards German men, women, and minorities and the manner in which he carefully crafted his own image reveal much about the masculine construct of one of Austria's most prominent Jewish men. The male ideal remained unchanged in its characteristics for Wiesenthal after the end of the war, but the SS, which represented the Aryan male, no longer exemplified it. They had been replaced by the American G.I., who symbolised power, control, and justice in the post-war era. The crucial moment for Wiesenthal came when he witnessed the interrogation of SS officers by US-American officers:

> "Now I stared; I couldn't believe it. The SS man was trembling, just as we had trembled before him. His shoulders were hunched, and I noticed that he wiped the palms of his hands. He was no longer a superman; he made me think of a trapped animal. He was escorted by a Jewish prisoner – a former prisoner."[20]

The Aryan construct of masculinity Wiesenthal witnessed in the captive SS officer had not only been delegitimised, but also dehumanised and criminalised. It was evidence for Wiesenthal that a new era was commencing. Describing the change in his own perception of the SS men, Wiesenthal wrote: "I had always thought of them as the strong men, the elite, of a perverted regime. It took me a long time to understand what I had seen: the supermen became cowards the moment they were no longer protected by their guns. They were through."[21]

To better understand Wiesenthal's conceptualisation of masculinity, it is critical to situate the construct of the Jewish male as defined by National Socialist ideology – which Wiesenthal was subjected to and victimised by – in this wider context. The shift in consciousness from being victimised by Nazi concepts of what it meant to be a man (or less than a man) to constructing a new masculinity that allowed him to integrate back into society would have been a transformative experience for Wiesenthal. Klaus Theweleit's theories of masculinity that focus on the connection between Fascist consciousness and the male body provide an important framework for understanding this transformation. When Wiesenthal witnessed a former SS guard – once the epitome of Aryan masculinity – being escorted by a former prisoner, it had a transformative effect upon how he viewed himself and his former persecutors. "We are free men now, no longer *Untermenschen*", he wrote.[22] This was the defining moment that allowed Wiesenthal to create a new construct of masculinity. Wiesenthal's model borrowed from the strength of feminised models, not only from

19 Jewish women and their relationships to German and Austrian men either during or after the Holocaust are noticeably absent in his memoir. It seems they belonged to the private sphere, and Wiesenthal made a clear distinction between the private and public spheres he inhabited: It was his very public work that monopolised his life.

20 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 47.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., 48.

women but also from children and marginalised males, such as working-class Americans and homosexuals.

The hierarchical order of masculinity was completely redefined with the liberation of the Mauthausen concentration camp where Wiesenthal was held. The American GIs who controlled the camp assumed the position of the dominant alpha male at the top of the social order, while, in defeat, the Aryan male became the omega male, submissive not only to his captors but also to his former prisoners. The recently liberated inmates – previously the omega males – became beta males who assisted the GIs with translation and interrogation and by escorting the now imprisoned German males to their barracks. Second in the hierarchy, they moved into a position of trust with the higher positioned alpha males. The power dynamic that emerged with the liberation of the camp remained essentially unchanged, but the players had shifted places.[23] This in itself had a dramatic and powerful effect on Wiesenthal.

A key characteristic of the new alpha males, like the ones they replaced, was that they were unequivocally heterosexual. US servicemen discovered to be homosexual were dishonourably discharged during this period. For Wiesenthal, to be male was to be coded as heterosexual; homosexuality seems to have played no role in his discourse, even though homosexuals were interned in the Mauthausen concentration camp. In 2004, one year before his death, Wiesenthal wrote a letter of support for the *Homosexuelle Initiative Wien* (HOSI-Wien) campaign for restitution and medical expenses for homosexual victims of National Socialism. In his letter, Wiesenthal stated that gay men and women who were persecuted by the Nazis because of their sexual orientation were not likely to identify themselves and there was therefore a danger that they would not get the compensation they deserved, thus perpetuating the discrimination.[24] This was a significant endorsement for HOSI-Wien since Wiesenthal's favourable reputation was well ensconced in Austria by this time. It was also a significant development in how Wiesenthal integrated homosexuality into his understanding of hegemonic masculinity. After a lifetime of seeking justice for the murdered Jews of Europe, Wiesenthal's Solitary Justice Seeker masculinity defined him as an individualist who stood for justice. Consequently, he was able to integrate homosexuality into a broader framework of masculinity.

Yet, despite the assumed heterosexuality of the American GIs, Wiesenthal did not code them as invincible. These heterosexual men were still susceptible to the wiles of beautiful and charming women – a motif reminiscent of the biblical narrative of Samson and Delilah and the story of Adam being tempted by the feminine guile of Eve. From his memoir, one gets the impression that Wiesenthal imagined German-speaking women to be capable of stealthily defeating the American military male. As the denazification process continued into 1946 and 1947, Wiesenthal noted that the Americans taking part in the interrogations and background checks either did not know or were not interested in speaking German. Many of these American GIs were

23 My analysis posits that in the concentration camp structure as described by Wiesenthal, the *alpha* position was occupied by Nazi men, the *beta* position by Nazi men of subordinate rank, and the *omega* position by inmates. After liberation, the *alpha* position was occupied by American soldiers, the *beta* position by the former inmates, and the *omega* position by Nazi men. This theorisation is extrapolated from psychological research on adolescent males that suggests the existence of status or dominance hierarchies operating in defined settings that structure behaviour. For further details on male hierarchy in defined settings, see Richard Savin-Williams, An Ethological Study of Dominance Formation and Maintenance in a Group of Human Adolescents, in: Child Development 47 (1976) 4. Theorists such as Debbie Ging (Alphas, Betas and Incels Theorizing Masculinities of the Manosphere, in: Man and Masculinities, May 2017; https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17706401) have expanded these categories of masculinity to include other categories.

24 Tom Segev, Simon Wiesenthal. The Life and Legends, New York 2010, 319.

not the same ones who had fought in the Second World War or liberated the camps. Although they wore the American uniform, they were recruits and GIs who had replaced the soldiers when their tours of duty ended. Wiesenthal wrote that their reliance on interpreters, usually young German and Austrian women, made them susceptible to their female charms and unfocused in their task of seeking justice: "They often became victims of the Nazis' best secret weapon – the '*Fräuleins*'", he wrote. "A young American was naturally more interested in a pretty, complaisant girl than in one of 'those SS men'."[25] Wiesenthal equated masculinity with strength, honour, and heterosexual virility, and femininity with temptation. Although Eve is not intrinsically evil, she is easily led astray and, perhaps more seriously, can tempt Adam into doing her bidding.

Wiesenthal's immunity to the real or imagined influences of the *Fräuleins* is not unrelated to his concept of Jewish masculinity. Nearly 38 years of age when liberated, Wiesenthal would have been keenly aware of the years of Nazi propaganda that depicted Jewish men as feminine, yet also as sexual predators.[26] Therefore, his immunity can be interpreted as a desire to counter the negative stereotype of Jewish men as being sexually lascivious. Unlike some of the male subjects in Margarete Feinstein's 2009 study on Holocaust survivors in post-war Germany, who saw sexual relations with German and Austrian women as a type of revenge, Wiesenthal never mentioned any such desire on his part. Feinstein noted:

> "Revenge through sexual relations with German women also occurred. Few Jewish DPs [Displaced Persons] committed rape against German women, but those who did were motivated by revenge. More commonly, Jewish men bartered their rations for sex. Years of Nazi propaganda celebrating the German woman as the feminine ideal and denigrating the Eastern European man as a beast had encouraged a form of 'revenge' and desire to taste the forbidden fruit. At the very least such sexual contact turned the Nazi racial order upside down, demonstrating its defeat."[27]

Although Wiesenthal viewed young German-speaking women, the *Fräuleins*, with suspicion, he appreciated their techniques, which he associated with feminine wiles. Later, he utilised some of these methods in an attempt to portray himself as healthy and redoubtable. Liberation provided Wiesenthal with the opportunity to recover and adjust to life in the post-war period. His first priority was to regain his health and much needed bodyweight. When the Americans initially turned down his request to help them with interrogations, it reinforced for him the premise that masculinity is evinced by the male body but that power can reside with women, something he may not previously have been aware of. In his memoir, he recounted being told: "Wiesenthal, go and take it easy for a while and come back when you really weigh fifty-six kilos."[28] Ten days later, when Wiesenthal again requested to assist in the interrogations, he left nothing to chance: "Now I put on some make-up. I'd found a piece of red paper and used it to redden my pale cheeks."[29] In his efforts to

25 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 58.

26 Leonid Livak demonstrated the long history in the European imagination of coding Jewish men as feminine. Describing this conceptualisation, he wrote: "Pursuing luxury and pleasure, 'the jews' are thus homologous to women, the ur-symbol of sexuality and carnality in the eyes of the Church Fathers. The association works both ways. As the weak link in the divinely sanctioned community, Christian women are more likely than most to ally themselves with 'the Jews.' On the other hand, 'the jews,' their gender notwithstanding, can acquire qualities marked as female."; see: Livak, The Jewish Persona in the European Imagination, 40.

27 Margarete Myers Feinstein, Holocaust Survivors in Post-War Germany, 1945–1957, Cambridge 2009, 116.

28 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 48.

29 Ibid.

create an image of health and stamina, Wiesenthal turned to make-up – something associated with femininity and which can be used to convey power, but also with the theatre and cinema – to convey a robust, healthy image of masculinity.[30] Wiesenthal was establishing the framework of his life's work. He recognised the importance of presenting an image that would show him in the best possible light.

Wiesenthal was very much aware of the importance of visual aesthetics to defining one's construct of masculinity as well as the impression it created for others. When he attended the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, Wiesenthal suggested to the prosecutor, Gideon Hausner, that Eichmann, one of the primary architects of the 'Final Solution', should wear his SS uniform, just as he had appeared during the Holocaust. The trial would make a greater impression if Eichmann looked more like a Nazi criminal.[31] Indeed, had Eichmann been dressed in his SS uniform, his masculine performativity would have been that of the Fascist male. Wiesenthal recognised, of course, that it was not possible to have Eichmann appear before the court in his SS uniform. Such a tactic would have been seen as staged theatrics and might have given the trial the ambiance of a circus. It demonstrates, however, that Wiesenthal recognised that the aesthetics of masculinity is vital to its performance, and how one is seen by the world.

Once Wiesenthal regained strength and his sense of independence, he moved to the alpha male category in his own right, becoming the Solitary Justice Seeker who tracked down criminals of the Nazi era. This depiction is strikingly similar to the new Western Hero Uta Poiger theorized played an important role in the reconstruction of German masculinity in the 1950s. In these 'town-tamer' westerns, powerful criminals caused social injustice; the hero defeats them and thus empowers the decent townsfolk, bringing progress to the frontier.[32] Like the respectable sheriff in the western film Wiesenthal also possessed a gun. It too was to be used as defensive tool; in the service of bringing criminals to justice and thereby reinforced the depiction of strong yet restrained masculinity.

Wiesenthal's success in hunting was dependent on his ability to gather and collect information. He relied on his research and detective skills and his belief in the justice system to demonstrate that the pen is the mightier weapon. Wiesenthal's career required that he listen to, and document, countless personal testimonies from survivors of the Holocaust who experienced Nazi atrocities. His memoir is permeated with accounts of victimisation from individuals who sought his counsel. One senses that these personal accounts weighed heavily on Wiesenthal, who realised that it was impossible to obtain justice for most of them. Wiesenthal described the rather unusual position he found himself in as the keeper of these narratives through a conversation he had with a former SS officer:

30 Wiesenthal's attention to the accoutrements of image (make-up, clothing) may be interpreted as a reference to the importance of the physical process of crafting or alternatively concealing masculinity. His specific reference to the use of women's make-up to create a healthy appearance, thus appearing more masculine, seems to indicate that Wiesenthal was not only aware of how masculinity is perceived, but also how it is performed. His actions indicate that he enlisted whatever tools were necessary in his performance of a robust, healthy male. In the same chapter, he described a conversation with a friend who saw him apply cheek make-up: "A friend asked me whether I was going out to look for a bride. 'Some people won't like that bride,' I said."; see: Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 48. One can interpret this as a veiled reference to homosexuality or even drag, and as Wiesenthal incorporating traditionally marginalised forms of masculinity into a broader discourse on masculinities.

31 Segev, Simon Wiesenthal, 151.

32 Uta G. Poiger, A New, "Western" Hero? Reconstructing German Masculinity in the 1950s in: Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society 24 (1998) 1, 147-162, 156.

> "'You would tell the truth to the people in America. That's right. And you know what would happen Wiesenthal?' He got up slowly and looked at me, and he smiled. 'They wouldn't believe. They'd say you were crazy. Might even put you into a madhouse. How can anyone believe this terrible business – unless he has lived through it?'"[33]

It is not surprising that Wiesenthal cloaked this fragility in the guise of the traditional Harris Tweed jacket. He was not the warrior-hunter in military fatigues or body armour, but a hunter of clues and evidence necessary to bring war criminals to justice. Wiesenthal's uniform, his tweed jacket, served as his only body armour, a constant visual aesthetic amid a turbulent life. Describing his work in locating Adolf Eichmann, Wiesenthal termed the search for Eichmann as "not a 'hunt,' as it has been called, but a long, frustrating game of patience, a gigantic jigsaw puzzle".[34] His weapons, those of intellect, perseverance, and investigation, are characteristic of another aspect of his construct of masculinity: Puzzles and games are most frequently associated with the activities of children, but avenging those murdered in the Holocaust was not a game for Wiesenthal – it was a mission.

Indeed, Wiesenthal's construct of masculinity relied on an on-going performance of his role as a Nazi hunter. Wiesenthal was often photographed wearing a traditional houndstooth jacket or conservative three-piece suit. Although it may have been in keeping with his upbringing and his early career as an architect, it also elicited the image of the hard-boiled detective of American cinema. Margarete Feinstein stated that clothing was one significant way in which Jewish men and women reclaimed their sense of masculinity or femininity: "Many secular survivors adopted the military fashion of pants tucked into riding boots and military-styled jackets."[35] She posited that some Jewish men did so in unconscious imitation of the aggressively masculine Nazis, providing further evidence of the power structure remaining the same while the players shifted, and the longevity of the influence of the dress code of Aryan masculinity.[36] Wiesenthal's crafted image and unique role in post-Holocaust Europe recalls the American detectives portrayed by Humphrey Bogart such as Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe.[37] Through his quiet sense of toughness and devotion to seeking justice rather than exacting revenge, Wiesenthal's construct of masculinity reimagined the American detective of film noir as a Jewish Nazi hunter. Like his film counterparts, Wiesenthal was a self-confessed workaholic, who approached his work with a sense of duty, righteousness, toughness, and endurance.[38]

This construction of the Solitary Justice Seeker for the victimised who cannot speak for themselves is evident in American cinema of the period. Film productions presented male protagonists – for example Henry Fonda as Juror Number 8 in *12 Angry Men* and Gregory Peck as lawyer Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird* – who were driven by an overwhelming sense of rightness in their position.[39] In each film,

33 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 335.
34 Ibid., 99.
35 Feinstein, Holocaust Survivors in Post-War Germany, 111.
36 Feinstein also argued that the regrowth of hair was another signifier of masculinity: "In occupied Europe the Nazis attacked Jewish men wearing traditional beards and *payes* (side curls) and tried to force them to shave […, and] men and women had been shaved in the concentration camps." Feinstein, Holocaust Survivors in Post-War Germany, 111. For some Jewish men, being able to grow their hair signified a return to both Jewish identity and masculinity.
37 See for example: *The Maltese Falc*on (John Huston, 1941) and *The Big Sleep* (Howard Hawks, 1946).
38 One of the characteristics often attributed to *film noir* is the tendency towards a tragic or bleak conclusion, which often includes the death of the hero. In reality, aspects of Wiesenthal's marriage may lead to the bleak conclusion that it came second to Wiesenthal's work.
39 *12 Angry Men* (Sidney Lumet, 1957*); To Kill A Mockingbird* (Robert Mulligan, 1962).

the central male protagonist is positioned as the moral authority, a man who is steadfast in his belief system even when faced with ostracism from the community he inhabits. Unlike Wiesenthal, however, these men did not begin as outsiders; their moral commitments rendered them as such. Wiesenthal can be seen as having taken his cues from a contemporary form of American masculinity. Wiesenthal's construct of masculinity did not evolve in isolation. It was initially inspired by the American soldiers who liberated the Mauthausen concentration camp and also by the image of the independently thinking, moral individualist presented in American cinema.

In addition to this American influence, Wiesenthal took cues from traditional Jewish values when constructing his identity as the Solitary Justice Seeker. In describing his position on the collective guilt of a nation or people, he succinctly noted: "A Jew who believes in God and in his people does not believe in the principle of collective guilt."[40] For Wiesenthal, adherence to the moral code of ethics grounded in Jewish principles played an important role in how he hunted war criminals, and why he believed in justice through a court system rather than revenge killing. Wiesenthal distinguished between bystanders, *Mitläufer* (those who ran with the crowd but were not decision makers), and those who committed crimes against humanity, and sought justice against the latter.[41]

Not surprisingly, the values and moral code Wiesenthal adhered to clashed with those of the people he sought to bring to justice. When he attempted to describe to a former SS officer the value that Judaism places on human life and why revenge killing is not in accordance with this Jewish value, the man replied: "Aren't you sure, Wiesenthal, that it wasn't just weakness?"[42] Wiesenthal was certain, however, that his belief in Jewish ethical principles was what shaped and defined his construct of masculinity and what differentiated him from the failed, Aryan male. When a colleague pondered exacting revenge upon Eichmann by kidnapping his two sons living in Austria, Wiesenthal again invoked this moral code as a point of difference between his construct of masculinity and that of the Fascist male: "We Jews are not Nazis […] we don't wage war on innocent children."[43]

Given his experiences in the Nazi concentration camps, the question arises why Wiesenthal chose to reside in Austria after the end of the war. Indeed, many of his family members and friends fell victim to National Socialism and, as his memoir attests, life was never easy for him in Austria. Yet it must be remembered that Wiesenthal was born in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, and his father fought and died in the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War. In 1915, Wiesenthal had attended public school in Vienna, the capital of the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire. The bourgeois Austrian way of life, through which he grew up speaking German, was both home and heritage to Wiesenthal. Yet, more decisively, the decision to remain in Austria was intrinsically linked to his desire to bring Nazi war criminals to justice: "Having made up his mind during that early post-war period to start a search that he had no hope of ever completing, Wiesenthal used his architect's training and began to build from the foundations."[44] Methodically,

40 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 12.
41 The term *Mitläufer*, for which there is no concise English equivalent, was used during the denazification process in former West Germany and is particularly useful for contextualising the complicity of individuals during the Nazi era.
42 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 261.
43 Ibid., 108.
44 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 12.

Wiesenthal began preparations for his documentation centre, collected and catalogued affidavits from victims of National Socialism, and established a network of eyewitnesses, informants, and volunteers. Austria was home to Wiesenthal, but perhaps more importantly, it was where he could actively seek out and bring to justice the murderers among the populace.

Living in Austria came to represent for Wiesenthal what it meant for him to be both an Austrian and a Jewish man after the Holocaust. Austrians had enthusiastically welcomed Adolf Hitler at Vienna's Heldenplatz following the 'Anschluß' in 1938 and they had participated in Nazi organisations at the highest levels, especially given their relatively small population in relation to that of Germany. Although Austrians accounted for only eight percent of the population of the Third Reich, about one third of all people working for the SS extermination machinery were Austrians; Wiesenthal even claimed that almost half of the six million Jewish victims of the Nazi regime were killed by Austrians.[45] As historian Bertrand Perz demonstrated, the exact number of Austrians involved in Nazi crimes has been subject to divergent views.[46] Yet it is reasonable to assume that for Wiesenthal the Austrian involvement reflected national identity and required the nation state to assume responsibility for its complicity in the crimes of National Socialism. Wiesenthal believed that his presence was needed to prod Austrians to come to terms with their involvement in Nazi crimes. He wrote: "In Germany, my efforts are appreciated. In Austria, they are unhappily tolerated, and that's why I am going to stay here."[47] It also shaped his conceptualisation of masculinity, especially when confronted with the possibility of violence against his family. While in Linz, the family was confronted with a telephone threat to their daughter's life, and Wiesenthal's wife suffered a mild heart attack. This resulted in Wiesenthal questioning his masculine role as family provider and protector vis-à-vis his professional role as justice seeker and detective. It also, perhaps for the first time, made him question his assumption of women's strength and power: "For the first time in my life I was not sure whether I should go on – whether I had the right to go on. I don't mind taking a risk but I couldn't expose my family to danger."[48] In the end, however, Wiesenthal was compelled by his own moral conviction to bring war criminals to justice. His words convey his commitment to his mission: "It was no use, I had to go on. I remember I held my head in my hands, saying to myself, 'I cannot stop, I cannot stop'."[49]

Wiesenthal believed that Austria was the right place to be, compelled by a personal mission to hunt Nazi war criminals. By relegating his roles of husband and father to secondary status after his commitment to his work, Wiesenthal demonstrated that he was willing to sacrifice them for his overriding ambition of acquiring justice for those murdered in the Holocaust. Indeed, all of his relationships came second to his commitment to bringing Nazi criminals to justice.

45 Ibid., 189.

46 Bertrand Perz, Der österreichische Anteil an den NS-Verbrechen. Anmerkungen zur Debatte, http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/oesterreich/e_bibliothek/seminarbibliotheken-zentrale-seminare/8-zentrales-seminar/bertrand-perz-der-osterreichische-anteil-an-den-ns-verbrechen-anmerkungen-zur-debatte (17 April 2018).

47 Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, 193.

48 Ibid., 22.

49 Ibid.

The *Kulturmensch*: Marcel Reich-Ranicki

Marcel Reich-Ranicki was born in Włocławek, Poland, on 2 June 1920, the youngest of three siblings. His German Jewish mother guided his childhood education, ensuring that her youngest son was educated at the German-language Protestant school in their hometown. Struggling to maintain a marginal middle-class lifestyle in Poland, the family moved to Berlin when Reich-Ranicki was nine years old. Recalling the significance of the move to Germany, Reich-Ranicki noted:

> "Before leaving, so my mother believed, I had to say goodbye to my teacher, and I shall always remember the words with which she sent me out into the world […] 'You're going, my son, to the land of culture.' I did not quite understand what this was about, but I was aware of my mother nodding approvingly."[50]

Nor could he have imagined that his future in Germany would include expulsion by the Nazis and intellectual celebrity in the Federal Republic and later unified Germany.

On 27 October 1938, the Reich-Ranickis were among the Jews with Polish citizenship living in Germany who were deported by the Nazi regime and abandoned near the Polish border town of Zbaszyn when Polish authorities refused them entry. Later, confined to the Warsaw Ghetto, Reich-Ranicki experienced Nazi German expulsion a second time when his parents were deported to the death camp of Treblinka. Yet, throughout, Reich-Ranicki maintained an unwavering attachment to German literature and culture that even the murderous effects of National Socialism could not shake. When he defected to Germany from Poland in 1958, it heralded the beginning of a literary career that saw him become one of Germany's most influential literary critics.

Marcel Reich-Ranicki seems to have inherited the mantel of a highly intellectualised *Kulturmensch* masculinity as exhibited by scholars such as Sigmund Freud. In 1925, describing his own sense of identity, Freud wrote: "My language is German. My culture, my attainments are German. I considered myself German intellectually, until I noticed the growth of anti-Semitic prejudice in Germany and German Austria. Since that time, I prefer to call myself a Jew."[51] Although they shared a similar educational background, rather than becoming a detective, a hunter of clues, and a seeker of justice like Wiesenthal, Reich-Ranicki developed into a *Kulturmensch*, a man of arts and letters and creativity. His 1999 memoir *Mein Leben* (published in English translation in 2001 as *The Author of Himself*) is the basis for the following analysis, in which I examine the relation between Reich-Ranicki's almost unparalleled passion for German literature, the relationships that guided his conceptualisation of masculinity, and how milestones in his life shaped his responses to situations.

Reich-Ranicki's memoir offers insight into the factors that determined not only his construct of masculinity, but also the interconnected markers of nationalism, identity, family, and culture. During the Nazi period, despite being subjected to humiliation, hunger, and persecution by German soldiers and Nazi policies, Reich-Ranicki maintained his belief that National Socialism had hijacked the true values of Germans and Germany. In 1937, Thomas Mann, then living in Switzerland, described the regime as "[d]espicable powers which are devastating Germany moral-

50 Marcel Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself. The Life of Marcel Reich-Ranicki, Princeton 2001, 12.
51 Freud. Conflict & Culture, www.loc.gov/exhibits/freud/freud03a.html# (16 April 2018).

ly, culturally and economically".[52] Reich-Ranicki heard the article read aloud at a secretive literary circle he belonged to in Berlin in 1937, and it solidified his unwavering belief in what true German values and culture were. He described his reaction to Mann's words: "That dark evening in Grunewald, hearing the words of Thomas Mann and continuous beat of the rain against the window panes and the breathing of those present being audible in the silence – what did I feel? Relief? Yes, certainly; but more than that – gratitude."[53] Mann's missive served not only to inspire Reich-Ranicki, it validated his worldview and all that he realised he had come to hold dear.

Thomas Mann's literary works had a formidable influence on how Reich-Ranicki negotiated his place in the world:

> "I esteemed Heinrich Mann, especially his *Professor Unrat* and *Der Untertan*. But I admired and revered Thomas Mann after reading his *Buddenbrooks* […] I have time and time again referred to the central idea of that letter. They – meaning the National Socialists – have the incredible temerity to confuse themselves with Germany! At a time when, perhaps, the moment is not far off when the German people will give its last not to be confused with them."[54]

The ideas and cultural heritage that Reich-Ranicki cherished were derived from and validated by the men of German literature and the values they espoused. More importantly, Mann provided a moral legitimacy permitting Jews to return to and to live in Germany.

Reich-Ranicki's passion and commitment to German literature earned him the reputation of being Germany's 'Literaturpapst' (literature pope). Yet, much like his consciously constructed hyphenated surname, Reich-Ranicki saw himself as a blend of cultures and heritages. In 1958, after he defected to West Germany, Reich-Ranicki apparently asked his friend Hans Schwab-Felisch, arts editor for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, how he should sign his published articles. As he described the episode in his memoir, "'I told him that in Poland I had always used the pseudonym Ranicki but that my real name was Reich' […] His answer was prompt. 'Why don't you do as I have done and adopt a double-barreled name."[55] The hyphenated surname exemplified two distinctive features of Reich-Ranicki's heritage but not a third, which surfaced in another episode that took place in 1958 and is recounted in *The Author of Himself.* Günter Grass questioned him on how he self-identified:

> "He, Günter Grass from Danzig, wanted to know: 'What are you really – a Pole, a German, or what?' The words 'or what' clearly hinted at a third possibility. Without hesitation, I answered: 'I am half Polish, half German, and wholly Jewish.' Grass seemed surprised, but he was clearly happy, even delighted, with my reply. 'Not another word. You would only spoil this neat bon mot.'"[56]

52 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 69.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., 68-69.
55 Ibid., 282.
56 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 3. That Grass asked this question said as much about his own issues of self-identification as did Reich-Ranicki's succinct response. Born in the Free City of Danzig, Grass' father was a Protestant German and his mother a Roman Catholic of Kashubian-Polish heritage. Coupled with this is Grass's own involvement as a student *Luftwaffenhelfer* (anti-aircraft helper) and later in an SS-Panzer division that was deployed on the eastern front. In Reich-Ranicki's retelling of the story, it is not surprising that Grass was delighted with his response, since he too drew upon an at times conflicting mélange of heritage.

Reich-Ranicki's blended family background formed an integral part of his identity as a Jewish man. His mother Helene (née Auerbach) Reich, a German Jew who was born in Prussia and only moved to Poland following her marriage, instilled in her son from an early age the importance of learning to speak and read German. When the family moved to Berlin in 1929 to improve their economic prospects, Reich-Ranicki immersed himself in school, an experience he described as follows: "Quite quickly I fell under the spell of German literature, of German music. Fear was joined by happiness – fear of things German by the happiness I owed to things German."[57] Berlin was a city of contrasts and perplexities for the youthful Reich-Ranicki. Having been brought up with the idealised notion that Germany was the land of culture and that culture equated superiority and refinement, he was shocked to witness corporal punishment being meted out by a male teacher to a fellow male student: "Should schoolchildren receive such harsh treatment in the land of culture? Something was not right here."[58] For the first time, Reich-Ranicki encountered the harshness of Berlin as depicted by Hans Fallada in his 1937 novel *Wolf unter Wölfen*, when he had only known the idealised Berlin taught to him by his mother. Accepting these two disparate images of German society and culture was difficult for Reich-Ranicki, but the effect was as if he had encountered an epiphany and realised that the world of literature did not have to imitate reality.

Reich-Ranicki's early relationship with his Polish Jewish heritage was also ambiguous. As the primary influence on his education, his mother was not interested in anything Polish – except her Polish-born husband – and expressed little interest in Jewish traditions or religious customs. Born on 28 August, Helene Reich believed that sharing a birthdate with Goethe was a symbolic reference to her place in the world and that through the German cultural tradition she would achieve her ambitions. Reich-Ranicki portrayed his mother as a woman to whom life dealt a continual series of disappointments, particularly her marriage and the lack of economic success her husband achieved. Reich-Ranicki pointedly summarised his mother's description of her husband as follows: "If her husband had manufactured coffins, she used to say, people would have stopped dying."[59] Helene Reich emerges from Reich-Ranicki's description as a woman defeated but not broken, melancholy but not bitter, and one who saw her husband as weak and ineffective. She lived for the future accomplishments of her three children, particularly the youngest of the three, Marcel.[60] Describing his mother's attitude towards her own birthdate, he wrote: "When every year, I wished her happy birthday on 28 August, she asked me if I was aware of who else had that day as his birthday. She was born on the same day as Goethe. This she liked to think was in some way symbolic."[61] The close identification of Reich-Ranicki's mother with Germany and Goethe, tropes German as phallic, despite the female gender of his mother, and therefore as strong, virile, and valuable – while Polish is troped as feminine and therefore weak, passive, and lacking value on account of Reich-Ranicki's father David, who, by contrast, played an extremely limited role in the formation and development of his son's hybrid construct of intellectual masculinity. A terminally unsuccessful business entrepreneur who described himself as an

57 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 17.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid, 11.
60 Reich-Ranicki was named after the Roman Catholic saint Marcellinus, whose saint day, 2 June, was the date of Reich-Ranicki's birth. Reich-Ranicki believed the name was suggested by a Roman Catholic servant or nanny who worked in the household, and not one that his parents chose.
61 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 5.

industrialist, David Reich was viewed as a failure by both his wife and his youngest son.[62] Reich-Ranicki wrote of his father: "Application and energy were not among his virtues. His life was marked by weakness of character and a passive disposition."[63]

When the family moved to Berlin in 1929, Reich-Ranicki continued to see his father as a passive and ineffective paternal figure.[64] Describing the one attempt David Reich made to introduce Jewish learning to his son by hiring an Orthodox Jewish tutor, Reich-Ranicki noted:

> "[A]t that moment my mother appeared and immediately intervened: I was, she said resolutely, too young for tuition. The disappointed teacher was sent on his way with the promise of employment at some future date. This was my father's first attempt to intervene in my education; it was also his last."[65]

Later, after the ascent of National Socialism had curtailed social activities for Berlin's Jewish community, David Reich encouraged his son to accompany him to synagogue services: "Having attended synagogue with my father a few times I simply refused to go any more […] weak and benevolent as my father was, he accepted this."[66] Unsuccessful in business and passive in nature, David Reich did not represent a type of masculinity to which Reich-Ranicki could relate.

Reich-Ranicki's impression of his father was not improved by their expulsion to Poland by the Nazis in 1938: "Later too, when we were living in the Warsaw ghetto, my good-hearted and good-tempered father was a failure […] I did feel a sense of shame in front of my colleagues because, at the age of twenty, I had to try and find a miserable job for my father, then aged sixty."[67] Although he did not use the term in his memoir, and there is no reason to believe that Reich-Ranicki ever used Yiddish idioms, his portrayal of David Reich is that of the Yiddish *schlimazel*, a born loser.[68] The weakness of Reich-Ranicki's father stood in stark, dichotomous contrast to the Germania-like image with which he depicted his mother.

Yet, despite this seemingly dichotomous portrayal of his parents, Reich-Ranicki was able to unite them when he depicted their deportation from the *Umschlagplatz* in the Warsaw Ghetto to the Treblinka death camp. Although Reich-Ranicki's proficiency in German had secured him a role as an interpreter for the ghetto administration, he was unable to offer any security or protection for his parents. He detailed the final moments before his parents embarked on the journey that took them to their deaths:

> "I showed them where they had to queue. My father looked at me helplessly, while my mother was surprisingly calm. She had dressed carefully: she wore a light-coloured raincoat which she had brought with her from Berlin. I knew that I was seeing them for the last time. I still see them: my helpless

62 Reich-Ranicki's description of the dynamic between his parents is eerily reminiscent of Raul Hilberg's description of his parents. In his 1996 memoir, Hilberg described a scene in Vienna in which his mother shouted at his father "Du bist ein Niemand!" (You are a nobody!). Hilberg's parents had a similar German and Polish background as Reich-Ranicki's; see Raul Hilberg, The Politics of Memory. The Journey of a Holocaust Historian, Chicago 1996, 31-32.

63 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 11.

64 This is reminiscent of the conditions that brought the Freud family to Vienna when the paternal business in Freiberg in Mähren/Příbor in Moravia failed.

65 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 9.

66 Ibid., 35.

67 Ibid.

68 Added to this complex gender troping is the conceptualisation of the masculine as German, intellectual, dominant, and vigorous, and the feminine as Polish, Yiddish, Jewish, weak, and passive. With regard to Reich-Ranicki's parents, it was his mother who ascribed to the masculine gender trope and saw his father in the feminine gender trope, thereby inverting their biological genders.

> father and my mother in her smart trench-coat from a department store near the Berlin Gedächtniskirche."[69]

They faced deportation to Treblinka – a "choiceless choice" as defined by Lawrence L. Langer – in the same manner in which they had lived their lives: David Reich with a sense of helplessness, and Helene Reich with her quiet, German Jewish bourgeois resolve. Physical resistance to the well-armed German military was not a possibility for the sixty-year-old bourgeois Jewish couple from Berlin. Instead, Reich-Ranicki depicted them as going to their deaths with dignity, awaiting certain death united in their spiritual defiance of the dehumanisation National Socialism had imposed on them.

From his description, this scene at the *Umschlagplatz* must have been seared into Reich-Ranicki's memory, for it severed the connection to his familial past. He was everything that they were not. Unlike his father, Reich-Ranicki was intellectual and energetic, and unlike his mother his ambitions were fulfilled in Germany. Reich-Ranicki's depiction of his parents' deportation omitted any discussion of the chaotic and brutal conditions that memoirists such as Calel Perechodnik emphasised in describing deportations at Warsaw's *Umschlagplatz*:

> "Eighty thousand men, women, and children crammed between houses, sitting on the ground for days and nights. Every little while, a salvo of shots falls on that crowd. Ukrainians are shooting for the sheer pleasure of killing. They are also shooting so that Jews do not recover from the state of deadness and will not respond with some act. Frequently, in the dark of night, a series of shots falls; every moment one hears a drawn-out cry of pain. The wounded who were not finished off moan."[70]

One senses that Reich-Ranicki repressed or sanitised much of the horrific memory of events that he witnessed in the Warsaw Ghetto in order to live with the losses inflicted upon him by National Socialism.[71]

When Reich-Ranicki was deported from Germany to Poland in 1938, it caused him to experience a sense of *Heimatlosigkeit*, the loss of a sense of home. Describing this loss, he wrote: "So now I was back in Poland – the land of my birth – which had become my place of exile."[72] The disconnect he felt with the land of his birth lessened over time, but Reich-Ranicki never displayed the passion for Polish literature and culture that he did for German. Poland was equated with being *heimatlos*, and only the return to Germany could remedy this loss. With the German invasion of Poland and the eventual creation of the Warsaw Ghetto in October 1940, Reich-Ranicki experienced additional losses. In his memoir, he described selling his grandfather's gold pocket watch in the ghetto, a highly symbolic episode that shaped his life and his construct of masculinity.[73] When Reich-Ranicki and his wife discovered she was pregnant, they were immediately fearful of the consequences. To avoid an almost certain deportation that the pregnancy might have instigated, the gold watch was

69 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 182.

70 Calel Perechodnik, Am I A Murderer? Testament of a Jewish Ghetto Policeman, Boulder 1998, 105.

71 Tom Segev similarly commented upon Simon Wiesenthal's occasional exaggeration of his Holocaust-era experiences in an attempt to cope with his losses. Segev stated: "Exaggerating his suffering and spinning fantasies around his survival may have made it easier for him to push out of his consciousness the real atrocities he had experienced."; see: Segev, Simon Wiesenthal, 403. Both Reich-Ranicki's repression of the reality of the Warsaw Ghetto and the exaggeration of events that Segev claims Simon Wiesenthal engaged in can be seen as coping mechanisms to deal with extreme trauma and loss.

72 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 113.

73 The story that Reich-Ranicki recounted about the significance and loss of the gold pocket watch is reminiscent of O. Henry's short story *The Gift of the Magi*. The story takes on almost mythic proportions and is laden with symbolism.

sold to to pay for the termination of the unplanned pregnancy: "There I had to sell this beautiful old-fashioned watch, much as it hurt, because I needed money urgently – to pay for an abortion."[74] Having received the watch upon the death of his grandfather, an Orthodox rabbi, it was the only tangible link Reich-Ranicki his religiously observant grandfather. The sale of the watch signified the severing of the last remaining connection Reich-Ranicki had to Jewish tradition. Just as the watch severed Reich-Ranicki's link to Jewish tradition, so too did it sever a Jewish life.

Reich-Ranicki never indicated any conflict between the German identity he cultivated and his family's treatment by the Nazis. Concerning his return to Berlin in 1946, he offered a hint as to how he managed to reconcile his concept of Germanness with the loss of his family in the Holocaust: "I would have had every reason to gloat, indeed to feel deadly hatred. But there was no question of that. I was incapable of hatred – and this surprises me a little to this day."[75] This glimpse Reich-Ranicki offered of returning to the city he loved so much, and to the country that had enacted genocide upon his family, once again confirms the complete separation he was capable of making between his Germanness – *Bildung* – and the actions of the Nazis. Reich-Ranicki created a model for returning to live in German-speaking Europe that emphasised canonical German literature, literary achievement, and high culture, which contrasts dramatically with Wiesenthal's reasons for remaining in Austria. He seemed able to compartmentalise any and all negative experiences into neat categories that fell outside of this *Bildung* ideal. Although the Holocaust destroyed his German Jewish family and annulled the emancipation of Jews, it did not dampen his passion for *Bildung*. It did, however, make him aware of his separateness from the country and people whose traditions and culture he loved so much. It was a sentiment he shared with others, such as the musician Yehudi Menuhin. In recounting a visit to China where he accidentally met Menuhin, Reich-Ranicki reflected:

> "I asked him what he was doing there. He answered briefly: 'Beethoven and Brahms with the local orchestra.' And what was I doing? 'I'm giving lectures on Goethe and Thomas Mann.' Menuhin was silent but not for long: 'Ah well, we're Jews of course […] that travel from country to country, spreading German music and German literature, and interpreting it – that's good and how it should be."[76]

German male literati had inspired the development of the Jewish bourgeoisie and intellectualism in German-speaking Europe with both their works and Enlightenment values. This was a masculinity of intellect and humanism, where men engaged in cultural production as well as critique. Reich-Ranicki's construction of masculinity personified the image Stefan Zweig described:

> "The real determination of the Jew is to rise to a higher cultural plane in the intellectual world […] Subconsciously something in the Jew seeks to escape the morally dubious, the distasteful, the petty, the unspiritual, which is attached to all trade, and all that is purely business, and to lift himself up to the moneyless sphere of the intellectual."[77]

While Zweig believed that this image transcended class, it was a very specific representation of intellectualist masculinity, as exemplified by Reich-Ranicki.

The realm of German literature provided Reich-Ranicki with role models for his construct of intellectual masculinity. The connection to classical German literary

74 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 93.
75 Ibid., 233.
76 Ibid., 376.
77 Stefan Zweig, The World of Yesterday, translated by Anthea Bell, Lincoln 1964, 11.

ideals and cultural values cemented Germany in the imagination of many, Jews and non-Jews, as the land of poets and thinkers, *das Land der Dichter und Denker*. Reinhold Knick, a teacher and mentor, assisted Reich-Ranicki in the process from merely reading German texts to understanding the personification of values they represented and attempted to instil. Reich-Ranicki described the immensity of the influence Knick had on him as follows:

> "To none of my teachers during the years 1930–1938 do I owe as much as I do to Dr. Knick […] he was an enthusiast, one of those who believed that life had no meaning without literature or music, without art or theatre, and, to older students he was known as 'the blond romantic.' He was marked by the poetry of his youth – by Rilke, Stefan George, and by the early work of Gerhart Hauptmann."[78]

From this teacher-mentor, he claims to have acquired what he believed was the German *Bildung* ideal of engaging in a passionate search for truth, developing self-knowledge, and harmonising emotion with reason: "Reinhold Knick was the first person in my life who represented German idealism and personified that which, until then, I had only known from literature: the ideals of the German classics."[79] It was not his Polish Jewish father or his rabbi grandfather whom Reich-Ranicki saw as his mentor. Nor was it his mother, although she was the conduit through which he connected to his German Jewish heritage. Rather, it was this male German teacher who personified for him the best of the German humanist tradition that credited all individuals with unique talents and characteristics; therefore, individuals needed to live in communities and with others that provided a natural complement.

The other main influence in Reich-Ranicki's life was his wife Tosia (Teofila) Langnas, who also encouraged him to valorise German *Bildung* over his Polish Jewish heritage. In Warsaw, Reich-Ranicki married Langnas, who exemplified his conceptualisation of a woman, wife, and mother, modelled from German classical literature. Refusing an offer to be smuggled out of the ghetto to the 'Aryan' side where her physical appearance and fluent Polish would allow her to pass as a Pole, Langnas exhibited a love of German poetry, classical literature, theatre, and music that echoed the fears, and hopes, of the characters Reich-Ranicki encountered in German literature, characteristics that Reich-Ranicki recognised and idealised. He was at once captivated by her refusal to save herself: "For a woman to risk her life in order to save her friend, lover or husband – that was a theme I was familiar with from operas, ballads and short stories. I experienced it for the first time in reality in the Warsaw ghetto."[80]

In 1958, when he made the critical decision to flee Communist Poland for West Germany, Reich-Ranicki returned to his cultural *Heimat*. Reflecting on the transition, he later wrote: "I have never thought of myself as Polish, not even as half-Polish, as I said to Grass in *Grossholzleute*."[81] He quickly established himself in literary circles, including the renowned Gruppe 47, and his literary reviews, radio broadcasts, and television programming made him a household name. At a time when intellectual Jewish men in North America were often represented in screen culture as effete and weak, Reich-Ranicki successfully merged intellectualism with masculinity by tying it to the specifically German literary tradition and bourgeois masculinity: "Between the 1940s and the present", wrote Sander Gilman, "the representation of the 'smart Jew' in the mass media has taken up the figure of Monroe Stahr, and the idea

78 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 30.
79 Ibid., 33.
80 Ibid., 179.
81 Ibid., 275.

that Jewish superior intelligence compensates for Jewish physical weakness has remained."[82] Stahr, the fictional character developed by F. Scott Fitzgerald and based on the Hollywood film producer Irving Thalberg, who was born in the United States to German Jewish parents, strongly influenced the perception of the American Jewish male intellectual within the dominant culture. Reich-Ranicki, however, evoked a long-standing tradition of male German-speaking intellectuals, something to which he credited his success:

> "Consciously or unconsciously I adopted a tradition that was officially outlawed in the Third Reich, a tradition which colleagues abandoned after the Second World War […]. I learned a great deal from the great German critics of the past, from Heine and Fontaine, from Kerr and Polgar, from Jacobsohn and Tucholsky."[83]

Undoubtedly, Reich-Ranicki reminded Germans of the very best aspects of their history and culture, defining and lending legitimacy to his reimagined construct of Jewish bourgeois masculinity.

Embracing cultural values while still being set apart from the dominant culture was something Reich-Ranicki had recognised during his childhood. When he first attended German school, his classmates saw him as an outsider: "They saw in me, not surprisingly, the foreigner, the stranger […] my clothes were a little different from theirs, their games and pranks were unfamiliar to me. Hence I was isolated. In other words, I was not one of them."[84] This situation with the school environment can also be interpreted as a gender construct. Reich-Ranicki was an outsider from Poland and therefore troped as feminine, rather than as German/masculine. It was not until he was thoroughly acculturated and therefore troped as masculine that he found acceptance in his all-male school environment, and even that was temporary.[85]

This realisation of separateness and the embracing of a set of cultural values and ideals while still being set apart from the dominant culture manifested itself during significant episodes of Reich-Ranciki's life in Germany. Although clearly empathetic with the German student movement in 1968, which called for far-reaching reform of the German educational system, Reich-Ranicki did not participate in any of the demonstrations. He commented: "I certainly did not take part in any 'sit-in', 'go-in' or 'teach-in', I never experienced any 'happening', I never attended a single meeting or demonstration, I never joined any march."[86] The physical demonstrations reminded him of the Nazi period and were far removed from his cultural interests in German literature. No matter how empathetic he might have been, this was a fight he left to non-Jewish Germans. Although Reich-Ranicki enjoyed enormous popularity as a literary critic in Germany, his position of prominence can be interpreted akin to the Court Jews who served the German princes and Austrian court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Reich-Ranicki's success and prominence was not indicative of the greater Jewish community, and as a symbolic, intellectual Court Jew, he was aware that political matters were beyond his involvement. In essence, this was a type of disempowered masculinity.

82 Sander Gilman, Smart Jews. The Construction of the Image of Jewish Superior Intelligence, Lincoln 1999, 178.
83 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 309-310.
84 Ibid., 17.
85 This fits the common nineteenth-century representation of Poland in art and literature as Polonia, a passive, subjugated, and often oppressed woman, without much agency or control over her future. Reich-Ranicki's mother was instrumental in codifying Germany in traditionally masculine terms: powerful, important, and learned. Poland, however, remained for Reich-Ranicki a place of weakness and subjugation, characteristics traditionally seen as feminine.
86 Reich-Ranicki, The Author of Himself, 328.

Similarly, Reich-Ranicki did not feel compelled to become involved in the *Historikerstreit*, the German historians' dispute about interpreting the Holocaust in German history. From 1985 through 1989, when the literary genre of *Väterliteratur* was peaking, the *Historikerstreit* erupted as a clash between left- and right-wing intellectuals. Reich-Ranicki remained silent, making only one reluctant foray into what he considered a cultural debate in the autumn of 1985. When Rainer Werner Fassbinder's play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod* was to premiere at Frankfurt's Kammerspiel, Reich-Ranicki unsuccessfully attempted to dissuade the Frankfurt Jewish community from protesting the event. He wrote: "Even so I regard it as typical of its time, however awkwardly and brutally, it explores a Federal German problem – the German attitude to the Jews."[87] The play held no literary or artistic merit for Reich-Ranicki, but it held the possibility of generating informed intellectual debate on German attitudes towards Jews and their role in the country. Rather than prevent the play from being performed, Reich-Ranicki felt that what was needed was a full debate in German society, something Fassbinder's play might initiate. Although he did not succeed in having the protest stopped, Reich-Ranicki was, not surprisingly, not in synergy with the opinion of the Frankfurt Jewish community at the time. Yet, despite these public happenings, nothing occurred to dissuade Reich-Ranicki that his decision to (re)settle in Germany had been incorrect: "Fassbinder's play, the historian's dispute […] all of them important symptoms of the spirit of the age have since done nothing to change my mind."[88]

One must be careful not to assume that Reich-Ranicki's position on the Fassbinder play was the result of internalised antisemitism or a break with the Jewish community. Reich-Ranicki did speak out against a poem condemning Israel by his sometime friend and antagonist, Günter Grass. Entitled "Was gesagt werden muss", the poem was published in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on 2 April 2012. Using language similar to his critique of Fassbinder, Reich-Ranicki denounced Grass' poem as "disgusting, and without any literary merit".[89] In one of his rare political comments, Reich-Ranicki clearly felt that Grass had crossed the line from literary discourse and civil commentary to outright condemnation not only of Israel but of all Jews: "Iran wants to wipe Israel off the map and has repeatedly said so and Gunter Grass turns it into a poem. It is a vile thing to publish […] The poem is a planned attack not only against Israel but against all Jews."[90] Loath though he may have been to comment on political situations, Reich-Ranicki's response was in keeping with his role as Germany's literature pope, and as a man who described himself as "half Polish, half German and wholly Jewish".

The *Brückenbauer* and *Versöhner*: Paul Spiegel

Unlike the first two memoirists discussed here, who were adults when they chose to remain in or return to German-speaking Europe, Paul Spiegel was a child when he returned to his hometown in Germany after the Second World War. As an eight-year-old, it was his parents' – primarily his father's – decision to rebuild their lives in Germany. Born in 1937, Spiegel was schooled in the German educational system and

87 Ibid., 383.
88 Ibid., 390.
89 Reich-Ranicki attackiert Grass, in: www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/reich-ranicki-kritisiert-israel-kritisches-gedicht-von-guenter-grass-a-826300.html (16 April 2018).
90 Ibid.

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made the conscious decision as an adult to remain in Germany and to assist in re-establishing the Jewish community there. At the end of the Second World War, Spiegel's mother emerged from hiding in Belgium and began preparations to immigrate to the United States. It was only when she discovered that her husband, Hugo Spiegel, had survived three years in various Nazi concentration camps, including Auschwitz-Birkenau, that her plans changed. Hugo Spiegel was adamant that the family return to their hometown of Warendorf, Westphalia, where the Spiegel family had agricultural roots going back several hundred years. Like many rural Jews, they had thrived as cattle-traders. The Jewish presence in the cattle trade was so ubiquitous that Yiddish expressions had worked their way into the local German dialect used in this trade. Spiegel recalled: "I remember in the 1950s, when occasionally after school I accompanied my father to the cattle markets. I heard how he and his Christian business partner, and other non-Jewish cattle dealers, were talking among themselves using their traditional German-Yiddish idioms."[91] The deep connection to the land, rather than a philosophical or esoteric imagining of *Heimat*, coupled with the rural lifestyle, played a significant role in the conceptualisation of masculinity for Spiegel. Jewish men in Spiegel's family were tied to the agricultural development of the German land over several generations, providing Spiegel with examples of pragmatic, rural masculinity.

Wieder zu Hause? Erinnerungen was published in 2001 and has not yet been translated into English.[92] Spiegel here depicted how his life goals and construct of masculinity were shaped by a formative experience of which he has no personal memory. The account was retold to him on numerous occasions by his mother, Ruth. To escape Germany, his mother bribed an SS officer to smuggle them into Belgium. The escape involved crossing a river and Spiegel was hoisted onto the shoulders of the SS officer as they waded across the river. Spiegel lost his balance, fell into the river, and was rescued by the officer, who carried him safely to the other side. "An SS man saved your life, Paul. God will not forsake you."[93] The symbolism of the passage evokes the biblical hero Moses: Spiegel was rescued by a person connected to the persecuting regime, symbolising that he was destined to achieve greatness in his life. Spiegel introduced this narrative early in the memoir, laying the foundation for the reader that predetermined survival meant he would achieve a specific goal that he expected to carry out. This is not an account of survival by a miracle or luck; Spiegel's narrative implies that he survived for a specific reason. It is also strongly coded in Christian imagery.[94] It invokes the popular legend of St. Christopher bearing, on his shoulders, the Christ child across a dangerous river. Recognised as the patron saint of travellers, medals depicting the Christ child on the shoulders of St. Christopher in German bear the expression *Gott schütze dich* (God protect you). Spiegel confirmed his belief in his mother's narrative by continuing "To date, it has been proven right."[95]

91 Paul Spiegel, Wieder zu Hause? Erinnerungen, Berlin 2003, 12.

92 All translations of *Wieder zu Hause* are my own.

93 Spiegel, Wieder zu Hause, 34.

94 The image of the child being carried aloft by a strong male figure is also reminiscent of the ogre in Michel Tournier's *The Erl King*. Tournier's male protagonist rides on horseback through the German countryside recruiting boys for the military. Initially he is convinced that he is bringing the boys to a better life and protecting them from harm. However, his belief is called into question when he discovers the real fate that awaits the boys and how he is called "the ogre" by the people of the country for his role in scooping up children, taking them away never to be seen again. Although this image provides a powerful counterbalance to my analysis, I have chosen not to focus on it in a substantive manner as I believe it places the emphasis on the bearer of the child rather than the child. In addition, Spiegel was clear that his protector was motivated by money, not by any sense that he was bringing the child to a better life.

95 Spiegel, Wieder zu Hause, 34.

Spiegel not only survived the Holocaust, he survived to be a man with a purpose. Spiegel became a *Brückenbauer*, a builder of bridges, the word Bauer on its own meaning both farmer and builder. The boy rescued from the river – the son of a farmer and cattle-trader – as an adult assisted the integration of Russian Jews into the wider German Jewish community, and also built metaphorical bridges of understanding and reconciliation between Jewish and non-Jewish Germans. Whereas Wiesenthal's raison d'être was hunting Nazi war criminals and Reich-Ranicki committed himself to advocating and spreading *Bildung* in post-Holocaust Germany, Spiegel worked to progress German and Jewish communal relations so that Jewish and non-Jewish Germans would know each other as citizens committed to the same nation.[96]

In his memoir, Spiegel described his father Hugo as an important and positive role model. The pragmatic paternal figure shaped his son's sense of commitment to both the land and to the people, both Jewish and non-Jewish: "Hugo Spiegel was not a philosopher. He had a clear head and Westphalian stubbornness. He had been born a German and had felt so his entire life – even in Auschwitz. It was unshakable for him: Warendorf is my home – come what may."[97] Hugo Spiegel exhibited a construct of masculinity indicative of his rural upbringing. He longed for neither sophisticated living nor literary intellectualism and sought only to live in harmony with the land, his local Jewish community, and the wider German community. Spiegel's memoir is an extension of this desire to live in harmony with one's neighbours, not as foreigners or strangers but as equals whose customs and beliefs are known and understood by the non-Jewish German majority. The following analyses Spiegel's adulthood involvement in Jewish communal life, while elucidating the impact his pragmatic father had on his life and concept of masculinity.

Spiegel's construct of masculinity was formidably influenced by his father and grounded in a love of the rural lifestyle. Despite this sense of belonging and connection to the German countryside, however, Spiegel was acutely aware of being different from other Germans: "I was, after the war, the only Jewish child who grew up in Warendorf."[98] A longing for a sense of camaraderie and "sameness" remained with Spiegel until he moved to Düsseldorf at the age of 21.[99] In his reaction to the move from the countryside to an urban environment, he also took his cues from his father: "For my father, despite the grief and sorrow, Warendorf steadfastly remained *Heimat* and home. It was the same for me."[100]

Hugo Spiegel exhibited the traditional, paternalistic paradigm of the male being producer, provider, and protector for his family. After re-establishing his family in their home, Hugo Spiegel ensured that his young son would be safe in the village school. The situation was particularly fragile for Paul, who emerged from hiding in Belgium speaking only French and thus had to relearn German. Describing the tension in their hometown at the end of the Second World War, Paul Spiegel wrote:

> "On my first day at school, I was insulted during the break by a boy as being a 'dirty Jew'. Although I could speak almost no German, that word was quite clear to me. I threw myself on him. A friend came to his aid. In the end, I

96 Spiegel's tenure as President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany made him a well-known figure in German political circles. His presidency was distinguished by his tireless campaigning against antisemitism and his work for reconciliation between Germany and its Jewish community.

97 Spiegel, Wieder zu Hause, 85.

98 Ibid., 286.

99 This longing for sameness and camaraderie was a sentiment also expressed by Reich-Ranicki, particularly during the immediate post-Holocaust period in Berlin.

100 Spiegel, Wieder zu Hause, 286.

> crept home like a whipped dog. I told my parents nothing. But my scrapes and bruises were just as obvious as my depressed mood. My mother comforted me. When my father heard of my disgrace that evening, he was red with anger. 'That will never again happen to my son!' He promised. He kept his word."[101]

Enlisting the aid of the British military police stationed in the town, Hugo Spiegel ensured that his son was never threatened again.

This construct of masculinity sought fairness, justice, and authority, characteristics Hugo Spiegel passed on to his son. During this early period following the family's return to Warendorf, Hugo Spiegel learnt from sympathetic friends who, amongst the village's residents, had been Nazi sympathisers or perpetrators. His reaction was not to seek revenge, but to simply avoid contact with them, as if they did not exist. Paul Spiegel described his father's reaction as one of pragmatic realism: "They told father in disgust, guilt, and certainly for other reasons, who had been a Nazi. He avoided these farmers and traders, as he told me later, even though he had done good business with them previously. My father harboured no resentment; revenge was alien to him."[102] This controlled, non-confrontational expression of masculinity was the foundational model for Paul Spiegel's *Brückenbauer* construct.

The events of the Holocaust remained very real for both Hugo and Paul Spiegel. In his memoir, Paul Spiegel revisited two episodes frequently, reminding the reader how he and his father were shaped by them. He was too young to possess his own memories of the November Pogrom, but it was a pivotal event recounted to him by his father that he then internalised. In 2001, when Spiegel accepted an honorary citizenship from his hometown of Warendorf, his thoughts went immediately to his father, who had nearly been beaten to death during the November Pogrom: "He was intimately familiar with this, his German homeland and its people. Until they beat him nearly half to death on 9 November 1938."[103] The pogrom became for Spiegel the symbolic representation of the German attack not just on Jewish businesses and synagogues, but also on Jewish men and masculinity. Jewish men could no longer guarantee the safety of their families or their properties; the pogrom was an assault on the traditional masculine construct of the male as provider and protector. In doing so, it reinforced the pernicious stereotype of the Jewish male as weak and powerless.

Spiegel recounted another foundational narrative that permitted him to see the goodness in people, and to distinguish between those Germans who were sympathetic to National Socialism and those who were not:

> "Father had scarcely arrived in Warendorf when he met Henry Baggerör. The leather goods dealer knew him peripherally from the pre-war period. In late May 1945, when my father returned to Warendorf, he [Baggerör] sought him out immediately and took him, without asking, to his house. Herr Baggerör had silently witnessed the desecration and destruction of the synagogue on Freckenhorster Straße – but he had not remained idle. The merchant had succeeded in preventing the stormtroopers from completely wiping out the memory of the Jews in his city. On the night of 10 November 1938, after the stormtroopers had withdrawn from their destructive work, Herr Baggerör snuck into the vandalised Jewish synagogue on Frecken-

101 Ibid., 94-95.
102 Ibid., 86-87.
103 Ibid., 286.

> horster Straße and collected several heavy parchment Bibles and prayer books. He hid the Torah scroll in his basement. Herr Baggerör was certain that the Nazi crimes would not be the last word of history or the end of the Jews of Warendorf."[104]

In this narrative, Herr Baggerör exemplified pragmatic masculinity for Paul Spiegel. Although Baggerör recognised his limitations against the sheer physical force of the stormtroopers, he also recognised that he could take an individual stand against the collective force. Thus, he was able to help by hiding sacred Jewish texts from the synagogue in his home.

A further recurring narrative event is the arrest, deportation, and eventual murder of Paul Spiegel's older sister, Roselchen. She was the spectre whose very presence of absence was apparent at every family gathering, such as in 1962, when Hugo Spiegel was awarded the honour of *Schützenkönig* by his shooting club. Yet the celebration is related as having been marred by the memory of the loss of Roselchen: "When we were finally alone after all the hubbub, he, who never spoke about the past, said to mother and me: 'Do you see! It was right to return to home to Warendorf.' And then, almost falling silent: 'If we could see Roselchen.'"[105] This narrative of familial loss was passed from father to son, becoming one of the foundational events in the Spiegel family.

Spiegel's conceptualisation of masculine identity, like that of Wiesenthal and Reich-Ranicki, embodied traits that were often associated with women. He was able to mirror the nurturing qualities his father displayed throughout a childhood in which his mother was minimally involved. His fond memories of accompanying his father to synagogue services in Münster prepared Spiegel to be a carrier of this tradition. Describing his bar mitzvah ceremony, Spiegel wrote:

> "It was the first bar mitzvah in the Münster region, indeed in all of Westphalia, since the Holocaust […] The men were over the moon with joy that life should go on in their city and their land […] I, however, remained calm. Apparently, I had inherited from my father, who watched the event with pride, a balanced temperament."[106]

As the primary parental figure, Hugo Spiegel passed on to his son a sense of family and community that incorporated both masculine and feminine attributes.

The experience of serving on the executive of the Central Council of Jews in Germany emerges as a central theme in Spiegel's memoir. Describing his role as both bridge-builder and German Jew, he commented: "In addition, I am the representative of the Jewish communities in Germany and if, in my opinion, our immediate interests are affected, but also if there is a threat to freedom, human dignity, and democracy, I speak up without hesitation."[107] Spiegel distinguished himself from his more intellectually sophisticated colleagues by his down-to-earth manner, a trait that assisted him in what he saw as his role as bridge-builder. When he became President of the Council, he remarked on this difference: "I was not Ignatz Bubis and I did not want to be him. But I wanted to follow his direction: to consolidate the German Jews, not only through the integration of our co-religionists, but also with non-Jewish society."[108] Bubis, the person Fassbinder had attacked through the character of 'the Jew' in his play discussed above, was a successful real estate entrepreneur in

104 Ibid., 85.
105 Ibid., 130.
106 Ibid., 116.
107 Ibid., 279.
108 Ibid., 207.

Frankfurt. He was well known for his Orthodox Jewish beliefs and politically conservative views. Bubis was representative of the paternalistic, conservative masculinity of the German era he in which he was born.[109]

During his tenure as President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Spiegel's self-reflexive construct of masculinity also allowed him to speak in support of other groups subordinated and marginalised by the dominant culture:

> "This conciliatory attitude does not mean that I am willing to overlook antihumane occurrences or thought, regardless of whether they relate to Jews or others. Humanity and human dignity are indivisible – if we do not understand this, we will have a rude awakening. Today it goes against the disabled, tomorrow against homosexuals and foreigners, the day after that against Jews, and by the weekend finally all democrats will be in the pillory. Therefore, we must all vigilantly defend our freedom."[110]

Spiegel purposefully included the references to two groups traditionally marginalised in hegemonic masculinity: homosexuals and foreigners. Spiegel's position and construct of masculinity was representative of a minority group living in a dominant culture insofar as he moved within two distinct spheres: Whereas he represented hegemonic masculinity within his Jewish community, in the wider non-Jewish German community he represented a subordinate masculinity since he was not part of the dominant culture. However, Spiegel's status as a survivor of the Holocaust provided him with a special status in the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant culture. He was able to speak on behalf of groups traditionally marginalised by society, ensuring that they were included in the discourses on citizenship, politics, and masculinity. Here again, the image of St. Christopher from Spiegel's childhood emerges, this time, however, with reversed roles. Spiegel was not one in need of assistance or support; rather, he provided support to those in need of it. The child in his mother's narrative, who was carried across the river by the bribed SS officer, had become the bearer of others.

Spiegel was not motivated by greed or financial gain, but only wanted to improve the overall conditions of the society he lived in. In 2000, speaking at the annual commemoration of the November Pogrom at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, Spiegel said:

> "We must fight against right-wing radicalism, antisemitism, and xenophobia. For it is not just about us Jews but also about Turks, Blacks, the homeless, and about gay men [Schwule]. When it comes to this country, it is about the future of every single person. Do you one day want to be governed by skinheads and their mentors? That is really the question at issue. Not how many foreigners this country can tolerate."[111]

In German, Spiegel used the term *Schwule*, which refers specifically to gay men, and it is a significant word choice. One might have expected him to use the phrase "Lesben und Schwule" to refer to both lesbians and gay men, or the more traditional term "Homosexuelle". However, because gay men have been the target of persecution by right-wing skinheads in Germany, and were also targeted under National Social-

109 Ignatz Bubis was born in 1927 in Breslau, Germany and later became a successful business entrepreneur and real estate developer in West Germany. As President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Bubis was often outspoken and involved in a number of controversies including his very public lack of support for Reform Judaism and female rabbis. He is often remembered for declaring, a few weeks before his death in 1999, that Jews could not live freely in Germany. Following his request, Bubis was buried in Israel.

110 Spiegel, Wieder zu Hause, 250.

111 Ibid., 286.

ism, Spiegel included this often marginalised form of masculinity through the specific term *Schwule*.

Similarly, Spiegel confronted the issue of *Leitkultur* with the same sense of passion and responsibility to speak for those marginalised or subordinate. The discourse surrounding *Leitkultur* deals not only with issues of immigration and integration in Germany, but with the very essence of who can be considered German. "What is this talk about the sole dominant culture?" wrote Spiegel. "Is it an issue of German culture to hunt foreigners and light synagogues on fire and to kill the homeless?"[112] Spiegel was here referring not only to the November Pogrom, but also to contemporary issues of attacks on immigrants and the homeless. In answering his own question, Spiegel wrote: "The dignity of human beings – all human beings – is inviolable, not only those of the Central European Christians!"[113] As survivors of the Holocaust, Spiegel and his family had experienced the annulment of these values by the Nazi regime. This provided him with the moral authority to speak out on issues in the same manner in which Biblical prophets spoke. Their words were meant not just to warn, but to shepherd along a path of correct moral and ethical behaviour. So, too, Spiegel's construct of masculinity enabled him to act as a bridge-builder and, when needed, as a modern-day prophet.

As R.W. Connell argued, marginalisation is always relative to the authorisation of the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant group.[114] Spiegel used his position – as subordinate within the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant culture and his deeply personal connection to the November Pogrom – to include marginalised groups in the discourse on topics ranging from sexuality and citizenship to Germany's rearmament. Spiegel described his faith and trust in the direction taken by post-Holocaust German policies: "In the nearly five decades of its existence, the Bundeswehr has proven that it is neither a state within the state nor is it the continuation of the older German militarism by another means. Rather, it is part of our constitutional democracy."[115] Spiegel's confidence in the German state underscored the rural Jewish masculine construct he had developed from his father. Along with Wiesenthal and Reich-Ranicki, Spiegel saw his role as one that contributed to the nation state he chose to rebuild his life in.

Concluding Thoughts about Jewish Men in German-Speaking Europe

I have often heard Holocaust survivors living in North America attempt to understand the desire of Jews to return to German-speaking Europe in the post-war period. For many, it is incomprehensible that Jews would want to actually return to countries that had stripped them of their citizenship, deported them, and finally implemented genocidal policies to annihilate their very presence. Jews, I have been frequently told, seem to have an unrequited love for German culture. The relationship between Jews and German culture could however, be more accurately described as indicative of the unique synergy between these two distinct mores.

The three texts discussed in this essay demonstrate that just as Germanophone Europe provided a fertile environment for Jewish culture, religion, and intellectualism to flourish – at least until the twelve-year period of National Socialism – Jews

112 Ibid., 267.
113 Ibid..
114 R. W. Connell, Masculinities, Berkeley 2005, 80-81.
115 Spiegel, Wieder zu Hause, 285.

were, and continue to be, societal and cultural contributors shaping the communities in German-speaking Europe in which they live. Similarly, Jewish masculinity was imagined and shaped by the land, culture, and society in which they lived. The three protagonists profiled in this article were remarkable, prominent Jewish individuals who shared a commitment to Jewish life in German-speaking Europe. Although their decisions to remain were individual and their experiences diverse, each saw his future intrinsically linked to the lands in which Jews had lived for centuries before the Second World War. Each memoir offers poignant and intimate depictions of Jewish masculinities that were shaped by the societal and cultural elements of the German-speaking lands as well as by the Holocaust. Just as each protagonist shared a commitment to transforming the post-war society in which they lived, they also demonstrated the synergistic relationship between Germanophone cultures and Jews whose roots extended back at least to the *ShUM cities* of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, the cradle of Ashkenazi Jewry.

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Article

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Narratives of Loss

Childhood, Education, Families, and Homes in Jewish Child Survivors' Testimonies after the Second World War

Abstract

This article analyses Jewish child survivors' meaning-making strategies and how they addressed the loss of their childhood, families, and homes, including physical and national homes, after the Second World War. Using age and gender as analytical lenses, it draws upon oral history interviews with refugees from Western, Central, and Eastern Europe whose childhood or adolescence were interrupted – or defined – by displacement, and who came of age during or shortly after the war. In addition to comparing refugee perspectives with the expectations of American and British social workers for resettling displaced children, this paper will demonstrate the role of age categories and the life cycle in shaping how child survivors processed and formed strategies for moving on.

Introduction

In January 1946, a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) Zone Welfare Specialist estimated 45,182 children under age 14 in DP (Displaced Persons) centres in the U.S. Zone, with 100,000 boys and girls under age 18. As for unaccompanied children, the Welfare Specialist reported approximately 4,800, with Jewish children comprising about 3,600 of that number, though nearly half of those children were age 17 or over.[1] Voluntary agencies and international organisations aimed to resettle (or 'reclaim') these displaced children and youth along national lines after the Second World War, and to reunite children with their family members.[2] As Tara Zahra has shown, policymakers and relief agencies saw the family and the nation "as the very basis for European reconstruction and as the recipe for individual psychological rehabilitation".[3] While children generally served as visible symbols of destruction and broken families after the Second World War as well as the prospects of reconstruction in Europe, the role of Jewish children and youth as

1 Brief Statement about Child Welfare in U.S. Zone, To Mr. J.H. Whiting [Zone Director] from Cornelia D. Heise [Zone Child Welfare Specialist], U.N.R.R.A. Zone Headquarters, 24 January 1946/6.1.2/82486977/ITS (International Tracing Service) Digital Archive, Bad Arolsen; also see: Summary of the Unaccompanied Children Situation in the U.S. Zone, Office of Reports and Statistics UNRRA, U.S. Zone of Occupation, 23 January 1946/6.1.2/82486979/ITS Digital Archive, Bad Arolsen.

2 Tara Zahra, Lost Children. Displacement, Family, and Nation in Postwar Europe, in: The Journal of Modern History 81 (2009) 1, 45-86, here 46; Anna Wylegała, Child Migrants and Deportees From Poland and Ukraine After The Second World War. Experience and Memory, in: European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire 22 (2015) 2, 292-309. For the origins of the International Social Service and international adoption; see: Heide Fehrenbach, From Aid to Intimacy. The Humanitarian Origins and Media Culture of International Adoption, in: Johannes Paulmann (ed.), Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid in the Twentieth Century, Oxford/New York 2016, 207-233.

3 Tara Zahra, Lost Children, 45-86; Tara Zahra, 'The Psychological Marshall Plan': Displacement, Gender, and Human Rights after World War II, in: Central European History 44 (2011) 1, 37-62; Sara Fieldston, Raising the World. Child Welfare in the American Century, Cambridge 2015.

the next generation carried particular significance in light of the Holocaust and the survival of European Jewish communities.[4]

Plenty of source materials reveal the agendas of international and national voluntary agencies and child welfare organisations to achieve these ends, such as the papers of the Central British Fund for Jewish Relief, the German-Jewish Children's Aid, and American Jewish Distribution Committee.[5] Whether the end goal was to address the survivors' individual psychological needs, politicise the next generation of Europe's children, restore Jewish life in Europe, or have broader societal impact on post-war family life, British and American social workers aimed to restore child survivors' health, families, homes, national affiliations, and religious communities. By including the voices of child survivors who were affected by the decisions being made by these agencies, I aim to add another layer to the narratives that were being circulated at the 'official' level about what aid was achieving for Jewish children and youth.[6]

This paper will draw upon two oral history collections that contain children's post-war testimonies: the Association of Jewish Refugees' (AJR) *Refugee Voices* collection and the Wiener Library's *The Girls* collection. It will focus on the accounts of "1.5-generation" survivors who were babies or children during the war (born between 1928 and 1945) and who came of age during or after the war.[7] These retrospective accounts offer insights into how social workers' efforts to shape refugee children's understandings of certain terms and concepts – such as 'home', 'democracy', and 'national identity' – were received by the refugees themselves. Child specialists had various definitions amongst themselves of what it meant for refugee children and youth to move on, as well as multiple definitions of childhood, family, and national identity. At times refugee children and youth adopted these definitions and were influenced by the adults around them, but in other cases had their own definitions that contrasted with those of social workers. For example, although social workers and policymakers stressed the importance of the family unit to rebuilding post-war societies, some refugees sought alternative, non-traditional relationships to replace their missing family relations.[8]

In addition to broadening our understanding of the post-war resettlement process, this paper will contribute to our understanding of how the child survivor iden-

4 For literature on Jewish children as the "next generation"; see: Emunah Nachmany-Gafny, Dividing Hearts. The Removal of Jewish Children from Gentile Families in Poland in the Immediate Post-Holocaust Years, Jerusalem 2009; Avinoam J. Patt/Michael Berkowitz (ed.), "We Are Here". New Approaches to Jewish Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany, Detroit 2010.

5 As for organisations working in Austria, the Staatsarchiv's Jugendfürsorge collection offers insights into agencies' projects on the ground, which included feeding programs, the distribution of clothing and toys, youth programs, and children's summer programmes led by the Austrian Red Cross, Mennonites, Caritas, and the American Friends Service Committee, among other organisations. I have also consulted the Child Tracing Services of UNRRA and the IRO, which aimed to repatriate and register unaccompanied children.

6 Because I focus on young refugees who stayed in the DP camps in the US-American and British zones, I am interested in how the refugees viewed and interacted with the personnel and funds for relief and resettlement programs that came largely from US-American and British sources. Foreign voluntary societies were working there under the umbrella of SCAEF-UNRRA; the U.S. funded 73 per cent of UNRRA; see: War Cabinet Offices, Relations between UNRRA and Voluntary Welfare Societies, January 20, 1945, WR 128, UK National Archives in Kew.

7 Susan Rubin Suleiman, The 1.5 Generation. Thinking About Child Survivors and the Holocaust, in: American Imago 59 (2002) 3, 277-295; Sharon Kangisser Cohn/Eva Fogelman/Dalia Ofer (ed.), Children in the Holocaust and its Aftermath: Historical and Psychological Studies of the Kestenberg Archive, New York 2007, 99-117.

8 Tara Zahra has also noted the differences between Western social workers' and Eastern European refugees' ideas about childhood and child development, which do emerge in the interviews I am analysing between the mostly Eastern European girl refugees and the British educational or social service settings they encountered; see: Tara Zahra, The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families after World War II, Cambridge 2011.

tity developed in the post-war years. By the time *The Girls* and the AJR interviews were conducted in the early 2000s, there were already well-known oral history projects, as well as child survivor and *Kindertransport* reunions. These two collections are distinctive due to the interviewers' objectives in recording the testimonies and the nature of the interactions between the interviewers and interview subjects. The stated purpose of *The Girls* Collection from the Wiener Library was to ensure that girl refugees were recognised as distinctive historical actors. *The Girls* oral history project was in response to a book by British historian Martin Gilbert, who has written about a group of 850 refugee boys and girls who were resettled in the U.K. after the war. Although ten per cent were girls, the entire group was referred to as "the Boys", thus subsuming the identities and experiences of the girl refugees under those of the boy refugees.[9] *The Girls* consisted of a group of Jewish girls, mostly from Central and Eastern Europe, who immigrated to the U.K. after the war under a resettlement scheme for unaccompanied minors that was co-funded by the US and the U.K.[10] Some of the interviewed girl refugees, when put on the spot, did not identify differences between the experiences of boys and girls, at least not as many significant differences as the interviewers had hoped. But others immediately pointed to the issues of sexuality, pregnancy, and expected gender roles in the DP camps and their post-war environments. According to child survivor Nelly W., who had been in Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, a labour camp in Silesia, and Belsen, "the hunger, the cold and the beatings were the same" regardless of gender, but "you worried about your body more" as a girl in a camp and "then the liberation with the rape, these were things the boys didn't have to go through".[11] In terms of the life cycle, there were also clearly differences between their post-war options and choices, particularly their paths in education, marriage, and childrearing. Whether the refugees noticed these differences, or whether the interviewers pointed them out, a focus on gender helps us understand the particularities of young refugees' experiences when receiving aid, finding homes, and dealing with adolescence after the war.

The AJR *Refugee Voices* project was conducted for the purpose of collective memory and documenting the AJR members' family histories. The refugees knew the interviewers on a personal level, which influenced how much they were willing to share and the dynamics of the conversations. This approach contrasts from that of collections such as the Kestenberg Archive, whose researchers believed that anonymity would ensure that the survivors would feel more comfortable sharing personal details with the interviewers.[12] While the AJR interviewers also asked establishing questions at the beginning of the interview, they would at times fill in details or silences during the interview with their personal knowledge of the survivor's family history and life experiences. Of the 150 interview subjects, the majority was from Germany and Austria, but also included survivors from other Central and Eastern European states (especially Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary) who eventually migrated to Britain. This paper will focus on the testimonies of *Kindertransport* children and children in hiding during the war, as well as children who remained with their parents during the war with the aid of Jewish community networks and relief

9 Martin Gilbert, The Boys: The Untold Story of 732 Young Concentration Camp Survivors, New York 1997.
10 In particular, the Jewish Welfare Board and the American Joint Distribution Committee funded the resettlement and education of these girls.
11 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 15: Nelly W., 14/05/2007.
12 Cohen/Fogelman/Ofer, Children in the Holocaust and its Aftermath. Historical and Psychological Studies of the Kestenberg Archive, New York 2007, 3.

committees.[13] This set of interviews highlight the particularities of the 1.5 generation's memory-making processes: for those who were not in concentration camps or were too young to recall their wartime experiences, they had to rely on external sources of information or their imagination. At the same time, while their narratives may have primarily relied on acquired or mediated memories, and some may have struggled with the "absence of memory"[14] regarding their childhoods, they could also recall with vivid detail the effects of those wartime experiences and losses on their post-war lives as adolescents and young adults.

The Significance of Documenting Child Survivors' Voices

Historians are increasingly paying more attention to children's voices, both contemporaneous and retrospective.[15] Scholars who have written about child welfare programs and humanitarianism after the Second World War have used children's testimonies to compare with the perspectives of social workers. Other scholars who have extensively analysed child survivors' testimonies focus on the psychological aspects – for instance, Dori Laub, Rita Horváth, Sharon Kangisser Cohen, and Eva Fogelman – or questions about generational memory.[16] Before these projects that focused on collecting child survivors' testimonies, young survivors did not think of themselves as "survivors".[17] One child survivor, Bela R., similarly explained why she thought it was an important project to document the child's voice: as she was often told, children could take these experiences in their stride or they simply did not re-

13 In total, I am working with about 67 interviews with both boy and girl refugees, though I focus on selected interviews in this paper. While I consider various factors in their backgrounds – including nationality, class, whether they were Orthodox – I focus on the survivors' reflections on their migratory and resettlement experiences.

14 Stephenie Young highlights these characteristics of 1.5-generation survivors' testimonies from the Kestenberg Archive; see: Stephenie Young, Performative Memory-making and the Future of the Kestenberg Archive, in: Sharon Kangisser Cohen/Eva Fogelman/Dalia Ofer (ed.), Children in the Holocaust and its Aftermath. Historical and Psychological Studies of the Kestenberg Archive, New York 2007, 107-108, 114.

15 For examples of contemporaneous interviews conducted immediately after the war; see: David P. Boder, I Did Not Interview the Dead, Champaign 1949; Maria Hochberg-Mariańska/Noe Grüss (ed.), The Children Accuse, London 1996; and the testimonies collected by Benjamin Tenenbaum, who visited children's homes in Poland and DP camps in Germany in 1946–1947, and Genia Silkes, a former teacher who collected testimonies from Polish children. The intentions of these social workers, psychologists, and teachers who collected children's testimonies varied. For example, psychologist David P. Boder wanted to understand the impact of suffering on child refugees' personalities and to use the testimonies to educate American audiences and advocate on behalf of DP immigration to the US; see: Alan Rosen, The Wonder of Their Voices. The 1946 Holocaust Interviews of David Boder, New York 2010.

16 Tara Zahra, The Lost Children; Joanna Beata Michlic (ed.), Jewish Families in Europe, 1939–Present: History. Representation, and Memory, Waltham 2017; Joanna Beata Michlic, The Aftermath and After. Memories of Child Survivors of the Holocaust, in Sarah Horowitz (ed.), Lessons and Legacies X. Back to the Sources, Evanston 2012, 141-89; Shoshana Felman/Dori Laube (ed.), Testimony. Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History, New York/London, 1992; Lawrence Langer, Holocaust Testimonies. The Ruins of Memory, New Haven 1991; Cohen/Fogelman/Ofer (ed.), Children in the Holocaust and its Aftermath. Historical and Psychological Studies of the Kestenberg Archive, New York 2007.

17 Psychologist and child survivor Robert Krell highlighted the importance of developing this identity as individuals and as a group in a talk he gave at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in 1997: "No child survivor thought of himself or herself as a child survivor. We knew we had gone through and survived the Holocaust, but for the most part we considered this an insignificant experience compared with the real Holocaust survivors, those from concentration camps. In addition, adults reminded us that we really had no story of survival worth noting and that we were to get on with life and be normal. And that we did."; see: Robert Krell, Psychological Reverberations of the Holocaust in the Lives of Child Survivors, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Monna and Otto Weinmann Lecture Series, 5 June 1997 [reprinted in 2002].

member what they experienced.[18] This rubbed her the wrong way, since she saw this response as contributing to a "hierarchy of suffering" (or the impression that this hierarchy existed):

> "[T]his issue particularly of how people view the child survivors in particular. Not only the fact that we were girls, but also that we were children. And so often we get: 'What do you know, what do you recall, can you remember what have you suffered? It's *nothing* compared to 'we the older ones' have been through.' And this lack of recognition has been a great problem until – I suppose more recently, maybe – there's been more tolerance. […] they can't understand that there's different types of suffering, different types of need."[19]

Furthermore, most child survivors, much like their older counterparts, did not talk about their experiences until years after the war and after they had formed their own families and careers. This silence was related to their wartime experiences: children who had been hidden and *Kindertransport* children were particularly reluctant to speak because they had not been in a concentration camp and felt that they were at the bottom of that 'hierarchy of suffering'. As their childhood or adolescence had not been discussed or acknowledged for most of their adult lives, these oral history interviews gave child survivors an opportunity to narrate their formative years in a way they had not done before. For some, it was their very first time speaking about their childhood and adolescence, while for others it was another opportunity to present a relatively coherent narrative that they had previously narrated, but this time in a more reflective and therapeutic way. In addition to offering glimpses of how children and youth came of age and were politicized during and after the war, child survivors' accounts reflect how their understandings of the life cycle shaped their narratives about displacement, humanitarian aid, and survival, as older refugees acquired more historical and personal knowledge about their family pasts and the war. To pursue these questions, I will organise this paper into four themes of loss identified by the refugee women, as well as by the social workers and adults around them who wanted to address these losses: childhood, education, family, and national homes. By focusing on these four areas of loss, we can see how refugee children and youth's testimonies can both confirm and destabilise the categories that social workers understood to be, or hoped would become, the bases of Jewish child survivors' individual and collective identities.

Lost Childhood

In public appeals to American and British audiences and social workers' reports, there was constant emphasis on how young refugees lacked a childhood, whether they lost their ability to play, their educational opportunities, or their chance to have a family life and home. After the war, relief workers and publicity materials thus emphasised the need to teach children how to be children again, or for the first

18 Some refugees who were interviewed also shared this view of children, such as Mirjam F.: "Children take things as it is and they are usually quite excited by events because they don't understand the importance of it. But that something terrible was happening I did understand."

19 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 12: Bela R., 26/12/2006 and 31/12/2006.

time,[20] and they placed emphasis on restoring this aspect of refugee children's lives. Refugees themselves affirmed this view, for they felt that they had grown up too fast for their age group.[21] When an interviewer asked Rivka R., who was only four years old when she went into hiding with her family, what she often did in her spare time in the years after the war, she described how she and the other refugee children "did a lot of playing. I think we had to play ourselves out from that time when we couldn't play…" At the same time, they were "half adults already, we became adults before our age… All the children did, because I wasn't the only one."[22] Along these lines, Bela R. recalled how in the children's home in Lingfeld, England where she temporarily resided after the war, donors from abroad tried to make up for this loss: "We had lots of interest. Both from the media and from… the American Parents Plan, or… a group of Americans that had particularly taken an interest." However, these efforts were based on the donors' assumptions about childhood and children's needs: "[T]hey sent people over to, you know, see us. Photograph us, bring us sweets. I don't know, whatever. So there was always constant coming and going." Yet the donations – mostly of toys and items that American donors thought children needed to compensate for the childhood they never had – were not really what the refugee girls wanted: "[W]e never really were that interested in those things."[23]

Self-sufficiency and independence as a child survivor was also a way to explain why refugee children and youth resisted or were wary of charity. Marlene A., as a 17-year-old adolescent after the war, expressed her dislike of being pitied, for she wanted belonging more than detached charity: "I didn't want anything out of the ordinary, I didn't want… I just wanted to be accepted, as a normal human being… They thought by bringing you a box of chocolate or throwing you a few words at you that they have done their duty…" It was not so much the donations she disliked, but rather "the way it was given…"[24] Older youth also referred to their independence and survival skills to explain why they clashed with the adults around them after the war. For example, Marlene also encountered tensions with her surviving father because she had been "all on my own" in the camps, "making my own decisions… unless the Germans made it… the decisions for me". And now "here [my father] was suddenly

20 Letter from Tatiana S. Weller to Ernst Papanek (Unitarian Service Committee), 19 December 1947, in: Ernst Papanek Papers, Box 5, New York Public Library (NYPL) Special Collections, New York; Letter from Selma B. Jones (Engerode Children's Home) to Ernst Papanek, 10 April 1947, in: Ernst Papanek Papers, Box 5: Refugee Children – Correspondence with Organization, 1947–1948, NYPL Special Collections; Associated Press report and letter from Paul Comly French, in: CARE Records, Box 899, Folder 12/7/47–1/30/48, NYPL Special Collections.

21 Susan P., who was in Auschwitz and liberated in Belsen at age thirteen, provides another perspective on the role of play and imagination to sustain her in a concentration camp: "the ability to survive came through actually from an ability that I could [fantasize] during the camps and we often practiced that as young kids… What are you having for breakfast? We were starving but we fantasized in Auschwitz: 'I had some eggs… and a little bit of toast'… going to the next girl and the next girl and we whisper to each other." By playing this game, she did not necessarily have to "relearn" how to play after the war; she "learnt that fantasy from that moment, maybe before, and used that and in my way, in my mind I could transport myself somewhere else… and that was so good because I had a different world to go to…"; see: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 11: Susan P., 28/12/2006.

22 Interview 113 with Rivka R. in Manchester, 19 December 2005, Refugee Voices: The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

23 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 12: Bela R., 26/12/2006 and 31/12/2006. For more on children and play; see: George Eisen, Children and Play in the Holocaust, Amherst 1988, and Patricia Heberer, Children During the Holocaust. Documenting Life and Destruction (=Holocaust Sources in Context), Lanham 2011.

24 The adults around them also resisted how aid recipients were associated with dependency. Marlene, who reunited with her father after the war, explained how when it came to receiving donations her father "made that quite clear: thank you very much but I can provide for my daughter"; see: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 1: Marlene A., 19/01/2007; Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview with Rachel O.

telling me mainly what I couldn't do…" Marlene's reaction resembles the reports by relief workers and educators in children's homes that children and youth were sceptical of adults, especially authority figures, due to their experiences during the war.[25] In Marlene's case, this emphasis on child agency was related to how she took on the status of a 'survivor' as an adolescent.[26]

Lost Education

The interviewers for *The Girls* project noticed that girls whose education was interrupted at around age eleven to 14 were driven to make up for their 'lost education' rather than their childhoods. Nelly W., whose education had been interrupted in 1938 and who became an academic, expressed a sense of urgency to catch up on her lost years: "I wanted to at least be educated to my age…" Nelly observed that the boarding school she attended in England, which was run by two refugee women after the war, introduced her to English life, but she also had difficulty adapting because "it [the school] emphasized entirely the difference between me at the age of 14 and 15 and the other children. I found them all very giggly and almost to the point of being ridiculous. You know, they laughed about things which I just couldn't understand. And, I wanted to get on with my education. I wanted to get on…"[27] Yet in her efforts to fit in with her classmates, she also began to participate in this childlike behaviour: "I objected to the girls giggling, but in the end I picked up some of the giggling. You know, so, it made me young. But it held me back."[28]

Nelly also recalled how the doctors and social professionals around her talked *about* the gaps in her childhood education throughout their various stages of life. When she attempted to apply for a job as a laboratory assistant at a university, she had several blanks in her curriculum vitae. When the job interviewer asked sarcastically, "Oh, you didn't go to school", she had to explain her past, after which he "dropped all his sarcasm… treating me absolutely with kid gloves… afraid to say anything". Nelly noted that this was a common reaction: people were "horrified by the fact that you had no normal life".[29] The blanks on application forms were, in a way, markers of the blanks in her narrative about childhood – or, much like the narrative presented by relief organisations, that she had a 'missing' childhood.

Younger children had a higher chance to return to school, with financial support from the Jewish Welfare Board or the Joint Distribution Committee. But adolescents who were age 14 and older often had to choose between education and work, especially those who were from Central and Eastern Europe.[30] This was the case with

25 See, for example: Ernst Papanek, Initial Problems of a Children's Home and Experimental School for Refugee Children. The Refugee Children's Homes in Montmorency, France, 4, in: Ernst Papanek Papers, Box 8, Folder 8: Articles by E.P., Folder 8, NYPL Special Collections.

26 Other child survivors resisted the notion that they played an active role in their survival, insisting that it was simply a matter of luck or the actions of their parents; see, for example: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 11: Susan P., 28/12/2006.

27 For Nelly, her education was also about resisting the Nazi agenda: "educating the young was an absolute essential for all the youth leaders [in the ghetto]… because they didn't want us to grow up as fools as it were, because this is what the Nazis wanted that the children and the young people would not be educated, would be ignorant…"

28 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 15: Nelly W., 14/05/2007.

29 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 15: Nelly W., 14/05/2007.

30 This was also the case for Madeleine H., who was from Hungary, and Marlene A., who was from Czechoslovakia; see: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 4: Madeleine H., 24/07/2007; Interview 1: Marlene A., 19/01/2007.

15-year-old Claire P. from Hungary; once reunited with her father, they both discussed her options and she decided to choose work because they were struggling financially. However, Claire did not want to return to school due to the antisemitism she had experienced before the war: "The kids were throwing stone at me, last days before I – before the war, when we was stopped to go to school. The children were shouting, too… [STARTS TO CRY] So I said I don't go to school ever again."[31] For Claire, she had to deal with her real fears about post-war antisemitism in Europe, as well as continuing to deal with the childhood trauma of experiencing antisemitism at school and associating the moment of her displacement with the interruption of her education.

For Marlene A., whose schooling in Czechoslovakia was interrupted at age ten or eleven in 1940, catching up on her education was not an option. She described the reaction her father received when he tried to get her access to a university education in England after the war: "I remember my father going to the authorities and saying, what my daughter really wants to do, is study medicine…" However, the authorities laughed at him and said: "you know, how many soldiers are coming back from overseas and they are our priority… there is nothing left for refugee children, certainly not for your daughter… there was no question of going to university or anything, it was not."[32] Other interviewees (and the interviewers for *The Girls* project) further pointed to the different approaches to boys' and girls' educational opportunities. Lydia T. recalled how the boys who were resettled in the U.K. were encouraged to obtain apprenticeships and employment training, for "the achievement was them having jobs, rather than them addressing their feelings".[33] Bela R., who was adopted, observed that with the emphasis on marriage for girl refugees, her adoptive parents expected her to follow this route but otherwise "weren't that interested in my future […] you know, they weren't thinking of a career".[34] Young refugees, their relatives, social agencies, and authorities thus held different ideas about their futures and what it meant to move on with their lives after the war, especially along gender lines.[35]

Henry K., a German boy whose parents had sent him to live on a farm in England in 1937/1938, pointed out that he did not have the same opportunities for an education or a career path as his parents and his daughters did, since his education was constantly interrupted, and he had to find ways to adapt his skills and fragmented educational background to his surroundings: "I am conscious of being unable to equal the status in education and culture that my parents enjoyed through that growth, unbelievably energetic growth of imagination and talent that they were the climax of." Henry's remark highlights some of the particularities of refugees who were coming of age during or after the war. While it was never too late to make up for their lapses in education, these child survivors felt not so much that they were start-

31 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 10: Claire P., 25/07/2007.

32 Others, such as Marlene A. and Madeleine H., also felt that they could not fulfil their educational ambitions, whether it was due to an early marriage or the communist state. Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 1: Marlene A., 19/01/2007; Interview 4: Madeleine H., 24/07/2007.

33 Lydia T. and Bela R. also noted that boys were "discouraged from talking about their feelings", though Bela felt that the boys in her group were more vulnerable than girls, who were "able to hide [the damage by their experiences] better than the boys" – or at least, they were able to form informal networks to discuss those needs.

34 Nelly W. observed how many refugee girls she knew in England felt insecure about their appearances because they were thinking about marriage prospects: "this is generalization, but, perhaps they were more sensitive to what was happening to them … um, the way they looked. Um, would they ever get married? […] Ah, that sort of thing. Of course a boy wouldn't have really. [Interviewer: Why wouldn't a boy have that?] Ah, because he takes the first step, as it were."

35 Within the two sets of interviews (*The Girls* and the AJR), most of the refugee girls became social workers, academics, secretaries, teachers, and housewives.

ing with a "blank slate"[36] with endless possibilities, as social workers had encouraged them to think, but rather that they were starting with blanks in their resumes and backgrounds they had to work harder to fill in as adults.

Lost Families

Social workers emphasised the importance of rebuilding family units in order to restore social stability as well as meeting the refugees' emotional needs.[37] However, for some refugee children and youth, this aspect of their life could not be restored. For Bela R., the missing family unit, as well as the concept of a 'lost childhood', was significant because child refugees lacked a sense of grounding for their identity that older refugees might have had. Orphaned at a very young age, she had been placed in a children's home in England and was adopted by an English Jewish couple after the war. Although she did have a family, she did not feel fully at home with her adoptive parents and identified a sense of rootlessness because she did not know who her birth family was: "I think this connection with the past is more important than people realize… it's not denying that they suffered terrifically, the older survivors, but they had their families…" Child refugees might not "remember exactly what happened but we were deprived of our childhood… of food, of toys, of companionship, of our families".[38] Due to her Jewishness and her status as an orphan, Bela felt like an outsider in her new home: "Wherever I went, I never felt like I belonged. In my school with other English girls, [I] didn't really belong. First of all, I was Jewish. And then I was adopted. And then, my background." In addition to lacking a sense of "where I belonged in life," she also did not know "what I was going to do when I was an adult… Or idea of the sort of person I wanted to be as an adult… and where I wanted my life to go".[39]

Older unaccompanied or orphaned youth also identified the significance of their families' absence in their development as adolescents. Susan P., a Hungarian girl who was sent to Auschwitz at age thirteen, liberated in Belsen, and migrated first to Canada as an unaccompanied minor before settling in England as an adult, explained:

> "it's coming to me now, what I have missed is that sort of inter-relationship, daily inter-relationship: the arguments and the make ups and the this and the that, and it's all part of a daily relationship. I have missed that in the most formative years of my life… you don't even think about being a part of a family – it's a normal thing. You see – I did not have that feeling."[40]

Lydia T., who became a child psychoanalyst as an adult, held a similar view, defining adolescence as the time when "a person crystallize[s]… you know when does their personality shape, it's usually sometime during adolescence". Reflecting on her own experience, she stated that "what happened before the war must have been the soil in which the rest of me developed".[41] Lydia was ten years old when Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia and was sent to an orphanage in Prague (her parents were still alive

36 Doctors, social workers, and parents urged Claire P., Madeleine H., and Bela R. to forget their traumatic pasts and to focus on their futures. Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 10: Claire P., 25/07/2007; Interview 4: Madeleine H., 24/07/2007; Interview 12: Bela R., 26/12/2006 and 31/12/2006.

37 Tara Zahra, Lost Children, 46; Sara Fieldston, Raising the World.

38 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 12: Bela R., 26/12/2006 and 31/12/2006; Interview 5: Zdenka H., 20/01/2007.

39 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 12: Bela R., 26/12/2006 and 31/12/2006.

40 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 11: Susan P., 28/12/2006.

41 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 14: Lydia T.

but unable to take care of her). She survived Auschwitz, where she found her sister but lost her mother. Having migrated to England at age 16 as an unaccompanied minor, Lydia recognised that she had "a very unusual adolescence… in the sense that it was in a concentration camp", and that she lacked a period in her life when she rebelled against her parents "because your parents weren't there to rebel against". Most refugee interviews divide their narratives about family life and upbringing into the before and after the Holocaust; for Susan and Lydia, their notions of family and home did not have a sense of what came "before", or as Bela R. described it, "the lack of my own background".[42] Furthermore, their adult understandings of 'normal' adolescence and family relationships shaped how they understood the missing elements in their formative years.

While some were old enough to remember their pre-war family life, younger refugee children who did not grow up with a family were constantly in search of one after the war. Susan P., whose father had been taken away before the war and her mother was gassed in Auschwitz, described how meaningful it was when a doctor related to her as a daughter figure. When this doctor took her out for a walk during a therapeutic session and said to her, "I've got a little girl like you. I've got a daughter like you", it was "earth-shaking… you know, he kind of raised my self-image, because we were terribly humiliated, I was terribly humiliated and feeling very… you know, I was nobody…" Susan's desire to be identified as a child who could belong to a family is interesting to compare with the reactions of older refugee youth, who often identified the ability to make their own choices as more important to restoring their self-confidence.[43] In fact, some refugee women were not convinced that foster families were necessarily the solution to unaccompanied or orphaned children's needs. To return to Bela's story, she did not have a warm relationship with her adoptive parents, especially her adoptive mother, who kept reminding her that she was "rescued" by them. Yet Bela did not feel like she needed a mother figure in her life. In fact, she had become a mother figure or 'carer' to her group of refugee friends in a children's home, though she was the youngest in the group.[44] Bela's account illustrates the complicated notions of the family unit and who took on the maternal roles in these refugee children and youth's lives after the war (if not the older girls, a social worker or doctor usually took on these maternal roles[45]), as well as Bela's insistence that she was independent even at age three: "I was very much my own person." Lydia T. had a similar sense of self-sufficiency as a 16-year-old: "I don't think there was anybody who acted as substitute parent […] in fact I remember when I came, I think what happened was that I almost as a reaction I sort of thought – Sod you lot, I don't need anybody, I'm my own parent…"[46] Bela and Lydia thus addressed their lack of parental guidance by highlighting their self-sufficiency.

Children who lost a parent (especially their mothers) at a young age recognised the lingering effects of the 'missing family' on their experiences growing up after the

42 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 12: Bela R., 26/12/2006 and 31/12/2006.

43 When asked by the interviewers whether she wanted a foster family, she admitted to feeling embarrassed for wishing for one. She imagined the interviewers were thinking: "how can you accept that? How can you want it? You know… [But you were only 14… Because your loyalty to your parents?] Not loyalty to my parents, … I think maybe, maybe it's a residue of this humiliation, a residue of this humiliation. [That you felt like you didn't deserve it.] Maybe so."; see: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 11: Susan P., 28/12/2006.

44 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 12: Bela R., 26/12/2006 and 31/12/2006.

45 For example, Hannah L. considered her psychiatrist her "surrogate mother."; see: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview: Hannah L.

46 Older children who were adolescents after the war and reunited with their family members had strained relationships, especially teenage girls who were reunited with their surviving fathers, though it was for a variety of reasons; see: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 14: Lydia T.

war and experiencing various life stages. Hannah L., who had witnessed the shooting of her own mother by the Einsatzgruppen as a child, described her envy of a friend who still had her mother after the war: "I was jealous because she had her mother and father and though they all lived in one little room… and Shoshana never had to have her hair shaved off because of lice, because her mother kept it clean." As a nine-year-old Hannah developed 'mother-envy' of other children and youth, which continued into her marriage as an adult. As she described herself, Hannah was "always a girl in search… if not a mother, a mother-in-law…"[47]

For other refugee girls, this sense of rootlessness similarly persisted into their adulthood, whether it was in personal relationships or in finding a home.[48] Rita K., who was taken to Theresienstadt with her mother in 1942 and was eleven years old when she was separated from her mother, explained how her childhood shaped her overprotectiveness toward her children: "Because my own life was shifted about from one place… my family went... my father went… I was separated at a vulnerable age… I can't stand not knowing where people are, even now... there's still that fear in me of, of loss… of anybody I know." But she also recognized that this was a general effect on Jewish survivors: "I think really and truly it's an insecurity in all Jewish people."[49]

The interviewees also recognised the long-term effects on their own family formation and childrearing decisions. Hana E. had a different reaction: she chose *not* to have children, though she in fact liked children. After realising what had happened to her family as well as other Jewish families, and after imagining herself in her mother's place, she decided: "it must have been so terrible to say goodbye and to know that it was probably forever. And I don't know why, but I just felt that history could repeat itself. And I couldn't even bear to think of having children." When asked if this was a conscious decision, she affirmed: "Yes, yes, it was." Her reaction deviates from the "baby boom" trend among Jewish DPs identified by Atina Grossmann,[50] but perhaps highlights the effects on a refugee who had experienced loss at a young age.[51]

Other refugees longed to make up for these losses with their own family formation. Adolescents who got married a few years after the war longed for older relatives around them. For example, Etta L., who was born in Czechoslovakia and was almost 16 years old at liberation, realised that no older adults were at her wedding to celebrate with her and her husband: "I mean an older generation, not anybody at all. And there were no babies, young children." This absence of relatives and extended family also had an impact on her children. She recalled one argument with her son, during which she promised her son that he could make more decisions on his own when he

47 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview: Hannah L.

48 Just as a point of comparison with a refugee boy from Germany, Peter D. had difficulties maintaining stable relationships in his life, especially with father figures. As a child he was in Theresienstadt with his mother; both survived and emigrated to the U.S. after the war. Peter ran away as a 14-year-old from his home due to a strained relationship with his abusive mother, though he recognized that the war had taken a psychological toll on her. He expressed his sense of being a constant loner and outsider: "I have never been 'one of the boys'." As an adult, he not only struggled with the absence of his birth father and a hands-off stepfather, but also with assuming his role as a father figure to his son and stepchildren; see: Peter D. Holocaust testimony (HVT-319), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Special Collections.

49 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 6: Rita K., Summer 2006.

50 See: Atina Grossmann, Mir Zaynen Do. Sex, Work, and the DP Baby Boom, in: Grossmann, Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany, Princeton 2009, 184-235.

51 For other refugees, this experience of losing family members made them accustomed to coping with death and loss as an adult. See, for example, Interview 47 with Renee M. in Manchester, 29 January 2004, Refugee Voices. The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

reached age 16. He responded: "'When I'm sixteen – you will be dead when I'm sixteen!' So I said: 'What do you mean?' 'Well, all parents are dead when their children are grown-up.'" She discovered that her two other children were convinced this was also the case.[52] This interaction once again highlights how the refugee women understood the absence of a 'normal' family life, as well as what became normal for them and their families.

Lost Homes
Ending Statelessness

These interviews also offer glimpses of the refugees' attitudes toward a national home and national identity at a particular moment in their lives. The definition of home was complicated for child refugees, who may or may not have had a childhood or memories that made them attached to their countries of birth. Some of the older girl refugees associated their native countries with negative experiences of antisemitism and thus took the initiative to avoid returning to their countries of birth. Nelly W., who was born in Vienna, wanted to avoid returning to Austria at all costs. Theresienstadt seemed safer to her after the war: "Therezienstadt [sic] was in a way 'home' to me. You know, I had no home [in] Vienna. I didn't know anybody in France. Ah, there was Palestine, where my brother was, but I didn't know where he was. So… the nearest home was Therezienstadt." She felt relief to be back in the camp because she could reunite with a community of mostly Jewish women refugees and "we could be as it were ourselves". But the question of repatriation still hovered over their heads.

Unaccompanied refugee youth, as well as social workers, recognised some of the limitations built into the post-war legal and institutional policies that prioritised the child victim and was difficult for adolescents who were on the brink of adulthood. For example, Sylvia C. recalled how she was forced out of a children's home in London once she reached age 19, though the home had not prepared her for transitioning into supporting herself as an adult.[53] On the other hand, the ambiguity of age categories could be used to the refugees' advantage. Relief workers reported that older boys and girls often faked their age in order to qualify for child-centred emigration programs.[54] Etta L., who was almost age 16 at the end of the war, explained how she and her two older brothers heard about the British resettlement scheme to bring 120 orphans under age 18: "So we went immediately to Prague to register. And I was accepted without a problem. My brother, who was older than I, falsified his birth certificate and mine so that he should only be seven months older than I in order to get in. So he was also allowed; so the two of us were allowed to come to England."[55] Lydia

52 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview: Etta L.; see also: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 6: Rita K., summer 2006. Rita, who had been taken to Theresienstadt with her mother but was separated from her and placed in a girls' barrack, also expressed her desire for "a large family to surround me, because I never did have that…"

53 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 3: Sylvia C., Summer 2006.

54 Letter from Ruth Fellner [Jewish Refugee Committee Secretary] to I. Jacobson, Esq. [American Joint Distribution Committee, Prague], 13 June 1946, in: Archive of the Central British Fund for Jewish Relief, Wiener Library.

55 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview: Etta L.; The Jewish Refugee Committee aimed to bring 150 orphaned or abandoned children between ages 16 and 18 from Czechoslovakia to the U.K. under this "1,000 Permit Scheme."; see: Letter from Ruth Fellner [Jewish Refugee Committee Secretary] to Harold C. Gibson, Esq. [British Embassy (Visa Section)], 26 April 1946; Letter from Otto M. Schiff [Chairman of the Central British Fund], to the Czechoslovak Consulate General, 2 May 1946, in: Archive of the Central British Fund for Jewish Relief, Wiener Library.

T. also pointed out the fluctuating age categories during and after the war: "in fact the boys were already most of them were over the age of 16… I mean even I had to – ahh, this is quite ironic, in Auschwitz I had to make myself… – older, because I wasn't 16 yet, in order to survive. And, then to come here [to the U.K.] I had to pretend that I wasn't 16… You know, absolutely ridiculous."[56]

Judith S., who was born in Hungary in 1929, had lived in a ghetto, and was separated from her mother in Auschwitz, described this continued search for a home as "postponed grief for your family which you, as you had to survive one part of your journey, you had to survive your next". She recalled the difficulties of trying to emigrate to Israel and the U.S., especially the latter due to the legal obstacles (such as acquiring multiple affidavits) as well as her status as an Eastern European and a Jew. Although social workers had encouraged refugee children and youth to think of their futures as a blank slate on which they could write anything they wanted, Judith felt that "[t]here was no future for us, our family and home were destroyed, most of our relatives were missing, died. And we all had plans, where could we go? You know, nowhere to go."[57]

Rivka R. remained with her family during the war, but she too faced perpetual statelessness and displacement after the war: "We never knew where we were going to go next, and where we were going to get a passport to, and which countries would let us in… truthfully no country wanted us. Even in the countries that later on let you in, they let you in under duress, people suffered a lot." Not only had they suffered during the war, but also "afterwards for being unwanted..." Rivka finally found an end to her statelessness through marriage: "I was stateless until I got married, and then I became British. It was a new world, some country wants me. It was a very good feeling… it is an awful thing, you don't belong to any country."[58] Rivka also emphasized the gendered obligations imposed on the boys in her family; her parents based their emigration decisions on whether or not her brothers would have to serve in the army. Other child survivors similarly recognised the family-centred paths to citizenship. Nelly W. acquired French citizenship through a marriage with a soldier to get out of a DP camp in Germany, while Marlene earned British citizenship as a 17-year-old through her father because she was underage. Trude S. recognised that this procedure was gendered when she pointed out: "So I actually became a British citizen by the time I was 16, so I'm British in my own right, without having to get married."[59]

In their pursuit of ending statelessness, child survivors may have been able to acquire physical and national homes, but some nevertheless identified a perpetual sense of displacement. The absence of a home continued to haunt Francoise R., for she had constantly been on the move as a child with her mother during the war when they left Belgium for Britain, even recalling how she slept in drawers, boxes, and whatever shelter her mother could find for her. As an adult Francoise continued to have nightmares about being displaced from her home: "Not being turned out physically, but a dream of having to move on, which results in the dream is a longing to get back to my base, to my home, and being horrendously…" This reoccurring dream of displacement "doesn't end correctly for me unless I can get back to the house, that

56 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 14: Lydia T.

57 Interview 100 with Judith R. in Manchester, 2 August 2005, Refugee Voices. The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

58 Interview 113 with Rivka R. in Manchester, 19 December 2005, Refugee Voices. The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

59 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 15: Nelly W., 14/05/2007; Interview 1: Marlene A., 19/01/2007; Interview 42 with Trude S. in Leeds, 20 November 2003, Refugee Voices. The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

I've been forced to leave, that I've been pushed into selling the house and moving into one that doesn't feel right for me".[60] For other child survivors, their resettlement did not necessarily mean they felt "at home" in their sites of resettlement. Refugee women such as Francoise R., Madeleine H., and Bela R. felt like an outsider in the U.K., even after years of building a life there. Madeleine, in particular, preferred to identify as a "patriotic Jew," but not a patriotic Hungarian or British, her old and new homes.[61]

Along the lines of identifying with a national or global Jewish community, child survivors expressed their desires to be sent to Palestine/Israel after the war in both contemporaneous and retrospective accounts. Relief agencies in the U.S. and U.K. thus aimed to accommodate refugee children's preferences after the war, as well as placing orphaned Jewish children in Jewish households, in an effort to find homes in which these children finally felt safe.[62] These sentiments also contributed to child survivors' political leanings and their support of Israel in their adult years, or at least their identification of a Jewish state as the solution to refugees' perpetual displacement.[63] In this sense, the resettlement options for Jewish children and youth after the war also played a role in shaping the political consciousness of refugee children as they transitioned into young adulthood, as social workers in the early post-war years had hoped.[64]

Lost Languages

Language loss, or acquisition, was also central to the child survivors' narrations of their early post-war experiences and their ability to feel 'at home'. The acquisition of multiple languages was key to their ability to adapt to their surroundings, and as children, they were able to absorb languages faster. Some interviewees saw their multilingual abilities as enabling them more freedom, whether it was to alternate between the cultures around them or between the multiple identities and statuses they occupied. Henry K., who left Germany at age nine for England, identified adaptability as the key quality that enabled him to continue living after the war: "If you're being chased from pillar to post you have to adapt to the new environment be it language, surroundings, treatment, inquisition or otherwise. And wherever you are, you make your home."[65] Likewise, Eva F. felt at home regardless of her surroundings because she was able to switch between the multiple languages she acquired as a child and as a refugee who had to move around frequently. Her mother had urged her and her brother to learn English because "You cannot go out in the street and be

60 Interview 40 with Francoise R. in Edinburgh, 17 November 2003, Refugee Voices. The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

61 Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 4: Madeleine H., 24/07/2007.

62 For contemporary writings; see: Excerpts from Children's Letters, Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad files, 146/16, Wiener Library; Ernst Papanek Papers, Box 11: Questionnaire Responses 1943–1947, New York Public Library; see also: Erica B. Simmons, Hadassah and the Zionist Project, Lanham 2006; Avinoam J. Patt, Finding Home and Homeland. Jewish Youth and Zionism in the Aftermath of the Holocaust, Detroit 2009.

63 For example, Nelly W. describes her Zionist teacher in Theresienstadt who encouraged her group of 18 girls to embrace Zionist ideals. Other refugee women described their involvement in Zionist projects and efforts. Avinoam J. Patt has also explored how Jewish DP youth consciously built their post-war identity around Zionism; see: Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/Interview 15: Nelly W., 14/05/2007; Avinoam J. Patt, Finding Home and Homeland. Jewish Youth and Zionism in the Aftermath of the Holocaust, Detroit 2009.

64 This politicisation was not only envisioned as Zionism; social professionals who conducted interviews and interacted with child and youth refugees also encouraged young refugees to adopt definitions of democracy and become more aware of their rights and civic duties as citizens and global actors.

65 Interview 135 with Henry K. in London, 2 November 2006, Refugee Voices. The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

heard speaking German". But she also continued to study languages, and as she grew older, she realised: "of course the asset of having to change languages when you are young enough to do it fairly easily is that you know it's something special. And each language has its own qualities. And I was quite intoxicated by this. Of course it was a sense of freedom, too, because I wasn't anymore thinking, 'What does she mean?'" Unaccompanied refugee children had similarly been encouraged by social workers or ex-concentration camp inmates not to speak German, first to immerse themselves in their English surroundings and secondly to avoid drawing attention to themselves as foreigners.[66]

For other child survivors, the loss of a mother tongue or their inability to communicate once they returned to their countries of birth made them feel like strangers in their countries of birth. Trude S., who left Czechoslovakia at age nine to stay with her relatives in England, expressed how she felt both at home and a stranger when she visited Bratislava as an adult: "I felt at home, and I felt quite happy walking round, I knew my way, you could have put me there blindfolded", though the Slovak street names had been changed under post-war occupation. Yet Trude identified a paradoxical feeling: "I felt at home but I didn't feel at home because I lacked the language. You can't go back home if you don't speak the language." She also noted that despite having lived in England since she was a child, she did not feel like she belonged, not even to the Jewish community in England: "I do not feel my roots here."

In contrast, Henry K., who had been born in Berlin, welcomed this feeling of not identifying with his first language and home: "[T]his is something that has nothing to do with Nazism but you have to remember that, if I were to live in Germany today, I would be constantly reminded of things that I would rather forget, things that don't happen to me in the same way in England."[67] As he explained during a school talk in Berlin in response to a thirteen-year-old German girl who asked why he did not want to return to Germany, he recalled his father's encounters with 17-year-old guards in a concentration camp who had been raised in the Hitler Youth and reinforced adolescence as a formative period not just for young refugees but also the perpetrators: "How old are those seventeen year olds today? […] if I walked through the streets of Berlin or anywhere in Germany today and I meet someone of approximately the age, 77, 78, 80, I do not wish to look into their eyes for fear of what I might see." Because of these reasons, Henry made a deliberate decision to identify with his adopted home of England via language: "Firstly, I came to England as a refugee speaking no English. I've spent the last fifty, sixty, seventy years improving my English, becoming English. I'm now a British citizen, married an English girl having two English daughters, working for the BBC, serving in the British Army…" After years of building a life and identity in England, he stated: "I'm British. There is nothing about me that is German any more."[68] As demonstrated by these examples, language was connected

66 Others, such as Nelly W., were warned after the war not reveal that German was their native language. Nelly learned some Czech words during her time in Theresienstadt, so she and other refugee children and youth "took on Czech nationality… we made ourselves out to be Czech."; see Wiener Library/"The Girls" Project/ Interview 15: Nelly W., 14/05/2007. For more on the connection between language and children's nationality, especially in the pre-war and wartime years; see: Tara Zahra, Kidnapped Souls. National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948, Ithaca 2008.

67 For others, such as Hana E., it was not so much about feeling at home, but rather about reconciling with Germany and its past. Spending months in Germany learning and teaching German was a way for Hana to address the differences in generations: "I was suspicious of anybody who was older, two or three years older than myself and above that, you know, what they might have been guilty of. But, on the other hand, you can't blame everybody for what a section of the people do."

68 Interview 135 with Henry K. in London, 2 November 2006, Refugee Voices: The AJR Audio-Visual Testimony Archive.

to how the survivors understood their relationship to their old and new homes, and the interviewees used their loss or acquisition of languages to express what it meant to move on with their lives after the war and the Holocaust.[69]

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to think about how child survivors have constructed narratives about their post-war experiences, as well as how historians can use them in deconstructing narratives about aid. First, the ways in which refugees understood childhood and child agency shaped their assessments of aid distribution and the resettlement process after the war, as well as how they narrated their roles as aid recipients, witnesses, and survivors. Secondly, these retrospective narratives offer glimpses of how child survivors saw the role of gender and age categories in influencing their efforts to cope with life after the war. Identifying these factors served as one way for the survivors to make sense of how the war, the Holocaust, and their experiences of displacement disrupted or shaped their life trajectory. In most cases, they strove to make up for certain losses in their lives (education, families of their own, language), while they recognised that they could not make up for other types of losses (a sense of rootedness in a family or home). We not only can see the lingering effects of refugees' losses and their search for an end to displacement or insecurity, to which they had become accustomed at a young age; we can also see how the interview setting itself served as a forum for the refugees, providing them with the language and terminology for discussing their conceptions of family and belonging in relation to their former and new homes. For some survivors, their childhoods, education, family, and homes may have seemed non-existent or absent in their lives, but these losses were still very much present in their testimonies.

69 Other refugees struggled not so much with the loss of a specific language, but rather the loss of language in itself – or the inability to communicate their traumatic stories, whether they broke down at certain moments in their story or were overcome by deep memory. Finally, there were the differences in generational languages and the refugees' desires to communicate with younger generations. While most survivors participated in school programs, like Henry K., or were able to discuss it with their grandchildren, they found it difficult to discuss their experiences with their own children due to the emotional burden they wanted to avoid.

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Article

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Putting History in Its Place

The Spatial Exclusion of Jews in Nazi Berlin, 1933–1939

Abstract

Drawing on over 150 oral history testimonies and other personal memory sources, this article illustrates how accounts from Holocaust survivors can shed new light on the ways that spaces of everyday life changed for Berlin's Jews under the Nazi regime. By targeting these spaces and slowly demarcating them as 'Aryan' or 'Jewish', the Nazi regime defined who belonged – and who did not – to the national community *(Volksgemeinschaft)*. Recalling the changes to their immediate spatial environments, including their homes and neighbourhoods, Holocaust survivors emphasise that these transformations were highly visible processes, manifested in everyday spaces across Berlin. By engaging with the complex postwar afterlives of these spaces, scholars can put history in its contemporary place – in the neighbourhoods, on the streets, and outside the front doors of apartments in the city many German Jews once considered home.

Introduction

The building at Schwäbische Straße 3 looks identical to dozens of other grey apartment buildings in the Bavarian Quarter of Berlin. Inside the front entrance hangs a *Stiller Portier* – a so-called silent porter: a house directory that could at one time be found in in the entranceway of almost every Berlin apartment building.[1] A simple panel with a wooden frame lists the names of the building's Jewish residents expelled during the Nazi era: Hedwig Bachmann, Alfred Fürst, Karl Gotthelf, Sofie Guttmann, Ida Lewinsky, Emma Lewy, Marianne Lewy, Jaque Nahaum, Alfred Wachsmann, Jenny Wachsmann, Gerhard Winter, Else Winter, and Rudolf Winter. All thirteen were deported between 1942 and 1943 along with over 6000 other Jews from the district of Schöneberg, either to Auschwitz, Theresienstadt, Riga, or Sachsenhausen.[2] In 1996, two residents of the building, Gisela Storandt and Arvid Erlenmeyer, collaborated to research, fundraise, and erect this particular memorial.[3] The

1 The directory usually appeared behind a framed glass panel and provided information about which resident(s) could be found in which apartment. Since apartment blocks in Berlin often had a front house and several backhouses, these directories were particularly useful for directing visitors. The tradition of the silent porter largely disappeared after the electric doorbell system became commonplace in the mid-1900s.

2 Michael Meng, Shattered Spaces. Encountering Jewish Ruins in Postwar Germany and Poland, Boston 2011, 206.

3 Uta Grüttner, Schwäbische Straße 3. Bewohner gedenken ihrer deportierten jüdischen Nachbarn. Stiller Portier gegen das Vergessen, in: Berliner Zeitung, 26 November 1996. Available online: https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/16785792 (22 June 2018). It should be noted that not all residents were in support of this initiative. When Storandt previously hung a version of the list of deported residents on two separate occasions, the lists disappeared just days later. Eventually another neighbour, Arvid Erlenmeyer, began to help as well, drafting a letter to circulate through the house. In the end, thirteen occupants supported the cause. In another article, journalist Jens Rübsam wrote about the various reasons that the residents supported the memorial. For instance, Erlenmeyer, whose father had been stationed with the Luftwaffe in Hungary, viewed the memorial plaque as a "a piece of atonement". Lilli Ernsthaft, a Jew who survived the war in the Jewish hospital in Berlin and returned to her old apartment after the war, stated firmly, "I believe that this only concerns the non-Jews". See Jens Rübsam, Schweigen über die Vergangenheit, in: taz am Wochenende, 23 November 1996. Available online: http://www.taz.de/!1427059/ (22 June 2018).

silent porter memorial at Schwäbische Straße 3 is just one example of many local initiatives to mark the places where Berlin's Jews once lived.[4] Each of these memorials represents an attempt to reinscribe the history of these buildings and their former residents into the physical cityscape. This little-known memorial tucked away inside the entrance of Schwäbische Straße 3 stands as a physical reminder that such sites can be an important point of entry to understanding the history of the Holocaust.[5]

Streets like Schwäbische Straße can be found throughout Berlin, lined with buildings that conceal lesser-known aspects of the Nazi era. Adjacent to these buildings are the everyday spaces where Jewish life in Berlin once flourished, including supermarkets, parks, cinemas, cafés, and restaurants, to name just a few. From 1933 onwards, the Nazi administration worked diligently to rescind the citizenship rights of Jews and to slowly exclude the Jewish population from the national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) envisioned for the future Third Reich. They issued hundreds of laws, directives, and proclamations against Jews, many of which defined who was to be included or excluded from this new national community.[6] These exclusionary policies took root in everyday spaces of the city and amounted to a reversal of more than a century of Jewish integration and acculturation.[7]

The broader processes through which Jews were displaced from Berlin have been the subject of a number of excellent historical studies, which revealed clear links between the regime's plans for social and urban development and the persecution of the Jews.[8] These studies relied primarily on a wealth of Nazi-era sources to further understand the displacement of Jews under the regime. For example, the records from Albert Speer's Office of the Generalbauinspektor shed light on the official policies for the spatial reorganisation of Berlin, particularly in relation to the building of the world capital city Germania.[9] These collections contain documents that clearly demonstrate Nazi efforts to relocate and remove Jews from the city: maps of the city declared to be *judenrein* (free of Jews), plans for the redevelopment of Berlin, and lists of addresses of Jewish homes that were to be cleared in an effort to house 'Aryans' displaced by aerial bombing. With the official Berlin address books, Berlin's former

4 Other examples include the now famous "Stolpersteine" (stumbling stones) created by Gunther Demnig as well as Christian Boltanski's "Missing House" located on Große Hamburger Straße in the Mitte district of Berlin.

5 In fact, this quiet residential street captured the imagination of Pascale Hugues, a French news correspondent who would come to write a book about the former residents of the street, ranging from the thirteen Jewish residents who survived the Nazi regime to the secretary of the High Command of the Wehrmacht.

6 For example, in the year after Hitler came to power, a total of 319 laws and regulations were passed relating to Jews. These laws pushed Jews out of organisations, professions, and other aspects of public life and provided the basis for the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which explicitly stripped Jews of their German citizenship and all rights associated with it.

7 See Marion Kaplan, Between Dignity and Despair. Jewish Life in Nazi Germany, New York 1998. Kaplan's excellent work shows how 'ordinary Germans' played a crucial role in the processes that led Jews toward "social death" or, as she defined it, "their subjection, their excommunication from the 'legitimate social or moral community' and their relegation to a perpetual state of dishonor". Ibid, 5. The social death of Jews in Nazi Germany occurred as part of everyday interactions in everyday places, a process in which ordinary Germans regularly participated. Kaplan's work also showed the way in which German Jews attempted to adjust and navigate these new situations. My dissertation builds on this observation, showing how Jews adapted their everyday lives according to the increasing spatial constraints they faced both in their homes and neighbourhoods.

8 See for example Paul Jaskot, Anti-Semitic Policy in Albert Speer's Plans for the Rebuilding of Berlin, in: The Art Bulletin 78 (1996) 4, 622-632; Susanne Willems, Der entsiedelte Jude. Albert Speers Wohnungsmarktpolitik für den Berliner Hauptstadtbau, Berlin 2002.

9 See the following collections held at the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde for references: R4606 (Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt) and R113 (Reichsstelle für Raumordnung). The Landesarchiv in Berlin also has substantial material relating to the Generalbauinspektor der Reichshauptstadt (1937–1941), which can be found in the collection entitled Der Stadtpräsident der Reichshauptstadt Berlin (A Pr. Br. Rep 057 Nr. 939).

residents can be traced throughout the 1930s and into the early 1940s.[10] Census data from 1939 makes it possible to locate the individuals and their families who lived in Nazi Berlin.[11] Transport lists can help determine final addresses of Jewish residents and the asset declaration forms (*Vermögenserklärung*) that Jews were forced to fill out prior to leaving their homes or being deported offer a glimpse into what was left of Jewish households.[12] While this is by no means a comprehensive list of available sources available to historians studying the spatial reorganisation of Berlin under the Nazi regime, these examples illustrate the mechanised and bureaucratic process of data collection and the official plans for the city's redevelopment. Most importantly, these sources clearly document how the Nazi regime sought to exclude Berlin's Jews from their homes and neighbourhoods.

Absent from these documents, however, is the voice of the individual Jew whose daily life was impacted by these spatial policies. While thousands of voices of those who were exiled from Berlin or murdered by the Nazi regime can never be recovered, there is much to be learned from existing survivor accounts about the ways Jews navigated everyday spaces during this period. Exploring the spaces that are preserved in postwar accounts of the Nazi regime can reveal places of exclusion (and sometimes inclusion) beyond those listed in official Nazi documents. Personal memory sources also demonstrate that the creation of sites of exclusion was not always intentional. For instance, Nazi parades and the appearance of the *Stürmerkasten* (more on this shortly) in the streets caused Jews to reroute their daily lives to avoid interacting with these open displays of antisemitism. In other cases, even in the earliest days of the Nazi regime, social relationships within Berlin apartment buildings began to change as many non-Jews blatantly refused to acknowledge their Jewish neighbours in the building stairwells and on the neighbourhood streets. Particularly at the beginning of the Nazi era, these were not defined as official sites of exclusion by the Nazi administration. However, excerpts from survivors' memoirs and testimonies show that these spaces were also integral to the increasing isolation of Berlin's Jewish population. Without Jewish memory sources, these spaces and the social relations that they contained might be erased from the annals of history.

This article explores how historians can make use of memory sources, particularly personal sources, including diaries, letters, memoirs, photographs, and written and oral testimonies and interviews, to gain a deeper understanding of the everyday spaces where Jews lived in Berlin between 1933 and the outbreak of the war on 1 September 1939. Using examples drawn from over 150 oral history testimonies as well as other personal sources, this article illustrates how accounts from Holocaust survivors can shed new light on the ways that the spaces of everyday life

10 The city's official address books from the years between 1799 and 1943 have been digitised by the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin and are available online: https://www.zlb.de/besondere-angebote/berliner-adressbuecher.html (22 June 2018).

11 These files can be seen, along with a detailed inventory of the microfilm edition of the census, at the Leo Baeck Institute (LBI), MF 466; see also United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, RG 14.013M, German 'Minority Census', 1938–1939.

12 Both of these sources can be found at the Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (BLHA) in Potsdam. The BLHA contains all of the asset declaration forms that were filled out by Berlin's Jews in 1941 and 1942 and submitted to the Office of the Oberfinanzpräsident, as well as the deportation lists of the 179 transports that left from Berlin beginning in October 1941.

changed for Berlin's Jews under the Nazi regime.[13] Focussing on the neighbourhood and the home enables historians to engage directly with the redefinition and destruction of spaces that provided a sense of belonging to many of Berlin's Jews. By targeting these spaces and slowly demarcating them as either Aryan or Jewish, the Nazi regime defined in spatial terms who belonged and who did not to the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Recounting the changes to their immediate spatial environments, Holocaust survivors have emphasised that the effects of the Nazi regime and antisemitism writ large were not hidden away. They were highly visible processes that were manifested in everyday spaces across the city of Berlin. Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours alike witnessed these changes and, in some cases, non-Jews actively participated in or, at the very least, watched the spatial exclusion of their Jewish counterparts in everyday spaces, including in their apartment buildings and neighbourhoods.[14]

Encountering National Socialism in the Streets

As soon as Hitler came to power on 30 January 1933, thousands of Nazi supporters took to the streets of Berlin to show their unbridled enthusiasm for the new regime. By torchlight, they marched past the Reich Chancellery, through the Brandenburg Gate, and down Unter den Linden. While the Nazi press boasted of numbers ranging anywhere between 500,000 and 700,000, more conservative estimates ranged between 20,000 and 60,000.[15] The next day, similar marches took place across Germany, and again in Berlin. Drawing on just one example, historian Richard Evans described how the National Socialist German Students' League organised a march that culminated in front of the Berlin Stock Exchange, which had been touted by a right-wing newspaper as "the 'Mecca' of German Jewry". Participants stood outside shouting "Juda verrecke!" (Jews perish).[16] These initial marches foreshadowed the displays of pomp and pageantry that came to characterise the Nazi era. After January 1933, public squares and streets were often filled with uniformed masses and red and black seas of swastika flags. These visual spectacles were also accompanied by sounds intended to reinforce Nazi ideals. Songs and speeches were central to these assemblies and were broadcast on national radio. In her work on Nazi soundscapes,

13 The oral history testimonies that form the basis of this project come from several different collections: The University of Southern California Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive; The Wiener Library of Holocaust and Genocide Studies' Association of Jewish Refugees audio-visual Holocaust Testimony Archives: Refugee Voices Project (WL-AJR/RV); Yale University's Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies (FVAHT); and the Oral History Collection at the Frank and Anita Ekstein Holocaust Resource Collection at the Sarah and Chaim Neuberger Holocaust Education Centre in Toronto (OHC-CNHEC). In this paper and in my broader work on the subject, I also rely on other personal memory sources, including diaries, letters, memoirs, photographs, trial documents, and written testimonies, which shed light on the everyday spatial experiences and reflections of Jews who lived in Nazi-era Berlin.

14 Within the field of geography, there has been substantial debate about how to best define the concept of a neighbourhood. The definition that I rely on in this paper and in my dissertation follows Deborah Martin, who drew on additional literature from the field to arrive at a useful working definition: "Neighbourhoods are a particular kind of place: locations where human activity is centered upon social reproduction; or daily household activities, social interactions, and engagement with political and economic structures. Neighbourhoods derive their meaning or salience from individual or group values and attachments, which develop through daily life and interactions. Neighbourhoods, like places, are 'where everyday life is situated' [as quoted in Andrew Merrifield, Place and Space. A Lefebvrian Reconciliation, in: Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers (1993), 522, original emphasis]". Deborah Martin, Enacting Neighbourhood, in: Urban Geography 24 (2003) 5, 361-385, here 365.

15 Richard Evans, The Coming of the Third Reich, New York 2014, 310.

16 Ibid, 312.

historian Carolyn Birdsall argued that such spectacles were an effective mechanism "for reinforcing the group identity of existing party members, but also for establishing a broader social legitimation and popular participation in the projected *Volksgemeinschaft*".[17] As Nazi flags framed the main streets and antisemitism began to seep into everyday spaces, many Jews responded by adjusting their everyday spatial patterns.

One of Gerald Jayson's first memories of the Nazi period were the massive demonstrations that often passed by his childhood home on Brunnenstraße.[18] "Brunnenstrasse was a main street, not like Unter den Linden, but they marched through it to get to the centre […] enormous crowds of Nazis screaming '*Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer.*' Just like a football crowd, except not in a football stadium." As a young boy, he recalled, his parents once punished him for standing at the window watching one of these marches. When asked about the first time he became aware of antisemitism, Gerald once again pointed to the streets near his home: "I remember my parents saying that we couldn't walk on the same sidewalk when an Aryan came. We had to step off of it."[19] Elsewhere, Rudolf Leavor's recollections emphasize how marches instilled fear in them about being in the same space as Nazi supporters:

> "They [the SA and the SS] would march on the main road, quite near our house. They looked quite fierce. They had strong uniforms, boots that went up to their knees, armbands, leather belts, and possibly truncheons under their belts. They would march along, singing songs. And they would put the fear of God into me. The first, once or twice, this happened, it was an event to go and see. Later on, when they marched, I retreated into the flat and didn't want to know. It was frightening, just to see them marching."[20]

When they saw these marches, Jews often hid in doorways or alleys to avoid unnecessary confrontation.[21] In some cases, they even began to take new (often longer) routes to and from their destinations in an effort to avoid these kinds of demonstrations entirely.[22] Such examples demonstrate that Jews felt increasingly unwelcome in public spaces, how they attempted to navigate the streets after the Nazis came to power, and how this exclusion remained central to their memories of the period.

The antisemitic ideas that were integral to the Nazi agenda physically manifested themselves in the streetscape of Berlin in other ways. Many survivors recall the emergence of the so-called *Stürmerkasten* in the streets of Berlin.[23] The *Stürmerkasten* were public stands featuring copies of Julius Streicher's infamous antisemitic tabloid, *Der Stürmer,* and were a vehicle for displaying antisemitism in everyday public

17 Carolyn Birdsall, Nazi Soundscapes. Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933–1945, Chicago 2012, 54.

18 While some oral history collections containing the testimonies of Holocaust survivors allow for the publication of the full names of the interviewee (e.g. the WL-AJR and the OHC-CNHEC), others seek to preserve their anonymity by using only the first name and the first initial of the interviewee's surname to identify them (e.g. the FVAHT). In some instances, in all archives, survivors have not consented to having their full names published. I have adhered to the policies of each archive here and have respected the interviewee's preferences for privacy where applicable.

19 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 26, Gerald Jayson.

20 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 49, Rudolf Leavor.

21 FVAHT, T-119, Gina E. Holocaust Testimony. In her testimony, Gina explained: "I saw them [the Nazis] marching and sometimes we would run into a nearby place to hide because we were afraid of them."

22 See for example FVAHT, T-227, Janet B. Holocaust Testimony. In her account, Janet B. explained: "As a rule, when there were parades and stuff like that, we just stayed out of sight."

23 FVAHT, T-1764, Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony, and T-4044, Leon G. Holocaust Testimony; LBI, ME 216/MM48, Ann Lewis, Emigration (unpublished 1988). Available online: http://www.lbi.org/digibaeck/results/?qtype=pid&term=390843 (22 June 2018).

spaces.[24] *Stürmerkasten* could be found all over Berlin: on street corners, at bus stops and newsstands, and in parks and marketplaces. Cases were built by local *Sturmabteilung* (SA) units and were publicized through design competitions and organized dedication ceremonies.[25] Issues contained vile caricatures and diatribes against the Jews and each individual page was bordered by the antisemitic slogan that the Nazis so often used: '*Die Juden sind unser Unglück*!' ('The Jews are our misfortune!'). Later on, the paper served as a mechanism through which readers could anonymously denounce their neighbours through published letters, often including the names, home addresses, and photographs of the targeted individuals.[26] *Stürmerkasten* put the newspaper's propaganda and antisemitic diatribes on display in the streets of Berlin. This was, as Dennis Showalter argues, a method by which antisemitism could reach the masses and "overcome the image of the Jew next door – the living, breathing acquaintance or associate whose simple existence appears to deny that negative stereotype".[27]

Berlin's Jews were forced to confront these display cases on a regular basis. Their recollections often highlight how these antisemitic installations changed their experiences within the city's streets. Ann Lewis, for instance, recount growing up in 1930s Berlin and the changes she witnessed as a child, writing:

> "The first change I noticed after the election – apart from all the Brownshirts (SA) and swastika flags on the streets – was that we no longer got our usual newspaper to our house […] Soon showcases appeared in the streets displaying copies of *Der Stürmer*, a dreadful rag specialising in the worst type of antisemitic propaganda, published by the SS [sic]. I was told not to look at the paper and only did so once. I was shocked by what I saw and in the future I took good care to turn my head away whenever I passed one of the showcases."[28]

In another case, Leon G. described his feelings towards these new additions to the local landscape: "I remember that some newspapers could be read in the street behind a glass. The Jews were always the main target of those newspapers. They were full of caricatures of Jews with long noses. I was quite affected by this and I avoided walking by these displays whenever I could."[29] The installation of the *Stürmerkasten* brought the antisemitic and exclusionary practices of the Nazi regime to the streets of Berlin. By making caricatures of Jews part of the city's landscape, these display cases demonised Jewish residents and began pushing them out of everyday spaces as they were forced to confront public displays of antisemitism in streets across the city.

24 *Der Stürmer* was not an official publication. It was a tabloid-like newspaper published by Julius Streicher that Hitler strongly supported. Circulation of *Der Stürmer* exploded in the 1930s. The paper sold about 25,000 copies per week in 1933 and rose to over 700,000 by the late 1930s. Claudia Koonz, The Nazi Conscience, Boston 2003, 228.

25 Ibid, 229.

26 Ibid, 230.

27 Dennis Showalter, Little Man What Now? Der Stürmer in the Weimar Republic, Hamden 1982, 105.

28 Lewis, Emigration, 251.

29 FVAHT, T-4044, Leon G. Holocaust Testimony. In another testimony, Louis C. also discussed the wide distribution of *Der Stürmer* around Berlin, explaining how the *Stürmerkasten* were painted black and/or disappeared in 1936 for a brief hiatus during the Olympic Games in Berlin. They reappeared in the weeks afterwards with even more antisemitic content. FVAHT, T-353, Louis C. Holocaust Testimony.

Spaces of Exclusion on the Neighbourhood Scale

The new regime reified the visible contours of the desired national community – a community that was to be devoid of Jews.[30] As a result, the spatial patterns that framed everyday life in Berlin neighbourhoods were fundamentally changed under the Nazi regime. Recent trends in the field of Holocaust studies have pointed to the importance of space in understanding how urban spaces could serve to deepen divisions between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours, but also provide important mechanisms for survival. An attentiveness to survivors' discussions of the changing everyday spatial and social relations in Berlin after 1933 shows how the exclusion of Jews from the national community was not only a top-down exercise: It also quickly found a place in apartment buildings and in neighbourhood spaces throughout the city.

Spaces that Jewish Berliners once frequented suddenly became off-limits, isolating them further from their non-Jewish neighbours. According to Ruldolf R., who had grown up in the district of Pankow, the city as he knew it began to change as Jews were gradually prohibited from accessing a wide variety of spaces: "Every week there were new laws and the general mood always changed. No pets were allowed, sitting on benches was forbidden, Jews could only shop at certain stores […] There were signs everywhere: 'Jews and dogs not wanted.'"[31] Some of these newly defined constraints were a product of official policies or laws, while others were the result of individual owners' initiatives to exclude Jews. "Before long we had to stop going to Konditorei Wolters, a nice café not far from our house," Ann Lewis recalled in her memoir, "because the proprietors intimated that they no longer wished to serve Jews, and a nearby cinema put up a card in its entrance saying 'Jews are not wanted here'."[32] Others remembered a wide array of other spaces in which they were not welcome, including resort areas, public swimming pools, and city parks.[33] Slowly, much of the city became off-limits. Some Berlin Jews, like Gerald Jayson, continued to stake their claim in public spaces. In their youth, Gerald and his friends used to spend time at the Humboldthain in Berlin. Together with his friends, Gerald would go sledding on the hills, play tennis in the summers, and skate in the winter months. That is, until one day a sign appeared that said 'Juden verboten'.[34] In his testimony, he explained how he and his friends still went sometimes, in spite of the sign, but that they were always nervous about being caught. While there was some level of resistance to the exclusion of Jews from the everyday city spaces they frequented, Nazi restrictions on access to these sites often entrenched divisions between those who belonged within the spaces of the national community and those who did not. As a result of this spatial exclusion, many Jews began to feel increasingly isolated. In her memoirs about her life in Berlin, Lotte Fairbrook aptly described this sense of loss: "It was as though I was hanging in mid-air, as one thread after another of the fabric tore, the fabric that

30 Tim Cole and Alberto Giordano used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and mathematical sociology to examine the spaces that were used for the segregation of the Jewish population as well as the places that Jews still had access to and where they could potentially interact with the non-Jewish population living in adjacent city spaces. Tim Cole/Alberto Giordano, On Place and Space. Calculating Social and Spatial Networks in the Budapest Ghetto, in: Transactions in GIS 15 (2011) 1, 143-170.

31 FVAHT, T-3415, Rudolf R. Holocaust Testimony. This description is echoed in many survivor testimonies found in both the FVAHT and WL-AJR/RVP.

32 Lewis, Emigration, 251-252.

33 Albert Meirer, Berlin Jews. Deprived of Rights, Impoverished, and Branded, in: Beater Meyer/Hermann Simon/Chana Schutz (ed.), Jews in Nazi Berlin. From Kristallnacht to Liberation, Chicago 2016, 86.

34 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 26, Gerald Jayson.

held and protected me in my surroundings. I did not belong in Berlin, to Germany anymore; yet there was no sense of belonging anywhere else either."[35] The exclusion of Jews from these spaces only intensified. On 28 November 1938, a nationwide police decree banned Jews from "entering certain districts […] or show[ing] themselves in public at certain times".[36] In an interpretation of this law decreed by Berlin's Chief of Police on 3 December 1938, this prohibition was extended to cafés and restaurants, theatres, cinemas, and museums.[37]

Other spaces of Jewish life were also targets of antisemitism, such as businesses and homes. Oftentimes, these spaces were vandalised with the word *Jude* or with the Star of David, publicly marking them as Jewish. Sonja S. recalled the marking of her father's textile business as Jewish as a turning point in her family's life in Berlin:

> "One morning my father went to his store, he found that someone had written 'Jewish pig' on the shop window. He was outraged because he hadn't expected this. My father, mother, brother, and I spent the whole day scratching the paint off from the window. The next day a huge Jewish star had been painted instead. We had to scratch that off, too. It was humiliating for my family."[38]

Not only did this act of vandalism target Sonia's family's business, it also showed how the regime and its supporters eagerly injected elements of fear and public humiliation into their agenda of excluding Jews. Sonja stated that the store was completely destroyed during the November Pogrom and her father was forced to close the business. Countless survivor accounts contain stories like Sonja's. Jewish stores were physically labelled as being Jewish through acts of vandalism in the months and days leading up to the violence of the November Pogrom, identifying these spaces as targets for the violence perpetrated by SA troops and local citizens. The destruction of these businesses is another way that the Nazis succeeded in physically removing Jewish spaces from Berlin's neighbourhoods and communities. The labelling and subsequent destruction of Jewish businesses under the Nazi regime was detrimental to the livelihood of Jews across the city. It also erased another type of space that facilitated regular interactions between Jews and non-Jews.[39]

Jewish homes were also labelled as Jewish spaces and vandalised in an effort to further isolate Berlin's Jews. Marianne D. remembered coming home from school one day in 1937 to discover that someone had painted a big Star of David on the front door of her family's apartment.[40] Afterward, she recalled, their non-Jewish neigh-

35 LBI, ME974/MMII21-22, Lotte Fairbrook, Chapter 23. Belonging Nowhere on This Planet, in: Dear Family. Memoirs (unpublished 1976), Volume 7, Part III, Married Life in Germany, Chapters 16-23, 57. Available online: http://digital.cjh.org:80/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=979653&silo_library=GEN01 (22 June 2018).

36 Polizeiverordnung über das Auftreten der Juden in der Öffentlichkeit, 28 November 1938, in: Reichsgesetzblatt, Jahrgang 1938, Teil I, 1676. Available online: http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=dra&datum=1938&page=1854&size=45 (22 June 2018).

37 Olaf Matthes/Christina Ewald, The Banning of Jews from Visiting Museums (translated by Insa Kummer), in: Key Documents of German-Jewish History, 2 August 2017. Available online: https://dx.doi.org/10.23691/jgo:article-200.en.v1 (22 June 2018).

38 FVAHT, T-3723, Sonja S. Holocaust Testimony.

39 See Christoph Kreutzmüller, Final Sale in Berlin. The Destruction of Jewish Commercial Activity, 1930–1945, translated by Jane Paulick and Jefferson Chase, New York 2015. Another useful resource on this subject is the catalogue of a 2012 exhibition entitled Final Sale. The End of Jewish Owned Businesses in Nazi Berlin, which outlined sixteen examples from the overall findings of research carried out by staff and students at the Department of Modern German History at Berlin's Humboldt University, in co-operation with the historical society Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand in Berlin e.V. The full catalogue is available online: https://issuu.com/vv_www/docs/katalogvv__engl_web_130dpi (22 June 2018).

40 FVAHT, T-2331, Marianne D. Holocaust Testimony. Later, in 1940, a law was passed requiring Jewish homes to have a Star of David affixed to the front of the building.

bours all stopped speaking to her and her family. Margot L., who was a teenager in the mid-1930s and worked as a teacher's assistant at a Jewish kindergarten in Berlin until 1943, remembered graffiti appearing on a wall adjacent to her family's first-floor apartment. Writing about her experiences in revisiting her former apartment in Berlin over fifty years after the war, she remembered waking up a few days after Hitler came to power and looking out of her bedroom window: "My bedroom at that time looked out over a wall smeared with slogans calling for action like: Deutschland erwache, Juden verrecke (Germany awake, Jews perish). The Jews are our misfortune. The symbol of swastikas mingled with the Waffen SS Insignia. I can remember every single detail of that wall."[41] As the places where Jews lived were identified and vandalised, the relationship between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours who lived under the same roof changed as well.

Survivors' recollections indicated that these changes began as early as 31 January 1933 and intensified throughout the 1930s. In one example, Susi Linton grew up as an only child in the Moabit district of Berlin in a first-floor apartment on Levetzowstraße with her parents. Her father was a veteran of the First World War but returned to his role as a teacher after the war. She recalled that her parents had a busy social life, mixing well with their non-Jewish neighbours and colleagues. In her testimony, she described the changing atmosphere and, specifically, how the relationships between her family and their friends changed:

> "Gradually, it sort of dawned on us that we were not accepted. All the colleagues of my father kept away. They were friends, they used to visit us. We used to visit them. That finished. That non-Jewish people were socializing with Jewish people, that finished too. Because the people were in a trance, like they were hypnotized. They were frightened. They were frightened to be seen going into a Jewish home, so they stopped. So, in a way, we were very isolated."[42]

Susi's testimony demonstrates that Jews experienced exclusion even before it was enshrined in law in 1935 through the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws. These laws not only institutionalised many of the racial ideals encapsulated in Nazi ideology, they also effectively stripped Jews of their citizenship rights.[43] Widening the gap between Jews and non-Jews, they defined who was to be considered a Jew, as well as the kinds of relations that were possible between Jews and non-Jews within particular spaces. For example, they banned Jews from marrying or having intimate relations with non-Jews and prohibited the employment of Jewish women under the age of 45 in non-Jewish households. However, many Jewish survivors indicated in postwar memory sources that their neighbours began treating them differently almost immediately after Hitler came to power, creating a sense of social isolation within the very buildings and neighbourhoods in which they lived.

Robert Rosen recounted that the days after Hitler came to power marked a clear break in relations between Jews and non-Jews in his Berlin apartment building. His parents had always had many non-Jewish friends who lived in the building, but he recalled as an eleven-year-old boy the sudden hostility they faced in the days immediately following 30 January 1933:

> "Our neighbours stayed away from us. They didn't know us the next day. A neighbor that my father was friends with for years and played cards with

41 Margot, L., Never Look Back, in: Association of Jewish Ex-Berliners, 'What's Up?' Newsletter 21 (August 1994).
42 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 78, Susi Linton.
43 Saul Friedlander, Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1945, New York 2009, 44.

> every week, the next day after Hitler came to power, he put his Brown uniform on, and he didn't know my father anymore. Actually, he was our next-door neighbour."[44]

The increasing antagonism that Robert's family faced within their building, coupled with the financial difficulties after Robert's father lost his job and decided to return to his hometown in Poland, meant that by 1935 they had given up their apartment and moved in with his mother's sister elsewhere in Berlin. This aunt had six children of her own, and the four-room apartment was quite crowded. They managed to spare a single room for Robert, his mother, brother, and grandmother until they left a few days before the war broke out in 1939 to reunite with their father in Chrzanów, Poland. Robert's account clearly shows how the increasing social isolation and economic deprivation of Jews forced his family to relocate into a smaller, more crowded living space.

Rose Ruschin had similar recollections of the changing attitude of the neighbours in her Charlottenburg apartment building in 1933:

> "On the day that Hitler came to power I remember going down the stairs with my father. He was going to work; I was going to school. My father greeted a neighbor of ours who had always treated us very kindly: 'Good morning, how are you?' He spit at my father and called him a dirty Jew. For me, this was more or less the beginning of the Hitler era."[45]

Within Berlin apartment buildings, divisions between Jews and non-Jews became clearly delineated, even for those who doubted the longevity of Hitler's government. Eva G. remembered her first experience with Nazism, standing on the balcony of their Wilmersdorf apartment, watching Hitler and his supporters march by in January 1933. At the time, her father believed that the regime would be a short-lived abnormality. Eva's recollections, however, underscore how quickly a new reality set in: "My closest friends lived right above us in the apartment house and they were more in our apartment than anywhere else. The day after Hitler marched by, they didn't know me anymore. Thankfully, though, they never denounced us or you wouldn't see me here today."[46]

Other survivors, many of whom were children in Berlin during the 1930s, recalled that playmates started taunting them and that they were forbidden from playing with other kids in the neighbourhood. Bruno G., for example, remembered that the children on his street used to all play together before Hitler came to power. After January 1933, however, they began calling out: "Pig Jew. *Judenschwein*. Why don't you go back to Palestine?"[47] As an eight-year-old, Bruno had trouble making sense of this change. He remembered, however, that they were no longer able to play together soon after this incident. Referring to an upstairs neighbour that had previously been friends with his father, Rudolf R. recalled a similar situation from his childhood: "I used to play with his son in the streets or in the park nearby. Once when we wanted to ask my friend to come play with us, our neighbour said, 'Go away, my Klaus may no longer play with you, you dirty Jews'."[48] This was one of the first changes Rudolf noticed after the Nazis took power. He recalled that, at age eleven, he did not understand what it was all about. Many survivors recounted the changes they saw in their own lives as children. Playmates and play spaces were central to the memories of

44 OHC-CNHEC, Interview 341, Robert Rosen.
45 OHC-CNHEC, Interview 360, Rose Ruschin.
46 FVAHT, T-4392, Eva G. Holocaust Testimony.
47 FVAHT, T-1764, Bruno G. Holocaust Testimony.
48 FVAHT, T-3415, Rudolf R. Holocaust Testimony.

their lives in Nazi Berlin. Often, these playmates were neighbouring children, and the spaces in which they interacted were close the home. The abrupt disintegration of these relationships illuminates one way that Nazi ideals permeated social relations on the scale of neighbourhood.

A large number of survivor testimonies indicate that relationships with their neighbours were transformed abruptly, leaving many Jews with a growing sense of unease and a distrust of those living nearby. These changing relationships were signs that, through the reorganisation of urban space in Berlin, antisemitism became embedded in the rhythms of everyday life, disrupting or dissolving relations between Jews and 'Aryans' within these quotidian spaces. Nazi ideology was reproduced on the level of individual social intimacy, redefining relationships between neighbours in apartment buildings and on the street. Although the exclusion of Jews from the national community took place in a variety of ways, it is through its spatial manifestation that it transformed from being a merely discursive or state-level practice and trickled down to an experiential one. It penetrated everyday spaces and impacted everyday relationships and social networks that once structured a cohesive city life. Soon Jews and 'Aryans' alike began to understand that Jews were to be seen as outsiders – as a threat to the national community.

Being Forced Out of Home

A focus on the home and the neighbourhood sheds light on how Jews experienced processes of displacement under the Nazi regime. Their accounts demonstrate how Jews sought to navigate the ever-shrinking spaces of their homes and their immediate surroundings amidst growing antisemitism. Descriptions of former Jewish homes, including the loss of the belongings within them, moreover provide insight into what Jewish life was like in the 1920s and 1930s. Survivors' accounts of the places they were forced to move from, or the way their homes changed over time as their belongings were gradually confiscated by authorities and they were forced to take in other family members and/or strangers, demonstrate the deterioration of their quality of life and, ultimately, the exclusion of Jews under the Nazi regime.

In many oral history interviews, one of the first questions that the interviewers ask is where the survivors lived and what they remembered about their former homes. Closing her eyes as if to reimagine the space, Susi Linton described her former apartment in Berlin to the interviewer in great detail:

> "We had three bedrooms, and then we had a little room, because people had maids in those days, which was off another corridor. And the kitchen was all white tiles, I remember the tiles. Because we didn't have fridges then, so they delivered ice blocks every morning […] my mother bought nice things for the kitchen and cooking. It was very nice. We had a dining room and what we used to call a '*Herrenzimmer*', or what today we'd call a lounge, which meant that my father, being a teacher, had a very big library. He had all Goethe, Schiller, all that, which was quite valuable. So, he had this very big bookcase. Then he had a big *Schreibtisch*, or desk, that matched this. My mother loved flowers and she had a large collection of cacti […] I can remember a nice home, a nice atmosphere."[49]

49 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 78, Susi Linton.

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Susi eventually emigrated to England, but her parents were deported to Theresienstadt and from there to Auschwitz, where they were murdered. Their home and all of its contents were expropriated by the Gestapo; the building itself did not survive the war. Yet rich descriptions of former homes such as Susi can provide a fleeting impression of the everyday lives of Jews in Berlin prior to the destruction of these private spaces under the Nazi regime.

An ever-growing list of Nazi policies aimed at removing Jews from various employment sectors and defining Jews as outside their local and, by extension, national communities. The loss of employment meant that many Jews were forced to find cheaper and often smaller and more crowded living spaces. As early as 1933, the regime enacted laws that forced Jews out of their civil service jobs. Further regulations forced Jews out of various professions, including law, medicine, and education. The loss of a steady income directly impacted the living situations of Jews across Germany. Charles Danson's father, for example, had been a successful doctor with a practice located in the centre of Berlin. Charles grew up in an affluent household in Charlottenburg. In his testimony, he recalled a happy childhood filled with music: "I remember that we had a lot of concerts in our house. Chamber music and things like that. We had – in the Knesebeckstraße where I was born – the most beautiful huge flat. In fact, it was so large that in the music room there were two – two Bechstein grands, and that's where the concerts were."[50] By 1934, when Charles was fourteen, his father's practice shrank "because of the Nazis". As a result, Charles's father could no longer afford their apartment in Knesebeckstraße; the family relocated to a smaller apartment around the corner and emigrated to the United Kingdom two years later.[51] Much to Charles's dismay, the room reserved for the grand pianos was much smaller than in Knesebeckstraße. He remembered clearly that his family could no longer continue hosting concerts in their new apartment.

Ilse Thompson's interview indicates that between 1933 and 1939, many Jews moved apartments on multiple occasions because of the financial duress placed on families due to rising unemployment. Ilse reminisced that in 1934: "We lived in a fancy five room apartment on the top floor of a very fine area in Berlin. We had all new furniture and everything was just so beautiful."[52] After her father lost his job in sales in January 1936, she recalled that they moved into another apartment that was much smaller and located in the inner courtyard in a garden house, which would have been much cheaper: "Apartments at the back of the courtyard were always for poor people, but because so many Jews could no longer work we, too, had become poor."[53] This new apartment had two bedrooms, one of which her mother had to rent out to make ends meet after Ilse's father was arrested and sent to a concentration camp in mid-1936. At that point, her mother started sleeping in the living room, while Ilse and her brother, Hans, shared the maid's room (they of course no longer had a maid). Ilse's account of relocating to a series of increasingly smaller apartments and taking in additional boarders is a common one. In fact,

50 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 20, Charles Danson.

51 In the interview, Charles explained that after the Nazis came to power his father's practice shrunk considerably; however, he still had some private Jewish patients that he would see on weekends in their house. While Charles was not aware of this at the time, his father outlined the situation to his sister once she arrived in England. His father was accused of making illegal entries into the poison logbook (at this time doctors had a logbook where they had to enter all poisons or drugs prescribed to their patients). This went to court. He was able to get a non-Jewish lawyer to defend him (a friend of a friend) and was eventually acquitted. His practice, however, had been dismantled and by 1936 he only had a few remaining Jewish patients.

52 OHC-CNHEC, Interview 429, Ilse Thompson.

53 Ibid.

many Jews in Berlin moved residences mas many as three or four times between 1933 and 1939.

Changing living spaces, as described in Charles' and Ilse's accounts, highlights the loss of employment, property, and class status of Berlin's Jews throughout the 1930s. Their changing living situations reflect how the spatial policies of the Nazis both targeted the rhythms of everyday public spaces and permeated the walls of homes. Jewish apartments and houses were physically changed as Jews were forced to turn in their valuables to the regime and, in many cases, to abandon their living spaces altogether. For many Jews who made the decision to emigrate or were forced to give up their homes, their testimonies reflect a profound sense of loss.

Hertha Nathorff's memoir, written shortly after she left Berlin and settled in the United States, serves as a prime illustration of just how difficult this process could be.[54] Nathorff's memoir reflects a strong sense of belonging to Germany and, in particular, to Berlin. Nathorff described many happy memories from her Berlin apartment, reminiscing about joyous occasions celebrated with her husband Erich, their family, and friends. She recounted her son's birthdays, wedding anniversaries, and various holiday get-togethers. Both Hertha and Erich were doctors in Berlin. Hertha took a leave of absence when she had her son, but her husband continued to work until just before they emigrated abroad in the spring of 1939. Prior to the November Pogrom, they were convinced that the antisemitism of the Nazi regime would simply pass, and that they would be able to return to their normal lives. However, after the Gestapo came to try to arrest Erich on 9 November 1938, their attitude changed and the pair began debating options for emigration.[55] In early March 1939, they sent their son to England as part of the *Kindertransport*. For Hertha, this was the moment that her home as she knew it began to unravel. When she received a telegram from London notifying her that her son had arrived safely, she wrote that she was happy that her son was now free from harm. She continued: "Now I can begin clearing the apartment, the home in which we already no longer feel at home."[56]

In the pages that followed, she discussed the process of giving away or selling all of her personal belongings while preparing to emigrate: "I give away, I give away, and I give away, almost indiscriminately – furniture, pictures, books, crystal, porcelain. After all, I don't need it anymore."[57] Hertha recounted how the lists they had to submit to local authorities were approved and that the authorities came to seal off most of their apartment and take the remainder of their belongings. As of 6 April 1939, she wrote: "And now we are sleeping on an old sofa and a mattress in a house that was once our home."[58] The only things that remained in the apartment at this point were an old table and a pair of chairs (the rest had been shipped to the Netherlands, which was to be their first stop). The family had lived in their apartment for thirteen years and it was in this very apartment that the family had made their first home. In her journal, Hertha wrote: "Here I was once a doctor, here I was once happy – here I was

54 In 1940, shortly after arriving in the United States with her husband, Hertha Nathorff responded to a memoir contest hosted by Harvard University researchers called *My Life in Germany Before and After 1933*. With her submission, she included a ten-page introduction outlining her life story and introducing a diary written on a regular basis between 1933 and 1939. She also wrote a short epilogue in New York on 13 January 1980. Her original submission is contained in: Houghton Library, Harvard University. BMS GER 91, My Life in Germany Before and After 1933 Essay Contest Papers, File No. 162. The remainder of her diary, referenced here, including the epilogue, is contained in: LBI, Hertha Nathorff Collection, 1813–1967 (AR-5207), Memoiren, 1933–1939.

55 Ibid, 42.

56 Ibid, 52.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid, 54.

at home…"[59] In the days before they finally left Germany, the apartment became a place that no longer felt like home to Hertha: "I am 'living' in our empty apartment. The empty rooms are depressing. It is all so empty. So 'has-been."[60] Both Hertha and Erich Nathorff were fortunate to be able to escape Nazi Germany and to be reunited with their son in the United States. However, in the process they lost not only their physical home, but also the life they had built within it.

Reclaiming Space

In almost every interview conducted with Holocaust survivors from Berlin reviewed in this study, the interviewer asked whether the interviewee ever returned to the city. The answers to this question were as varied as the individual's experiences during the Nazi era. Some were vehemently opposed to returning to the city from which they were expelled, while many others returned either of their own accord (to live or to visit) or came back for short seven-day stays organised through an invitation programme arranged by the Berlin Senate (originally the West Berlin Senate) in 1969.[61] These mixed reactions are not surprising, but the responses often offer a glimpse into the eyewitnesses' contemporary understandings of the homes and neighbourhoods that they were once a part of. The responses of survivors indicate that these spaces formed an important part of their life under the Nazi regime and also played a critical role in their postwar memories of Berlin.

Eva Evans' interview with the Association of Jewish Refugees in London, where she now lives, is illustrative. The interviewer asked: "So where would you say is your Heimat?"[62] Her response: "My Heimat? Yes, I would still say it's in Berlin, but it's in Berlin in a house, which is not there anymore. I can remember it exactly, but it's gone. So maybe I would say that I haven't got a Heimat anymore, because what feelings I had about it has been ruined."[63] She went on to explain some of her interactions with the city as a child, including regular Sunday walks in the Grunewald forest with her father – an event that she repeated when she last visited Berlin with a long-time friend. But to Eva, Berlin had become unrecognisable: "The city never looked the same. I couldn't recognize any of it […] I wouldn't say that any of it moves me. I'm pleased to see it, yes, but it doesn't give me any inner feeling. It's dead now, as far as I am concerned."[64] Other survivors had or have more difficulty facing the past in the physical landscape of Berlin. Marianne D., who travelled with her daughter to Berlin at the invitation of the Senate, had to leave after just a few days because, in her words,

59 Ibid, 56.
60 Ibid.
61 The original invitation was distributed to ex-Berliners through West German embassies around the world and published in the New York-based magazine Aufbau on 20 June 1969. The invitation explained that the West Berlin Senate recognised that the majority of the reparation and compensation cases would conclude by the end of the year and that the city wanted "to carry on the fundamental idea of the West German Restitution Legislation in a meaningful manner and give former citizens the opportunity to make their own judgment and relations with the present city". The programme still operates today, with around 35,000 survivors and their families having participated to date.
62 The term Heimat is often translated into English as "home" or "homeland"; however, there is no direct translation. In German, the term conveys more than just a physical space. It also denotes a more personal relationship – generally a positive one – with a certain space, whether it be a neighbourhood, city, or country. Like many other spatial terms, the Nazis inverted these ideas, primarily the love for and attachment to the homeland, to exclude those who were considered to be a threat to its integrity and security.
63 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 127, Eva Evans.
64 Ibid.

"I just had the most miserable time and all the memories appeared again. I was just devastated. After five days, I left. I just couldn't take it anymore."[65]

For others, returning to the city from which they had been expelled provided an opportunity to directly engage with the very spaces they were once excluded from. These return visits sometimes provided closure to Jewish survivors. Ruth Price, for example, highlighted the importance of returning to the sites of her childhood as part of her 1992 visit organised by the Berlin Senate. For her, returning to Berlin was essential:

> "I had many dreams, the same dream over and over again, that I was visiting Berlin, and visiting these places that I am talking about now, and of course, when I would wake up, I was disappointed to find it had only been a dream. And then eventually the time came when I was able to visit Berlin at the invitation of the Berlin Senate and I was able to visit these places. I never had that dream again. It really sort of completely satisfied me. It was just what I had hoped for, for many, many years. Very little had changed."[66]

Nelly G. recalled returning to a park in her former neighbourhood with her son to restage the last photo she had of her and her late father, taken in 1938. While there, she took an additional step in reclaiming a space that had personal significance for her:

"In the park where I played as a child, I remember the first signs appearing on the benches that said 'Jews forbidden.' When we went back, I kept sitting on that bench. Getting up. Sitting on the bench again and getting up. Finally I just sat there and said: 'I'm sitting on this bench'. It was a good feeling."[67] Survivors like Ruth and Nelly saw returning to Berlin as a significant milestone in coming to terms with their respective pasts. For Ruth, it was a longstanding desire to see the places where she had grown up. For Nelly, it was a chance to connect with her childhood memories – and her father – in a more tangible way. Their words – and those of the other former residents of Berlin referenced in this article – demonstrate the historiographic value of attending to memory sources in order to identify the intersection between spatial history and memory. Engaging with these rich memory sources becomes increasingly important as the number of living Holocaust survivors continues to decline. Historians can gain a more robust understanding of everyday Jewish life in Nazi Germany through a careful analysis of how certain spaces are animated within Holocaust testimonies and, more specifically, how embodied or haptic experiences of the city in the postwar period can act as triggers of pre-war and wartime memories for many survivors.[68] These glimpses offer a deeper understanding of how everyday

65 FVAHT, T-2331, Marianne D. Holocaust Testimony. The exact year of her return is not made clear in her testimony. It would have been after 1969, as this was the official start date of the programme, and before 1994, when her testimony was recorded.

66 WL-AJR/RV, Interview 68, Ruth Price.

67 FVAHT, T-4441, Nelly G. Holocaust Testimony. The events surrounding the production of the photograph are explained earlier in the interview. Nelly's father left for the United States in 1938. Nelly remembered that, in 1937, she was playing in the park when her father and a friend came along. Fondly she recalled: "You could see he was so proud of me. I was so proud of him. This is the only picture I have of my father and I." Her father went to the United States and acquired affidavits for his wife and daughter. He returned to Belgium (which was neutral at the time) and thought that Nelly and her mother would join him there. Things did not pan out that way. He ended up stuck in Belgium. Only Nelly and her mother made it to the United States in the end. Her father was murdered in Sobibor.

68 Tim Cole discussed Holocaust survivor's postwar experiences of key sites at Auschwitz, including crematoria, barracks, and the gate that stands at the entrance to the camp. In his work, he has done an excellent job articulating the ways in which a dynamic relationship between landscape and memory can be detected in oral history interviews, documentary films, and memoirs of return. Tim Cole, Crematoria, Barracks, Gateway. Survivors' Return Visits to the Memory Landscapes of Auschwitz, in: History and Memory 25 (Fall/Winter 2013) 2, 102-131.

life unfolded – and was disrupted – in these city spaces under the Nazi regime, allowing for a comprehensive and responsible reinscription of the history of these sites and their former residents in the urban landscape.

Conclusion: Putting History in its Place

Over two decades ago, in an article regarding their research on the Budapest ghetto, historians Tim Cole and Graham Smith identified the Holocaust as "the most remarkable blank-spot in geographical research".[69] Heralding what they termed "the power of geography" for understanding the events of the Holocaust, Cole and Smith encouraged scholars to take a closer look at the spaces and spatial processes behind the historical transformations of this event.[70] Since the mid-1990s, collaborative and interdisciplinary efforts have underscored the fact that the Holocaust was, indeed, "a profoundly geographical event, rooted in specific places, times, and landscapes".[71] These efforts paved the way for an increasing number of historical inquiries that explore how the events of the Holocaust were located in, and impacted by, various sites and scales.[72] In 2016, Tim Cole and Henry Greenspan highlighted the need for historians to become more attuned to how space and place play a fundamental role in the ways that Holocaust survivors engage with the past and retell their experiences in the present.[73]

Personal memory sources offer a significant access point through which historians can gain a deeper understanding of everyday life and the spaces in which it occurred. Memoirs, testimonies, and other such reflections on the past show how Jews were forced to renegotiate their relations to the ever-changing urban environment – an environment defined and redefined by exclusionary policies and practices. Focussing on sites of everyday life – and how they were remembered – allows for the inclusion of multiple stories and perspectives in the retelling of the Nazi past, highlighting the differences in how the regime looked from place to place, and from person to person. Survivor testimonies, both written and oral, demonstrate how Hitler's

69 Tim Cole/Graham Smith, Ghettoization and the Holocaust. Budapest 1944, in: Journal of Historical Geography 22 (1995) 1, 300-316. At the time of their writing, there were already several notable works that captured some elements of the spatiality of the Holocaust, including Martin Gilbert, Atlas of the Holocaust, London 1982, and autobiographical works that captured a sense of place, such as Primo Levi, The Reawakening, translated by Stuart Woolf, London 1965.

70 Ibid, 301.

71 Waitman Beorn/Tim Cole/Simone Gigliotti/Alberto Giordano/Anna Holian/Paul B. Jaskot/Anne Kelly Knowles/Marc Masurovsky/Erik B. Steiner, Geographies of the Holocaust, in: Geographical Review 99 (2009), 563-574.

72 Anne Knowles/Tim Cole/Alberto Giordano (ed.), Geographies of the Holocaust, Bloomington 2014. This particular book came out of a working group that formed in 2007 at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

73 See for example Tim Cole, (Re)placing the Past. Spatial Strategies of Retelling Difficult Stories, in: The Oral History Review 42 (2015) 1, 30-49. Another useful source is a documented 2016 conversation between Tim Cole and Henry Greenspan on the Oxford University Press blog: Andrew Schaffer, Movement and Memory. An Email Exchange with Henry Greenspan and Tim Cole, in: the Oxford University Press's Academic Insights for the Thinking World Blog (22 January 2016), available online: https://blog.oup.com/2016/01/hank-greenspan-tim-cole-part-1/ (22 June 2018). For more on the intersection between oral history and analyses of space and place, see: Ashley Ward, Reclaiming Place through Remembrance. Using Oral Histories in Geographic Research, in: Historical Geography 40 (2012), 133-145; Mark Riley/David Harvey, Talking Geography. On Oral History and the Practice of Geography, in: Social and Cultural Geography 8 (2007), 345-351; Gavin J. Andrews/Robin Kearns/Pia Kontos/Viv Wilson, 'Their Finest Hours'. Older People, Oral Histories, and the Historical Geography of Social Life, in: Social and Cultural Geography 7 (2006), 153-177; and David Harvey/Mark Riley, Narrating Landscape. The Potential of Oral History for Landscape Archaeology, in: Public Archaeology (2005), 19-32.

rise to power emboldened antisemitism in both private and public spaces throughout the city of Berlin. Attention to these seemingly mundane living spaces brings the life of individual Jews who lived in Berlin into focus and provides an important framework for understanding everyday life in the city, including the neighbourhoods, streets, and homes, where Jews and their families lived prior to and during the Nazi era. It also provides an opportunity to include voices of individuals who may not have been represented in the written record to date.

The inclusion of personal memory sources into studies about the geographies of the Nazi past creates new openings for historians by providing "a recollection about the self, about relationships with others, and a place – insights rarely provided in such depth by other methods".[74] By conducting a spatial analysis of the oral and written testimonies of Jews who lived through the Nazi regime, these spaces become an active and central part of the research process as opposed to serving only as a setting. Above all, these sources demonstrate how Berlin's Jews attempted to navigate a city that was being spatially reorganised to support a vision of a national community in which they no longer had a place.

An examination of the rich descriptions of their former neighbourhoods and homes provided by Holocaust survivors also demonstrates that the histories of these spaces continue to evolve in the postwar era. The quotidian spaces of Jewish life featured prominently in the retelling of their lives, serving as an external stimulus to access and reclaim memories of these sites of exclusion, and as a basis for contemporary private and public commemorative initiatives. Without engaging with the complex and diverse postwar afterlives of these spaces hidden in plain sight within narratives about Berlin's Nazi past, it becomes impossible to put history in its place in the neighbourhoods, on the streets, and outside the front doors of apartments in the city many Jews in Germany once considered to be home.

74 Andrews/Kearns et al., 'Their Finest Hours', 161.

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Article

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José M. Faraldo

Die Netzwerke des Terrors

Spanien und die Überwachung der osteuropäischen Sicherheitspolizei

Abstract

During the Cold War, several Eastern European intelligence organisations monitored Franco's Spain and, from 1975 onwards, closely observed the country's transition to democracy. They committed assassinations, chased those out of their countries who had found asylum there, and tried to gather information about the political and military situation in Spain. This paper analyses the aims and strategies of Communist intelligence organisations vis-à-vis a right-wing dictatorship with Fascist traits, in a country making the fragile transition to democracy. The focus thereby lies on those people who had to live between two dictatorships.

Die Archive der Sicherheits- und Staatspolizeien in allen ehemaligen ‚sozialistischen Ländern' speichern Wissen zur diktatorischen Vergangenheit dieser Region in den unterschiedlichsten Formen: Unterlagen von realen und möglichen Spitzeln, Akten über verfolgte Menschen, Stimmungsberichte und sogar literarische oder künstlerische Werke, die von der Geheimpolizei beschlagnahmt worden waren. Wahrscheinlich gibt es wenige archivalische Quellen in Europa, die so interessant für die Analyse zentraler Fragestellungen zur Sozial-, Kultur- und Politikgeschichte, in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts in dieser Region sind.[1] Nach dem Fall der Berliner Mauer verfuhren die frischgebackenen Demokratien sehr unterschiedlich mit diesen Archiven und wiesen diesen Wissensspeichern fundamental andere Rollen im Demokratisierungsprozess zu. Viele Materialien wurden von der Polizei im Chaos der Übergänge selbst vernichtet, manche vermutlich von westlichen Geheimdiensten auf dubiosen Wegen ‚angeeignet'.

Nach dem Fall der kommunistischen Regime übernahmen im Laufe der Jahre neu geschaffene Institutionen die Aufgaben der Erhaltung, der öffentlichen Bereitstellung für private Zwecke bzw. für eine wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung der Materialien. Da in der Regel die meisten dieser Unterlagen für die Verfolgung von Oppositionellen und für die Sicherung der Herrschaft im eigenen Land verwendet wurden, werden sie von ausländischen Historikerinnen und Historikern häufig als nur wenig nützlich für die Erforschung der Geschichte anderer Länder eingeschätzt.[2] Dies gilt

1 Siehe: Carola Lau, Erinnerungsverwaltung, Vergangenheitspolitik und Erinnerungskultur nach 1989. Institute für nationales Gedenken im östlichen Europa im Vergleich, Göttingen 2017.

2 Außer der Fall der Spionage, hierzu einige Beispiele: Nils Abraham, Die politische Auslandsarbeit der DDR in Schweden. Zur Public Diplomacy der DDR gegenüber Schweden nach der diplomatischen Anerkennung (1972–1989), Berlin 2006; Gösta A. Eriksson, DDR, Stasi und Schweden, Berlin 2003; Anthony Glees, The Stasi and UK-GDR Relations, in: Stefan Berger/Norman LaPorte (Hg.), The Other Germany. Perceptions and Influences in British-East German Relations, 1945–1990, Augsburg 2005, 75-90; Jérôme aan de Wiel, East German Intelligence and Ireland, 1949–90. Espionage, Diplomacy & Terrorism, Manchester 2015; Beatrice de Graaf, West-Arbeit (Western Operations). Stasi Operations in the Netherlands, 1979–89, in: Studies in Intelligence 52 (2008) 1; https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol-52-no-1/west-arbeit-western-operations.html (13. Juni 2018).

auch für Spanien, vorgeblich ja nur eine Randregion des Kalten Krieges. Dennoch bin ich im Laufe früherer Forschungen hin und wieder über Materialien gestolpert, die konkrete Maßnahmen ost- und ostmitteleuropäischer Staatssicherheitsorgane in Spanien erwähnen. Diese Beobachtung, aber auch schlichte Neugier und der Wissensdrang, ob und wie die osteuropäischen Staatssicherheitsapparate in Spanien präsent gewesen, in Politik und Alltagsleben eingedrungen waren, stand am Anfang dieses laufenden Projekts, das folgende Punkte untersucht:

- Interesse der Staatssicherheitsapparate an Spanien als Staat: Verfolgten diese die Ereignisse in Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur, usw. und wenn ja, mit welchen Absichten, welchen Mitteln und mit Hilfe welcher Quellen? Hatte die Staatssicherheit Agenten in Spanien, warum, in welcher Form? Gab es überhaupt ein Interesse an geheimdienstlicher Tätigkeit in Spanien?
- Überwachung von Bürgerinnen und Bürgern Spaniens, die in sozialistischen Ländern lebten: sowohl das politische Exil als auch – nach 1969 – Botschafts- und Konsulatsangestellte. Überwachung der osteuropäischen Exilierten in Spanien: Mittel und Formen der Kontrolle, Einflussnahme und inoffizielle Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter in den betroffenen Exilgemeinschaften.

Im Fokus dieser Untersuchung steht dabei die Perspektive der Staatsicherheit auf diese Themen. Quellen für die Untersuchung sind damit ausschließlich die Archive der staatspolizeilichen Einrichtungen selbst – und nicht die Unterlagen der National- oder Staatsarchive oder der Archive der jeweiligen Außenministerien. Es werden also nicht die Exilierten untersucht, sondern danach gefragt, wie viel und vor allem welches Material über Spanien und dessen Bevölkerung in den Archiven der kommunistischen Sicherheitspolizeien zu finden ist und um welche Art von Unterlagen es sich genau handelt.

Aus praktischen Gründen wurden drei konkrete Archive und damit drei unterschiedliche staatssozialistische Geheimpolizeien ausgewählt: der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (BStU) in Berlin; das Instytut Pamięci Narodowy (Institut für nationales Gedenken – IPN) in Warschau sowie das Consiliul National pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (Nationaler Rat für das Studium der Securitate-Archive – CNSAS) in Bukarest.[3] Das rumänische Archiv ist wichtig, weil in Rumänien seit den 1950er-Jahren eine spanische Kolonie existierte und umgekehrt Spanien auch ein wichtiger Zufluchtsort des antikommunistischen Exils gewesen war. Berlin wiederum ist interessant, weil sich in der ehemaligen DDR ebenfalls eine kleine Zahl spanischer antifranquistischer Exilantinnen und Exilanten befand, und es zudem der erste und lange einzige Staat des realsozialistischen Lagers war, der diplomatische Beziehungen zu Spanien unterhielt. Die ehemalige Volksrepublik Polen wurde zuerst eher als Kontrollbeispiel ausgewählt, wobei sich im Laufe der Forschungen herausstellen sollte, dass Polen viel interessanter war, als zu Beginn gedacht.

Der Kalte Krieg wird in Spanien in der Regel nur in transatlantischer Perspektive, d. h. in Beziehung zu den USA betrachtet, während osteuropäischer Konnex und Kontext völlig in Vergessenheit geraten und dies obwohl Antikommunismus und antisowjetische Einstellung die Grundlage und die persistente narrative Strategie von Francisco Francos Diktatur gewesen sind. Aber war nun Spanien tatsächlich wichtig für die staatssozialistischen Staaten? Hatten die unterschiedlichen Staatssi-

3 José M. Faraldo, Las policías secretas comunistas y su legado. Valoración general y posibilidades para la investigación [Die kommunistischen Geheimpolizeien und ihr Vermächtnis. Allgemeine Einschätzung und Möglichkeiten für die Forschung], in: Ayer 82 (2011) Dossier: El socialismo de Estado: cultura y política [State Socialism: Culture and Politics], 105-135.

cherheitsapparate auch Spanien in ihren Visieren? Und wenn dies alles zutrifft, in welcher Form ist dies geschehen?

Der Spanische Bürgerkrieg (1936–1939) war ein wichtiges symbolisches und diskursives Element für alle kommunistischen Parteien. Für die staatssozialistischen Regime wurde der Krieg in Spanien später zu einem bedeutenden Teil ihrer politischen und historischen Identität. Die Niederlage der spanischen Republik, der Verrat der westlichen Demokratien, das romantisierte Narrativ der Kämpfe ‚unter Spaniens Sonne' waren für viele Kommunistinnen und Kommunisten auch in einem biographischen Sinn zentral: Viele kommunistische Funktionärinnen und Funktionäre, aber auch einfache Parteimitglieder hatten in Spanien gekämpft oder waren dort als Berater der Komintern tätig gewesen: wie zum Beispiel der erste Leiter des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit (MfS) der DDR, Wilhelm Zaisser.[4] Auf der anderen Seite wäre auch denkbar gewesen, dass die ideologische Positionierung gegen die Franco-Diktatur zu einer möglichen Unterstützung des antifranquistischen Widerstands sowie der demokratischen und kommunistischen Opposition in Spanien hätte führen können – was ebenfalls wiederum das Interesse der Staatssicherheit an Spanien wecken hätte können.

Zuallerletzt können die empirischen Materialien auch dazu anregen, darüber nachzudenken, welche Rolle die geopolitische und geostrategische Lage Spaniens für die osteuropäischen Geheimpolizeien spielte.

Die Staatssicherheitsdienste bzw. die Geheimpolizeien waren fester Bestandteil des kommunistischen Systems in Ost(mittel)europa.[5] Sie organisierten nicht nur die Repression auf oberster Ebene, sondern warfen mit ihrer Omnipräsenz einen undurchdringlichen Schatten auf den Alltag der Bevölkerung. Im Allgemeinen unterlagen die unterschiedlichen polizeilichen Einrichtungen der Kontrolle zwar der Staatspartei, aber es gab paradoxerweise auch Situationen, wo gerade diese Einrichtungen den Parteiapparaten gehörige Angst einjagen konnten.

Zu beachten ist weiters, dass für die Geheimpolizeien der realsozialistischen Staaten die ‚West-Arbeit' – eine interne Bezeichnung der DDR-Stasi – nicht nur in geografischem, sondern auch in politischem Sinn verstanden wurde: Breit definiert, verschwanden so die Grenzen zwischen ausländischer Spionagearbeit und geheimdienstlicher Tätigkeit und nach innen gerichteten, staatssicherheitsdienstlichen und repressiven Aufgaben.

Nach dem Ursprungsvorbild der sowjetischen Tscheka, hatte die Geheimpolizei in den realsozialistischen Ländern viele verschiedene Funktionen:

- Überwachung und Repression von realen oder vermeintlichen Feinden,
- Aufklärungsaufgaben und Abwehr gegenüber feindlichen Aufklärungsdienste,
- Kontrolle der Bevölkerung (z. B. Ausgabe von Ausweisen und Pässen),
- de facto militärische Funktionen (vor allem in Zeiten des Krieges, Aufstände oder Kollektivierung),
- Wirtschaftliche Funktionen.

4 Andrea Görldt, Rudolf Herrnstadt und Wilhelm Zaisser. Ihre Konflikte in der SED-Führung im Kontext innerparteilicher Machtsicherung und sowjetischer Deutschlandpolitik, Frankfurt a. M. 2002.

5 Krzysztof Persak/Lukasz Kaminski (Hg.), A Handbook of the Communist Security Apparatus in East Central Europe. 1944–1989, Warschau 2005; Krzysztof Persak/Lukasz Kaminski/Jens Gieseke (Hg.), Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa 1944–1991, Göttingen 2009 sowie Krzysztof Persak/Lukasz Kaminski (Hg.), Czekiści. Organy bezpieczeństwa w europejskich krajach bloku sowieckiego 1944–1989 [Tschekisten. Sicherheitsbehörden in den europäischen Ländern des Ostblocks 1944–1989], Warschau 2010.

Nicht alle diese Aufgaben waren in allen Ländern und zu allen Zeiten relevant.[6] Und in der Regel waren auch nicht immer die jeweiligen Einrichtungen der Staatssicherheitsdienste die einzigen Institutionen, die diese Tätigkeiten übernahmen. Aber im Allgemeinen waren die Überwachung und Bespitzelung der Bevölkerung, die Unterdrückung möglicher Opposition schon in ihren Anfängen, sowie Spionage- und Gegenspionage immer Aufgabe dieser Art von Institutionen.

Mit dem Zusammenbruch der staatssozialistischen Regime im Jahr 1989 wurden die Archive der politischen Polizei in den meisten Ländern freigegeben. In einigen Fällen erfolgte dies radikal und konsequent, wie in der ehemaligen DDR, der Tschechoslowakei oder den baltischen Staaten, in anderen langsamer, wie in Polen. In Rumänien und Bulgarien wiederum verfügten die jeweiligen Polizeiapparate auch nach der ‚demokratischen' Wende über so viel Macht und Einfluss, dass sie den Weg zur parlamentarischen Demokratie in einem gewissen Sinn ‚mitgestalteten', um es euphemistisch auszudrücken.

Die Zahl der Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter der Geheimpolizeien variierte über die Jahre. Um diese Zahl dann auch genau festlegen zu können, müssen auch weitere Fragen beantwortet werden: Waren die Informantinnen und Informanten, die Spitzel auch zugleich Mitglieder der Staatssicherheit? Können wir eine Person als Informant betrachten, die einmal registriert wurde, aber tatsächlich nie Auskunft gab? Viele dieser Probleme sind bis heute nicht gelöst und bestimmen in manchen Ländern noch immer die politische Agenda.[7] Auf jeden Fall hatte die rumänische Securitate 1989 etwa 15.000 Mitglieder und zwischen 400.000 und 700.000 Spitzel (bei einer Bevölkerung von 23 Millionen), die Stasi der DDR rund 90.000 Mitglieder und 174.000 Informantinnen und Informanten (bei einer Bevölkerung von 17 Millionen) und die polnische Służba Bezpieczeństwa (SB) 24.000 Funktionärinnen und Funktionäre und rund 98.000 Spitzel (bei einer Bevölkerung von 37 Millionen).

Die Gründe, warum diese Materialien so große Auswirkungen auf die Gesellschaft hatten, sind offensichtlich.[8] Die kontinuierliche Beobachtung des Alltags von Menschen und ihrer intimsten Tätigkeiten gewährte Macht und Kontrolle über die Beobachteten. Die Geheimpolizeien konnten große Mengen an Daten sammeln, die das Potenzial hatten, einzelne Menschen zu kompromittieren. Mit solchen Akten sollten die Polizeien, die ‚Dissidenz' oder Opposition kontrollieren und zerschlagen, um das System zu erhalten. Oft zeugen diese Berichte von Fällen des täglichen Verrats oder wiederholter Untreue, vor allem sexueller Natur. Manchmal sind diese Berichte aber falsch oder übertrieben, sogar erfunden, um die Implementierung konkreter repressiver Maßnahmen zu rechtfertigen. So verfolgte die Stasi perfide ausgearbeitete Strategien der – in ihren eigenen Worten – ‚Zersetzung' oder ‚Demontage'

6 Für allgemeine Betrachtungen über die DDR siehe: Jens Gieseke, Mielke-Konzern. Die Geschichte der Stasi 1945–1990, Stuttgart/München 2001; für Polen: Ryszard Terlecki. Miecz i tarcza komunizmu: historia aparatu bezpieczeństwa w Polsce 1944–1990 [Schwert und Schild des Kommunismus: Die Geschichte des Sicherheitsapparates in Polen 1944–1990], Krakau 2009 sowie für Rumänien: Dennis Deletant, Ceausescu and the Securitate. Coercion and Dissent in Romania, 1965–89, London 1995; Marius Oprea, Bastionul cruzimii. O istorie a Securității (1948–1964) [Bastion der Grausamkeit.. Eine Geschichte der Securitate (1948–1964)], Bukarest 2008.

7 Für Studien zu den Spitzeln siehe: Markus Mohr/Klaus Viehmann (Hg.), Spitzel. Eine kleine Sozialgeschichte. Berlin/Hamburg 2004 und Mihai Albu, Informatorul. Studiu asupra colaborării cu Securitatea [Der Informant. Studien zur Kollaboration mit der Securitate], Bukarest 2008; für unterschiedliche Akten und Dokumenten siehe: Tina Krone/Irena Kukurtz/Henry Leide, Wenn wir unsere Akten lesen. Handbuch zum Umgang mit den Stasi-Akten, Berlin 1992; Ryszard Graczyk, Tropem SB. Jak czytać teczki [Die Spur des SB. Wie man Aktentaschen liest], Krakau 2007; Carmen Chivu-Duta/Mihai Albu, Dosarele Securitatii. Studii de caz [Dossiers der Securitate. Fallstudien], Bukarest 2007.

8 Péter Apor/Sándor Horváth/James Mark (Hg.), Secret Agents and the Memory of Everyday Collaboration in Communist Eastern Europe, London 2017.

oppositioneller Einstellungen sowohl bei Einzelpersonen oder Gruppen.[9] Es gibt darüber inzwischen eine beachtliche Anzahl an Arbeiten, fast jedes betroffene Land hat ein gewisses Maß an wissenschaftlicher Forschung darüber bereits getätigt.

Die Tätigkeit der Staatssicherheitsdienste, die sich generell auf die eigenen Bürgerinnen und Bürger konzentrierte, richtete sich aber auch gegen Ausländerinnen und Ausländer. Im Kontext des Kalten Krieges waren kommunistische Geheimdienste ein wichtiges Stück des nicht deklarierten Konflikts und ihre Aktionen über das bzw. im Ausland folgen der Logik der damaligen Zeit. Angesichts der gemischten Eigenschaften der kommunistischen Staatssicherheitsapparate, die Aufgaben der internen Repression mit externer Spionage verbanden, gibt es auch viele Unterlagen zu den verschiedensten Formen der Überwachung und der Aktivitäten von Institutionen. Das trifft auch auf Spanien zu.

In allen drei untersuchten Ländern – DDR, Rumänien und Polen – gab es spanische Exilantinnen und Exilanten. Die meisten standen der Kommunistischen Partei Spaniens (PCE) nahe, waren nach dem Spanischen Bürgerkrieg zuerst in Frankreich ins Exil geraten. Die PCE war durch den Spanischen Bürgerkrieg und dem damit einhergehenden Mythos etwas Besonderes, hatte eine spezielle Aura, die die Partei von anderen kommunistischen Organisationen in Europa abhob. Persönlichkeiten wie Dolores Ibárruri, auch La Pasionaria genannt, oder Santiago Carrillo, Generalsekretär seit 1963, hatten große Autorität in der kommunistischen und stalinistischen Bewegung. Die in ihrer Heimat verbotene Organisation PCE war auf allen Ebenen eine transnationale Partei ohne Heimat, mit Zentren in verschiedenen Ländern – sowohl im Ost- als auch im Westblock.[10] Viele Spanierinnen und Spanier wurden 1950, als Frankreich die PCE verbot, in das osteuropäische Exil gezwungen: Einige von ihnen kamen – nach einem Kurzaufenthalt in der UdSSR – nach Polen oder Rumänien: In der Regel schickte sie die Partei dorthin, aber einige gingen dahin, weil das Leben hier leichter schien als in der Sowjetunion oder – wie im Fall Rumäniens – kulturell näher zu Spanien stand. Im Rumänien der 1960er-Jahre arbeiteten diese Gruppe dann für Radio España Independiente, eine Art kommunistisches Radio Freies Europa mit dem Auftrag der Bekämpfung der Franco-Diktatur. Rumänien wurde auch ein Erholungsort für die spanische kommunistische Elite: Generalsekretär Santiago Carrillo und Ehrenpräsidentin Dolores Ibárruri verbrachten oft ihre Urlaube in Rumänien. In Polen wiederum existierten eher kleine Gruppen, manche davon, wie der zeitweise Liebhaber von Pasionaria, wurden zur Strafe dorthin geschickt.

Natürlich beobachteten alle drei politische Polizeien diese Exilgruppen, wobei das Material der ehemaligen Stasi der DDR das meiste für den Forschungszweck hergibt. Zunächst durchaus privilegiert, geriet die Integration der spanischen Exilantinnen und Exilanten immer schwieriger, und die Berichte zeigen eine zunehmende Ablehnung der Behörde ihnen gegenüber. Die Stasi war sich sehr wohl der verschiedenen politischen Auseinandersetzungen und Kämpfe unter den politischen Emigrantinnen und Emigranten bewusst: Kämpfe, die in den 1970er-Jahren zu Brüchen innerhalb der Exil-PCE führen sollten. Die Stasi hatte sogar inoffizielle

9 Jens Gieseke, „Zersetzung". Interpretationen und Kontroversen der Stasi-Historiografie am Beispiel einer geheimpolizeilichen Methode, in: Agnes Bensussan/Dorota Dakowska/Nicholas Beaupré (Hg.), Die Überlieferung der Diktaturen. Beiträge zum Umgang mit Archiven der Geheimpolizeien in Polen und Deutschland nach 1989, Essen 2004, 149-172.

10 José M. Faraldo, Entangled Eurocommunism. Santiago Carrillo, the Spanish Communist Party and the Eastern Bloc during the Spanish Transition to Democracy, 1968–1982, in: Contemporary European History 26 (2017) 4, 647-688; David Ginard i Féron, The Spanish Historiography of Communism. Light and Shade Following the Fall of the Wall (1989_2008), in: Revista de historiografía 10 (2009), 26-41.

Mitarbeiter (IM) unter die Spanier eingeschleust und kontrollierte die politische Orientierung der in der DDR lebenden spanischen Kommunisten. Im Mai 1973 erstellte die Stasi so eine Liste der PCE-Mitglieder in Dresden, Berlin und Leipzig – samt Beschreibung ihrer jeweiligen politischen Orientierung. Interessant ist dabei, dass jene Spanier, die ab dem Jahre 1970 als inoffizielle Mitarbeiter eingestellt worden waren, ausschließlich Anhänger des orthodoxen-stalinistischen Flügels im Bürgerkrieg um General Enrique Líster waren: Die Anhänger des Generalsekretärs und ‚Eurokommunisten' Santiago Carrillo und ‚Eurokommunisten' wurden in deren Berichten oft als opportunistisch und geldgierig beschrieben.

Die Aktivitäten der PCE wurden von der Stasi penibelst analysiert. Die benötigten Informationen erhielt sie durch die Berichte eines inoffiziellen spanischen Mitarbeiters, der Mitglied der Emigrantengruppen in Dresden und in Berlin war. Er lieferte zahlreiche Berichte über die Parteiveranstaltungen der PCE in West-Berlin; über Parteiversammlungen sowie die Kongresse der PCE, sammelte fortlaufend Informationen über verschiedene spanische Kommunisten in der DDR. Demgegenüber gibt es kaum Hinweise über ähnliche Tätigkeiten der Securitate in Rumänien.

Sowohl Stasi als auch die Securitate hielten ausländische Studierende unter Beobachtung, auch wenn sie versuchten, die Überwachung aus praktischen Gründen auf jene zu begrenzen, die ihrer Ansicht nach mit Terrorismus oder Ähnlichem eine Gefahr für das Land darstellen hätten können. So kontrollierten sie mit besonderer Sorgfalt muslimische und palästinensische Studenten in Bukarest, während diejenigen, die etwas mit der Unterstützung für den baskischen Nationalismus in der DDR zu tun hatten, wiederum für die Stasi von Interesse waren.[11] Diese beobachtete den spanischen linken und separatistischen Terrorismus in den 1970er- und den 1980er-Jahren sehr genau. Obwohl alle kommunistischen Geheimpolizeien eine allgemeine Überwachung der Entwicklung der baskischen nationalistischen Organisation Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA – Baskenland und Freiheit) vornahmen, scheint es so, dass allein die Stasi und die Securitate, in Kontakt mit den bewaffneten Gruppen kamen. Dennoch war es keineswegs so, dass die Staatssicherheit mit linksgerichteten Terroristen zusammenarbeiten wollte. Die ideologische Nähe war nicht genug für die Übernahme des Risikos.

Für die kommunistischen Länder bedeutete die mögliche Installation einer Operationsbasis der ETA in ihren Hoheitsgebieten – Versuche, die zumindest für die DDR dokumentiert sind – diplomatische Probleme.[12] In der Zeit der höchsten Aktivität von Linksterroristen (in den1970er- und 1980er-Jahren), waren die kommunistischen Länder aber auch zum ersten Mal in europäische und/oder internationale Institutionen integriert oder befanden sich auf dem besten Weg dazu: Sie strebten ein seriöses und staatspolitisch achtbares Image an, wollten sie doch für sie ökonomisch wichtige Kredite in der westlichen Welt aufnehmen. Kontakte zu linksradikalen Sekten brachten in diesem Kontext nur Nachteile und Probleme.[13] Und natürlich gab es immer noch auch die Möglichkeit, dass ausländische bewaffnete Organisationen Operationen auch auf ihren Territorien ausführen könnten – oder es zumindest versuchen würden. So beschränkten sich die Staatssicherheitsdienste des Ostblocks auf Überwachung, erlaubten es aber linksterroristischen Organisationen

11 Beispiele: für Rumänien: Consiliul National pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (CNSAS) [Nationaler Rat für das Studium der Archive der Securitate], Fond Informativ, D003424, Vol. 33; für die DDR: Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (BStU) Ministerium für Staatssicherheit Hauptabteilung (MfS HA) XXII 817/2.

12 BStU, MfS HA XXII 5834/1, insbesonders 48-49.

13 BStU, MfS HA XXII 5539/11, 111-120.

nicht, sich in ihren Ländern dauerhaft zu etablieren und boten ihnen so gut wie keine direkte Hilfe an.

Wahr ist aber auch, dass sie innerhalb ihrer Hoheitsgebiete zumindest die ETA-Leute nicht verfolgten, selbst dann nicht, wenn eine Fahndung der Interpol oder Auslieferungsanträge vorlagen. Aber im Allgemeinen hatten die altmodischen, im gewissen Sinn konservativen Herren der kommunistischen Polizeien wenig Verständnis für die jungen westlichen Radikalen auf der Suche nach ihren nationalistischen Freiheiten oder Autonomien. Im Falle der ETA wissen wir nur von einem konkreten Fall der Zusammenarbeit mit der rumänischen Securitate. Diese hatte während des Angriffs auf den Sitz von Radio Free Europe 1980 in München stattgefunden, aber die Zusammenarbeit erfolgte über den Kanal von Carlos, dem Schakal, der auch dafür verantwortlich zeichnete: Der Beitrag der ETA war einzig und allein die Lieferung eines Wagens.[14] Auch ausländische Botschaftsangestellte wurden mit Beharrlichkeit beobachtet. So wurde eines der Mitglieder der spanischen Handelsvertretung in Warschau seit seiner Ankunft im Jahr 1970 überwacht. Die SB beschuldigte ihn in ihren Dokumenten „intimer Kontakte" mit unterschiedlichen Frauen. Unabhängig von der Überprüfbarkeit dieser Vorwürfe, ist der Bericht eindeutig ein Versuch, etwas gegen ihn zu finden, war doch der SB der fixen Überzeugung, dass er ein Spion im Auftrag der NATO sei. Die Aktion erwies sich als erfolgreich, weil der Diplomat, als er merkte, dass er beobachtet wurde, abrupt das Land verließ und nach Madrid zurückkehrte.[15] Die Botschaften Spaniens wurden ebenfalls immer observiert, jedoch mit unterschiedlichem Erfolg. In den 1980er-Jahren verfügte die Stasi über Bilder, Pläne und andere Informationen über den Standort der Berliner Vertretung und kannte die Wohnorte der Diplomaten. Das Hilfspersonal der Botschaften vor Ort waren oft Beamte des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit, die Leute, die Umzüge bzw. Einführung von Waren in Wohnungen des Personals der Botschaften durchführten, oft Agentinnen und Agenten der Stasi.

Zudem benutzten die Geheimpolizeien oft Lockvögel, um Opfer anzulocken und ihren Willen zu brechen. Im Jahr 1976 war einer der spanischen Diplomaten zu einer Universität im Süden Polens verreist, um mit Lehrern und Universitätsprofessoren über didaktische Methoden des Erwerbs der spanischen Sprache zu sprechen. Die SB hielt den Diplomat von Anfang an für ein geeignetes Subjekt der Spionage. Sie beschlossen, ihm eine Falle zu stellen, indem sie zwei Frauen als Lockvögel benutzten. Der Versuch schlug fehl, weil der Diplomat wenig Interesse an den beiden „relativ attraktiven Einheiten" zeigte. Während er in der Stadt war, konnten aber die Agenten sein ganzes Gepäck im Hotelzimmer durchsuchen und Fotos von seinen Sachen machen.[16] Die Überwachung einzelner Personen konnte von sehr langer Dauer sein, wenn auch oft nicht mit einer nachvollziehbaren Logik. Ich fand Beweise für die Überwachung einer Sekretärin der Handelsvertretung in Warschau von Mai 1971 bis Mai 1989. Während all dieser Jahre sammelte die SB ein Dossier von mehreren hundert Seiten mit Aufnahmen von ihr, ihren Freundinnen und Freunden sowie auch ihrer Familie, allein sie konnten nichts besonders ‚Subversives' finden.[17] Die SB startete auch eine große Operation um einen spanischen Diplomaten, der im Jahr 1987 mit seinem Sohn nach Wrocław reiste, um einem Fußballmatch zwischen

14 Richard H. Cummings, Cold War Radio. The Dangerous History Of American Broadcasting In Europe, 1950–1989, Jefferson 2009.
15 Instytut Pamięci Narodowy (IPN) BU 01216/21 t. 2.
16 IPN Wr 053/2686.
17 IPN BU 01216/21 t. 3.

Real Sociedad und Sląska beizuwohnen.[18] Solche Strategien in Bezug auf Ausländerinnen und Ausländer verliefen in allen drei untersuchten Ländern durchaus ähnlich, hatten aber unterschiedliche Prioritäten und veränderten sich auch im Lauf der Zeit.

Die Aktivitäten im Ausland hatten normalerweise zwei Hauptrichtungen: Einerseits musste das politische Exil überwacht werden, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit Aktivitäten der Propaganda gegen das Regime (durch Radio Free Europe oder die externen Einrichtungen von Radio Nacional España). So war die polnische SB sehr aktiv in der Infiltration des Exils, hatte sogar in der kleinen Gemeinde von polnischen Emigranten in Spanien ihre Informanten. Zwei Frauen berichteten zum Beispiel unter dem Pseudonym „Redaktorka" und „Saska" über den Dichter Józef Łobodowski, der seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Madrid lebte und eine der wichtigsten (und extrem kritischen) Stimmen der polnischsprachigen Sendungen des spanischen Rundfunks war.[19]

Die Securitate wiederum überwachte ebenfalls die Aktivitäten der rumänischen Gemeinschaft in Spanien, versuchte diese zu infiltrieren und zu beeinflussen. Sie hatte einige ihrer wichtigsten Mitglieder im Visier: so zum Beispiel George Uscatescu, Professor an der Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Der Fall Uscatescus illustriert die Art und Weise, wie die Securitate die Leute zu beeinflussen versuchte: Anfang der 1970er-Jahre besuchte der bekannte Philosoph und ehemalige Faschist das erste Mal seit 1945 seine alte Heimat. Er wurde von der Geheimpolizei durch Freunde und Familienmitglieder aufgefordert, etwas Positives über das Land zu schreiben. In Rumänien hatte seine eigene Schwester Berichte für die Securitate über ihn verfasst. Die Securitate dachte Anfang der 1980er-Jahre, dass George Uscatescu für immer nach Rumänien zurückwolle: Er – so die vorliegenden Berichte – demonstriere „eine realistische Haltung" gegenüber Rumänien und habe das kommunistische Regime akzeptiert. Die Securitate versuchte in der Folge Uscatescu davon zu überzeugen, einige Artikel für rumänische Zeitschriften als Ausdruck der Akzeptanz des Regimes zu schreiben. Tatsächlich sollte Uscatescu auch ein paar – unpolitische – Artikel verfassen: Aber es ist nur schwer zu glauben, dass sie für das Regime von Nutzen waren. Aber schon die bloße Tatsache, dass sie in rumänischen Zeitschriften erschienen waren, war ein Sieg für die Securitate. Uscatescu wurde gelobt, als „jemand, der sein Vaterland in einen Dialog gebracht hat".[20] Um die Aktivitäten der Exilierten zu neutralisieren, griff man auch durchaus zu sehr heftigen Mitteln: Mord, Entführung auf der Straße und sogar Angriffe, darunter der Angriff auf Radio Free Europe im Jahr 1981, an der die Securitate und – marginal – die baskische Separatisten-Organisation ETA beteiligt waren, gehörten hier zum Repertoire. Auf spanischem Boden verübten aber nur Agenten der jugoslawischen Staatssicherheit mehrere Morde.

Andererseits schleuste die DDR-Staatssicherheit ihre Agenten auch ins Ausland ein. Noch in den 1980er-Jahren verfügte sie in Spanien über einen „Legalisten" – einen Agenten mit einer nach außen hin ‚legalen' Beschäftigung, der zudem von seiner Frau – auch wenn selbst keine Agentin – unterstützt wurde. Allein konnte er sich nicht wirklich etablieren, fand keinen Weg, um Kontakte zu wichtigen Teilen der spanischen Gesellschaft herzustellen. Darüber hinaus wurde auch noch in seine Wohnung eingebrochen. Zwar behauptete er – so das vorliegende Material –, es

18 IPN Wr 053/2686, 8.
19 IPN BU 01136/613.
20 CNSAS, SIE 6754.

könnte die spanische Abwehr gewesen sein, seine Vorgesetzten schienen aber eher geneigt zu glauben, dass er nur ein weiteres Opfer der Welle von Diebstählen geworden war, die im damaligen Spanien auf der Tagesordnung standen.[21] Die polnische SB nutzte unterdessen spanischen Boden und den Tourismus, um unbemerkt seine Informanten in der polnischen Emigration in England zu kontaktieren. Sehr interessant ist hier der Fall von Wiktor Troscianko, Dichter und Redakteur beim polnischen Dienst Radio Free Europe. Der überzeugte Antikommunist hatte für die SB mehrere Jahre hindurch spioniert und hielt in Spanien oft operativen Kontakt zu polnischen Agenten. Er schien Gefallen an seinen Reisen nach Spanien zu haben, weil er im Ruhestand nach Spanien übersiedelte und dort bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1983 lebte. Kurz danach schickte der SB ein Auto mit einigen Agenten aus Polen, die sein Haus stürmten und belastende Dokumente mit sich nahmen.[22] Sowohl die spanischen Diplomatinnen und Diplomaten als auch die politischen Exilantinnen und Exilanten standen unter ständiger Beobachtung durch die kommunistische politische Polizei. Bei ersteren galt ihr Hauptinteresse der Abwehr von möglichen Gefahren für das Regime, bei letzteren der Vermeidung von Fraktionskämpfen und von ideologischen Befragungen der Generallinie.

Im Allgemeinen wurde Spanien als feindlicher Staat angesehen – davon zeugen die zugänglichen Quellen und Berichte. Besonderes Augenmerk galt militärischen Fragen (z. B. Spaniens Beteiligung an der NATO) und der politischen Transformationen (Überwachung der PCE). Nur die DDR scheint auf geheime Informationen über ihre Agenten in der westdeutschen Regierung und der NATO-Zentrale zugegriffen haben. Dies gilt vor allem für die Regierungszeit Felipe González' nach 1982. Dass wir nur wenige Dokumente und Belege für geheimdienstliche Aktivitäten in Spanien finden konnten, könnte auf die Zerstörung von Archiven oder auf die Arbeitsteilung zwischen den unterschiedlichen Sicherheits- und Staatspolizeien hindeuten, die für diesen Beitrag noch nicht tiefer gehend analysiert werden konnten. Zudem waren die Tätigkeiten in Spanien nicht von höchster Priorität für die Geheimdienste. Die benötigten Informationen konnten sie auch – ohne die Kosten für die Einrichtung eines Netzes von Agenten in Spanien – an anderen Orten finden. Das weitaus wichtigste Thema für alle osteuropäischen Sicherheits- und Staatspolizeien (mit Ausnahme der Stasi) waren jedoch die Tätigkeiten ihrer jeweiligen politischen Emigrantinnen und Emigranten in Spanien. Die Überwachungen durch informelle Mitarbeiter erfolgten von Anfang der Volksdemokratien bis zu ihrem Ende.

21 BStU, MfS HA I 13771, 16-19.

22 Siehe IPN 01069/139. Quoted bei Pawel Machcewicz, Walka z Radiem Wolna Europa (1950–1975) [Kampf gegen Radio Free Europe (1950–1975)], in: Ryszard Terlecki, Aparat Bezpieczeństwa wobec emigracji politycznej i Polonii [Sicherheitsapparate und die polnische Emigration und Diaspora], Warschau 2005, 11-104, hier 70-79.

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Jonathan Friedman

"I'm a Survivor!"

The Holocaust and Larry David's Problematic Humour in *Curb Your Enthusiasm*

Abstract

In 2004, Larry David's HBO comedy series *Curb Your Enthusiasm* aired an episode entitled The Survivor, which featured two storylines – one about Hasidic Judaism and one about the Holocaust. In his writing for the comedy series *Seinfeld,* David created a world that had Jewish coding, but overt references to Jews and Jewish history were more oblique ("soup Nazi" and *Schindler's List* episodes aside). In *Curb Your Enthusiasm,* David's follow-up show about "nothing", David frequently launched frontal assaults on everything Jewish, and many viewers found the *Survivor* episode beyond the pale. This paper investigates this particular episode as a case study to evaluate the broader issue of representing the Holocaust through the medium of comedy.

In 2004, Larry David's HBO comedy series *Curb Your Enthusiasm* aired an episode entitled *The Survivor*, which featured two storylines – one about Hasidic Judaism and one about the Holocaust. The first storyline has David, who plays either a fictitiously offensive or offensively real version of himself, contemplating an affair with a Hasidic female friend, complete with jaw-dropping jokes about Hasidic notions of sex. The second subplot unfolds at a dinner in which a Holocaust survivor and a former contestant on the reality show *Survivor* square off in an escalating war of words. In his writing for Seinfeld, David created a world that had Jewish coding, but overt references to Jews and Jewish history were more oblique ("soup Nazi" and *Schindler's List* episodes aside). In *Curb Your Enthusiasm,* David's follow-up show about nothing, David frequently launches frontal assaults on everything Jewish, and many viewers found the *Survivor* episode beyond the pale. This essay investigates this particular episode as a case study to evaluate the broader issue of representing the Holocaust through the medium of comedy – in this case comedic television.

In his 1987 review of a number of comedic and semi-comedic works about the Holocaust, scholar Terrence Des Pres took issue with what he saw as the limits set on Holocaust representation, i.e., that it should be approached as a sacred, unique event and that depictions of it should be as "accurate and faithful as possible to the facts and conditions of the event, without change or manipulation for any reason".[1] He argued in defence of humour and satire, declaring that the "value of the comic approach is that by setting things at a distance it permits us a tougher, more active response". Proceeding from Des Pres' assessment and employing the theories of Israeli psychologist Avner Ziv and historian Chaya Ostrower, I will assess what David's humour in his *Survivor* episode might be contesting. Ziv has posited five functions of

1 Des Pres reviewed Tadeusz Borowski's This Way for the Gas Ladies and Gentlemen, New York 1976; Leslie Epstein's King of the Jews, New York 1979, and Art Spiegelman's Maus. A Survivor's Tale, New York 1986; see: Terence Des Pres, Holocaust Laughter, in: Berel Lang (ed.), Writing and the Holocaust, New York 1987, 216-233, here 217.

humour: 1.) An aggressive function, stemming from a sense of either frustration or superiority; 2.) A sexual function; 3.) A social function; 4.) A defence mechanism (specifically, gallows humour and self-humour); 5.) An intellectual function.[2] While Ostrower demonstrated in her research that Holocaust survivors frequently utilised humour as a defence mechanism, I would argue that David (who is not a Holocaust survivor and operates in an entirely different universe – that of contemporary Hollywood) employs a more problematic form of aggressive humour. Specifically, in the episode in question, he zeroes in on the subject of what constitutes a victim. The questions for this paper therefore are: Does skewering victimisation constitute an illegitimate assault? What constructive effort could such comedy or satire possibly bring?

There are a number of feature film comedies about Nazi Germany and even the Holocaust, including *The Great Dictator* (Charlie Chaplin, 1940), *To be or not to be* (Ernst Lubitsch, 1942), *The Producers* (Mel Brooks, 1967), *Life is Beautiful* (Roberto Benigni, 1997), *Inglourious Basterds* (Quentin Tarantino, 2009), and *Jacob the Liar* (Peter Kassovitz, 1999).[3] Comedy, which is at its core about generating laughter from an audience, according to Henri Bergson, stems from the human encounter with life's inflexibilities; for Victor Turner, comedy emerges in the liminal space between the "set rules of society".[4] Each of the films above films operates within a state of liminality, in which societal rules, in this case the rules of Nazism or Nazi-occupied Europe, are encountered and rendered absurd. What distinguishes a classic, though, like *The Great Dictator,* from a critical and box office failure (like *Jacob the Liar*), is not necessarily easy to discern, and Des Pres, for his part, did not lay out criteria for the effective use of comedy in ventilating Holocaust narratives. In his conclusion, he seemed to qualify his approval, saying that the novels he was evaluating in his essay were basically serious, but that they included comic elements, that is to say, they weren't purely comedic. They recognised first and foremost the gravity of the universe into which they were venturing. Films like *Life is Beautiful* and *Jakob the Liar* both do that, while *Inglourious Basterds* does not, so why do critics generally regard the first and third as good films, while rejecting the second? In fact, of the three *Jakob the Liar* is perhaps the most earnest and desirous to achieve verisimilitude, and it ends on a more depressing note than either *Life is Beautiful* or *Inglourious Basterds.* A comparison of the original East German version of *Jakob the Liar* from 1975 is apt here, suggesting that it is not necessarily the genre of comedy that is the problem but the way in which a particular story is constructed within the framework of that genre. Peter Stack, writing in 1999 for the *San Francisco Chronicle* in advance of a limited run of *Jakob der Lügner,* argued that "the beauty of this film is its simplicity. There's no mugging for comedic effect, no pat jokes, no elaborate fantasies […] slowly the vise of history closes on this decent, innocent man, and the viewer is simply left speechless."[5]

Comedy can therefore work as a means of representing the Holocaust, but because of the dangers it poses to the seriousness of the subject, producers should pro-

2 Chaya Ostrower, Humor as a Defense Mechanism in the Holocaust (PhD Thesis), Tel Aviv 2000, and Avner Ziv, Personality and Sense of Humor, London 1984; see also Ruth Wisse, No Joke. Making Jewish Humor, Princeton 2013, and Jaye Berman Montresor, Parodic Laughter and the Holocaust, in: Studies in American Jewish Literature 12 (1993),126-133.

3 Daniel Mendelsohn, Review: Inglourious Basterds. When Jews Attack, in: Newsweek, 14 August 2009.

4 Henri Bergson, Laughter. An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic, Paris 1924; Victor Turner, From Ritual to Theatre. The Human Seriousness of Play, New York 1982; and Andrew Horton (ed.), Comedy, Cinema, Theory, Berkeley 1991.

5 Peter Stack, East German ‚Liar' is Truly Devastating, in: San Francisco Chronicle, 5 November 1999.

ceed with caution. The one semi-comedic moving picture with a Holocaust story that I would argue falls into this category is *Everything is Illuminated* (from 2005), based on the novel by Jonathan Safran Foer, which follows a fictional journey to Ukraine by Foer in search of a woman who, in this alternative universe, saved his grandfather during the German occupation. The comedy of the film, which involves numerous malapropisms, underscores the cultural clash between an American Jew and his Ukrainian travel guides, allows the audience to acclimate itself to what is unfamiliar geography. The comedy also recedes once the complex details about Foer's grandfather and the secret identity of his elder Ukrainian guide unfold. Thus, the comedic elements serve more as commentary not only about two peoples who know next to nothing about each other, but also on the absurdity of contemporary life in the wake of the Second World War. The movie and novel are more about the present and remembering the past in a region of the world little known to most Americans and still insufficiently explored in Anglo-American scholarship.

Some critics might take issue with how comic films have represented Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, but with television, voices of criticism could be (and have been) more severe given the place of television as a commodity in the modern home. The scale of television is at once small and linked with commerce. It was this intersection that troubled the many critics of the 1978 miniseries on the Holocaust. Film critic Molly Haskell argued that "[t]he Holocaust is simply too vast, the elimination of six million people from the earth too incomprehensible, to fit into any conceivable dramatic framework, particularly in the reductive context of the small screen".[6] Historian Henry Feingold said that the numerous ad breaks amounted to "the commercialization of the Holocaust".[7] TV dramas dealing with the Holocaust have become less of a controversy for critics over time, but the intersection of television, the Holocaust, and comedy remains largely avoided and toxic territory. Except for Larry David.

In the very first episode of *Curb Your Enthusiasm,* David's character, Larry, the retired ex-producer of *Seinfeld,* finds himself in trouble by referring to his wife Cheryl as Hitler in a conversation that is overheard by a friend who had a relative who was a Holocaust survivor.[8] Depending on one's perspective as a viewer, it was either downhill or inspirational from there. In the series and its 80 episodes from 2000 to 2011, audiences were witnesses to vignette after vignette attesting to Larry's idiocy.

The Survivor episode from season four is squarely in that orbit. The intersecting storylines about the Holocaust and Larry's nearly consummated affair with a Hasidic laundry woman, Anna, played by Gina Gershon, attempt to lay bare underlying hypocrisies and mythologies, and the former subplot is effective, but the construction of Jewishness in the characters problematises David's satire. Both Anna and the rabbi bear little resemblance to any Hasidic woman or proper spiritual leader in reality. Even if David's intention were to poke fun at what Jews don't know about Hasidim, his construction of Anna would still be outrageous. For instance, although Anna wears a head covering, she smokes, leaves her shirts unbuttoned to reveal cleavage, and is aggressively flirtatious with Larry, suggesting at one point that while her husband is at shul, she and Larry should have sex. David tackles the requisite

6 Molly Haskell, A Failure to Connect, in: New York, 15 May 1978.
7 Henry Feingold, Four Days in April. A Review of NBC's Dramatization of the Holocaust, in: Shoah: A Journal of Resources on the Holocaust, 1978; see also Jeffrey Shandler, While America Watches. Televising the Holocaust, Oxford 1999.
8 Derek Parker, Comedy Beyond the Pale. ‚Working the Jewish' in Curb Your Enthusiasm, MELUS Conference, Fresno 2007.

urban legend about how Hasidic couples have sex, allegedly through a hole in a sheet, and although he has Anna point out Larry's stupidity when he wraps himself up in said sheet at their hotel room, David has her spout off more profanity than many secular Jews would probably ever use.

The rabbi, meanwhile, not only gives Larry approval for the affair, because Larry's wife was giving him a one-time sexual encounter as a anniversary gift, which no respectable rabbi would do, but he also fuels the Holocaust storyline by asking Larry if he could bring a survivor to the rehearsal dinner for Larry and Cheryl's renewal of vows. The person whom the rabbi brings, Colby, played by Colby Donaldson, is not a Holocaust survivor or a survivor in any sense of the word; he was simply on the reality TV show *Survivor*. The rabbi confuses the survival issue further after Larry asks him about a photo on his desk, and the rabbi says that it was his brother in law, who died on 11 September 2001 – 9/11. As Larry asks him about where he was at ground zero, the rabbi explains that his brother-in-law died uptown – on 57th street, run over by a bike messenger. So the rabbi is both questionable in his morality and even more patently clueless than Larry, if that were possible. The humour in these instances – sexual and social – may be funny, but one might see that it also has the potential of reinforcing negative images of Judaism. In fact, I would argue these images threaten to overshadow David's more valuable lampooning of what it means to be a survivor in contemporary American discourse.

Because the rabbi asks to bring a survivor to the dinner, and Larry assumes he meant a Holocaust survivor – and why wouldn't he? – Larry feels compelled to have his father invite his friend Solly, who, Larry knows, is also Holocaust survivor. So David sets up a classic comedic scenario based on character misunderstanding, and he plays it to the hilt. At dinner, Colby begins by describing the snakes he had to fend off in the Australian outback, and Solly responds: "That's a very interesting story. Let me tell you. I was in a concentration camp! You never even suffered one minute your whole life compared to what I went through!" Colby then starts the downward spiral into comedy oblivion by responding: "Look, I'm saying we spent 42 days trying to survive. We had very little rations. No snacks." To which Solly rejoins: "Snacks, what are you talking, snacks? We didn't eat sometimes for a week for a month?" Colby continues, "I couldn't even work out over there. They certainly didn't have a gym. I wore my sneakers out. The next thing I know I have a pair of flip flops! Have you even seen the show?" Solly shouts back, "Did you ever see our show? It was called the Holocaust! You don't know anything about survival. I'm a survivor!" The two then start screaming back and forth, "I'm a survivor!" until Solly hits his plate and splashes food on Larry's face and suit, prompting a non-sequitur from Larry's mother in law: "[S]omebody get a sponge." Larry's befuddled response ending the scene to the disgust of everyone is: "I'm sorry why don't you get a sponge? What? I just told her to get a sponge?"

In order to make amends, Larry invites Solly to the renewal of vows, but in the car, Solly's glass eye reflects into Larry's face, and his arm movements lead Solly to believe that he's making fun of him so he gets mad and bumps Cheryl who spills wine on Larry's suit, freshly cleaned after the dinner incident. Solly demands to get out of the car and washes his hands of the whole pathetic lot. Here, David clearly does not intend to poke fun at the victim, but rather himself, and so while the bulk of the humour in the survivor storyline would fall into Ostrower's aggressive category, it's done so from a position of frustration and self-skewering. Even at the episode's climactic scene, the renewal of vows, Larry is incapable of anything positive to say. His vows are an incomprehensible mess ("it's pretty, pretty, pretty, pretty good. And I am

your devoted servant. Well I don't know about servant. You know I'm not a servant, but I'll certainly help you.") And then when Larry steps on the glass in the custom of Jewish weddings, he does so too quickly, before the rabbi is able to move his hand away, resulting in a bloody hand injury and a screaming rabbi. The final scene of the episode, in which Anna chides Larry about the sheet, brings the *deus ex machina* of an earthquake, forcing the two almost lovebirds out into the parking lot of their room at the St. Regis Hotel still wrapped up in their bed sheets. There, they see Colby, who is also coincidentally staying at the hotel, and he has the last words of the show: "Larry, hey, we survived!"

The recent documentary, *The Last Laugh* (Ferne Pearlstein, 2016), explores the subject of the Holocaust and comedy and fits well within Ostrower and Ziv's model of the many uses of humour. For some of the interviewees in the film, particularly survivors, humour remains important as part of the process of working through trauma. For comedians like Sarah Silverman, humour allows light to shine on darkness. For Mel Brooks, comics "have to tell us who we are, where we are, even if it's in bad taste". In the case of the *Survivor* episode of *Curb Your Enthusiasm,* it is not the Holocaust that Larry David is satirising, and he certainly is not mocking Holocaust survivors, but rather what journalist Stephen Vider dubs a culture of victimhood that conflates real tragedy and survival with things that no one in their right mind would ever see as tragic or in the realm of surviving. As Vider rightly claims, David is sending up "a culture that reveres trauma and the traumatized at the same time it enjoys the *schadenfreude* expressed in 'reality' contests like *Survivor* and mock-reality television".[9] David's brand of aggressive and self-humour therefore serves as dual criticism, both of collective and individual bad behaviour. Everyone is either a *schlemiel* or a *shlemazel* in David's world, and this amplifies the satire, although once again the downside is that it has the potential side-effect of reifying abstractions of Jews as bad people.

So in answering the questions which I posed at the beginning, this is an overriding qualification. Calling out people who think that they are victims when they really are not, calling out double standards and insensitivity, all of which Larry David skillfully does, are legitimate and necessary in preserving respect for real tragedy and trauma. Criteria for distinguishing successful from unsuccessful Holocaust comedy, comedy-drama, or satire on television might be too subjective to be of any consistent or systematic use but taking an unspoken perception of some behaviour and putting it out there in such a ridiculous way to make us realize how awful humans behave, is one possible avenue. At the same time, comedy's transgressive potential can be destructive, and the boundary of what is acceptable as a pun or humorous scenario is not easily discernible or agreed upon – especially when it comes to the Holocaust. David makes himself the butt of the joke throughout his series, but at least for me, the question remains: does he have to do that to all of his other Jewish characters as well? In fairness, he is an equal opportunity misanthrope when it comes to Gentiles and other minorities, again to play on collective anxieties and to uncover latent and overt prejudices. However, less incendiary Jewish imagery might actually help David better deconstruct the assumptions of our bizarre culture of both revered and trivialised suffering.

9 Stephen Vider, Survivor Challenge. Ten years after Jerry Seinfeld got caught necking during Schindler's List, reverence for the Holocaust still makes Larry David squirm, in: Tablet, 26 March 2004; http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-arts-and-culture/1271/survivor-challenge (13 June 2018).

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Essay

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Guido Vitiello

Retrospective Voyeurism

The 'Peephole Motif' in Contemporary Holocaust Cinema

Abstract

The peephole in the door of the gas chamber is a recurring motif in modern Holocaust cinema, appearing across the whole spectrum of film genres – Hollywood melodrama, horror film, historical documentary, European art film, exploitation B-movie. It is mostly shown through the gaze of an SS officer, thus associating the spectator's position with that of the perpetrator. The peephole motif pushes the limits of Holocaust representation and defies the cultural codification of the gas chamber as a 'no trespass' area of the gaze. Its uncanny recurrence is better understood in the light of the growing sacralisation of the Holocaust, which has led to an ambiguous tabooization, fetishisation and even eroticisation of the gas chamber. Vehiculating our cinematic "fantasies of witnessing" (G. Weissman), the peephole motif reconfigures the imagination of the Holocaust as retrospective voyeurism.

In Search of 'la pellicule maudite'

Infinite Jest, David Foster Wallace's 1996 novelistic magnum opus, revolves around a lost and mysterious film able to plunge its viewers into a sort of hypnotic *jouissance*, a state so intense and so absorbing that they lose interest in anything else and eventually die.[1] It may be suggested that Holocaust culture has its own 'infinite jests', or rather its cinematic Holy Grails, constantly evoked, stubbornly sought after, and ambiguously fetishised. Two imaginary films cast their shadow on the theoretical discourses and on the broader cultural reception of Holocaust cinema. The first was hinted at in another American novel, Don DeLillo's *Running Dog*, published in 1978, in the midst of the 'new discourse' wave analysed by Saul Friedlander:[2] It centres on a purported pornographic film allegedly shot in Adolf Hitler's bunker in the final days before the fall of Berlin, for which collectors are eager to pay huge sums.[3] The second is the (in)famous *pellicule maudite* (cursed film) evoked by Claude Lanzmann, creator of *Shoah* (1985). In his review of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993), which sparked a well-known dispute with the filmmaker Jean-Luc Godard, Lanzmann declared that if he had found "an existing film – a secret film because filming was highly forbidden – shot by an SS man, that shows how 3,000 Jews, men, women, and children, die together, choking, in a gas chamber or crematorium, then not only would I not have shown it, I would have destroyed it."[4]

These haunting 'ghost films' – depicting an orgy in the bunker and death in the gas chamber – embody the repressed counterpart of the major aesthetical and ethical taboos built around the representation of Nazism and the Holocaust that James L. Young summarised as follows:

1 David Foster Wallace, Infinite Jest, New York 1996.
2 Saul Friedlander, Reflections of Nazism. An Essay on Kitsch and Death, Bloomingdale 1984.
3 Don Delillo, Running Dog, New York 1978.
4 Claude Lanzmann, Holocauste, la représentation impossible [The Impossible Representation of the Holocaust], in: Le Monde. Supplément Arts-Spectacles (3 March 1994), 1, 7.

> "To this day, many people insist that some scenes from the Holocaust cannot ethically be represented. Because no one survived the gas chambers to describe the terror there, its darkness has remained absolute. Other areas in which artists are practically forbidden to tread include the sexuality of victims and the possible sadosexuality of the killers."[5]

Both of these taboos have been overtly and aggressively violated in the context of 'illegitimate' Holocaust representation,[6] especially in the (mostly) Italian subgenre of 'Nazi sexploitation' films produced in the late 1970s that staged sadomasochistic pornography in concentration camps.[7] This sleazy subgenre could be considered an attempt to shoot the two 'cursed films' in one. Not only do the sexuality of victims and the sadosexuality of the killers stand at the core of Nazi sexploitation films, but many of them deliberately infringe on the *Bilderverbot* (ban on images) surrounding the gas chambers and the crematoria. Cesare Canevari's *L'ultima orgia del III Reich* (The Last Orgy of the Third Reich, 1977) features a quite surreal scene of mass death in a gas chamber, or rather in some sort of underground tunnel, where naked women run and scream – historical accuracy is definitely not a high priority in these films. Sergio Garrone's *Lager SSadis Kastrat Kommandantur* (SS Experiment Camp, 1976) shows crematoria stuffed with the half-dead bodies of women agonising in glaringly sexual poses. In the 'legitimate' canon of Holocaust film, such scenes would simply be unthinkable and, in the majority of cases, the final phases of the extermination remain a 'no-go' area of the gaze. A couple of rare exceptions are a scene from the TV miniseries *War and Remembrance* (Dan Curtis, 1988) and a few seconds from Claude Lelouch's *Les Uns et les Autres* (released in English as *Bolero*, 1981). Even in the most graphic Holocaust films, such as Tim Blake Nelson's *The Grey Zone* (2001), the camera stops respectfully on the threshold of the gas chamber, as in the atrium of a temple. Mass death is never shown.

Throughout the history of Holocaust cinema, a variety of rhetorical devices have been deployed in order to show without showing what happened inside the gas chamber. These devices include synecdochic or metonymic allusions (the camera for example depicting the detail of the pillars of smoke rising from the crematoria's chimneys, as in Andrzej Munk's *The Passenger,* 1963); the occasional resort to the expressive potentialities of sound (the screaming of the victims is heard from the outside, as in Jack Gold's TV film *Escape from Sobibor*, 1987); *topoi* derived from Greek tragedy (the ghastly events are not directly presented, but rather narrated by the voice of a messenger on stage, as in *Shoah* or in the Israeli documentary *Hamachah Hashmonim V'Echad*, *The Eighty-First Blow*, by Haim Gouri, 1974). Then there is the motif of the peephole.

5 James E. Young, At Memory's Edge. After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture, New Haven/London 2000, 55.

6 The legitimate/illegitimate opposition I use here is derived, by analogical extension, from Omer Bartov, who applied it to Israeli culture of the 1960s: "In pre-1967 Israel, two types of literature about the Holocaust were available to young Israelis. The first could be called 'legitimate' literature. Strongly didactic, imbued with Zionist ideological biases, and often employed as teaching material in the appropriate grades, much of this literature consisted of quasi-fictionalized accounts of resistance to the Nazis. […] Hence the focus of these stories was on action, sacrifice, and meaningful death. […] The second type of 'literature', which might be called 'illegitimate', was passed secretly from one youth to another, a source of illicit excitement and shameful pleasure. These were the so-called 'Stalags', a type of pornographic literature that circulated in Israel of the time, […] replete with perverse sex and sadistic violence. […] Nothing could be a greater taboo than deriving sexual pleasure from pornography in the context of the Holocaust; hence nothing could be as exciting."; see: Omer Bartov, Kitsch and Sadism in Ka-Tzetnik's Other Planet. Israeli Youth Imagine the Holocaust, in: Jewish Social Studies 3 (1997) 2, 42-76, here 48-49.

7 Marcus Stiglegger, Sadiconazista. Faschismus und Sexualität im Film, Remscheid 1999; Daniel H. Magilow/Kristin T. Vander Lugt/Elizabeth Bridges (ed.), Nazisploitation! The Nazi Image in Low-Brow Cinema and Culture, New York 2011.

The Act of Seeing

The peephole in the door of the gas chamber is a recurring trope in contemporary Holocaust cinema. It appears across the whole spectrum of film genres, from Hollywood mainstream historical melodrama (as in the NBC miniseries *Holocaust*, 1978, or in *Schindler's List*) to horror (as in *Apt Pupil*, Bryan Singer, 1998); from documentary (as in Errol Morris' *Mr. Death*, 1999) to didactic film for young people (as in the TV film *The Devil's Arithmetic*, Donna Deitch, 1999, or in *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*, Mark Herman, 2008); from European auteur film (as in Leszek Wosiewicz's *Kornblumenblau* (Cornflower Blue), 1989, or in Costa-Gavras' *Amen*, 2002) to late exploitation cinema (as in *Auschwitz*, Uwe Boll, 2011). This trope allows the very *act of seeing* to be represented, although in most cases the object of vision is hidden to the spectator. Sometimes the scene of mass death, off-screen, is described by the character who is spying through the peephole (as in *Holocaust*), sometimes it is dreamt or hallucinated (as in *Apt Pupil),* sometimes dislocated (as in *Schindler's List*), sometimes merely absent (as in *Mr. Death*). The inside of a gas chamber in operation is shown directly and prolongedly only in the little-known and exceptional case of *Kornblumenblau* and in the 'illegitimate' exploitation film *Auschwitz* by Uwe Boll, in which the peephole also served for the promotional material (the official film poster showed the filmmaker in an SS uniform standing near the gas chamber door) to stress the openly voyeuristic purpose of the film. This last case is especially interesting, since the origins of the peephole motif, as Aaron Kerner has shown, can be traced back to the 'illegitimate' genre of Nazi sexploitation from the mid-1970s in films such as *Ilsa, She-Wolf of the SS* (Don Edmonds, 1975) or Tinto Brass' *Salon Kitty* (1975).[8]

The uncanny recurrence of the peephole motif can be considered from at least three intertwined perspectives. First, there is the question of the intrinsic voyeurism of the cinematic gaze, deeply explored in the field of feminist film studies, as well as in other film theories with a strong psychoanalytic accent. Significantly, this topic has often been addressed with specific reference to the peephole scenes from thriller/horror films of the early 1960s such as Michael Powell's *Peeping Tom* (1960) and Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* (1960). Caroline Picart and David Frank, in their cross-analysis of the shower scenes in *Psycho* and *Schindler's List,* adopted this point of view.[9] The ethical implications of the pleasures of spectatorial voyeurism and of the power relations underlying the voyeuristic position of course assume a deeper significance when the object of vision is the utter atrocity of the Holocaust, particularly given the fact that in most Holocaust films the peephole is seen through the eyes of an SS officer, sometimes even in 'point-of-view shot', thus associating (or even conflating) the position of the spectator with that of the perpetrator. Libby Saxton explored these issues in an original way, combining film studies and ethical philosophy.[10]

Another possible perspective, more internal to the field of Holocaust studies, explores the peephole motif in order to raise issues concerning the limits of Holocaust representation, addressing the question of the 'unrepresentable', the philosophy/theology of Holocaust aniconism, the strength of representational taboos, and the cultural codification of the gas chamber as an area subjected to an absolute ban on im-

8 Aaron Kerner, Film and the Holocaust, New York 2011, 36-52.
9 Caroline J. Picart/David A. Frank, Frames of Evil. The Holocaust as Horror in American Film, Carbondale 2006, 36-69.
10 Libby Saxton, Haunted Images. Film, Ethics, Testimony and the Holocaust, London/New York 2008, 68-91.

ages. This point of view has been explored for example by Barry Langford[11] and by Vincent Lowy.[12]

The presence of the peephole trope in contemporary Holocaust cinema can also be addressed in wider cultural terms, as a symptom of an emerging attitude towards the Holocaust that, I suggest, can be best understood against the background of the growing sacralisation of the Holocaust, which is in many ways at the root of the tabooisation, fetishisation, and (in a broad sense) eroticisation of the gas chambers. If the Holocaust, as Peter Novick wrote, has been turned into a 'mystery religion',[13] the gas chambers are its Eleusinian sanctuaries, attracting both *sacré de respect* and *sacré de transgression* (Roger Caillois),[14] piety and impiety,[15] quasi-religious awe and morbid curiosity. The recurrence of peephole scenes in Holocaust cinema reflects these attitudes and allows us to introduce the topics of 'Holocaust voyeurism' and of the 'eroticisation of (vicarious) witnessing', tentative formulas by which I mean a fascination for the most hidden aspects of the Holocaust that is often suffused with more or less overt sexualised nuances. This fascination was explored in one of the most original contributions to Holocaust studies to date, namely Gary Weissman's *Fantasies of Witnessing.* As Weissman observed, "the unspoken desire of many people who have no direct experience of the Holocaust […] to know what it was like to be *there*" has mostly been dismissed by scholars in moralistic terms, thus impeding a more cautious (and curious) approach.[16]

> "I contend that, when nonwitnesses take an interest in the Holocaust, they are not overcoming a fearful aversion to its horror but endeavoring to actually feel the horror of what otherwise eludes them. These attempts are not recognized as such by most Holocaust scholars. When the nonwitness's interest in exposing him or herself to the horrors of the Holocaust is addressed, it is typically denounced as a perverse fascination or morbid curiosity with atrocity, a fascination, as historian Omer Bartov puts it, 'with extremity and with artificially recreating the most horror-filled situations so as to be able to observe them from the safety of one's armchair'. This shaming rhetoric has taken the place of, and made more difficult, a true coming to terms with our desire to observe the Holocaust's most horror-filled situations."[17]

That same 'shaming rhetoric' has been used against the narrative forms that have articulated this desire to 'feel the horror' in popular culture, especially against minor film genres (such as thriller, horror, science fiction, erotic/porn film, and exploitation), constantly accused of trivialisation and commodification.

The first step to overcoming this 'shaming rhetoric', I suggest, is a quick revisiting of the anything but frivolous origins of the eroticisation of the Holocaust. This could also help to rethink the legitimate/illegitimate divide in contemporary Holocaust culture.

11 Barry Langford, "You Cannot Look At This". Thresholds of Unrepresentability in Holocaust Film, in: Journal of Holocaust Education 8 (1999) 3, 23-40.
12 Vincent Lowy, L'histoire infilmable [The Unfilmable History], Paris 2001.
13 Peter Novick, The Holocaust in American Life, Boston/New York 1999, 273-274.
14 Roger Caillois, Man and the Sacred, Champaign 1959.
15 Matthew Boswell, Holocaust Impiety in Literature, Popular Music and Film, London/New York 2012.
16 Gary Weissman, Fantasies of Witnessing. Postwar Efforts to Experience the Holocaust, Ithaca/London 2004, 4.
17 Ibid, 22-23.

The Holocaust as a 'Myth of Origin' and a 'Primal Scene'

The origins of the eroticisation of the Holocaust can be traced back to the early 1960s, to the time of the Eichmann trial. It began with the Israeli youth's reception of the novelistic memoirs, replete with morbid eroticism, of Yehiel Feiner aka Ka-Tzetnik, such as *House of Dolls* (1953), and with the popularity of the so-called Stalags, cheap pocketbooks of sadomasochistic pornography set in POW camps.[18] In that context, the Holocaust for the first time became a dark and fascinating 'secret room' in which it was tempting to peek. For young Israelis of those years, the question of the Holocaust was the question of their own origins – personal, familial, and national at the same time. In other words, the Holocaust functioned both as a 'myth of origin' and as a sort of 'primal scene' – in Freudian theory, the fantasy (or fantasised memory) of the sexual intercourse between one's parents. Just like the primal scene, the Holocaust became the target of an intense scopophiliac desire. In a brief and illuminating article, Nanette C. Auerhahn and Dori Laub analysed the dreams and fantasies of second-generation patients in which the parents' bedrooms and the gas chamber seemed to collapse into one another: "In the primal scene, children typically misinterpret the parents' sexual activity as an act of violence, disguising the life force by aggression. In contrast, we have found that children confronted with the scene of atrocity defend against their knowledge by misinterpreting the scene as a sexual one."[19] It could be argued that Ka-Tzetnik's books and the Stalags provided young Israelis with an imaginary way to enter this primal scene of death and violence by means of sexual curiosity, to approach a scene of atrocity as a scene of desire, and ultimately to conflate vicarious witnessing with voyeurism. The Stalags were the quintessential 'illegitimate' fiction, and Ka-Tzetnik's books, as Bartov suggested, despite being part of the 'legitimate' canon, were read by many young Israelis in 'illegitimate' ways, as a source of shameful pleasure and excitement.

Although such a peculiar condition as being a member of the second generation can hardly be generalised, this kind of attitude towards the Holocaust can be observed – in a different and milder form, relieved from painful biographical implications – in (mostly, but not exclusively, young) people with no family-mediated connection to the Jewish genocide, those that Weissman generically called "nonwitnesses". Defining the Holocaust as the 'primal scene' of our culture would probably be a dubious extension of a clinical notion but, as Gabriel Motzkin and Avishai Margalit suggested, there is scarce doubt that it has become "a negative myth of origin for the postwar world". The Holocaust, the two scholars explain, is a myth of origin because it is "a story that people tell about where they came from and how the situation in which they live was created", and it is a negative myth of origin because it takes "the moment of creation as a moment of chaos and destruction."[20] So, if the Holocaust is perceived as a dark myth of origin, and as a sacred/impure object surrounded with taboos, it comes as no surprise that it attracts a sort of 'retrospective voyeurism'.

18 Amit Pinchevski/Roy Brand, Holocaust Perversions. The Stalags Pulp Fiction and the Eichmann Trial, in: Critical Studies in Media Communication 24 (2007) 5, 387-407.

19 Nanette C. Auerhahn/Dori Laub, The Primal Scene of Atrocity. The Dynamic Interplay Between Knowledge and Fantasy of the Holocaust in Children of Survivors, in: Psychoanalytic Psychology 15 (1998) 3, 372. (http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0736-9735.15.3.360); see also Karyn Ball, Unspeakable Differences, Obscene Pleasures. The Holocaust as an Object of Desire, in: Women in German Yearbook 19 (2003), 20-49.

20 Avishai Margalit/Gabriel Motzkin, The Uniqueness of the Holocaust, in: Philosophy and Public Affairs 25 (1996) 1, 65-83.

This emerging attitude towards the Holocaust can help explain the growing superimposition of 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' styles of remembrance in recent film and pop culture (and a similar statement could be made for literary fiction and museum conceptions).[21] The 'guilty pleasures' of Holocaust voyeurism are creeping ever more frequently into mainstream/institutionalised forms of Holocaust remembrance, into the solemnity of more traditional and respected registers.

The quintessential expression of this superimposition of styles is the infamous shower scene in Auschwitz from *Schindler's List:* an 'illegitimate' sequence with strong sexual/voyeuristic undertones, reminiscent of Nazi sexploitation, that appears like a Trojan horse in the climactic moment of the most 'legitimate' Holocaust film – a film employed as teaching material, shown in schools worldwide, even officially promoted by US President Bill Clinton at the time it was issued ("Go see it!"). This conflation of registers did not go unnoticed, to say the least: The shower scene is arguably the most controversial scene in Holocaust cinema, together with the infamous tracking shot in Gillo Pontecorvo's *Kapo* (1959).

> "Most troubling of all, of course, is the shower scene, since that mass of attractive, frightened, naked women, finally relieved from their anxiety by jets of water rather than gas, would be more appropriate to a soft-porn sado-masochistic film than to its context (and here Spielberg comes dangerously close to such films as Cavani's The Night Porter and Wertmuller's Seven Beauties). The fact that this 'actually' happened is, of course, wholly beside the point, since in most cases it did not, and even when it did, the only eyes which might have derived any sexual pleasure from watching such scenes belonged to the SS. Hence, by including this scene, Spielberg makes the viewers complicit with the SS, both in sharing their voyeurism and in blocking out the reality of the gas chambers."[22]

This critique, as countless others of the same kind, was based on a very partial consideration of the sequence. As a matter of fact, Spielberg aroused the voyeuristic desire of the spectator only to frustrate it and punish it, and the 'coda' of the same sequence (whose unity is underlined by the continuity of the extra-diegetic music) shows us, through the eyes of one of the surviving Schindler women, a group of prisoners directed to the real gas chambers, followed by the detail of the smoke ascending from the crematorium. What happens in between is kept in darkness, invisible; the *Bilderverbot* is respected. The eroticised look of the SS through the peephole and the sad look of the woman directed at the prisoners walking to certain death belong to two irreducibly conflicting visual and symbolic worlds: No conflation is possible, only a 'friction' that questions the spectatorial voyeurism, associating it with the 'perpetrator position'. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that Spielberg's sequence is a *lectio magistralis* on the limits of representation and the ethics of spectatorship, there is no doubt that his resorting to suspense mechanisms borrowed from thriller/horror films and to B-film stereotypes such as the group of naked screaming women, reveals a radical redefinition of the legitimate/illegitimate divide.

Many examples could be chosen, both literary and filmic, to illustrate this conflation of registers, but I would like to focus briefly on a film in which the peephole

21 I developed this point in: Il testimone immaginario. Auschwitz, il cinema e la cultura pop [Imaginary Witness. Auschwitz, Film, and Pop Culture], Naples 2011.

22 Omer Bartov, Spielberg's Oskar. Hollywood Tries Evil, in: Yosefa Loshitzky (ed.), Spielberg's Holocaust. Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List, Bloomington/Indianapolis 1997, 41-60, here 49. See also Omer Bartov, Murder in Our Midst. The Holocaust, Industrial Killing and Representation, Oxford/New York 1996, 170.

motif is part of a complex discourse involving retrospective voyeurism, the eroticisation of (vicarious) witnessing, and the blurring of the legitimate/illegitimate border in Holocaust representation: Bryan Singer's *Apt Pupil* (1998).[23]

Bryan Singer, Spielberg's Not So Apt Pupil

Bryan Singer is a Jewish American filmmaker heavily inspired by Spielberg (he even named his production company "Bad Hat Harry Productions" after a minor character from Spielberg's 1975 film *Jaws*), and his film *Apt Pupil* could be considered the first chapter of his daring reinterpretation of Holocaust-related topics through minor film genres such as horror and science fiction. The most famous of these is the superhero film *X-Men* (2000), then came the historical thriller *Valkyrie* (2008). The next is likely to be his announced version of *Battlestar Galactica*.[24]

Apt Pupil was adapted from a 1982 Stephen King novella with the same title.[25] King's story, set in the 1970s, and Singer's 1998 adaptation have significant differences in plot and are set in different decades, but the basic idea is the same and can be summarised as follows: Todd Bowden, an American youth with a morbid curiosity about the Holocaust, discovers that a former SS officer is living under false pretences in his neighbourhood, but instead of denouncing him to the local police, he chooses to blackmail him. However, young Todd is not interested in money. What he craves most are the old man's memories, his knowledge, and above all his deep personal connection with the 'heart of darkness' of the Holocaust. In other words, Todd needs the help of the reluctant Nazi in order to enact his own 'fantasy of witnessing' and to satisfy his 'retrospective voyeurism':

> "'I want to hear about it. That's all. […] The firing squads. The gas chambers. The ovens. The guys who had to dig their own graves and then stand on the ends so they'd fall into them. The…' His tongue came out and wetted his lips. 'The examinations. The experiments. Everything. All the gooshy stuff.'"[26]

This fascination with the death camps goes together with the boy's entry into puberty and therefore has a vivid sexual connotation. In King's novella, Todd becomes curious about the Holocaust after finding a bunch of old pulp magazines such as *Man's Action and True War*, filled with depictions of sex and torture, in the garage of a friend's father (incidentally, the Israeli Stalags borrowed their cover illustrations from such American magazines of the 1950s). The Holocaust populates his 'wet dreams', made up of Stalag-like fantasies of torture, domination, medical experiments, and forced prostitution.

Interestingly enough, in Singer's film adaptation that same curiosity has a 'legitimate' origin: the history classes at school. This significant shift is reflected in the different reception of the two versions. When Stephen King was about to publish his novella, his agent and some personalities from the Jewish world were dubious about a horror story based on the Holocaust. Perhaps recalling those warnings, Singer decided to arrange a pre-screening at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. The film was acclaimed and Singer passed his test. The most 'illegitimate' Holocaust fic-

23 Claudia Eppert, Entertaining History. (Un)heroic Identifications, Apt Pupils, and an Ethical Imagination, in: New German Critique 86 (2002), 71-101.
24 David Desser/Lester D. Friedman, American Jewish Filmmakers, Urbana 2004, 309-314.
25 Mark Browning, Stephen King on the Big Screen, London 2009.
26 Stephen King, Different Seasons, London 1982, 127.

tion – stemming from the Israeli Stalags, American pulp magazines, and Italian Nazi sexploitation – had found its place, at least for one day, in 'legitimate' memorial culture.

Of course, this was possible because the film, intended for a wider audience, did not share the sadistic pornography of the novella. In place of Todd's extreme sexploitation dreams, Singer's film has two short sequences – a nightmare and a hallucination respectively – based on the peephole motif and on the uncanny superimposition of the shower and the gas chamber.

In the nightmare sequence, in which the palette changes to icy blue-green tones, the camera moves in a slow tracking shot towards the peephole of a gas chamber, behind which a Holocaust victim appears, staring at the camera with a frightening look, directly addressing the spectator and his voyeurism: It is more a tantalising spell cast on the viewer than a moral indictment. This frontal gaze is followed by a series of extremely fast moving, fragmented shots: In one of them, Todd occupies the position of the victim, on the other side of the peephole. The images are accompanied by a crescendo of orders shouted in German, whispers, and suspense music. In Todd's nightmare, a radical shift in identification from perpetrator to victim thus occurs. However, it could be argued, using Christian Metz's terms,[27] that Todd's "secondary identification" with one or the other of the subject positions involved in the situation are less significant than his "primary identification" with the device that allows him to conduct his experiment in retrospective voyeurism: the peephole/camera.

Later, in the hallucination sequence, the camera follows Todd inside the high-school locker room after a basketball match. The boy covers his eyes with his hands, but when he reopens them, everything is again immersed in the same icy blue-green tone of the nightmare, and instead of his classmates, he sees around him naked and haggard Holocaust victims. As the voice shouting in German and the whispering sounds return, the warm pleasant steam of the locker room is confused with the gas-filled chambers that the Nazis disguised as showers.

Both sequences, the nightmare and the hallucination, recall quite explicitly the shower scene from *Schindler's List*. But the chasm between the two films could not be greater. In *Apt Pupil*, eroticism and horror collide in each scene, and the peephole trope is not used to question the spectatorial voyeurism but rather to enact the ultimate 'fantasy of witnessing', the fantasy that Spielberg did not dare to stage: to hallucinate death in the gas chamber, to enter '*la pellicule maudite*'.

27 Christian Metz, The Imaginary Signifier. Psychoanalysis and the Cinema, Bloomington 1982.

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Essay

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The Causes of Peasant Violence and Antisemitism

The Triple Frontier between Austria-Hungary, Tsarist Russia, and Romania (1880–1914)

Abstract

This paper explores the potential and actuality of social violence within the borderlands between Austria-Hungary, Romania and Tsarist Russia, namely the provinces of Transylvania and Bukovina for Austria-Hungary and Bessarabia for the Tsarist Empire, alongside Moldavia and Wallachia, the former Danubian Principalities, which merged to form the Romanian state in 1859. In so doing, it proposes a comparative, transnational examination of the ways in which the 'Jewish question' and the 'peasant question' were intertwined in this region and inquires into the causes that led to social unrest and antisemitic violence in some provinces but not in others. Given that these borderlands shared striking similarities in terms of patterns of land tenure (mainly dominated by latifundia), ethnic composition, considerable numbers of Jewish population, low levels of development (literacy rates, taxation, investments), the main thrust of the paper is to account for the dissimilarities in social combustibility which affected how the Jewish population fared on the three sides of the border and how rebellious the peasantry was in this region. The paper looks comparatively at the legislative framework of the polities around the triple frontier and the place occupied by the Jewish population in the process of economic modernisation and in relation to nation-building.

Introduction

For centuries, the triple frontier between Austria-Hungary, Tsarist Russia, and Romania had represented a fault line between three empires struggling for hegemony in the region (Romania only acquired independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878). The frontier divided very different polities but also demarcated borderlands that shared commonalities in demographics and land tenure as well as a sizeable Jewish population. Thus there were peasants and Jews all around the triple frontier. The area was also characterised by land scarcity, great estates, and a medley of ethnic groups (Germans, Romanians, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Russians, Roma, and Jews) that were to be found on all sides of the border in variable proportions. The three sides of the border saw episodes of social unrest at various points in time, but they were not equally prone to social violence, despite their similarities. Of the three sides of the frontier, by far the most prone to social violence was the Romanian side. It was here that in 1907 one of the last great peasant uprisings in Europe broke out, which devastated the countryside and neighbouring market towns. What rendered this borderland particularly explosive, by contrast to the similar regions across the border, is what this article sets out to explore.

This article is part of a broader project looking at the reverberations of the Romanian peasant uprising across the triple frontier into the imperial borderlands, which

will be published at the end of 2018.[1] This study uses a combination of theoretical tools derived from communication studies (rumour theory),[2] sociology (causes of rural violence),[3] and traditional historical analysis. In its borderland perspective, the study is drawing on previous cross-border analyses, some looking specifically at a particular borderland and its dynamics,[4] others taking a broad birds'-eye view of complex frontier systems.[5] What the present article and the above-mentioned study contribute to this literature on borderlands is the cross-border analysis of a frontier which has not been looked at before as well as an analysis of the ways in which the 'Jewish question' and the 'peasant question' were interconnected in this region. From the point of view of the historiography on the Romanian peasant uprising, this contribution represents an exploration of a historical episode that was later hijacked by Communist historiography for ideological purposes and that has been in need of revisitation and integration in mainstream English-language historiography. The last major studies of the uprising in English and German respectively date back to the 1970s.[6]

Antisemitism and the 1907 Romanian Peasant Uprising

In the spring of 1907, a great peasant uprising engulfed the young Romanian kingdom. Heavy artillery was used against the rebels and an estimated but never confirmed 11,000 dead resulted as a consequence of ruthless army repression. Contemporaries and some later historiography cast Jewish leaseholders in Romania as the main culprits for the conditions of the peasantry that led to this major peasant uprising.[7] Evidence thereof was not lacking. The upper part of Moldavia was known as *Fischerland* given that the arable land in those counties was to a great degree rented out to members of the Jewish Fischer family.[8] Moreover, antisemitic discourse at the time portrayed Jews as exploiters, meaning that the prominent presence of Jews within the exploitative land leasehold system made for an easy conflation of Jews and exploiters. However, there were Jews and land-hungry peasants all around the triple frontier, which begs the question why the combination became particularly explosive only in Romania and not so much in the neighbouring borderlands.

1 Irina Marin, Peasant Violence and Antisemitism in Early Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe, London 2018 (forthcoming).

2 Gordon Allport/Leo Postman, The Psychology of Rumour, New York 1947; Cass Sunstein, On Rumors. How Falsehoods Spread, Why We Believe Them, What Can Be Done, Farrar 2009; Nicholas DiFonzo/Prashant Bordia, Rumor, Gossip and Urban Legends, in: Diogenes 54 (February 2007) 1, 19-35.

3 Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World, Boston 1966; Henry A. Landsberger, Rural Protest. Peasant Movement and Social Change, London 1973.

4 Paulus Adelsgruber/Laurie Cohen/Börries Kuzmany, Getrennt und doch verbunden. Grenzstädte zwischen Österreich und Russland 1772–1918, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2011.

5 Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (ed.), Shatterzone of Empires. Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands, Bloomington 2013; Alfred Rieber, The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands. From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War, Cambridge/New York 2014; DiFonzo/Bordia, Rumor, Gossip and Urban Legends.

6 Karl Scheerer, Die Rumänischen Bauernaufstände vom Frühjahr 1907, Mainz 1971; P. G. Eidelberg, The Great Rumanian Peasant Revolt of 1907. Origins of a Modern Jacquerie, Leiden 1974.

7 Marea răscoală a țăranilor din 1907 [The Great Peasant Uprising of 1907], Bucharest 1967, 68-69; George D. Creangă, Grundbesitzverteilung und Bauernfrage in Rumänien. Erster Teil, Leipzig 1907, 150-155; Scheerer, Die Rumänischen Bauernaufstände vom Frühjahr 1907, 32, 33, 43; Ezra Mendelsohn, The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars, Bloomington 1983, 175.

8 Joseph L. Love, Resisting Liberalism, in: Maria Eugenia Mata/Michalis Psalidopoulos (ed.), Economic Thought and Policy in Less Developed Europe. The Nineteenth Century, London/New York 2001, 112.

The 'Jewish Question' around the Triple Frontier

The three states around the triple frontier covered the whole spectrum of Jewish/non-Jewish cohabitation in Eastern Europe, from the most favourable situation of the Jews in Austria-Hungary, where full emancipation of the Jewish community, based on a coincidence of interests, was granted in the wake of the major reorganisation of the empire in 1867, to deferred emancipation in Romania, and ending with the Tsarist Empire, which was characterised by full-blown segregation without even the prospect of emancipation.

In Tsarist Bessarabia, part of the Pale of Settlement – the western region of Imperial Russia, in which permanent residency by Jews was allowed and beyond which Jewish permanent or temporary residency was mostly forbidden – and the least propitious of the borderland provinces, the Jewish population rose vertiginously throughout the nineteenth century, from 20,000 in 1812 to 228,620 by 1897, when they formed 11.8 per cent of the total population.[9] Segregation in the Pale was not entirely watertight, with Jewish agricultural colonies established in northern Bessarabia and Jews also residing in villages on informal arrangements. The province became infamous for the Kishinev pogroms in the early twentieth century, which were a mixture of state-condoned violence, incitement through the press, and administrative *Schlamperei*. These pogroms were, however, primarily an urban occurrence and did not affect the agricultural colonies in the north or other Jews residing and plying their trade in the countryside.

The fate of the Jewish community in Romania was shaped by state-building legislation such as the Organic Statutes of the 1830s and Article 7 of the 1866 constitution, which stigmatised Jews as deleterious foreigners. In Romania, the emancipation of the Jews was not an internal matter of debate born of domestic necessity, but rather an external imposition: The Congress of Berlin 1878 stipulated the obligation of the newly independent states to treat all their subjects as equal before the law, with equal civic and political rights. Subsequent legislation such as an 1881 law on 'foreigners' facilitated the expulsion of any inhabitants who were deemed "dangerous to state security". An 1884 law against peddling and an 1887 law of rural communes, which prevented 'foreigners' from settling in the countryside and also led to expulsions, similarly facilitated abuse at the hands of local authorities and potentates. In Romania, Jews had citizen duties (for instance being liable for military service) but enjoyed no citizenship rights. The compromise reached by the Romanian government was a studied avoidance of full emancipation, which was replaced by a rarely effective case-by-case 'naturalisation'.[10] Similar avoidance strategies were practised in the wake of the First World War by imperial successor states such as Yugoslavia in relation to their minorities and in reaction to the minority protection clauses contained in the peace treaties.[11]

Austria-Hungary offered the best possibilities of Jewish/non-Jewish cohabitation in Eastern and Central Europe. The 1867 constitutional overhaul also introduced the full emancipation of the Jews. The Jews of the Austrian half of the monarchy were

9 Geoffrey Hosking, Russia and the Russians, London 2002, 258-259; http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Bessarabia (19 April 2018); Charles King, The Moldovans. Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture, Stanford 2000, 23; John W. Slocum, Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of 'Aliens' in Imperial Russia, in: Russian Review 57 (April 1998) 2, 173-190, 174.

10 Carol Iancu, Evreii din România (1866–1919). De la Excludere la Emancipare [The Jews of Romania (1866–1919). From Exclusion to Emancipation], translated by C. Litman, Bucharest 1996, 218-233.

11 Dietmar Müller, Staatsbürger auf Widerruf. Juden und Muslime als Alteritätspartner im rumänischen und serbischen Nationscode, Wiesbaden 2005, 413.

among the most loyal Habsburg subjects and in their a-national outlook they best embodied the *kaisertreu* imperial subjects.[12] In the Hungarian half of the monarchy, Jewish emancipation dovetailed neatly with the Magyarisation project of the Hungarian gentry: Hungarian Jews assimilated to the Magyar nation and became 'Magyars of the Mosaic faith'. This process of emancipation was, however, asymptotic to full integration in the sense that Hungary was by no means a Jewish utopia: Antisemitism simmered beneath the surface, but was kept in check by the state apparatus and by legislation.[13]

There were interesting similarities between the Hungarian half of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Romania, although the outcome of Jewish emancipation was completely different in the two states. The process of modern state-building began at about the same time in both states, from the 1860s onwards, and was accompanied by virulent national projects, resulting in aggressive Magyarisation policies in Hungary and rampant xenophobia in Romania. In both cases, the nation was presented as under siege: Linguistically, the same metaphor of an island in a sea of Slavs was applied to both language groups, Hungarians and Romanians, the former speaking a Finno-Ugric language and the latter a Romance language. The two states, however, reached completely different conclusions as to the best way to relate to their Jewish population. Two polar opposite processes thus came into being: While Hungarian statesmen actively embraced Jews in their Magyarisation policies, across the border in Romania, the statesmen sought to exclude them by every possible means. On the Romanian side of the border, Jews were deemed an economic bane and a threat to the nation, while on the Hungarian side they were viewed as great boosters to economic modernisation and as staunch allies of the Hungarian nation. This great disparity can be explained by looking at where the Jews featured within the two nation-building projects and how they fitted in, or not, within these two societies. Animosity to or alternatively acceptance of Jews was also a function of the economic configuration and the extent to which the dominant nation in the respective state felt threatened or displaced by Jewish economic activities.

In Hungary, ethnic Hungarians made up less than half of the population, the rest being a combination of Romanians, Serbs, Croats, Germans and Slovaks. By contrast, Romania was ethnically largely homogenous, the only considerable 'non-Romanian' group that the ethnic Romanians having had to come to terms with being the Jews. Hungarians represented the dominant nation in their state and therefore suffered from a legal and economic superiority complex. Romanians achieved state independence in 1878 and were masters of their own country but, if anything, suffered from an inferiority complex, both in relation to the Western world and in relation to their Jewish population. The tendency in Hungary was to assimilate all nationalities and religions into one single political and, eventually, ethnic Hungarian nation. The Romanians felt no need to create Romanians out of other ethnic or religious groups since Romanians formed the majority of the population. In other words, the Hungarians had political and economic power, but were a numeric minority in their state; the Romanians had the demographic numbers and had just acquired political power, but economically they felt dependent on 'foreigners' such as Jews or Greeks/Armenians, who traditionally dominated trade and incipient capitalist institutions such as the banking system. This is how it came about that

12 Martin Broszat, Von der Kulturnation zur Volksgruppe. Die nationale Stellung der Juden in der Bukowina im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, in: Historische Zeitschrift 200 (1965) 3, 562-605, 580.

13 William O. McCagg, A History of Habsburg Jews, Bloomington 1988, 133; Raphael Patai, The Jews of Hungary. History, Culture, Psychology, Detroit 1996, 360.

Hungarian endeavours were targeted at making up the numbers, while Romanian policies aimed at nationalising the economy and creating an ethnically Romanian middle class. The two states thus practised two different types of aggression – an exclusionary and an inclusionary one respectively. It so happened that in Hungary Jews fitted the magyarising national project of the Hungarian elites like a glove and did not pose a threat to their economic power. Once emancipated, the Jews of Hungary enthusiastically assimilated and came to view themselves as 'Hungarians of the Mosaic faith'. Indeed, assimilation offered itself as the best solution for the progressive faction of Hungarian Jewry in their struggle for community modernisation against the Orthodox Jews.[14] The inclusionary effect of Hungarian nation-building was a blessing for the Jewish community but was seen as an act of aggression against the national aspirations and sensibilities of the non-Hungarian nationalities. Hungary gave its Jews what Romania and Russia would never have dreamed of giving theirs. Since the *Ausgleich*, the political reorganisation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1867, Hungarian Jews enjoyed full emancipation and their religion was accepted among the other state religions and supported by means of state funding. The Hungarian state treated the Jews as full Hungarian citizens, greatly prized their contribution to the economy, and promoted a "sympathetic image of the hard-working, resourceful, useful, Magyarizing Jew".[15]

Situation of the Peasantry in the Borderlands

The economic status of the peasant population differed around the frontier depending on the initial terms of peasant emancipation, land tenure patterns, and literacy rates. Peasant emancipation and land reforms occurred at roughly the same time around the border: in 1848 in the Habsburg Empire, 1861 in Tsarist Russia, and 1868 in Romania. Literacy rates were higher in the Hungarian borderlands of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: 20 to 74 per cent in Transylvania and the Banat (20 to 46 per cent in the Romanian-inhabited counties), and quite low in Romania (22 per cent) and Tsarist Bessarabia (less than 16 per cent). Land tenure was polarised all around the frontier between the great properties and dwarf holdings.

In Hungary, land distribution was thus as follows (in percentage of the total land – one *hold*, a unit of area used in Hungary, having its roots in the Roman *jugerum* – equals approximately 0.5 hectare or 4,316 square meters):[16]

dwarf (0-5 *hold*)	6 per cent
small (5-100 *hold*)	49 per cent
intermediate (100-1,000 *hold*)	4 per cent
large (over 1,000 *hold*)	31 per cent

14 McCagg, A History of Habsburg Jews, 133.

15 Patai, The Jews of Hungary, 360.

16 R. Vargha, Hungary, Budapest 1906, cited in Doreen Warriner (ed.), Contrasts in Emerging Societies. Readings in the Social and Economic History of South-Eastern Europe in the Nineteenth Century, London 1965, 111; Katherine Verdery, Transylvanian Villagers. Three Centuries of Political, Economic, and Ethnic Change, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1983, 199.

In the Austrian half of the Monarchy (one are equals 100 square meters):[17]
0-50 ares ..... 38.37 per cent
50 ares to one hectar ..... 20.37 per cent
one to five hectar ..... 31.29 per cent
over five hectar ..... 8.69 per cent

In Romania (of the total arable land):
up to ten hectares ..... 9 per cent
50-100 hectares ..... 2 per cent
100-500 hectares ..... 10 per cent
great property (over 500 hectares) ..... 39 per cent

In Tsarist Bessarabia:[18]
peasant tenure ..... 48.6 per cent
great property ..... 42.3 per cent
church and other institutional holdings ..... 8.2 per cent

Despite these broad similarities, a major difference in the fate of the peasantry around the triple frontier was conditioned by the legal framework and the set of economic and social practices in which the relations of land tenure were embedded. Thus, in Hungary (the Transylvanian borderland), there was subsistence agriculture but with the possibility of wage labour; land could be sold and mortgaged and, vitally, the peasants had access to pastureland and forests. If conditions became unbearable, there was always the prospect of emigration, which occurred on a major scale in Hungary and became a great concern among officials. In Tsarist Bessarabia, land reform allowed for subsistence agriculture and ensured there was enough land allotted to peasants so that wage labour was rare and the great estate owners usually invested in machinery and brought in workers from abroad. The Russian land reform did not allow for selling or mortgaging land, but it was very specific about access to pastureland and forests, which was granted to the local peasants. Emigration was officially encouraged and did take place, thus defusing some of the potential for discontent in the province. In Romania, subsistence agriculture went hand in hand with wage labour for a pittance and, as was the case in Russia, the impossibility of selling or mortgaging one's bit of land. The two major differences in Romania were the minimal to no access to pastureland and forests, which meant the peasants did not possess the bare necessities to make ends meet, and the total lack of emigration, which was actively discouraged by the Romanian authorities.[19]

17 Michael Lytwynowytsch, Die bäuerlichen Besitz- und Schuldverhältnisse im Wiznitzer Gerichtsbezirke, Chernivtsi 1911, 17.

18 Ion G. Pelivan, The Economic State of Bessarabia, Paris 1920, 7.

19 Parteniu Cosma, Răscoala țărănească în România [The Peasant Uprising in Romania], Sibiu 1907, 4-6, 19; Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Neoiobăgia. Studiu economico-sociologic al problemei noastre agrare [Neoserfdom. An Economic and Sociological Study of our Agrarian Question], Bucharest 1910, 64; Zamfir C. Arbure, Basarabia în secolul XIX [Bessarabia in the Nineteenth Century], Bucharest 1898, 135; Negyed Rész, A Magyar Korona Országainak Mezőgazdasági Statisztikája [Agricultural Statistics of the Lands of the Hungarian Crown], Budapest 1900, 30-35; Constantin Stere, Publicistică [Journalism], Chișinău 2006, 149; Lytwynowytsch, Die bäuerlichen Besitz- und Schuldverhältnisse im Wiznitzer Gerichtsbezirke, 18; Nagy Mariann, A magyar mezőgazdaság regionális szerkezete a 20. század elején [The Regional Structures of Hungarian Agriculture at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century], Budapest 2003, 262-270; Arhivele Naționale Centrale București [The Central Romanian National Archives, Bucharest], Arhiva CC al PCR [Archive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania], Fond 59/6066.

Intersections between the Jewish and Peasant 'Questions'

There were three different legal frameworks conditioning what the Jewish populations could and could not do around the triple frontier. There were also three different paths that were taken after peasant emancipation. In Romania, land lease holding was ruthlessly exploitative. For the most part, contracts were short-term, on average for a period of three to five years, which in itself was insufficient for investments to pay off. To make things worse, leasehold contracts actively discouraged such initiatives. Thus a typical rental contract in Tecuci County for one of the estates of D. A. Sturdza, the Liberal Prime Minister under whose government the 1907 uprising was suppressed, stipulated: "Any new improvement or building which the leaseholders make will remain after the expiry of the contract on the estate without any reimbursement from the landowner."[20] The result was a general tendency among leaseholders in both Moldavia and Wallachia to "not so much exploit land intensively as to exploit the peasant completely".[21]

Despite the emphasis on egregious Jewish leaseholder families in the public sphere, contemporary statistics of leaseholders according to nationality and religion paint a rather different picture, with Jewish leaseholders by no means forming the majority of the total leaseholders in Romania:

Provinces	Romanians	Foreigners	Jews	Total
Moldavia	556	106	440	1102
Wallachia	1304	249	25	1578
Oltenia	387	75	7	469
Dobruja	170	13	—	183

[Table showing the nationality and religion of leaseholders in Romania][22]

What such statistics fail to reveal, however, is the extent of land rented by these groups of leaseholders.

Leaseholding was common in Hungary too, but there it occurred on a smaller scale and under different legal conditions. Thus there was a comparatively low percentage of pure leaseholds (as opposed to mixed leaseholds), the average being 25 per cent of the land in 1895. Wealthy Jewish businessmen rented 49.5 per cent of the estates over a hundred *hold* (fifty hectares) and 75 per cent of the estates over 1,000 *hold* (500 hectares). Leases were of long duration, in some cases generational, and modernisation of and investment into the rented estates were common practices.[23]

In the Tsarist province of Bessarabia, land lease holding was very similar in kind and practice to the Romanian version: exploitative and wasteful. Despite the legal restrictions on land ownership or leasing for Jewish subjects, Jewish leaseholders were favoured by the great landowners and an array of ploys and stratagems were

20 Marea răscoală a țăranilor din 1907, 70.

21 Radu Rosetti, Pentru ce s-au răsculat țăranii [Why the Peasants Rose Up], Bucharest 1907, 505, cited in: Marea răscoală a țăranilor din 1907, 68-69.

22 Creangă, Grundbesitzverteilung und Bauernfrage in Rumänien, 145.

23 Puskás Julianna, Zsidó haszonbérlők a magyarországi mezőgazdaság fejlődésének folyamatában. Az 1850-es évektől 1935-ig [Jewish Lessees and the Development of Hungarian Agriculture. From 1850 to 1935], in: Századok 126 (1992) 1, 39.

employed to circumvent the law. The major difference was that the negative effects of leaseholding on the peasantry were kept in check by the initial terms of land reform, which ensured that there was little need for the peasants to go out and work for leaseholders as they more often than not had enough land to make ends meet.[24] As a consequence, the great landowners had recourse to foreign workers and showed more interest in agricultural modernisation.[25]

There were Jewish lessees in Bessarabia just as there were all around the triple frontier. Here, because of the legal restrictions debarring Jews from land ownership and from leaseholds, only the richest of estate owners could afford to lease their land to Jewish lessees as this presupposed using proxies and breaking the law in order achieve this. In addition to being regular and reliable payers, Jewish leaseholders also had the desirable quality of keeping a low profile and not antagonising their neighbours. As the Bessarabian governor Count Sergei Urussov pointed out:

> "A Jewish tenant runs his farm business in such a way as to avoid any friction with neighbours, and affords no ground for litigation and disputes, endeavouring to settle every difficulty in a peaceful way without resort to the courts or the authorities. A Jew will not collect his debts by such methods as seizing the grain in the stacks, selling his neighbour's property, and the like. He bides his time, jogs the debtor's memory, chooses the right occasion, and gets his bill without the aid of the police or the sheriff. He does not mar the mutual relations of owner and neighbour, and creates no basis for disputes and hostility. On account of all this, I have for example never received or heard any complaints from the people of the province against Jewish tenants, while we had some litigation in connection with difficulties in which either landowners themselves, or especially non-Jewish tenants, were principals. I think it entirely correct to say that Jewish land lease in Bessarabia is an evil in so far as it is land lease and not because it is Jewish. At any rate, this conclusion will not be questioned either by the landowners or by the peasants of Bessarabia."[26]

Conclusions

What was the relationship between peasant unrest and antisemitism around the triple frontier? How did the 'Jewish question' relate to the 'peasant question'? In the case of Austria-Hungary, there was no officially drawn connection between the Jewish presence and rural hardships and misfortune. Moreover, the legal framework of peasant emancipation ensured comparative rural prosperity and, where this was not the case, there were safety valves in place, such as emigration, which prevented discontent from assuming explosive proportions. In Romania, the intersection of the two 'questions' – Jewish and peasant – was predicated on the myth of Jewish exploitation of the peasantry. When exploitation did occur at the hands of Jewish leaseholders, it had nothing to do with their Jewishness and everything to do with the system of land tenure relations. Leaseholders – whether Jews or Christians – were equally ruthless in their dealings with the peasants because the system allowed them to be. The condition of the peasantry was less dependent on the number of oppor-

24 Arbure, Basarabia in secolul al XIX-lea, 419.
25 S. D. Urussov, Memoirs of a Russian Governor, translated by Herman Rosenthal, London/New York 1908, 71; Arbure, Basarabia, 422-423.
26 Urussov, Memoirs of a Russian Governor, 159.

tunistic exploiters who were willing to take advantage of the peasants' need for land and credit, and more on the peasants' degree of system-induced vulnerability. Antisemitism usually functioned as a red herring, the Jewish population being held out as a lightning rod for systemic failure by the local elites. Finally, the institutionalised antisemitism of Tsarist Bessarabia meant that the association between Jewish land lease holding and the hardships of the peasantry was commonly made but, despite this, the Pale of Settlement restrictions here led to guarded and cautious behaviour on behalf of Jewish lessees and less inclination to exploitation than among their non-Jewish peers. The amount of peasant unrest around the triple frontier had, therefore, nothing to do with the Jewish presence or absence in the area. It was determined, rather, by the system of laws and practices in place in each state that allowed or denied peasants the possibility of making ends meet or at least provided some safety valves to defuse conflicts when they arose.

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Essay

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