

**The Rescue of Jews and the Memory of Nazism in Germany,
from the Third Reich to the Present**

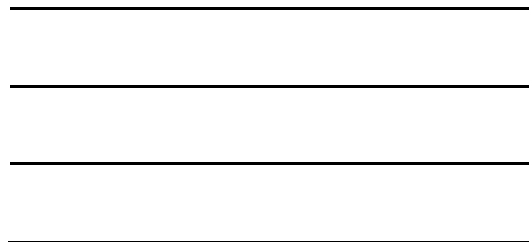
Kobi (Yaakov) Kabalek

Master of Arts, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2004

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Corcoran Department of History

University of Virginia
June 2013



Abstract

This dissertation examines the changing images and meanings of assistance to Jews in the German societies from the Nazi period to the present. Recent studies of the rescue of Jews claim that before the 1990s this topic was “forgotten” in the Germanys. I show, in contrast, that depictions of solidarity with and assistance to Jews appeared in a variety of media and social practices ever since the immediate postwar years and played important roles in debating the morality of Germans.

This dissertation traces the roots of the postwar memory of rescuing Jews in the Third Reich. It examines the transformation of attitudes from the Nazi regime’s condemnation of solidarity with Jews as a primary condition for becoming a member of the “national community,” to reversed approaches after 1945. At the same time, it also demonstrates the continuation of cultural patterns, concepts, and images from and before the Nazi years to the postwar era.

I argue that while in the first two decades after WWII descriptions of rescue were “scattered” in and among representations and practices whose main interest was rarely the rescue of Jews, they nevertheless occupied a crucial place in shaping memories of the Nazi past by presenting a positive image of a moral Germany and providing non-Jewish Germans with an relatively unproblematic path to approach the Holocaust. The dissertation then examines the various attempts to “gather” the dispersed references to rescue from the late 1950s up to the inauguration of the national memorial “Silent Heroes” in 2008. The study concludes by trying to understand the continuing claims on Germans’ “forgetting” of the rescue and rescuers of Jews and the functions of these claims in shaping the postwar memory of the topic.

Acknowledgments

In the long years it took me to write this dissertation I received the help of many friends and colleagues in the form of discussions, suggestions, and comments on parts of the manuscript. I would like to thank, first of all, my advisor, Alon Confino, for his continuous support and assistance. This dissertation also gained endless insights from numerous encounters I had in Germany, Israel, Austria, and the United States, and especially from: Susanne Beer, Guy Beiner, Mathias Berek, Lenard Berlanstein, Mike Caires, Peter Carrier, Miri Cohen Ahdut, Melanie Dejnega, Ainav Derkson, Michael Elm, Mark Gelber, Ulrike Heikaus, Manja Herrmann, Hamutal Jacobson, Christian Jaser, Hila Keinan, Julia Köhne, Beate Kosmala, Olga Kuminova, Jenny Le Zotte, Allan Megill, Jeffrey Olick, Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, Dennis Riffel, Erik Roubinek, Barbara Schieb, Gerd Sebald, Natalia Skradol, Alana Sobelman, Frank Stern, Alex Valdman, Sophie Wagenhofer, Jatin Waglé, Danny Wasserman, and Nimrod Zinger.

I would like to extend my appreciation also to the generous assistance of the bodies that supported me financially throughout the different forms of this project: The Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia, the DAAD, and also the Minerva Foundation, which funded the first stages of my work on a related topic. For their help at that early stage I would like to thank Gerhard Botz, Sieglinde Reichardt, Klaus Scherpe, Christina von Braun, and Elisabeth Wagner. Furthermore, I would like to thank the employees of the many archives and libraries I visited for helping me explore the various aspects and sources on which this dissertation is based.

My greatest debt is to my parents for their never-ending love and support. I only wish that my father could experience the end of this journey with me.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	2
Introduction	4
Part One: The Roots of Postwar Memory	
<u>Chapter One</u> : “Compassion or Regret is Wholly Inappropriate”: The Rescue of Jews and Nazi Morality until 1945	24
Part Two: Scattered Memory	
<u>Chapter Two</u> : “I Protected Jews and Treated Them with Decency”: Scattered References to Rescue from the War Years to the Mid 1960s	80
<u>Chapter Three</u> : Celebrating Failure: Depictions of Unsuccessful Rescue in German Film and Literature (1945-1965)	155
Part Three: Gathering Memory	
<u>Chapter Four</u> : “There Were Also Others”: The Gathering of Rescuers from the Late 1950s to the mid 1970s	220
<u>Chapter Five</u> : “Silent Heroes” from the 1970s to the Present	283
Conclusion	337
Bibliography	348

Introduction

In early 2006, German historian Wolfram Wette published an article with the title “A ‘Human Being’ in German Uniform: Wilm Hosenfeld and ‘The Pianist’.”¹ In the article he uses the recent film by Roman Polanski as a pretext for discussing the figure of Hosenfeld, a German officer who helped save Jews in Poland during WWII, and whose story, he argues, has escaped public attention so far:

Wilm Hosenfeld became known to a broader public when in 2002 the film “The Pianist” [...] came to the film theaters. It was accepted with great interest, as was Steven Spielberg’s rescuer-film “Schindler’s List” before it. This can be an indication that the “rescue-resistance,” which was accomplished during WWII against the National Socialist system of injustice and terror, is now finally appropriately perceived and honored.²

Wette argues that until recently, Germans who helped Jews escape Nazi persecution received no attention in public discussions in Germany. He therefore welcomes the tendency to commemorate and honor these Germans and views international film productions, such as *Schindler’s List* (1993) and *The Pianist* (2002), as having direct influence on that. Wette, who in the last decade headed a number of projects that explored the lives and actions of German rescuers of Jews,³ expresses his hope that these popular representations will urge historians to write about the rescue of Jews and give rescuers a more central position in public depictions of the Nazi past.

¹ Wolfram Wette, „Ein ‚Mensch‘ in deutscher Uniform: Wilm Hosenfeld und ‚der Pianist‘“, *Freiburger Rundbrief* 13: 1 (2006): 37-42.

² Wette, „Ein ‚Mensch‘ in deutscher Uniform,“ 38.

³ This research project resulted in the following books: Wolfram Wette, ed., *Retter in Uniform: Handlungsspielräume im Vernichtungskrieg der Wehrmacht* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002); Wette, ed., *Zivilcourage: Empörte, Helfer und Retter aus Wehrmacht, Polizei und SS* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003); Wette, ed., *Stille Helden: Judenretter im Dreiländereck während des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Freiburg: Herder, 2005).

In pursuing his commemorative goal, Wette published several articles on rescuers in a variety of German journals and newspapers.⁴ In an article called “Denied Heroes” (*verleugnete Helden*) that appeared in November 2007 in the German weekly *Die Zeit*, he states that until the 1990s German rescuers were not publicly honored and their actions were “repressed, silenced, slandered” (*verdrängt, verschwiegen, verleumdet*).⁵ Wette calls attention to these individuals’ unsuccessful attempts to receive official recognition or compensation for their actions and points out that in many cases these rescuers were denounced as swindlers or simply ignored.⁶

Wette does not only bemoan the neglect that individual rescuers encountered when looking for acknowledgment, but also claims that the topic of rescue in general was suppressed and silenced before the mid 1990s. Yet, in condemning the lack of public awareness to the topic he points to the “exceptional” initiatives that did, in fact, commemorate these rescuers and which, according to him, struck out in the overall silence surrounding this issue. The cases he describes took place mostly in West Germany and included books and media debates from the 1950s, 60s, and 70s that discussed the actions of rescuers. Since quite a few of these early initiatives also assert that the Germans “forgot” the rescuers of Jews and that these figures should be celebrated as the real heroes who came out of the Nazi period (a commemorative effort that Wette himself promotes) he willingly accepts them as reliable evidence for the existence of “collective forgetting.”

⁴ These include: „Lieber als Helfer krepieren,“ *Die Zeit* (4.5.2000); „Der verfemte Menschenfreund,“ *Ossietzky* 25 (2002), as well as several articles and reviews on the topic in *Freiburger Rundbrief* in the years 2004-2009, such as: „Zivilcourage unter extremen Bedingungen“ (2004) and „Karl Plagge – ein Retter in Uniform“ (2007).

⁵ Wolfram Wette, „Verleugnete Helden,“ *Die Zeit* (8.11.2007). The title of this article, as well as much of its argument, clearly draws on Kurt Grossmann’s book “The Unsung Heroes” (*Die unbesungenen Helden*) from 1957 and the ensuing commemorative initiative of the West Berlin Senate that are traced in a book Wette surveys in this article. On these issues see chapter four.

⁶ One prominent example is the case of Hermann Gräbe, who received the title of “Righteous among the Nations” from Yad Vashem in 1965, and whom the German weekly *Der Spiegel* accused of lying in his postwar testimonies. See more on this case in chapter four.

Yet in reading Wette's texts we⁷ should ask whether the initiatives and publications that he surveys exaggerated the extent of "forgetting" in order to advance a certain commemorative agenda. Unlike Wette, we can contend that these early (i.e., pre-1990s) accounts demonstrate that there actually were commemorations of rescuers in the postwar Germanys, although not necessarily in the same "appropriate" manner and extent that Wette is looking for. What is, therefore, the logic that stands behind Wette's argumentation? What are the assumptions regarding remembering and forgetting that guide his assertions?

The question of the relationship between remembering and forgetting stands at the heart of recent discussions on the memories of the Nazi past in Germany. Not long ago, most historians assumed that in East and West Germany Nazism and WWII were taboo themes in the decades immediately following the war. But in the last fifteen years, a growing number of studies presented an opposing image, according to which references to this past and especially "war stories" (Robert Moeller) were widespread in public representations in both postwar German societies, as well as in the political justification of the German states.⁸ These studies show the existence of a "middle ground" between remembering and forgetting by identifying both elements within accounts that emphasize certain aspects of the Nazi past while overlooking others.⁹

⁷ Following the example of Paul Ricoeur, I prefer to say "'I' when I assume an argument as my own, and 'we' when I hope to draw my reader along with me." Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), xvii.

⁸ These studies explore various aspects of the postwar preoccupation with and relevance of the Nazi past to postwar discussions. See, for example, Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (München: C.H. Beck, 1996); Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 1997); Thomas C. Fox, *Stated Memory: East Germany and the Holocaust* (Rochester: Camden House, 1999); Alan L. Nothnagle, *Building the East German Myth: Historical Mythology and Youth Propaganda in the German Democratic Republic, 1945-1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2005); Frank Biess, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

⁹ For a discussion and illustration of this argument see Alon Confino, "Traveling as a Culture of Remembrance: Traces of National Socialism in West Germany, 1945-1960," *History and Memory* 12: 2 (Fall/Winter 2000): 92-121.

Most studies of such “selective remembrance” stress that representations of Nazism in the first postwar decades present non-Jewish Germans as victims of the war, while intentionally turning a blind eye to the Holocaust.¹⁰ These studies do not claim that there were no alternative depictions of the past in which stories of the Holocaust appeared, but argue that these depictions were marginal and therefore chose to concentrate on exploring the “past that dominated public discourse.”¹¹ In doing so, however, the scholars who wanted to go beyond the dichotomous relationship between remembering and forgetting end up reestablishing it, since their focus on the more “visible” evidence, in which the stories on the fate of Jews played only a secondary role (if any), presents the persecution, and thus also the rescue, of Jews as a silenced issue in the first postwar decades.¹²

I believe that what scholars view as “visible” in society draws on four main assumptions and approaches that they bring with them to their investigation. The first depends on what scholars consider as relevant evidence and whether the way the topic appears in the sources *counts* as noticeable and significant. Nowadays the Holocaust has become an internationally known event with a more or less “standardized” depiction that includes the mentioning of six million dead, an insistence on the uniqueness of this genocide, and the preference of the victims’ perspective. But this depiction may not have been so self-evident to Germans (or non-Germans, for that matter) sixty or even thirty years ago. The fact that many Germans in, say, the 1950s,

¹⁰ According to this view, depictions of the war, from the first postwar decade to the 1980s or even later, focused on portraying “ordinary Germans” as innocent victims both of the Nazis and the Allied Forces, and rarely mentioned Jews. See Moeller, *War Stories*; Biess, *Homecomings*; Lothar Kettenacker, ed., *Ein Volk von Opfern? Die neue Debatte um den Bombenkrieg 1940-1945* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2003); Bill Niven, ed., *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2006); Helmut Schmitz, ed., *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007).

¹¹ Moeller, *War Stories*, 4.

¹² See also the observation of Jeffrey Herf in reviewing Moeller’s *War Stories*: “In presenting the vivid memories of their own victimization by some postwar West Germans, *War Stories*, perhaps unintentionally, lends further support to the conventional wisdom regarding the broad silence and forgetting in these components of postwar German popular memory in the early postwar decade regarding the mass murder of European Jewry.” Jeffrey Herf, (Review), *Central European History* 36: 2 (June 2003): 318-322, here 322.

addressed the Holocaust or the rescue of Jews differently than we do today does not mean that their way equals “forgetting,” or that we share with them the same assumptions and needs regarding this past.¹³

Second, positioning memory against forgetting often carries a moralizing judgment that favors the former and condemns the latter. In this way, scholars like Wette can construct a positive identity for themselves by declaring that they overcame and corrected the misdeeds of their predecessors, and helped give the “invisible” its place in society.¹⁴

Third, the depiction of a topic’s “invisibility” may also be grounded on the general inclination of historians to look for the elusive notion of “the majority” or “the public” as a kind of social totality.¹⁵ In doing so, they run the risk of downplaying the existence of several publics within any society, whose coexistence creates various interpretations and articulates internal contradictions within an apparently unified “public.”¹⁶ In this sense, the fact that historical actors apparently belong to certain communities and subscribe to their particular media does not necessarily mean that they are aware of a particular topic or share their neighbors’ views about it.

The fourth and final point on “visibility” refers to the scholar’s choice on *where* to look for sources and also *how* to look at them. Until now, no scholar has tried to write a comprehensive history of the memory of rescuing Jews in the postwar

¹³ Stephen Brockmann makes this argument in his book *German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), 8-9.

¹⁴ In recent years the notion of “visibility” is largely associated with current or past struggles of marginalized groups for social acknowledgment and recognition. The need to cancel their “invisibility” in public discussions and allow them to participate in social processes is conceived as a moral effort to attain human rights, equality, and memory. For a recent example from the mass of studies of this sort see Mignon R. Moore, *Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships, and Motherhood among Black Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

¹⁵ To this we can add the tendency to explore what scholars view as “normal” rather than look at allegedly exceptional or “abnormal” aspects of life. On this point see Alon Confino, “Dissonance, Normality and the Historical Method: Why did some Germans Think of Tourism after May 8, 1945?” in Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann, eds, *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 323-347

¹⁶ Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics,” *Public Culture* 14: 1 (2002): 49-90.

Germanys, also because of the assumption that there is nothing to find.¹⁷ Since scholars who deal with the rescue of Jews generally believe that there was an overall silencing and repressing of the topic in the Germanys,¹⁸ the very small number of scholarly publications on the memory of rescue either explain this “collective silence,”¹⁹ concentrate on the allegedly exceptional cases of officially commemorating rescuers,²⁰ or reconstruct the biographies of individual rescuers and portray how the German societies ignored them.²¹ Yet these studies’ choices in what to focus on draw on a narrow political perspective,²² which, albeit revealing and important in its own right, contributes to “hiding” some details and perspectives on the function of memory in society. In the words of Alon Confino:

[O]ne unfortunate side effect of treating memory as a symptom of politics is the lack of explorations of power in areas that are not politically evident. Consequently, a search for memory traces is made mostly among visible places

¹⁷ An acquaintance of mine wanted write her dissertation about the memory of rescue in postwar West Germany, yet her advisor, a German social scientist who dealt with various aspects of memory, talked her out of this idea, claiming that there is nothing to examine.

¹⁸ The overwhelming majority of scholarly works on the rescue of Jews from Nazi persecution either creates biographical accounts of individual rescuers or offers explanations to the motives of rescuers from sociological, psychological, or historical perspectives. Especially in the last fifteen years one finds, in addition to many isolated publications, several large projects that produced series of books on the subject. These include, in addition to the projects led by Wolfram Wette, a series of books published by the Berlin *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung* that provides a broad European perspective (Wolfgang Benz et al., eds, *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit* (Berlin: Metropol, 1996-2004)). Examples for studies that explore the motives of rescuers include Samuel & Pearl Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Eva Fogelman, *Conscience & Courage* (New York: Anchor Books, 1994); Neima Barzel, *Choice of the Good: Rescue Activities in Poland and in the Netherlands during World War Two* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2004). [in Hebrew]

¹⁹ According to Peter Steinbach, there was no place for public celebration of rescuers in the Federal Republic in this decade, since the public attention and moral orientation focused on the legacy of the resistance fighters who failed to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944. Peter Steinbach, „Unbesungene Helden’ – ihre Bedeutung für die allgemeine Widerstandsgeschichte,“ in *Widerstand im Widerstreit: Der Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus in der Erinnerung der Deutschen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001), 215-233.

²⁰ Dennis Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden: Die Ehrungsinitiative des Berliner Senats 1958 bis 1966* (Berlin: Metropol, 2007).

²¹ See, for example, Douglas K. Huneke, *In Deutschland unerwünscht: Biographie eines Judenretters* (Lüneburg: Zu Klampen, 2002).

²² A partial exception to this rule is Bill Niven’s study on the commemoration of the rescue of a Jewish child in and around the East German memorial in Buchenwald. While Niven is interested primarily in the institutional and political implications and uses of this case, he pays much attention also to popular depictions in various media. Bill Niven, *Das Buchenwaldkind: Wahrheit, Fiktion und Propaganda* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2009).

and familiar names, where memory construction is explicit and its meaning palpably manipulated, while in fact we should look for memory where it is implied rather than said, blurred rather than clear, in the realm of collective mentality. We miss a whole world of human activities that cannot be immediately recognized (and categorized) as political, although they are decisive to the way people construct and contest images of the past.²³

In this dissertation I follow Confino's lead and the broader perspective of cultural history that he offers in examining the memory of rescuing Jews in the postwar German societies. Unlike Wette, who dismisses postwar German references to rescuers before the 1990s as "exceptions" that prove a lack of remembrance of this topic, I choose to take a closer look at these alleged exceptions. Instead of disregarding what appears to be the less visible evidence, this dissertation asks why did people and institutions decide, seemingly against a general tendency to ignore the topic, to make reference to them?

Micro-historians have taught us that "exceptional" cases are well suited for challenging explanations based on neat generalizations.²⁴ A number of recent studies demonstrate how by examining such cases, and less visible evidence, historians can reach a different and deeper understanding of historical phenomena by paying attention to "allusions, recollections, and anecdotes, which appear at unexpected

²³ Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review* 102: 5 (December 1997): 1386-1403, here 1394-1395.

²⁴ On the significance of the "exceptional" case in examining wider social structures, see Matti Peltonen, "Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research," *History and Theory* 40 (October 2001): 347-359. Especially relevant is the work of Carlo Ginzburg. See, in particular, Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 96-125; Simona Cerutti, "Microhistory: Social Relations Versus Cultural Models?," in Anna-Maija Castrén et al., eds, *Between Sociology and History: Essays on Microhistory, Collective Action, and Nation-Building* (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 17-40.

moments in the texts”²⁵ and reveal issues that were not detected at first sight and formerly ignored by scholars.²⁶ The micro-historical approach emphasizes the benefit of oscillating between different scales of observation (and between the more and the less visible phenomena) and follows the principle

that the choice of a particular scale of observation produces certain effects of understanding useful in conjunction with strategies of understanding. Changing the focal length of a lens not only magnifies (or reduces) the size of the object under observation but also modifies its shape and composition.²⁷

In accordance with this methodology, my dissertation will show that there are, in fact, numerous references to the rescue of Jews in the German societies from the early postwar years to the present. Although in some cases these references did not occupy a central role in public debates and depictions of the Nazi past and are often found “scattered” in different books, articles, monuments, and other representations and activities whose main interest is not the rescue of Jews, they are nonetheless significant. I argue that the fact that these depictions appear in a large variety of media and commemorative practices, suggests that many people in the Germanys were aware of the topic of rescue, that they occasionally found it relevant in discussing the Nazi

²⁵ Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 19. Matar adopts Ginzburg’s microhistorical approach in reconstructing the ways in which Magharibi Arabs viewed Europeans, thus challenging the established interpretation, according to which Arabs were not interested in Europeans at the time or had no information about them. I would like to thank Danny Wasserman for pointing out this book to me.

²⁶ Also scholars of German cultural history have recently employed a related approach that considers “peripheral” details within public representations, thus disputing the assumption regarding the existence of a single ideological “master narrative” in East Germany. One such study states that films in the GDR “acted not simply as an ideological appendage of the state apparatus but rather as a ‘virtual,’ ‘negotiated,’ and at times even ‘substitute public sphere,’ where the historical experience of war death and mass murder widely excluded from the official glorifications of the communist antifascist resistance and heroic sacrifice can be tracked in the periphery of the representational field.” Anke Pinkert, *Film and Memory in East Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 7. See also Frank Stern, “Real existierende Juden im DEFA-Film: Ein Kino der subversiven Widersprüche”, in Moshe Zuckermann, ed., *Zwischen Politik und Kultur: Juden in der DDR* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002), 141-156.

²⁷ Jacques Revel, “Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social,” in Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds, *Histories: French Constructions of the Past* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 492-502, here 495-496.

past, and that early “scattered” references contributed to the accumulation and growing “visibility” of the topic in later years.

Concepts and Contexts

Before I turn to describing the structure of this dissertation and the content of its chapters, a few comments on my use of concepts, contextualization, and theoretical approach are necessary. Throughout the dissertation I use “rescue” and “rescuer” as umbrella concepts to refer to all activities that involve assistance to Jews. Since not all Jews who received the help of non-Jews survived the war, many scholars who research assistance to Jews during the Holocaust prefer the word “helper” (*Helfer*) to “rescuer” (*Retter*).²⁸ Yet in studying the *memory* of this topic, speaking of “help” might conceal the moral, and at times heroic, image that many postwar Germans envisioned when speaking of it.²⁹ Thus, while I will sometimes distinguish between assistance or help to, solidarity with, and rescue of Jews when necessary, the general terms I use throughout the dissertation will be *rescue* and *rescuer*. In addition, this dissertation will pay significant attention to the specific words and formulations that Germans used in each text and situation. This study thus employs conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) and examines concepts as indicators of both social change and cultural continuity.

As a historical method, conceptual history provides important insights into the three analytic foundations of this study: cultural history, memory, and the history of moral sentiments. Let me start by defining the first – *cultural history*. In its current

²⁸ Isabel Enzenbach, „Zur Problematik des Begriffes ‚Retter‘,“ in Beate Kosmala and Claudia Schoppmann, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund: Hilfe für Juden in Deutschland 1941-1945* (Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit. Band 5) (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), 241-256.

²⁹ To reiterate, while for the study of the *actions* in which non-Jews assisted Jews it makes sense to use “help” rather than “rescue” – remembering that in many cases the assistance of one person was only one episode within a long chain of confrontations with persecution, at the end of which many Jews did not manage to survive – many *retrospective references* to such help portray a rather one-dimensional image of rescue.

usage, “culture” may relate to various and at times contradictory notions and interpretations.³⁰ While this dissertation will explore a whole range of social and political conditions without which no historical analysis is valid, I will focus on one particular aspect of people’s lives, i.e. their use of symbols in the form of language, metaphors, and images within a given society.³¹ My analysis will consider the emergence of representations and practices as a result of long-term preservation of cultural forms, as well as short-term transformations following political and social needs and constraints.

Accordingly, my understanding of *memory* examines references to the past as products of a relationship between lived experience and various aspects of social and cultural life. As Susannah Radstone argues, the value of memory studies lies in the opportunity to reconceptualize the binary inner world/outer world, by studying “memories” as mediations that point to mutual and multilayered exchanges that simultaneously involve and constitute individuals and cultural forms in specific points of time.³² The focus on mediations³³ and exchanges views memory as a process,

³⁰ The concept is used to designate either an activity or an identity, to address different “portions” of human life, and refer either to “a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development,” “a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general,” or “the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity.” Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 90. For the changing and often contradicting meanings of “culture” see also Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Megan Vaughan, “Culture,” in Ulinka Rublack, ed., *A Concise Companion to History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 227-245.

³¹ According to William Sewell, in this understanding, “culture [...] is always contrasted to some other equally abstract aspect or category of social life that is not culture — for example, to economics, politics, or biology,” rather than “stands for a concrete and bounded world of beliefs and practices. Culture in this sense is assumed to belong to or be isomorphic with a ‘society’ or with some clearly identifiable subsocietal group. [...] The contrast in this usage is not between culture and not-culture but between one culture and another.” William H. Sewell, Jr., “The Concept(s) of Culture,” *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 152-174, here 156. My study follows Sewell’s first definition.

³² Susannah Radstone, “Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory,” *History Workshop Journal* 59 (2005): 134-150.

³³ The term “mediation” applies here both to referentiality (meaning that any depiction of past occurrences does not grant one a direct access to this past, but is always already mediated through the different forms and contexts of its articulation) and social interaction (that is, the inter-subjective constitution of these articulations).

which entails the involvement of active agents and cultural tools. It is not something done by an isolated agent, but it is also not something that is somehow carried out solely by a cultural tool. Both must be involved in an irreducible tension.³⁴

The focus in the study of memory on the interdependence of individuals and cultural tools³⁵ within social interactions draws much from Maurice Halbwachs' influential work on "collective memory." According to Halbwachs, remembering is essentially a social activity that is constituted in a mutual elaboration between individuals and the social frameworks in which they are involved.³⁶

Although Halbwachs argues that only individuals have the capacity to remember, his discussion generated a multitude of studies that place the group at the center of analysis and examine articulations of remembering located (or "conserved") beyond the individual. Jeffrey K. Olick thus shows that "collective memory" may refer to "two distinct, and not obviously complementary sorts of phenomena: socially framed individual memories and collective commemorative representations."³⁷ While both the individual and collective perspectives follow the basic idea that remembering is social, students of memory tend to choose one of these perspectives when conducting their studies. Furthermore, partially as an attempt to make the study of memory more manageable, scholars often distinguish between different levels, carriers (or mediums), and functions of memory and work on them separately. The most common distinctions detach individual from non-individual or "structural"

³⁴ James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13. Due to his focus on mediations and exchanges, Wertsch decided to employ the term "remembering" that implies a process and activity rather than an object or a "container."

³⁵ Wertsch's understanding of what cultural tools are is very broad and ranges from language, narratives, visual images, and interpretive patterns to forms of media such as the Internet. In this sense, he refers to all cultural elements that participate in the articulation of the past.

³⁶ "One may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories." Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 40.

³⁷ Jeffrey K. Olick, "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures," *Sociological Theory* 17: 3 (1999): 333-348, here 336.

memories,³⁸ while others focus on different media and processes of transmission.³⁹ By dividing memory into categories scholars tend to imagine two (or more) distinct “systems,” while only rarely examining how they constitute each other as part of one common activity. In contrast to this tendency to separate, studies of oral history and related fields have shown how the most personal recollections integrate not only cultural symbols and familiar narrative patterns into a person’s account of the past,⁴⁰ but that sometimes individuals conflate their past experiences with those they encountered in books, photographs, films, TV programs, and personal conversations.⁴¹

In order to avoid the artificial separation of individual and collective or any other modes, levels, or categories of memory, I have decided to define my research as the study of memory in general, without the adjectives.⁴² In doing so I can examine

³⁸ Kerwin Klein calls studies of non-individual memories, i.e. those that speak about memory but give little or no attention to the human process of remembering, “structural memories.” Kerwin Lee Klein, “On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse,” *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000): 127-150.

³⁹ For example in the theory of Aleida and Jan Assmann, who distinguish between “communicative” and “cultural” memory. See Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: C.H. Beck, 1999); Aleida Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik* (München: C.H. Beck, 2006); Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: C.H. Beck, 1992); Jan Assmann, „Was ist das ‚kulturelle Gedächtnis‘?“, in *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (München: C.H. Beck, 2000), 11-44; Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 109-118.

⁴⁰ Already at the moment of experiencing, a person’s perception and formulation of events is always constituted through language, available symbolic patterns, and other cultural tools. See Joan W. Scott, “Experience,” in Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, eds, *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 22-40; Ernst van Alphen, “Symptoms of Discursivity: Experience, Memory, and Trauma,” in Mieke Bal et al., eds, *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999), 24-38.

⁴¹ See, for example, Daniela Koleva, „Die Erinnerung an die kommunistische Machtübernahme in Bulgarien am 9. September 1944,“ *BIOS* 14: 1 (2001): 101-115; Sam Wineburg, „Sinn machen: Wie Erinnerung zwischen den Generationen gebildet wird,“ in Harald Welzer, ed., *Das soziale Gedächtnis: Geschichte, Erinnerung, Tradierung* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition: 2001), 179-204; Marianne Hirsch, „Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory,“ *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14: 1 (2001): 5-37; Kobi Kabalek, „Spuren vergangener Geschichte/n: Die ‚NS-Zeit‘ in Interviews mit jungen Deutschen aus der ehemaligen DDR,“ in Julia Obertreis and Anke Stephan, eds, *Erinnerungen nach der Wende: Oral History und (post)sozialistische Gesellschaften* (Essen: Klartext, 2009), 121-132.

⁴² Olick suggested to get rid of the adjectives attached to memory in his keynote address entitled “The Collective Memory of Memory Studies: Time for Revision?” which was presented at the conference *Forms and Functions of Social Memories* (Erlangen, Germany, December 10-12, 2010).

various functions and articulations of memory from diverse perspectives,⁴³ depending on what I find in the sources. Instead of categorizing my sources according to different levels and between individual and collective expressions, I will examine, following Olick's recent suggestion, *mnemonic products and practices* as a way to access the multiple and multifaceted processes we call memory:

The former (products) include stories, books, statues, presentations, images, records, historical studies, surveys, etc.; the latter (practices) include reminiscence, recall, representation, commemoration, celebration, regret, renunciation, disavowal, denial, rationalization, excuse, acknowledgement, and many others. Mnemonic practices [...] are always simultaneously individual and social. And no matter how concrete mnemonic products may be, they gain their reality only by being used, interpreted, and reproduced or changed.⁴⁴

Throughout this dissertation I will combine sources from a variety of media and document mnemonic practices and products that emerged in a variety of situations and were based on insights and findings of studies from diverse disciplines.

But where does my study look for these practices and products? It is easier to think of memory as bounded, unified, contained, and stable, since our language is ill-suited to deal with constantly shifting frameworks.⁴⁵ But the approach to memory as a process-based, multisided, and interdependent activity should not assume that mnemonic products and practices are bound to one "collective." Memory takes multiple shapes according to the changing situations people are in and in relation to

⁴³ The notions of "scattered" and "gathering" memory that I will use in this dissertation do not distinguish between kinds or levels of memory, but rather point to tendencies in the use and articulation of references to rescue.

⁴⁴ Jeffrey K. Olick, "From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products," in Erll and Nünning, eds, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, 151-161, here 158.

⁴⁵ Jeffrey K. Olick, "Figurations of Memory: A Process-Relational Methodology, Illustrated on the German Case," in *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 85-118.

their previous experiences,⁴⁶ which are attached not only to local knowledge, but also participate in a movement of ideas, images, and other cultural tools that sometimes come from unexpected and “foreign” places. Although significant parts of this dissertation will reconstruct the ways in which the commemoration⁴⁷ of individuals, actions, and events both draws on people’s perceived identity and acts to shape such an identity,⁴⁸ this study will not reproduce their reification of collective identities as homogeneous and clearly discernable.⁴⁹ Not only identity, but also “culture” does not provide us with clear boundaries due to the flux of cultural tools. Therefore, this dissertation uses the political borders of the respective German states as the places in which to look for mnemonic products and practices without claiming that these borders constitute the boundaries of “German memory” or “German culture.” What I reconstruct are tendencies and patterns that exist within and sometimes beyond these political borders and which, not all, or even a majority of, the population necessarily knew of, had access to, or were interested in.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Halbwachs refers to the flexibility of people’s views of the past from one situation to another and from one social framework to the next when he writes: “We change memories along with our points of view, our principles, and our judgments, when we pass from one group to another.” Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 81.

⁴⁷ In my view, “commemoration” means the *actions* of individuals, organizations, and groups that attempt to form and preserve certain images of the past, including also paying tribute to people and events.

⁴⁸ For the mutually formative nature of identities and commemorations see John R. Gillis, “Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,” in idem, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3-24. Although one often claims that states are, or should be, organized according to a national principle, this does not mean that “nation-states” are accomplished nations. Thus, the *nation* (the body of individuals that are allegedly united by a national belonging, either ethnically or ideologically motivated) does not exist as an entity with boundaries one can examine, but as different and contested versions of abstract ideas used by individuals and institutions.

⁴⁹ The attributes of boundedness, continuity, uniqueness, and homogeneity that are regularly ascribed to human persons cannot be simply transmitted to collectives, whose actual borders, forms, and “character” is constantly contested and depends on the perspective of the observer. For a critique of the tendency to conceptualize collectives in emotional and psychological terms “as though they are human individuals writ large,” see Richard Handler, “Is ‘Identity’ a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?” in Gillis, ed., *Commemorations*, 27-40; Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41 (May 2002): 179-197. For convincing arguments against the reification of collective identities see Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁵⁰ The growing awareness of the flux of cultural tools brought in recent years to the study of transcultural memory. For a conceptual approach to the cultural and transcultural in memory studies see

Finally, this dissertation aims to contribute to a *history of moral sentiments* in the Germanys. Till van Rahden has recently appealed for new research “into the emotional basis of morality and the passions that inform conceptions of justice and equality.”⁵¹ Van Rahden is interested in the entanglements of manners and civility with sociability and the political in the transformation from the Nazi society to the West German democracy – a question that a whole array of contemporary studies explore, although often not as histories of moral sentiments. These studies include explorations of Nazi morality (a topic which we shall tackle in the first chapter) and various aspects of postwar sexuality, the family, youth culture and generational connections,⁵² socio-political perspectives on West Germany’s “democratic success,”⁵³ and the rehabilitation and “recivilizing” of Germans after the war.⁵⁴

As a study of the memory of Nazism in the postwar Germanys, this dissertation is unavoidably engaged with moral issues.⁵⁵ The question of “collective guilt” that haunts postwar German history and involves Germans of different generations is itself a question of memory because it is based either on one’s personal recollections or on a feeling of belonging to a cultural, national, or ethnic community and its past.⁵⁶ The question of guilt articulates itself either in an internal judgment with

Peter Carrier and Kobi Kabalek, “Cultural Memory and Transcultural Memory – A Conceptual Analysis,” in Lucy Bond and Jessica Rapson, eds, *The Transcultural Turn: Interrogating Memory between and Beyond Borders* (forthcoming).

⁵¹ Till van Rahden, “Clumsy Democrats: Moral Passions in the Federal Republic,” *German History* 29:3 (2011): 485-504, here 489.

⁵² Robert G. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*.

⁵³ Edgar Wolfrum, *Die geglückte Demokratie: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2006).

⁵⁴ Konrad H. Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1935-1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁵⁵ I define “morality” and “ethics” at the beginning of the first chapter.

⁵⁶ Dan Diner, „Über Schuld Diskurse und andere Narrative: Epistemologisches zum Holocaust,“ in Gertrud Koch, ed., *Bruchlinien: Tendenzen der Holocaustforschung* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999), 61-84.

one's conscience, as in the case of Karl Jaspers' "moral guilt,"⁵⁷ and/or is created externally, as a stigma, by the gazes of others.⁵⁸

Yet the moral history of the postwar Germanys does not only feed on the negative aspects of the war and Nazism. These aspects, such as the memory of German victimhood and suffering and the negation of and dissociation from the Nazi regime and its atrocities have been well researched. But this is not the whole story.⁵⁹ Postwar Germans referred also to *positive* and heroic cases and humane behavior either in order to deny guilt or to criticize the lack of solidarity with the persecuted. As we shall see, allusions to Germans rescuing Jews helped illustrate the persistence of German humanism during the "dark years" of Nazism and raise moral issues that contemporaries found ideologically and personally useful and important in different situations. It is this element of positive identifications, depictions, and argumentations that stands at the core of this dissertation.⁶⁰

Time Frame and Chapters

This study investigates references to the rescue of Jews from Nazi persecution in the *postwar* German societies. Yet I chose to dedicate the first chapter to exploring such references to rescue under the Nazi regime (1933-1945). The reason for that lies in my cultural approach that seeks to explain the creation of mnemonic practices and

⁵⁷ Karl Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2001 [originally 1946]), 25-26.

⁵⁸ Dirk A. Moses, *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 24-26.

⁵⁹ Also the number of studies that explore the memory of resistance in Germany is still relatively small. Contemporary historians appear to avoid dealing with the memory of "the positive" during the Nazi regime. For a bibliography on the memory of resistance see my discussion of the topic in chapter two.

⁶⁰ My analysis focuses on tracing the moral argumentations and images within depictions of the Nazi past and only rarely will I venture to explain the possible moral motivations of the people I am discussing. I thus follow Allan Megill's observation: "The historian is rarely able to reconstruct such matters as will, motivation, and character well enough to make justified moral judgments concerning historical actors (as distinguished from making justified moral judgments concerning historical events themselves)." Allan D. Megill, "History-Writing and Moral Judgment: A Note on Chapter Seven of Agnes Heller's *A Theory of History* (1982)," in Janos Boros and Mihaly Vajda, eds, *Ethics and Heritage: Essays on the Philosophy of Agnes Heller* (Pecs: Brambauer, 2007), 87-104, here 101.

products not only as instrumentalizations of the past in the service of people's present needs, but also as citations from and reactions to the symbolic arsenals that Germans were familiar with by the end of WWII.⁶¹ In his study of the commemoration of Abraham Lincoln throughout the decades, sociologist Barry Schwartz has shown that the forms of memory are not created anew in each present: "As each generation modifies the beliefs presented by previous generations, an assemblage of old beliefs coexists with the new, including old beliefs about the past itself."⁶² Even in times of political ruptures, some descriptive features and values regarding the past remain more or less the same. Olick elaborated on this point in the case of the German commemorations of May 8, 1945 and concluded that "images of the past depend not only on the relationship between past and present but also on the accumulation of previous such relationships and their ongoing constitution and reconstitution."⁶³ In this sense, each public depiction of past events contains traces of previous depictions and is engaged in an explicit or implicit dialogue with them.

This continuous dialogue with and the accumulation of previous accounts of the past is multilayered and includes different kinds of conscious and unconscious reactions, i.e. from quoting and paraphrasing to rejecting, ignoring, and reinterpreting some features or complete parts, concepts, and styles of others' memory accounts. All these different aspects of dialogue will be pursued throughout this dissertation. But instead of starting with the postwar years themselves, I wish to go even further back in time and examine this dialogue and the forms of postwar memory not only before the Nazi past is declared to be over, but even before it began.

⁶¹ As you will see in chapters two to five, I chose not to dedicate separate chapters to East, West, and unified Germany. Instead, following my cultural perspective, I traced similar themes, patterns, and forms in approaching rescue in different media and contexts and divided them according to political boundaries only when I found this to be necessary.

⁶² Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 302.

⁶³ Jeffrey K. Olick, "Genre Memories and Memory Genres: A Dialogical Analysis of May 8, 1945 Commemorations in the Federal Republic of Germany," *American Sociological Review* 64: 3 (June 1999): 381-402, here 382.

Chapter One: In order to demonstrate that post-1945 references to helping Jews started to emerge during and even before the Nazi regime, the first chapter focuses on the Nazi propaganda and actions against the Jews and thus provides a reference point to the later discussion on the postwar years. This chapter will explore the employment of cultural tools and social practices under the Nazi regime and their origins in earlier periods and previous debates about the “Jewish question.” The idea is to show that the Nazi depictions of attitudes toward Jews were themselves in an exchange with pre-Nazi debates, practices, and representations.⁶⁴ In this sense, the postwar memory of rescue articulates a dialogue that began not only before 1945, but also before 1933.

The chapter’s first three sections will survey the main ideological assumptions of Nazi morality from the Weimar period to the end of the Third Reich, the central concepts of Nazi antisemitic propaganda in relation to rescuing Jews, and the environment within which these concepts evolved. The chapter’s last sections will reconstruct four central patterns of social relationships between “Jews” and “Aryans” that the Nazis attacked, and which after the war became recurring images in Germans’ claims that they opposed Nazism and assisted Jews.

The second and third chapters constitute the *second part* of the dissertation, in which I explore the dialogue between pre-1945 depictions of rescue and references to this topic in the first two decades after the war. This dialogue took place on two main levels. On one level, postwar accounts of rescuing Jews constituted a reaction to, and a conscious moral break with, Nazi antisemitism, while on the other level these postwar accounts also presented a certain continuation in the *forms* of argumentation. This part of the dissertation concentrates on the “scattered” character of the memory of rescue from the end of WWII to the mid 1960s.

⁶⁴ On this point see Alon Confino, “Fantasies about the Jews: Cultural Reflections on the Holocaust,” *History & Memory* 17,1/2 (Spring/Summer 2005): 296-322.

The evidence examined in these two chapters demonstrates the wealth of allusions to the rescue of Jews (although sometimes in an infrequent and seemingly incidental form) in a period that many historians consider to be “silent” about this topic and the Holocaust in general. As we shall see throughout the dissertation and in these two chapters in particular, the occasional mentioning of rescue actually enabled postwar authors to approach the Holocaust without necessarily having to dwell on difficult questions of guilt.

Chapter Two opens by tracing the clash between Nazi morality and universal-humanistic morality from the war years to the immediate postwar period and continues by examining patterns of articulating assistance to Jews in a variety of situations, arenas, and media in both East and West Germany up to the mid 1960s. Chapter Three concentrates on a special feature of fictional accounts of rescue from this period, the majority of which depict cases of unsuccessful rather than successful rescue. This chapter asks what are the main configurations in which unsuccessful rescue appeared and what motivated writers and filmmakers to favor a depiction of failure.

Chapter Four opens the third and final part of the dissertation. This chapter deals with the first attempts to “gather” and institutionalize the scattered references to rescue from the late 1950s to the mid 1970s in both German societies. While in the previous two chapters the rescue of Jews had no consistent and unified presence in public discussions; in the public initiatives and publications that this chapter considers we find conscious attempts to seek and commemorate rescue and rescuers (in general) as a specific and distinct topic. The chapter examines discussions and publications on German rescuers surrounding the Eichmann Trial, anthologies that (for the first time) collected the stories of several individual rescuers under a common denominator, official West German efforts to institutionalize the honoring of rescuers, and the celebration of rescue in and around East German concentration camps memorials.

Chapter Five examines the changes in the public approach to rescuers of Jews as a result of the growing public attention to the Holocaust in both German states in the 1970s and 1980s and in unified Germany up to 2008. It tracks the emergence of rescue narratives due to the democratization of the historical perspective since the 1970s that led to a renewed interest in survival stories and to investigations on the responses of “ordinary Germans” to the persecution of the Jews. The chapter then turns the attention to the political discussions on the Holocaust during the 1980s. It shows how the enhanced consideration of the Holocaust caused opposite responses in the political elite of each German state, leading to unprecedented attention to rescue in East Germany but to a cautious reluctance of the West German government to speak of “good Germans.” We shall also analyze the different contributions of two American productions, i.e. the mini-series *Holocaust* (1978) and the feature film *Schindler’s List* (1993), to the public awareness of rescue, and end with the 2008 inauguration of the national memorial commemorating German rescuers.

The Conclusion will summarize the findings of the different chapters, place them in relation to each other, and reevaluate the question of the relationship between memory and forgetting that we raised earlier in this introduction.

Chapter One:

**“Compassion or Regret is Wholly Inappropriate”: The Rescue of Jews and Nazi
Morality until 1945**

Did the Nazis openly speak about assistance to or solidarity with Jews? Postwar accounts emphasize the illegal and dangerous nature of any attempt to assist the persecuted, and thus the clandestine character of this activity. But did secrecy also characterize the Nazis' approach to this issue? This chapter asks in what way did the Nazi regime address the issue of helping the persecuted Jews and how did it urge Germans not to do so.⁶⁵ The first three sections of this chapter will explore the main ideological assumptions the Nazis followed, the central concepts they used, and the environment within which they evolved. I will thus begin with a schematic portrayal of Nazi antisemitism, its underlying principles and values that stood at the core of the Nazi approach to Jews, and then examine Nazi legal and propagandistic attempts aimed to counter a variety of relations with Jews by enforcing their separation from German “Aryans.” The final sections of this chapter will focus on four central patterns of social relationships between Jews and Aryans that the Nazis attacked and which, after the war, became recurring images in Germans' claims that they opposed Nazism and assisted Jews. These four patterns are: buying from Jews, going to Jewish doctors, romantic or sexual relations with Jews, and friendship with Jews. As we will see these images, concepts, and arguments are themselves embedded in a dialogue with both contemporaneous and pre-Nazi debates, practices, and depictions.

⁶⁵ There is no sharp division into “Germans” on the one hand and “Nazis” on the other, although such a distinction was paramount for many postwar Germans. For the complex reality in the Third Reich, in which some “Aryans” (Nazi party members or not) might have greeted some of the Nazi movement's messages and measures, but rejected others see Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Morality and Immorality

The question of Nazi antisemitism, as expressed in media representations, legal measures, and social interactions, is rooted in the broader concepts and guiding principles on which the Nazi movement was based. In recent years, a growing number of scholars subsume these principles under the notion of Nazi morality or ethics, and I will follow their lead. While students of this phenomenon sometimes distinguish between morality and ethics,⁶⁶ I treat both as synonymous concepts and define them as referring to the guiding principles on how people should live their lives and how they should treat others.⁶⁷ In the view of recent scholarship, the Nazis adhered to a set of ethical maxims, and in following these maxims they considered the measures against the Jews, including genocide, to be moral.⁶⁸ Yet some scholars rightly point out that in other occasions Nazis also propagated the need to “suspend morality” in order to prepare Germans for the ruthless war against the Jews,⁶⁹ thus implying that some aspects of this “war” were perceived as immoral (in general), yet necessary and laudable under specific circumstances. What might appear as a contradiction was, in fact, based on the assumption that people belong to two basic moral communities: a

⁶⁶ A. C. Grayling puts it the following way: “Ethics is about ethos, about what sort of person one is, or what sort of organization one belongs to. Morals is about right or good action and intention. Obviously, the latter flows from, or partly determines, or both, the former, and is inseparable from it.” A. C. Grayling, *Thinking of Answers: Questions in the Philosophy of Everyday Life* (New York: Walker, 2010), 15.

⁶⁷ The terms “moral,” “morality,” and “ethics” may mean quite distinct things and refer to many facets of one’s life, such as relations within the family or at work, sexuality, religion, etc. Although these different aspects inform each other, my interest here lies in the most relevant references to Jews. Furthermore, it is important to note that what I am presenting here are basic guiding principles and I am not claiming that all members of the Nazi Party necessarily followed and accepted each and every principle wholeheartedly.

⁶⁸ E.g. Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Harald Welzer, *Täter: Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2005), 48-67; Werner Konitzer and Raphael Gross, eds, *Moralität des Bösen: Ethik und nationalsozialistische Verbrechen* (Fritz Bauer Instituts Jahrbuch) (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009).

⁶⁹ “In order mentally to prepare the German people for the brutality, which Hitler would demand of them, he therefore developed in *Mein Kampf* the doctrine of the suspension of morality. Moral rules were all right for times of peace that did not demand too much, but extreme situations warranted the suspension of moral rules.” Harald Ofstad, *Our Contempt for Weakness: Nazi Norms and Values – and Our Own* (Gothenburg: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1989), 118. See also Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983), 70-71.

universal one and a particular (national) one.⁷⁰ National Socialists emphasized the primacy of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the racial national community, over a universal morality that draws from Christian and humanistic ideals, yet without completely rejecting the latter. Accordingly, if the nation was in danger it was perceived as the moral duty of the *Volksgenosse* (member of the *Volksgemeinschaft*) to come to its defense, even if it meant committing acts that in other contexts would have appeared as immoral.

Nazi morality was an extreme case of a “particular morality,” whose values were meant to be applicable only for the specific group. The particular character of this moral orientation was tied to the nature of the group that allegedly shared it.⁷¹ Hitler saw morality as determined by one’s history and race and presented (in line with many antisemitic writers in Europe since the late nineteenth-century) a hierarchy of races according to their “purity of blood,” their qualities, and their contribution to humanity.⁷² In this hierarchy, Jews were seen as inherently corrupt (egotistic, lazy, greedy, and ugly) while Germans (i.e., Aryans) as inherently virtuous (altruistic, diligent, loyal, and physically perfect).⁷³ Following a social Darwinist scheme, the Nazis proclaimed the existence of a constant struggle of survival between unequal races and peoples, of which the Aryan is the most creative race, and the Jews are not a religious community but rather a destructive and parasitic race. Therefore, in their antisemitism, the Nazis did not advocate immorality, instead they redefined evil and

⁷⁰ The parallel existence of different moral understandings in Nazi texts is discussed in Heinz Dieter Kittsteiner as the difference between a moral and a trans-moral conscience. See Heinz Dieter Kittsteiner, „Vom Nutzen und Nachteil des Vergessens für die Geschichte“, in Gary Smith und Hinderk M. Emrich, eds, *Vom Nutzen des Vergessens* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 133-174. I would like to thank Christian Jaser for pointing out this fascinating article to me.

⁷¹ Raphael Gross, *Anständig geblieben: Nationalsozialistische Moral* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2010), 14-15.

⁷² On the wider context of racism and antisemitism and its connections to Germany see George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Richard Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

⁷³ Richard Weikart, *Hitler's Ethic: The Nazi Pursuit of Evolutionary Progress* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 87-100, 198.

projected it onto the image of “the Jew,” whom they portrayed as responsible for all that their worldview deemed wrong and destructive to Germany and the German national consciousness – that is, democracy, capitalism, pacifism, communism, and modernism.⁷⁴

In the Nazi ethic, the stereotype of “the Jew” provided a total negative (i.e., immoral) point of reference by which convinced antisemites could judge themselves. As such, Nazi writings did not only focus on “the Jew” as an object of a certain moral indignation, but also saw “him” as the subject that structures the entire value system and the world image that Germans must acknowledge. As various Nazi texts (including Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*) argue, in order to understand the “inherent laws” of political and social life in general, Germans must accept the racial division of the world and realize the menacing activity of “the Jew” in it.⁷⁵ Jews thus occupy a key position in the Nazi ethic, since exposing their alleged influence on all aspects of life within and outside Germany provides a total explanation of reality, and they function as the place “from which world history appears to be penetrable and controllable, as well as the center of the setting of all values.”⁷⁶

The racial division of the world, the moral primacy of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, and the absolute negative position given to Jews within this scheme emerged as a direct response to the humanistic view identified with the Enlightenment movement. Since the eighteenth century, public figures affiliated with this movement advanced the idea of the equality of all humans and many of them supported the inclusion of Jews into the Christian society and granting them a legal emancipation. While Enlightenment thinkers (both Christians and Jews) often held various negative

⁷⁴ See Peter J. Haas, *Morality after Auschwitz: The Radical Challenge of the Nazi Ethic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988).

⁷⁵ Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler’s World View: A Blueprint for Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 14.

⁷⁶ Werner Konitzer, „Antisemitismus und Moral: Einige Überlegungen,“ *Mittelweg* 36 14: 2 (2005): 24-35, here 28.

prejudices about Jews, they assumed that the Jews can be “improved” and successfully assimilate into the “general society.”⁷⁷ In expressing these views, novelists, playwrights, philosophers, and political figures often pointed to the existence of a small number of “noble Jews” that embodied the potential inherent in the Jews as a whole.⁷⁸ While positive depictions of such “exceptional Jews” were still apparent even in some antisemitic publications at the turn of the century,⁷⁹ they became irrelevant in Nazi texts that formulated the Jews’ morality and behavior in collective and unchangeable racial terms, and accepted no exceptions.

Nazi thinkers claimed that “not every being with a human face is human”⁸⁰ and thus opposed the Enlightenment’s message on the equality of all humans.⁸¹ Yet the Nazi claim was not only a dialogical response aimed at century-old writings on the emancipation of the Jews, but also a question of current political affairs. The public debate on the “Jewish question” did not end after the granting of legal emancipation to the Jews with the unification of Germany in 1871, but rather intensified and became a central tool of political identification since the 1870s, when right-wing parties adopted antisemitism as a cultural code that all of them could identify with.⁸² While the liberal

⁷⁷ Ritchie Robertson, *The ‘Jewish Question’ in German Literature 1749-1939: Emancipation and its Discontents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). See also Michael Meyer et al., *German-Jewish History in Modern Times, vol. 2: Emancipation and Acculturation, 1780-1871* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1997); Shulamit Volkov, *Between Uniqueness and Assimilation: The German Jews 1780-1933* (Tel Aviv: The Open University, 2003). [in Hebrew]

⁷⁸ Alfred D. Low, *Jews in the Eyes of the Germans: From the Enlightenment to Imperial Germany* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979), 40-54; Charlene A. Lea, “‘The Noble Jew’ on the German and Austrian Stage (1750-1805),” *The German Quarterly* 64: 2 (Spring 1991): 166-177; Klaus L. Berghahn, *Grenzen der Toleranz: Juden und Christen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Köln: Böhlau, 2001), 50, 69-82.

⁷⁹ See, e.g. the following polemic quote that comes as a response to attacks on antisemitic arguments, which emphasizes the exception as proving the rule: „Es gibt auch anständige Juden.’ Gewiß! Ich selbst kenne solche. Aber gerade darin, daß man diese Thatsache so oft betonen muß, liegt die bittere Wahrheit, daß dies weiße Raben sind. *Exceptio firmat regulam.*“ J. Seidl, *Der Jude des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, oder Warum sind wir Antisemiten?* (zweite Auflage) (München: Verlag von Rudolf Abt, 1900), 50.

⁸⁰ Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience*, 1-2.

⁸¹ The dispute of antisemites (including the Nazis) with the Enlightenment was not only implicit. In their writings they directly portrayed this movement as a dangerous mistake. See, e.g. Dr. Rudolf, *Nationalsozialismus und Rasse* (München: Verlag Franz Eher Nachf., 1932), 4ff.

⁸² Shulamit Volkov, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 67-118. Recent criticism of Volkov’s argument shows that references to Jews

parties and the Social Democrats were rather reluctant at first to openly support the Jews (fearing they would be branded as “Jewish parties”), by the early twentieth century they increasingly engaged in a struggle against antisemitism.⁸³ These parties also cooperated with organizations, such as the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (short: CV, 1893-1938) and the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus* (short: *Abwehrverein*, 1890-1933), in which Jews and non-Jews joined to hinder the rise of public antisemitism in a series of publications, assemblies, and judicial steps meant to “enlighten” the population and overcome antisemitic stereotypes.⁸⁴

What we can see, therefore, is that from the 1890s onwards and especially during the years of the Weimar Republic, the media in Germany was filled with calls for and against the Jews in various attempts to draw the German public to a certain political party and (explicitly or not) also to identify with a certain moral model: either a universal-humanistic one or a particular morality based on the *Volk*. This rhetorical exchange of blows (that often expressed itself in physical violence)⁸⁵ left its mark on

did not play a role in all aspects of the Right in Germany during the *Kaiserreich*, and argue against her association of antisemitism with all anti-modernists at the time. See, e.g., Gideon Reuveni, “‘Productivist’ and ‘Consumerist’ Narratives of Jews in German History,” in Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman, eds, *German History from the Margins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 165-184. Nevertheless, this criticism does not undermine the validity of the general tendency Volkov presents.

⁸³ The reason that some members of these parties were quite uncomfortable with this association with Jews was because they assumed that such association might damage their chances to gain votes or because they held hostile opinions about Jews. On the parties in general see Peter Pulzer, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority, 1848-1933* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992). For the socialist camp and its ambivalent relation to Jews before the Weimar Republic see Lars Fischer, *The Socialist Response to Antisemitism in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). On the complex relationship between liberalism and Jews since the nineteenth-century see Robertson, *The ‘Jewish Question’ in German Literature*, 77-150.

⁸⁴ Avraham Barkai, „*Wehr Dich!*“: *Der Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, 1893-1938* (München: C.H. Beck, 2002); Arnold Paucker, *Deutsche Juden im Kampf um Recht und Freiheit: Studien zu Abwehr, Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand der deutschen Juden seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, bearbeitet von Barbara Suchy (Teetz: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2004); Auguste Zeiß-Horbach, *Der Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus: Zum Verhältnis von Protestantismus und Judentum im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2008).

⁸⁵ Since the “Hep-Hep” riots in 1819, violent outbursts against Jews became a recurring phenomenon in the German countries. See Christhard Hoffmann et al., eds, *Exclusionary Violence: Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). On violence against Jews in Weimar, with a focus on the actions of the Nazi movement, see Dirk Walter, *Antisemitische*

contemporary books, articles, and leaflets that are often constructed as a direct response to their opponents' arguments. For example, in an article Joseph Goebbels published on July 1928 in *Der Angriff*, the Nazi newspaper based in Berlin, the future Minister of Propaganda quotes humanistic and Christian arguments in order to refute them and present the Nazi moral stance:

[One hears people saying:] “The Jew is, after all, a human being (*Mensch*).” Indeed, and none of us has ever doubted that. We only doubt that he is a decent human being. He does not belong to us. He lives according to different internal and external laws than us. His being human is not a sufficient reason for us to let him suppress and bully us in the most *inhuman* manner. He is a human being – but of what kind? When someone hits your mother with a whip across the face, do you say then: “Thanks a lot, he is still a human being?” This is no human being; this is a *non-human* (*Unmensch*). How many awful things did the Jew do to our mother Germany and still continues to do today!⁸⁶

In this paragraph, Goebbels claims that the inhumanity of the Jews follows from their immoral behavior, and since they treat Germans in an immoral manner they cannot expect to be treated according to a humanistic-universal moral standard. Goebbels then turns to counter a Christian moral perspective and advocates the particular morality of the *Volksgemeinschaft*:

[One hears people saying:] “Antisemitism is un-Christian.” Acting as a Christian thus means observing the Jew as he continues to operate and rule,

Kriminalität und Gewalt: Judenfeindschaft in der Weimarer Republik (Bonn: Dietz, 1999); Michael Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung: Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919 bis 1939* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2007).

⁸⁶ Emphasis in the original. Joseph Goebbels, „Warum sind wir Judengegner? (30. Juli 1928),“ *Der Angriff: Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1935), 329-331, here 330. Goebbels returned to this rhetorical instrument of criticizing the claim “that the Jews are also humans” in an article in *Das Reich* on November 16, 1941 in response to negative reactions in the German population to the deportations of the Jews from Berlin. Joseph Goebbels, „Die Juden sind schuld!“, in *Das eiserne Herz: Reden und Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1941/42* (München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), 85-91, here 87.

cutting our skin into straps, and then also to accept the mockery. Being a Christian means: love thy neighbor [*Nächster*: literally – the one close to you] as you do yourself? My neighbor is the one who is of the same blood and nation as me [*mein Volks- und Blutgenosse*]. If I love him, I must hate his enemies. [...] We oppose the Jews, because we avow ourselves to the German people. The Jew is our greatest misfortune.⁸⁷

These excerpts from Goebbels's article present the Nazi perception of morality and immorality as dependent both on what people *do* and on what they *are*. Thus, while at first Goebbels grounds the Jews' immorality (and inhumanity) in their actions, he later connects it directly to their race. Using the same basic logic, Nazi propagandists depicted their model of particular morality as something transmitted in Germans' blood, but also as something that Germans need to acknowledge and actively practice. Making a considerable use of religious imagery (that emphasizes both internal faith and external practice), Nazis demanded from Germans to convert to this ethical model, presenting it as a belief system that would provide a comprehensive understanding of the world, and affect social and political redemption.⁸⁸ Since this particular morality did not sharply distinguish between the values of the moral group and the actions of its members, it did not satisfy itself with individuals' internal moral orientation. Nazi propagandists thus demanded that this morality would be expressed in actions.⁸⁹

The Nazi emphasis on action as demonstrating one's morality and as an indication for one's belonging to the group (the German *Volksgemeinschaft*)

⁸⁷ Goebbels, „Warum sind wir Judengeegner?“, 330-331. The final sentence of this paragraph quotes the historian Heinrich von Treitschke, whose antisemitic article from 1879 provoked the so-called *Berliner Antisemitismusstreit* (more on that below).

⁸⁸ On the Nazi promise and experience of conversion see David Redles, *Hitler's Millennial Reich: Apocalyptic Belief and the Search for Salvation* (New York: NYU Press, 2005), 77-107. For the Nazi use of religious imagery see also Michael Ley and Julius H. Schoeps, eds, *Der Nationalsozialismus als politische Religion* (Bodenheim bei Mainz: Philo-Verlag, 1997); Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History* (London: Macmillan, 2000); Uriel Tal, *Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Third Reich: Selected Essays* (London: Routledge, 2004).

⁸⁹ On the lack of any clear distinction between everyday conventions, actions, and values of people as a feature of the Nazi “particular morality” see Gross, *Anständig geblieben*, 14-15.

constitutes the main area in which references to solidarity with and assistance to Jews found their expression in Nazi propaganda. We will now explore how the Nazis made it clear to the German public that helping Jews or having any relations with them should be avoided and despised. The banning of such relations aimed to affect the creation of a moral group in the Nazi sense by separating Germans from all “foreign” and “harmful” elements.

Separation

The Nazi regime’s attempts at separating those it defined as (Aryan) Germans from Jews reproduced centuries-old perceptions and efforts that aimed at a similar separation. The Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period in the German countries were characterized by recurring repressions of Jews by Christians, including expulsions of the former from some territories and several cases of violent outbursts against them. These repressions followed various accusations (such as blood libel) put mostly within a religious framework, and many of them were motivated by a wish to drive the Jews, “the immoral murderers of Christ,” out of Christian Europe. In those German towns and regions in which Jews were allowed to live, they were pushed to “Jewish quarters” and numerous regulations enforced their physical separation from the Christian population and marked them as different. Yet in spite of these segregative regulations, there still existed everyday connections between Jews and Christians who met in inns, on the road, and in the market place, and even cooperated in trade. Thus we find numerous public calls, especially by members of the Churches, which attempted to enforce a tighter separation between the communities and condemned any acts of association with Jews.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Michael Meyer et al., *German Jewish History in Modern Times, Vol. 1: Tradition and Enlightenment 1600-1780* (NY: Columbia UP, 1996), esp. 134-143; Michael Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich* (München: Oldenbourg, 2003), 34-55; Robert Liberles, “On the Threshold of Modernity: 1618-

As Raul Hilberg pointed out already in the early 1960s, the Nazi antisemitic legislation adopted many European anti-Jewish regulations from the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, in an attempt to annul the Emancipation of the Jews and create a society based on an ideal notion of separation.⁹¹ This does not mean that all Europeans or Germans were infused with a collective hatred toward Jews, but that there was a certain familiarity with and partial continuity of anti-Jewish regulations. The forms of condemning the association with Jews evolved from their reenactments through cultural performances (such as passion plays) that preserved, for instance, the patterns and logics of exclusionary violence against Jews even in the years that this violence was in itself rare.⁹² Also, everyday practices maintained a hierarchical and thus dividing attitude toward Jews, as in cases of public mockery and humiliation (often performed by children), which had Early Modern roots and continued into and beyond the nineteenth century.⁹³ The forms of separation were also perpetuated in street names (e.g., *Judengasse*) that reminded of former segregations, as well as other architectural and cultural expressions on the local level.⁹⁴ Perhaps the most important contributors to this reenactment were antisemitic writings from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that made countless references to older anti-Jewish writings,

1780,” in Marion A. Kaplan, ed., *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 70-92. Since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the calls against association with Jews also responded to those Christian voices that expressed pro-Jewish sentiments. The latter included the early writings of Luther on the Jews and the growing interest in the Jews and in religious tolerance following the Thirty Years’ War. See J. Friedrich Battenberg, *Die Juden in Deutschland vom 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (München: Oldenbourg, 2001), 36-39 and passim.

⁹¹ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961), 1-17.

⁹² Helmut Walser Smith, “Anti-Semitic Violence as Reenactment: An Essay in Cultural History,” *Rethinking History* 11: 3 (2007): 335-351; Helmut Walser Smith, “From Play to Act: Anti-Jewish Violence in German and European History during the Long Nineteenth-Century,” in *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race Across the Long Nineteenth-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 115-166.

⁹³ Stefan Rohrbacher, *Gewalt im Biedermeier: Antijüdische Ausschreitungen in Vormärz* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1993), 60-61 and passim.

⁹⁴ See, for example, the use of the *Judengasse* in the town Rothenburg on the river Tauber as a reference point for the history and future of the local Jews before and during the Nazi period: Joshua Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism, and Nationalism: The Jewel of the German Past* (Adlershot: Ashgate, 2006), 281-287.

quoted them as historical authorities, and adjusted them to the racial framework and the modern German context.⁹⁵

Nazi and other modern antisemitic texts stated that separating Jews from Germans became an especially acute need since the legal emancipation of the Jews, which enabled them to leave their “Jewish quarters” and abandon the external characteristics that set them apart from the rest of the population. As in the case of their Medieval and Early Modern anti-Jewish predecessors, the Nazi attempts at separation took place on two often-complementary means, i.e. through rhetorical appeals in various media and in a variety of social and legal practices. We have seen an example of such rhetorical means in Goebbels’s article above, in which he urges Germans not to treat Jews as humans. In general, all antisemitic images and arguments in the Nazi propaganda were supposed to contribute to separating Germans from Jews by making the former feel disgust at the sight of Jews, portraying them as repulsive both externally (filthy, stinking, ugly, sick) and internally (corrupt, cruel, exploitive, indecent).

In addition to depicting Jews as intrinsically different and repulsive (often stressing their alleged inhuman nature by comparing them to animals, vermin or parasites),⁹⁶ we can identify three additional recurring arguments in Nazi texts (before and after their rise to power) that justified the need for the separation of Germans from Jews. We have already mentioned the antisemitic argument that expelling the Jews from within the *Volk* is a defensive measure, since they allegedly harm and exploit the

⁹⁵ For example, in his classical antisemitic writing that received numerous printings at the turn of the century and during the Nazi period, Theodor Fritsch quoted such Early Modern anti-Jewish “authorities” as Johann Andreas Eisenmenger’s *Entdecktes Judenthum* (first published in 1700). Theodor Fritsch, *Handbuch der Judenfrage: Die wichtigsten Tatsachen zur Beurteilung des jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig: Hammer Verlag, 1944), 7-8, 77. This is the book’s 49th print.

⁹⁶ Also this characteristic, which, however, can be found in a variety of contexts and especially in racial thought, had predecessors in the German countries in the form of the *Judensau*, a recurring image since the thirteenth-century that showed Jews feeding from a sow and eating its excrements. This image made claim to Jews’ carnality and aimed to evoke disgust. Kevin Madigan, “Judensau,” in Richard S. Levy, ed., *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 387-388.

Germans. The defensive justification of antisemitism was an essential part of Nazi propaganda especially during the war years and the Holocaust.⁹⁷ This argument was often complemented by presenting the actions against the Jews as a payback that equals what they did to the Germans, for example, by quoting the biblical phrase “eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth,” and thereby using a “Jewish logic” against the Jews.⁹⁸ Finally, many Nazi texts explain the segregation of the Jews throughout history as something that the Jews themselves desire. By looking at the Old Testament and other texts from the Jewish tradition and history, Nazi authors point to the Jews’ own tendency to separate themselves from the Gentiles in a way that contradicts the recent Jewish claims on the wish to be acknowledged as German.⁹⁹ In view of this tendency, argued Gottfried Feder, a founding member of the Nazi Party, it should come as no surprise that the Party’s program accepts no Jew as a *Volksgenosse*.¹⁰⁰ Nazi texts thus justified the need for the separation of Germans from Jews as something that the latter brought upon themselves or even wished for.

The Nazis put these four argumentative features into use not only in propaganda, but also in the regime’s practices and in measures against the Jews. In general, whenever it was assumed that the regime’s actions might lead to disagreement amongst the German population, Nazi leaders ordered the launching of

⁹⁷ Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁹⁸ See, for example, in a variety of public statements by Hitler and Goebbels during the war and in public propaganda, as reprinted and discussed in Herf, *The Jewish Enemy*, 110, 122, 126, 144. For an earlier reference see Josef Goebbels, „Deutsche, kauft nur bei Juden! (10. Dezember 1928),“ in *Der Angriff*, 331-333.

⁹⁹ Thus Alfred Rosenberg wrote on the creations of Ghettos in Europe not as an offence against the Jews, but rather as something that served their own purposes: „Die Isolierung eines fremden Einwanderervolkes inmitten der Einheimischen ist eine überall vorkommende Tatsache, zu deren Erklärung man nicht nach komplizierten Gründen zu suchen braucht. Alle Europäer, z. B. haben in den Kolonien eigene Stadtviertel entstehen lassen [...]. Ganz genau so machten es auch die Juden; und was bei anderen Völkern Gültigkeit hat, sollte bei ihnen plötzlich die Folge einseitiger Bedrängnis sein? Im Gegenteil, gerade bei ihnen auf Grund ihres unduldsamen Rassencharakters mußte die Angeschlossenheit noch viel konsequenter durchgeführt werden.“ Alfred Rosenberg, *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* (München: Deutscher Volks-Verlag, 1920), 38-39.

¹⁰⁰ Gottfried Feder, *Die Juden* (Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, Heft 45, ed. Gottfried Feder) (München: Eher Verlag, 1933), 5.

concentrated propaganda campaigns to prepare for these actions and justify them. For example, in preparation of the first public anti-Jewish action, the boycott of Jewish businesses on April 1, 1933 the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the official Nazi newspaper, accused “world Jewry” of initiating an anti-German agitation and boycott, thus identifying the German Jews with the actions of Jewish organizations abroad and declaring a German boycott as retaliation.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the regime also claimed that this boycott was a defensive act, as we can see in the extensive use of the word *Abwehr* (defense) in the reports of the Nazi newspaper before and after the boycott, as well as on many of the signs SA-men held at the entrance of Jewish businesses.¹⁰²

Yet the Nazi propaganda did not only justify the removal of the Jews from the German *Volksgemeinschaft* and portrayed it as the moral thing to do; it also (just like its Early Modern precursors) publicly condemned those Germans who cooperated with Jews or acted in their favor. It is in these condemnations of Germans’ behavior that the Nazis addressed the issue of solidarity with and assisting Jews. Before Hitler’s rise to power in 1933, Nazi speakers targeted political figures, especially from Liberal and Social Democratic parties, whom they denounced as puppets in the hands of the Jews.¹⁰³ After the Nazi “coordination” (*Gleichschaltung*) of the German society, the

¹⁰¹ According to Nazi antisemitism, “the Jew” was a uniform collective body and there was no distinction between the Jewish organizations abroad that called to boycott Nazi Germany and the German Jews. See Yfaat Weiss, „Projektionen vom ‚Weltjudentum‘ – Die Boykottbewegung der 1930er Jahre,“ in Dan Diner, ed., *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 26 (Tel Aviv: Universität Tel Aviv, 1997), 151-179.

¹⁰² For example, a day before the boycott the newspaper’s front-page headline appealed to the German population: “Strike at the world’s enemy! Come out to a defensive boycott against Jewry.” „Schlagt den Weltfeind!“, *Völkischer Beobachter* (Münchener Ausgabe) (March 31, 1933), 1.

¹⁰³ This description appeared in Hitler’s speeches from the early 1920s to the Nazi rise to power. See, e.g. „Deutschland erwache“ (April 8, 1921), in Eberhard Jäckel and Axel Kuhn, eds, *Hitler: Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905-1924* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1980), 361-362, and a speech Hitler held on January 1, 1932: Max Domarus, ed., *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932-1945*, vol. 1 (London: Tauris, 1990) 78-82. The image of “the Jew” as *Drahtzieher* (pulling the strings behind the scenes of the German politics) in the Nazi propaganda of the Weimar years is explored in Gerhard Paul, *Aufstand der Bilder: Die NS-Propaganda vor 1933* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1990), 236-239. See there also the Nazi campaign posters and caricatures from the 1920s and early 1930s, which often portrayed the cooperation of Jews and non-Jewish politicians in exploiting Germany (fig. 31-35, 38-39, 45-47, 51). For these connections in Goebbels’s *Der Angriff* see Russel Lemmons, *Goebbels and Der Angriff* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 110-115, 128-130, and *passim*.

Nazi propaganda machinery concentrated on “cleansing” all elements of a non-Nazi ethic from the *Volksgenossen* by criticizing any manifestations of “false humanitarianism” (*falsche Humanität*) and “sentimental humanitarianism” (*Humanitätsduselei* or *Gefühlsduselei*), that is, any “misguided” acts of sympathy and assistance directed at non-Germans, and especially Jews.¹⁰⁴

We find Nazi propaganda’s criticism of “false humanitarianism” emphasized during, or in the aftermath of, the regime’s anti-Jewish measures, and as a response to secret reports, whose aim was to document the population’s reactions to these measures. For instance, these reports registered signs of the population’s disapproval regarding the boycott of Jewish businesses, and the regime responded by distributing propaganda material that condemned such behavior and aimed to “correct” it. Thus in a brochure that circulated in the German city of Aachen, as a consequence of the events of the boycott, we find the following statement:

The most important assignment is to enlighten the broadest cross-sections of the population about the Jewish question. In many cases there are changes of feeling amongst Germans who believe that the measures against the Jews are unjustified. This is a completely false outlook. These Germans thus wholly misconceive the *weight of the crime*, which the Jews commit against Germany.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ See the use of these and related concepts in a variety of social spheres and media in Nazi Germany in Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience*, 110, 166, 186, 253-254, 258, 267. This argument and the concept, which fitted the debate on race and “particular morality,” circulated already in the *Kaiserreich*. See Christoph Cobet, *Der Wortschatz des Antisemitismus in der Bismarckzeit* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1973), 207.

¹⁰⁵ Emphasis in the original. Herbert Lepper, *Von der Emanzipation zum Holocaust: Die Israelitische Synagogengemeinde zu Aachen 1801-1942* (Aachen: Verlag der Mayer’schen Buchhandlung, 1994), vol. 2, 1135.

Compassion

One of the main concepts Nazi texts employed in criticizing “misconception” regarding the necessity of the measures against the Jews is *Mitleid* (compassion or pity). Compassion, or “false compassion” (*falsches Mitleid*) in these texts stood for motives grounded in a wrong, i.e. universal morality, and not in the needs of the *Volk*. This use of the concept is embedded in medical and moral discussions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century on the creation of a healthy and racially pure community by eliminating the “unhealthy” and “alien” elements within it.¹⁰⁶ Such elements were seen as parasites on the racial “body” (i.e. the community) and medical terms assisted in rejecting any sympathy toward them. Or, in one of the extreme formulations of this principle: “In such [racial] conflicts and procedures [of fighting these parasites], no humanitarian principles whatsoever can be consulted, which would also not be consulted in the disinfection of a body or a contaminated space.”¹⁰⁷ But in implementing this logic, which in the Nazi state also led to the “euthanasia” program, Nazi propagandists did not only emphasize ethical laws. Aware of the power of emotions in inciting people to act, they depicted compassion (associated with classic Christian morality and the notion of *Nächstenliebe*, i.e. the Christian love for the fellow human) toward the “weak” as misplaced in instances in which one should adopt a cold rationality that better serves the community’s “greater good.”¹⁰⁸

The following quote exemplifies the Nazi propaganda’s emphasis on “enlightening” the German people on the “true nature” of the Jews and on the need for

¹⁰⁶ Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: “Euthanasia” in Germany, c. 1900-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁰⁷ Der Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung des gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP, ed., *Deutschland ordnet Europa neu...* (Schulungsgrundlagen für die Reichsthemen der NSDAP für das Jahr 1941/42), 45f. Reprinted in Walther Hofer, ed., *Der Nationalsozialismus: Dokumente 1933-1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1957), 280.

¹⁰⁸ In this regard, the “German Christians” (the Protestant movement in Germany that adopted many Nazi ideas on race, etc.) downplayed qualities as compassion, which they deemed as feminine, and assumed more “manly” qualities, such as hardness, that was to make them better fighters against racial impurity. Doris L. Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 68-69.

eradicating sentimental humanitarianism and compassion toward them. The quote appeared in the monthly bulletin of the Nazi Central Propaganda Office from August 1935, whose role was to provide orientation for propagandists. The article's anonymous author wrote that in order to better educate the people on the "Jewish element in Germany,"

It is necessary [...] to *rid* the *lack of thought* in the behavior of countless Volksgenossen, as well as to *clear out the inappropriate humanitarianism and Gefühlsduselei*. Likewise, it is also self-evident that [we need] to *eliminate* the *compassion* [...] that still haunts so many less well-off brains. This will succeed when we disclose to the people, over and over again, the *true face* and the *true thought* of this race [the Jews], by using ruthless openness...¹⁰⁹

The word *Mitleid* (or *mit-leiden*, literally to suffer with) implies personal participation and acknowledgment of the suffering of others, and when applied in relation to Jews it could emphasize human intimacy rather than racial separation. Nazi texts thus employed the concept as a negative example in criticizing close relations and solidarity with the persecuted Jews. One recurring Nazi argument that used *Mitleid* presented it as a trick Jews exploit in order to appear as victims in the eyes of Germans, while they carry out their efforts to destroy Germany.¹¹⁰

In the years 1933 to 1938, the Nazi propaganda's condemnation of "false compassion" focused on presenting "the Jew" as a criminal, who deserves to be punished for his actions and be removed from the *Volksgemeinschaft*. During those years, the "removal" of Jews from the German society took place gradually using a

¹⁰⁹ All emphases in the original. *Aufklärungs- und Redner-Informationsmaterial der Reichspropagandaleitung der NSDAP*, Lieferung 20, München, August 1935, Blatt 1. Emphasis in original.

¹¹⁰ The use of compassion as one of the tactics the Jews allegedly use in order to draw the Germans on their side is portrayed already in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, which was originally published in the mid 1920s: Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf: Zwei Bände in einem Band* (Verlag Franz Eher Nachf., München, 1943), 350.

variety of regulations in a number of spheres. On the local level, Nazi activists attempted to create social distance between Jewish and Aryan neighbors and stigmatize those who expressed compassion with the persecuted, sometimes even depicting them as traitors.¹¹¹ On the national level, the Nazi state defined the legal status of Jews, where they can work, study, etc., thus segregating them and curtailing their options for making a living. The regime took pride of the “lawful” and organized manner of these regulations and openly published them in the media.¹¹² The publicized character of the persecution changed, however, with the events of *Kristallnacht* that started on November 9, 1938, and included violent assaults on Jewish businesses, the burning of synagogues, and the killing of at least 100 Jews throughout Germany. Although violent attacks against Jews were not a rare phenomenon in Nazi Germany even before this date,¹¹³ the extent and severity of *Kristallnacht*, and especially the reports on the population’s reactions to it, created a new approach in the propaganda’s depiction of the anti-Jewish measures.¹¹⁴ And this altered approach, in turn, also influenced the use of *Mitleid*.

On November 10, Goebbels instructed the media not to release more than a few unspecific details about the events of the pogrom, and in his public statement he depicted them as local and spontaneous acts of retribution, a “justified and understandable outrage of the German people” to the murder of the German diplomat Ernst vom Rat by Herschel Grynszpan, a Polish Jew. The press provided only vague information about the violence, but the orderly and legal measures the regime acted

¹¹¹ Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*, 136-137, 243.

¹¹² Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997); Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 121-126; Peter Longerich, „*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*“: *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933-1945* (München: Siedler, 2006), 55-121.

¹¹³ Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*.

¹¹⁴ On the change in the propaganda’s depiction of the persecution of the Jews after the *Kristallnacht* see David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion under Nazism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 67-88; Gellately, *Backing Hitler*, 126-132; Longerich, „*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*“, 123-129.

out against the Jews after the pogrom received extensive coverage. In this way, the pogrom was to appear as justified, while the regime publicly distanced itself from any direct involvement in it and adopted the facade of law and order.¹¹⁵ After secret reports showed that in many cases Germans expressed feelings of shame and compassion toward the victims and rejected the use of violence (although only in rare cases they detected open acts of assistance to Jews), the Propaganda Ministry initiated a campaign to “remind” Germans of the necessity of fighting the Jews.¹¹⁶ As part of this campaign, Robert Ley, the head of the “German Labor Front” (DAF), delivered a speech in which he spoke of how Hitler freed the workers from their enslavement by the Jews, and added, without explicitly mentioning *Kristallnacht* (which was not to be acknowledged as an action of the state):

No one lives from compassion. And it is necessary, especially now, to make it clear for our German people that the Jew is not a human being of a regular kind, but a freeloader and parasite in human form. [...] In order for Germany to achieve eternity, it must have the necessary strength and must ban compassion from its rows.¹¹⁷

Most significant about this quote is that Ley condemned acts of compassion toward Jews without saying what evoked them. He criticized assistance to and solidarity with Jews without actually mentioning these actions and while only hinting at the pogrom. Ley was not exceptional in this regard. Recent studies, following the lead of the late David Bankier, show that in spite of the centrality of the “Jewish question” in the Nazi ethic, there are only unspecific references to the measures against the Jews in the Nazi

¹¹⁵ Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich, Bavaria 1933-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 257-261; Alan E. Steinweis, *Kristallnacht 1938* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 100.

¹¹⁶ Longerich, „*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*“, 136-144.

¹¹⁷ Robert Ley, „Ansprache im Berliner Haus der Deutschen Arbeitsfront zur Judenfrage in Deutschland“ (18.11.1938), in Walter Roller and Susanne Höschel, eds, *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft, vol. 1: Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen 1930-1946* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1996), 119-121.

propaganda after *Kristallnacht*. It seems that as a result of the rather unfavorable reactions of many Germans to the violence against the Jews, the heads of the regime assumed that the population in general is not antisemitic enough, and thus preferred not to publish the exact scale of the destruction in the pogrom.¹¹⁸ This created a pattern of an “open secret,” in which the media in the Third Reich justified the actions against the Jews, and hinted at them, but betrayed no clear details on what was actually taking place. Following this pattern, since 1939 Hitler and the major Nazi leaders gave speeches addressing the extermination (*Vernichtung* or *Ausrottung*) of the Jews without saying what this meant, while at the same time signaling to the German public to conclude for themselves from statements speaking of a “war of existence” against the Jews and “eye for an eye,” what was taking place.¹¹⁹ In the words of Bankier:

The Nazis used in their political discourse a technique of imposed guesswork: by not giving details on what was really happening to the Jews they wished to prevent public discussion, and by employing a language with implicit presuppositions they wanted the public to speculate on what was actually going on with the Jews and thus to become responsible for what they understood the term “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” meant.¹²⁰

I argue that this view on Nazi propaganda’s portrayal of the “Final Solution” as an open secret also allows us to understand Ley’s reference to compassion in the quote above. Ley made sure not to give any clear details about the pogrom, but at the same time wanted to condemn and “enlighten” those Germans who felt compassion toward

¹¹⁸ Herbert Obenaus “The Germans: ‘An Antisemitic People’. The Press Campaign After 9 November 1938,” in David Bankier, ed., *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1941* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2000), 147-180.

¹¹⁹ David Bankier, “Signaling the Final Solution to the German People,” in idem and Israel Gutman, eds, *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), 15-39; Herf, *The Jewish Enemy*, and see also Longerich, „*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*“, 201- 311; Peter Fritzsche, “The Holocaust and the Knowledge of Murder,” *The Journal of Modern History* 80 (September 2008): 594-613.

¹²⁰ Bankier, “Signaling the Final Solution to the German People,” 39.

the Jewish victims. Therefore, using the same technique that Bankier called “imposed guesswork,” Ley spoke in general about the need to suppress “false compassion,” while only hinting at *Kristallnacht* by emphasizing the necessity of his message “especially now,” i.e. a week after the pogrom. In this sense, Ley and other Nazi speakers could condemn sympathy with Jews without mentioning the persecution of the Jews and without creating the impression that large parts of the population disagreed with it, something that Goebbels instructed the press not to do.¹²¹

We find the same technique (although sometimes using different concepts) in speeches and publications that responded to the population’s reactions to the later measures against the Jews. Yet it must be stressed that the greater part of the regime’s antisemitic propaganda during WWII did not focus on condemning Germans’ sympathy toward Jews (probably in order not to damage the appearance of Germany as a unified nation at war). In internal discussions of the Propaganda Ministry, for example in preparation of the Jewish Star decree on September 1, 1941,¹²² and also in the secret reports on the beginning of deportations of Jews to “the East” in 1941-1943,¹²³ there are numerous critical references to expressions of “false compassion” within the German population. But while harsh criticism of such expression is apparent in these internal Nazi conversations, the propaganda focused more on the enemy, portraying “the Jew” as the ruthless instigator of the war, who must be destroyed before he brings to Germany’s annihilation, as well as on the need for separation.¹²⁴ Still, there are various references within public speeches and newspaper articles that criticized “false compassion” with Jews in the war years. The two main

¹²¹ In a press conference with representatives of the media in Germany on November 17, 1938, Goebbels ordered not to arouse such an impression. Obenaus “The Germans: ‘An Antisemitic People,’” 155-156.

¹²² Longerich, „*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*“, 167-170.

¹²³ See, e.g., NSDAP Ortsgruppe Schonungen, „Stimmungsbericht“ (Schonungen, 24.4.1942), in Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel, eds., *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten 1933-1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004), 494.

¹²⁴ Herf, *The Jewish Enemy*.

figures that repeatedly addressed the topic were Goebbels and Ley, who sometimes spoke of it in a language that did not need much speculation in order to be understood. Let us examine some examples.

On 16 November 1941, shortly after the beginning of the deportations of Jews from Berlin, Goebbels published an article with the title “The Jews are Guilty” in the newspaper *Das Reich*.¹²⁵ The article opens with a more or less accurate quote from Hitler’s “prophecy” in a speech from January 30, 1939, in which he declared: “If international Jewry should succeed once more in plunging the peoples into a world war, then the consequence will not be the Bolshevization of the world and therewith a victory of Jewry, but the extermination (*Vernichtung*) of the Jewish race in Europe.” After this initial intimation at the “Final Solution” Goebbels continued: “We are experiencing now the implementation of this prophecy, and with it Jewry is experiencing a fate that is indeed grim (*hart*), but deserving. Compassion or even regret is wholly inappropriate.”¹²⁶ The language of this article illustrates Goebbels’s growing dissatisfaction with the German population, presenting the “German Michel” (an allegorical personification of the common German) as naïve and “good-natured” “who is always willing to forget the injustice done to him at the sight of a sentimental tear.” The Germans’ problem, Goebbels claimed, is that “we hold all humans for good-natured as we are.” But “our national virtue is our national mistake,” since this virtue causes harm to Germany. Therefore, Goebbels concluded, the Germans must learn not to be “all too righteous” (*nicht allzu gerecht zu sein*) and act with cold calculation against the enemies of the nation.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Joseph Goebbels, „Die Juden sind schuld!“, in *Das eiserne Herz*, 85-91.

¹²⁶ I quoted here the version of Hitler’s speech as it appears in the article by Goebbels. See Goebbels, „Die Juden sind schuld!“, 85. Goebbels uses the word *Mitleid* three times in this article, in three different examples that condemn “false” behavior toward the Jews. Goebbels advised Germans not to fall victim to the Jewish trick of arousing compassion also in his famous speech proclaiming the “total war” on February 18, 1942. See in Roller and Höschel, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen*, 223.

¹²⁷ Goebbels, „Die Juden sind schuld!“, 87-90. The latter expression stems from a 1785 poem by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock.

Goebbels's call to Germans not to be "all too righteous" clearly hints at the "erroneousness" of assisting Jews or expressing solidarity with them. This call appeared in a number of his articles during the war. In 1942 it gained a wide public coverage upon becoming the motto of the propaganda poster *Word of the Week* and also the headline of a brochure that reprinted another speech by Goebbels.¹²⁸

Also Ley's wartime speeches present his dissatisfaction with those who are still "gripped with compassion" and who speak of the "poor Jews" while forgetting that the Jews are the cause of all wars, rebellions, and exploitations. An example for that appears in a speech he held on May 1942.¹²⁹ While here too we find no specific details on the actual persecution of the Jews in a time in which the mass murder of Jews was already underway, in a speech at the occupied Polish city of Lodz during the last months of 1939, Ley directly mentioned attempts to help Jews, yet without saying from what:

I hear that sometimes petitions are sent to the Party's posts, in which ethnic Germans [i.e. Aryan Germans living in Poland] speak in favor of a Jew or a Pole. He is supposedly [...] a decent human being (*anständiger Mensch*). But what does decent mean here? He may appear as such [...] but that's not what this is about. It is about whether Germany wants to live or perish. That is the question. Nothing else.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Joseph Goebbels, *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel: Reden und Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1939/40/41* (München: Eherr Nachf. Verlag, 1941), 480. A copy of the brochure (*Seid nicht allzu gerecht*) is found in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. The poster appeared on 14-20 October 1942, and is reprinted in Franz-Josef Heyen, ed., *Parole der Woche: Eine Wandzeitung im Dritten Reich 1936-1943* (München: DTV, 1983), 112.

¹²⁹ Robert Ley, „Ansprache auf der ersten Gemeinschaftskundgebung der deutschen und niederländischen Arbeitsfront in Amsterdam“ (10.5.1942), in Roller and Höschel, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen*, 211. Goebbels made similar statements following the *Kristallnacht*: Goebbels, „Ansprache auf der 5. Jahrestagung der Reichskulturkammer und der NS-Gemeinschaft ‚Kraft durch Freude‘ im Opernhaus zu Berlin“ (25.11.1938), in Roller and Höschel, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen*, 122-124.

¹³⁰ Ley begins this appeal by criticizing Christian *Nächstenliebe* (altruism or charity). Robert Ley, „Ansprache vor deutschen Arbeitern in Lodz“ (Ende 1939), in Roller and Höschel, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen*, 158.

Ley condemned any references to “decent Jews” because such references distinguished between Jews and Poles as abstract collective categories and the concrete individual Jews who were Germans’ neighbors and acquaintances. The concept itself goes back (at least) to the public debates between antisemites and philosemites since the late nineteenth century (to which we shall return below).¹³¹ The Nazi propaganda often quoted the concept (in the same way that Ley does in the excerpt above) as an expression of a false outlook that points to a misunderstanding of the nature of the Jews, and it can be found in Nazi guidelines for racial education, in public speeches and articles, as well as in the secret speech that Heinrich Himmler held in Posen on October 4, 1943, in front of SS-officers. In this infamous speech, Himmler states that although many Germans agree with the need for a solution to the so-called Jewish problem, they have difficulties in applying it to those individual Jews they personally know: “And then along they all come, all the 80 million upright Germans, and each of them has his decent Jew.”¹³²

Once again we see here the reason for the Nazi emphasis on separation and on the elimination of Germans’ personal connections with Jews as a first and necessary stage on the way to create an Aryan Germany with its particular morality, and enable the “solution” of the “Jewish problem.” As we have seen so far, the points of separation and the possible threats on it (based, for example, on emotional involvement as in the case of compassion) from the view of the Nazi ethic, are also the points in which the Nazi propaganda addresses the issue of assisting Jews.

¹³¹ This distinction was one way to oppose antisemitism by showing the existence of “exceptional Jews.” Yet antisemites often exposed the anti-Jewish sentiments that stand behind such statements on “decent Jews.” This rhetorical function is discussed in one of the classic antisemitic texts of the time: Fritsch, *Handbuch der Judenfrage*, 311.

¹³² See examples, respectively: Dr. Werner Dietrich, *Erziehung zum Judengegner: Hinweise zur Behandlung der Judenfrage im rassenpolitischen Unterricht* (München: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1937), 21; „Das Märchen vom ‚anständigen Juden‘ (ca. 1938/1939), in Roller and Höschel, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen*, 127-128; <http://www.holocaust-history.org/himmler-poznan/speech-text.shtml> (accessed December 2011)

In the remaining pages of this chapter we will address four central patterns of social relationships between Jews and Aryans, which the Nazi separation policies aimed to abolish and which became (before and since 1945) important symbols and points of reference in discussing assistance to Jews. The four patterns, which designate different levels of acquaintance and intimacy with “the enemy,” are: buying from Jews, going to Jewish doctors, having sexual or romantic relations with Jews, and friendship with Jews.

“Don’t Buy from Jews!”

In 1933, the year in which Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany, Gottfried Feder published a small book called *Die Juden* (The Jews), in which he explained the centrality of the “Jewish question” in the program of the Nazi Party:

The National Socialist as such is an antisemite. Yet he is so in a much more comprehensive and deep sense than the antisemite of the common kind, who in so many cases rails against the Jew, but buys from the Jew, and not only suspenders, shoelaces, and handkerchiefs, but also music, literature, and philosophy.¹³³

This short quote illustrates how representatives of Nazi antisemitism saw themselves as bringing about a new way of fighting against Jews, which extended to all aspects of life. Nazi morality defined all acts as political and Feder’s strong condemnation of the purchase of music, literature, and philosophy from Jews draws on the alleged danger of the “Judaization” of the German spirit, which might make “pure” Germans Jewish in their behavior and thought.¹³⁴ But, in fact, the Nazis considered even the purchase of shoelaces or any kind of economic interaction with Jews (even the purchase of ice

¹³³ Feder, *Die Juden*, 9.

¹³⁴ Steven E. Aschheim, “‘The Jew Within’: The Myth of ‘Judaization’ in Germany,” *Culture and Catastrophe: German and Jewish Confrontations with National Socialism and Other Crises* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 45-68. See also „Entjudung“ in Cornelia Schmitz-Berning, *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), 189-191.

cream)¹³⁵ as a threat to the moral separation they desired.

The Nazi call for an economic separation from Jews is not a new phenomenon. Centuries-old anti-Jewish rhetoric saw the power and potential danger of the Jews in their economic activity, and associated them with corruption, exploitation, and “easy money” rather than with “decent” and hard labor. Medieval Christian polemics accused the Jews of brutal usury that “enslaved” naïve Christians and was adapted during the nineteenth century into seeing Jews as the pioneers of capitalism and exploiters of the working masses. Since at least the Early Modern period, the perception of Jews as posing an economic threat did not refer to the “money businesses” (usury and banks) alone, in which Jews were depicted as having a monopoly of some sort. Contemporaries also attacked their fellow Christians for preferring to do their businesses with Jews, in spite of the fact that Christians traded in the same field.¹³⁶ The possible perils of Jewish competition are articulated even in relatively moderate critiques of the Jews as expressed, for example, by the Frankfurter Hebraist Johann Jacob Schudt in his 1714 book on “Jewish Curiosities:” “Whenever someone has something to sell or trade, he calls a Jew. Since one could also deal or trade with a Christian, it is we Christians who strengthen the Jews and ruin ourselves.”¹³⁷

The emancipatory process in the nineteenth century, which promised to annul the restrictions on the work of Jews, caused a growing fear of a Jewish control over all

¹³⁵ Stapostelle Landespolizeibezirk Berlin, „Bericht für Juli 1935“ (Berlin, no date), in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 147.

¹³⁶ Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, “Jewish Economic Activity in Early Modern Times,” in R. Po-Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann, eds, *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 91-101. The discussion on Jewish usury and corrupt commerce continued into the debates on the emancipation in the nineteenth century. See Robertson, *The ‘Jewish Question’ in German Literature*, 48.

¹³⁷ Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1714), vol. 2, 165. Schudt’s book, which was supposed to also attract Jews to the Christian faith, oscillates between strong anti-Jewish polemics and a conciliatory tone. It is probably the reason why he criticizes the phenomenon of Jews buying from Christians, but emphasizes that it is not a sin that should be completely forbidden.

commercial activities, and this fear was among the instigators of the violent outbursts against Jews in this period.¹³⁸ The economic focus (often combined with a cultural critique on the “Judaization” of a certain social domain) is apparent also in the language and especially in the negative designations of Jews, which often referred to their line of work or to one of its products (*Zeitungsjuden*, *Theaterjude*, *Geldjude*, *Börsenjude*, *Trödeljude*, etc.).¹³⁹ Since the 1870s, and especially following the world economic crisis of 1873, public calls to boycott Jewish businesses markedly increased along with the antisemitic resurgence at the time. “Antisemites attempted to boycott Jewish businesses, to establish ‘Jew-free’ cattle-markets, and to set up the more popular antisemitic loan associations. However, most Jews preserved their clientele” and anti-Jewish commercial prejudices seem not to have had such a massive impact.¹⁴⁰ One of the reasons for the relative failure of these boycotts seems to be grounded in the public actions of the CV, *Abwehrverein* and other organizations that attempted to counter the antisemitic arguments also regarding the economic sphere. Thus, for example, at the end of the nineteenth century these organizations carried out counter-boycotts of businesses that were known not to hire Jewish employees, and continued in similar activities, such as public demonstrations, legal actions, and the circulation of brochures, up until the rise of the Nazis to power.¹⁴¹

The Nazi boycotts of Jewish businesses took place starting in the early 1920s, and were usually local campaigns in which other right-wing organizations and

¹³⁸ Hoffmann et al., eds, *Exclusionary Violence*.

¹³⁹ Nicoline Hartzitz, ‘Früh-Antisemitismus’ in Deutschland (1789-1871/72): Strukturelle Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Text und Argumentation (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988), 224-228. See also Cobet, *Wortschatz des Antisemitismus in der Bismarckzeit*.

¹⁴⁰ Marion A. Kaplan, “As Germans and as Jews in Imperial Germany,” in idem, ed., *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, 173-269, here 224. See also Henry Wassermann and Eckhart G. Franz, „Kauft nicht beim Juden’: Der politische Antisemitismus des späten 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland,” in Eckhart G. Franz, ed., *Juden als Darmstädter Bürger* (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1984), 123-136.

¹⁴¹ Barkai, „Wehr Dich!“, 38; Sibylle Morgenthaler, “Countering the Pre-1933 Nazi Boycott against Jews,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 36 (1991): 127-149.

media also participated.¹⁴² In a recent study, Hannah Ahlheim shows that when the Nazis and similar *völkisch* groups organized boycotts, they did so in order to generate media attention around “an event” whose goal was to intensify the social and economic segregation of the Jews and make them visible.¹⁴³ In addition to the intention to destroy the material basis of German Jews and impel them to leave, the Nazis also sought to identify the “national community” by marking the Jews within the topography of each town and thus affect their exclusion.¹⁴⁴ But, more important for our purposes here, the boycotts also had the function of testing the conduct and attitudes of non-Jewish Germans:

When calling for a boycott of Jewish businesses, the National Socialists delegated action to every German citizen, with explicit instructions on how to behave and how they should organize their everyday life in a “German” manner.¹⁴⁵

Therefore, the Nazis used the boycotts to “expose” the unyielding behavior of some Aryans, and thus examined (before and since 1933) to what extent the moral “national community” was actually achieved.

The April 1933 boycott of Jewish businesses had proven relatively unsuccessful and the phenomenon of Aryan Germans buying at Jewish businesses continued to occupy the Nazi regime throughout the 1930s. The main problem the regime faced was how to make Germans, some of them high-ranking Nazi Party

¹⁴² See, for example, the “Anti-Wucher” campaigns in Munich in 1921-22 that the *Völkischer Beobachter* initiated against specific Jewish businesses in the city, “exposing” their control of the market and exploitation of the buyers. Other right-wing newspapers also participated in such events. Walter, *Antisemitische Kriminalität und Gewalt*, 100-102.

¹⁴³ Hannah Ahlheim, “Establishing Antisemitic Stereotypes: Social and Economic Segregation of Jews by Means of Political Boycott in Germany,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 55 (2010): 149-173.

¹⁴⁴ To some extent, Jewish organizations such as the CV also contributed to this separation in circulating a list of localities that Jews should not enter. Barkai, „*Wehr Dich!*“, 177-178.

¹⁴⁵ Ahlheim, “Establishing Antisemitic Stereotypes,” 150.

members,¹⁴⁶ give preference to ideology over their “short-sighted” needs.¹⁴⁷ In public speeches, street signs, public shouting of slogans (*Kauft nicht bei Juden!* being the most popular among them) and newspaper articles, Nazi activists denounced those who continued to meet with Jews or visited their businesses, often portraying these Germans as traitors who have no room in the racial *Volksgemeinschaft*.¹⁴⁸

Unlike the media reports in Nazi Germany about violence against Jews (especially since November 1938 and *Kristallnacht*) which, as we have seen, did not explicitly mention that Aryan Germans gave help to Jews, we find quite direct public condemnations of purchasing from Jews or visiting Jewish businesses, especially on the local level. For example, throughout the 1930s there appeared several articles in the *Geraer Beobachter*, the Nazi Party’s newspaper in the city of Gera, which considered a positive approach toward Jews and especially buying in businesses known to be Jewish as demonstrating one’s non-Nazi attitude.¹⁴⁹ At least two such articles from Gera warned Germans that the names of those buying in Jewish businesses will be made public¹⁵⁰ and starting in 1934 this indeed happened throughout Germany when “guards posted in front of Jewish shops wrote down the names of people entering those shops, and these names were published on billboards

¹⁴⁶ The issue was raised several times by common “Volksgenossen” who complained that they are told not to buy from Jews, but Nazis in high office continue to do so. See, for example, Beatrice and Helmut Heiber, eds, *Die Rückseite des Hakenkreuzes: Absonderliches aus den Akten des Dritten Reiches* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993), 301-302.

¹⁴⁷ See, for example, the following secret police report, submitted shortly after the Nuremberg Racial Laws of September 1935, which complains about workers who demonstrate only minor interest in the Jewish issue and continue to purchase in Jewish businesses, because they sell for lower prices. Stapostelle Regierungsbezirk Magdeburg, „Bericht für September 1935 (Magdeburg, 5.10.1935),“ in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 161.

¹⁴⁸ See Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*, 125-126, 138, 150, 165; Ahlheim, “Establishing Antisemitic Stereotypes,” 163-166. The Nazi denouncing of some Germans as “traitors” and excluding them from the “national community” can be found already in the years before the Nazi rise to power, for instance, when referring to social democrats’ or communists’ attitude toward the “Jewish question.” See Walter, *Antisemitische Kriminalität und Gewalt*, 250.

¹⁴⁹ According to one of these articles, “buying from the Jew is immoral – those German *Volksgenossen* who still today [July 1935] buy from the Jew are no part of that German people as it is depicted in public.” Reprinted in Werner Simsohn, ed., *Juden in Gera, III: Judenfeindschaft in der Zeitung. Leben, Leiden im NS-Staat, Folgen 1933-1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2000), 25. Similar articles that appeared between 1934 to 1937 are reprinted on pages 18, 23, 38.

¹⁵⁰ Simsohn, ed., *Juden in Gera, III*, 18, 28.

and in many local newspapers as a form of pillory.”¹⁵¹ In other occasions, Nazi activists posted signs on the houses of those accused of buying from Jews in which they allegedly admitted their “crime” – “I bought from a Jew.”¹⁵² On the national level, the crudely antisemitic newspaper *Der Stürmer* regularly published in a section called “small news” (*Kleine Nachrichten*) the names and addresses of “traitors” who purchased in so-called Jewish businesses, and the newspaper’s public display cases (*Stürmerkasten*) presented these lists across German towns and villages.¹⁵³

It is important to note that the names of “immoral” Germans often reached the Nazi authorities and media through denunciations from the local population, so that we are not talking here about a measure that was forced on “the Germans” by “the Nazis,” but rather on a complicated exchange between the regime and parts of the population. In fact, in some cases we even find private initiatives for condemning buying from Jews. In one such case, SA-man Erich Stackmann decided in August 1935, without informing his superiors, to stand in front of a Jewish store in Lüneburg (northern Germany), where he took pictures of Aryan buyers and denounced them as “servants of Jews” (*Judenknechte*). The police investigation of the case, reported that Stackman said

that he finds it necessary to capture the pictures (*im Bilde festzuhalten*) of those *Volksgenossen* who still today do business with Jews, and to publicly condemn (*öffentlich anzuprangern*) them. In his view, the buyers deserve no other treatment, since in buying from the Jew they have excluded themselves from the *Volksgemeinschaft*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Ahlheim, “Establishing Antisemitic Stereotypes,” 166.

¹⁵² SD-Außenstelle Hanau II 112, „Aktion gegen Juden“ (Hanau, 15.5.1938), in Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 275.

¹⁵³ Fred Hahn, *Lieber Stürmer: Leserbriefe an das NS-Kampfblatt 1924 bis 1945* (Stuttgart-Degerloch: Seewald Verlag, 1978), 228-250. See also throughout Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*.

¹⁵⁴ „Die Ortspolizeibehörde in Lüneburg (29. August 1935).“ Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover, Hann. 180 Lüneburg, Acc. 3/016, Nr. 430.

Jewish Doctors

The Nazi boycott campaigns did not only target Jewish shopkeepers and big businesses. The Nazi local action committees that enforced the economic and social separation from the Jews directed their activities against other professions in which Jews had an alleged negative spiritual influence (such as in the arts or the press) or were perceived to be dominant (especially doctors and lawyers). The public campaigns against Jewish doctors had been strongly emphasized and one could often find the slogan calling to “avoid Jewish doctors” next to the one stating “don’t buy in Jewish businesses.”¹⁵⁵ The reasons for concentrating on Jewish doctors are multiple, and include the bio-political orientation of the Nazis that focused on the “health of the nation,” along with economic and moral considerations.

Here too, earlier campaigns against Jewish physicians had a marked influence on the forms and contents of the Nazi attacks. The phenomenon of Christians, both from the elites and the lower orders, who preferred to go to Jewish physicians can be traced back to the Middle Ages, as can the writings that warn Christians against doing so. The authors of these writings were often theologians but also Christian physicians, who would not charge the low fees that the Jewish competition did. The arguments these authors used combined economic, technical, moral, and religious factors. Thus, while Christian doctors usually emphasized the unprofessional training of Jewish “alleged doctors” and claimed that the economic repercussions for the patients and their community could be disastrous, they also used explicitly moral and religious arguments.¹⁵⁶

In fact, the main arguments against the Jewish physicians did not refer to their medical activity, but to their “essence” as Jews. The Jewish physicians were portrayed

¹⁵⁵ Gellately, *Backing Hitler*, 26-27.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Jütte, “Contacts at the Bedside: Jewish Physicians and Their Christian Patients,” in Hsia and Lehmann, eds, *In and Out of the Ghetto*, 137-150; John M. Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 34-104.

as having a “filthy” nature, were said to use black magic and have a pact with the devil, to have an obsession with blood (hinting at Jewish ritual murder of Christians and the cruel slaughter of animals), and be nothing more than butchers, who pretend to be physicians in order to kill Christians.¹⁵⁷ In these writings, the Christian physician is considered to be morally superior to the Jew in the treatment of patients, an “assessment” that often drew on other anti-Jewish stereotypes. For example, in a pamphlet from 1819 (the year of the “Hep-Hep” pogroms) we find the following statement on the “Judendoktor”:

A physician should not only have a thorough scientific knowledge, but also be a refined man (*veredelter Mann*), a philanthropist (*Menschenfreund*) in the highest sense of the word, and place the pursuit of money below the ambition to serve the suffering humanity. This is something that is impossible for the Jew, and therefore he could never properly fulfill the duties of a physician. Furthermore, one does not only seek [medical] help from the physician. Rather, the latter should also be a friend, who consoles and gives advice to the sufferers.¹⁵⁸

Such arguments were supposed to deter Christians from going to Jewish physicians by emphasizing the alleged moral corruption of the Jews, but also by claiming that the patients cannot reach the same intimacy they could have with “German” physicians. In the last third of the nineteenth century, antisemitic writings expressed their indignation regarding the “infiltration” of Jews into the medical profession in Germany since the latter’s legal emancipation and their “contamination” of its institutions, but they did not only raise economic arguments against this phenomenon. They also attacked the

¹⁵⁷ This is the claim, for example, in a “thorough report on the Jews’ activities and ceremonies,” dated 1573, “about a Jew who under the guise of medicine executed six hundred Christians. They should treat sows and donkeys, but not me.” Reprinted in Nicoline Hartzitz, *Der „Judenarzt“: Historische und sprachliche Untersuchungen zur Diskriminierung eines Berufsstandes in der frühen Neuzeit* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994), 68.

¹⁵⁸ The book is *Judenspiegel* by Hartwig von Hundt-Radowsky. Reprinted in Hartzitz, *Der „Judenarzt“*, 38.

tendency for medical specialization among Jewish physicians in Germany, expressed their fears of Jewish gynecologists sexually exploiting innocent Aryan women, and of Jewish medical experts intentionally spreading diseases and ruining the medical science.¹⁵⁹ The issue of medical intimacy thus combined broad moral and sexual fears and antisemites portrayed it as threatening the entire fiber of German society. Theodor Fritsch's influential antisemitic text *Handbuch der Judenfrage* (originally published in 1907), summarizes the destructive influence of the Jews in the practical and scientific medicine as "negation of all that is just, and healthy, and honest for us," which would lead to "the complete disintegration of the German family."¹⁶⁰

The antisemitic campaigns against Jewish doctors at the turn of the twentieth century and during the Weimar Republic led to discrimination against Jews who wanted to enter the state's medical institutions. The campaigns encouraged Jewish organizations to emphasize the Jews' contribution to different aspects of the German society, including medicine. These explicitly apologetic goals comprised of a series of activities, publications, and lectures, including a lecture held in Berlin in 1926 in which the speaker counted numerous celebrated Jewish physicians as well as their scientific contributions, before he concluded on a pessimistic note. Beyond the persecution and discrimination aimed against Jewish medical scientists, he said, "the worst is that also Jewish practicing doctors are losing their Christian clients in a way that was seen neither in the nineteenth century nor even in the Middle Ages."¹⁶¹

The Nazi regime continued the same basic lines of argument regarding the supposedly greedy and exploitative Jewish doctors, who aim to contaminate the

¹⁵⁹ Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, 234-261.

¹⁶⁰ Fritsch, *Handbuch der Judenfrage*, 248.

¹⁶¹ Heinrich Rosin, *Die Juden in der Medizin: Vortrag gehalten im Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur in Berlin* (Berlin: Philo Verlag, 1926), 25. In 1929, the newspaper of the CV reported on its front page that while Jewish doctors, businessmen, and lawyers stated that their older clients remain immune to the antisemitic propaganda and continue to come to them, their clients' children prefer to go to non-Jews. „Koburg,“ *CV-Zeitung* (25.1.1929), 1.

“German body,” sexually abuse Aryan women, and destroy the “German family,” as did the Nazis’ anti-Jewish predecessors. These arguments supported the decrees and propaganda that condemned going to Jewish doctors, restricted the activity of Jewish doctors that now could only treat Jewish patients, and in 1938 finally decertified all Jewish physicians and closed the Jewish hospitals. The expulsion of Jewish medical scientists from the academic institutions took place already on April 7, 1933, with the introduction of the “Law for the Reconstitution of the German Civil Service” that had an “Aryan paragraph” forbidding the inclusion of Jews into the civil service, to which the universities belonged.¹⁶² As in other academic circles, only a minority of the Aryan doctors protested the removal of their Jewish colleagues.¹⁶³

Similarly to what we have seen in other antisemitic campaigns, it wasn’t only the regime that socially ostracized Jewish doctors. In some occasions during the early 1930s, Aryan doctors took on private initiatives in order to “get rid of the competition,” by taking over the clinic or patients of a Jewish doctor while he or she was away, or smashing the windows and removing the sign of the Jewish doctor’s clinic.¹⁶⁴ In other cases, however, some Germans consciously chose to visit a Jewish doctor or grocer on the days of boycott, and a man declared in a café a day after the events of *Kristallnacht* that he and his family would continue to visit their Jewish physician in spite of the regime’s policies. Those Aryans who did so had to face public condemnation or even an investigation by the Gestapo.¹⁶⁵ In these and similar cases, the competition over the patients, the issue of solidarity with Jews, and the separation

¹⁶² Initially with the exception of those who fought on the front in WWI, but this “obstacle” was also removed quickly. Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, 262-264; Michael H. Kater, *Doctors under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 139-142.

¹⁶³ Kater, *Doctors under Hitler*, 145-146.

¹⁶⁴ Michael H. Kater, “Everyday Anti-Semitism in Pre-War Nazi Germany: The Popular Bases,” *Yad Vashem Studies XVI* (1984): 129-159; Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 26.

¹⁶⁵ Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*. 21-22; Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 207. A condemnation of Gera’s residents who go to “Jewish doctors” appears in the *Geraer Zeitung* on October 7, 1933. Reprinted in Simsohn, ed., *Juden in Gera, III*, 19.

from them were made public, and although separation stood at the center of the Nazi efforts, the exchanges about and around it also articulated the moral stance and behavior that the Nazis abhorred.

Marriage, Sex, and Love

We have discussed Nazi attempts to prevent Jewish “contamination,” sexual abuse, and intimacy between Jewish doctors and Aryan patients. These “dangers” received even greater attention when referring to so-called mixed marriages between Jews and Aryans. The act of wedding presented for antisemites a multiple threat to the separation they wished to establish. First, the *personal* elements of trust and emotional involvement between the two partners clearly contradicted the depiction of Jews as corrupt and inhuman. Second, marriage acted as a *social* contract that brought the families and “races” together instead of pulling them apart, and third, it led to sexual relations and the “defilement” of the blood and to the destruction of the *race*.

Mixed marriages are, in fact, a rather new phenomenon in the German countries. Early in the nineteenth century there existed a few voices that connected the desired emancipation of the Jews to a legalization of Christian-Jewish marriages. The motivations of those who supported these marriages were diverse and often utilitarian in nature. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Churches and the Jewish communities generally objected to these marriages for reasons of unwanted assimilation and loss of identity, religion or tradition. Other voices within the Churches and the German states, however, saw in such marriages a possibility for the complete absorption of the Jews into the Christian society, and thus a solution to the “Jewish problem,” which they usually viewed as a religious rather than racial matter. The religious reforms within the Jewish communities that aspired to an integration into the “general” German society, along with the advancement of civil marriages

within the states (first between Jewish partners and only later between Jews and Christians), brought eventually to the legal regulation of inter-confessional marriages in Germany in 1874-1875. Yet the resistance to these marriages from both Jewish and Christian circles continued into the twentieth century.¹⁶⁶

Mixed marriages were a rather rare phenomenon in the first decade after their legalization. Yet ever more Germans entered into such marriages and some saw in them a hope for overcoming antisemitism. We find a fascinating example for such hopes in a book from 1911 on “The Jews in Germany.” The author, who identifies himself as a German Jew, writes that as a result of mixed marriages,

The number of the Christians who have a Jewish impact in their blood (*Bluteinschlag*) and of Jews who have a non-Jewish impact in theirs will grow into the immeasurable. Considering the ratio between the two [groups], the Jewish part will become very small [and its] disappearance will facilitate the rise of the Jew into national circles (*Volkskreisen*) to which he belongs according to his other capacities [e.g. according to trading skills and social class]. His kin’s relationships will allow him entrance. In this way, the mass that is still caught up in the old magical circle of the Ghetto (*Ghettozauberkreis*) will gradually break off of it. The great wave of the people (*Volkswelle*) will not surge on the walls of the Jewish city any more, but flood over and above it and take with it all of us, making us into one united people of brothers.¹⁶⁷

This remarkable text does not only testify to the hope that some Germans (Jews and non-Jews) associated with a surge of mixed marriages in Germany, but also indicates

¹⁶⁶ Kerstin Meiring, *Die Christlich-Jüdische Mischehe in Deutschland 1840-1933* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz Verlag, 1998).

¹⁶⁷ The author is aware of the fact that Zionist and Orthodox Jews in Germany will not accept his vision, but believes that for the majority of German Jews this will be a good solution. [Friedrich Blach], *Die Juden in Deutschland. Von einem jüdischen Deutschen* (Berlin: Verlag von Karl Curtius, 1911), 40-41.

the integration of racial thinking into the discussion, which by the mid nineteenth century still focused mostly on religion. But while this “German Jew” saw a “mixing of the blood” as a positive thing, others saw it negatively.

Eugen Dühring, one of the founding fathers of racial antisemitism in Germany, wrote in his influential book “On the Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Question” that while the mixing of blood between related racial groups can be beneficial, “the intrusion (*Einmischung*) of Jewish blood can under all circumstances only result in a change to the worse.”¹⁶⁸ Dühring acknowledges that at the time of writing the book (1881) the number of racially mixed marriages was still small, and did not require yet the state’s intervention. He sees the reasons for that both in the objection of the different communities to these marriages and in the “instinctive aversion, yes, the disgust (*Ekel*)” felt by the unspoiled (*unverdorben*) women of “better nationalities” against Jewish men.¹⁶⁹

Dühring’s main concern is not with mixed marriages as such, but with what came to be known as “racial defilement” (*Rassenschande*), i.e. the alleged degeneration of the German “national body” (*Volkskörper*) through sexual relations with Jewish partners. The arguments against *Rassenschande* since the late nineteenth century did not only focus on mixed marriages or even on Jews alone, but rather attacked all sexual relations that involved “inferior races” (such as in the case of “Rhineland bastards,” children born to Aryan women and black colonial soldiers who were stationed in the Rhineland during the 1920s). Nevertheless, mixed marriages

¹⁶⁸ Eugen Dühring, *Die Judenfrage als Racen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage* (Karlsruhe und Leipzig: Verlag von H. Reutner, 1881), 143.

¹⁶⁹ Dühring, *Die Judenfrage als Racen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage*, 144-145.

retained their significance, since they served antisemites as an indication for the level of “pollution” of the German national body in general.¹⁷⁰

Antisemites did not only treat *Rassenschande* as a biological concern. The topic also had social relevance that lay in anxiety regarding the inversion of the “natural” power relations that supposedly existed in Germany before the emancipation of the Jews and which used to put the Jews in their “proper” inferior place in society. In antisemitic texts, the bemoaning of what their authors viewed as a present inversion of these power relations is embodied in the fear of a Jewish man seducing an unaware and passive German *Mädel*. The passivity and weakness of women were commonplace beliefs for antisemitic writers at the time (and not only for antisemites) and thus it comes as no surprise that they projected their feelings of weakness and crisis onto the bodies of women.¹⁷¹ Dühring wrote:

The deterioration (*Verderbung*) [of the German blood] takes shape in the worst way when female members of better peoples fall prey to the fate of serving as reproduction sites (*Fortpflanzungsstätten*) for the Jewish clan and character. In light of such shaping (*Gestaltung*), the better peoples should prefer, *out of considerations of honor and disgrace*, to blast open the veins of rage (*Zornsadern sprengen*) than to endure even the slightest humiliation of their nationalities and a Judaization of their blood.¹⁷²

In this dramatic and angry description, Dühring sees the opposite case, i.e. the pairing of Jewish women with Aryan men, as a lesser evil. This gender differentiation is significant since it connects directly to his association of the racial “problem” with a public humiliation and to Aryans’ behavior that decides between honor and disgrace.

¹⁷⁰ For the sources and uses of this term since the last third of the nineteenth century see Alexandra Przyrembel, „*Rassenschande*“: *Reinheitsmythos und Vernichtungslegitimation im Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 23-62.

¹⁷¹ On the connections between antisemitism and anti-feminism in Germany at the late nineteenth century and beyond see Volkov, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites*, 137-144.

¹⁷² Emphasis added. Dühring, *Die Judenfrage als Racen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage*, 143-144.

The Nazi regime adopted this distinction when referring to *Rassenschande* as a disgrace (*Schande*) to the racial community. The most explicit expressions of this distinction were the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which included the “Law for the Protection of the German Blood and *Honor*.” The law prohibited racially mixed marriages or any “interracial” sexual relations, and forbade Jews from hiring housemaids younger than 45 (again reflecting the fear of sexual seduction). But what was the function of honor in this context?

In general, the Nazi perception of honor (*Ehre*) epitomized Germans’ expected loyalty (*Treue*) to the moral idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft* along with its “dos” and “don’ts.” The violation of any of these moral commandments, as in the case of having personal and especially intimate relations with Jews, is thus considered to be disgraceful for the individual and also for the community.¹⁷³ *Rassenschande* was viewed as violating the community’s honor because it damaged the purity of the entire race and the goal of racial evolution.¹⁷⁴ But it was mostly articulated as a personal disgrace. In this view, a person who does not remain loyal to his own kind, and is not willing to sacrifice his life for it, if necessary, has no honor.¹⁷⁵

The concept itself has a long history. As Richard Evans shows, *Ehre* was important in defining who is considered a part of society as far back as the Early Modern period, and was used to distinguish social outsiders within status-based social orders (*Stände*). Outside the structure of honorable society stood the heterogeneous group of the “dishonorable” (*unehrliche Leute*), which was stigmatization that evolved either from inheritance of status, a profession or religious conviction, or as a

¹⁷³ Gross, *Anständig geblieben*, 33-35, 69-92; Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*, 219-266.

¹⁷⁴ Weikart, *Hitler’s Ethic*, 140-143.

¹⁷⁵ Thus, in a lexicon from 1937, we find the following definition of the term: “Ehre, Bestand und Bewahrung der eigenen Art [i.e. race], Eintreten und notfalls Sichopfern für die eigene Art und für deren höchste Werte. Gegensatz dazu: Ehrlosigkeit, Verfall, Preisgeben, Verrat, Befleckung der eigenen Art. Ehre kann es nur geben, wenn Bewußtsein der eigenen Art vorhanden ist; wer sich nicht – und sei es unbewusst, instinktiv – zu seiner eigenen Art bekennt, besitzt auch keine Ehre.“ Quoted in Schmitz-Berning, *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus*, 163-164 (*Ehre*).

consequence of a “deviant” behavior.¹⁷⁶ The emergence of the centralized state saw the dwindling of these notions of exclusion according to honor, but they did not disappear completely.¹⁷⁷

Michael Wildt shows the Nazis’ renewed use in public rituals of social shaming, such as the forced parading of men and women accused of extra-marital sexual relations, carrying signs describing their disgrace, and the attachment of the names and addresses of these persons to pillory pillars (*Prangersäule*) in the old squares of German towns. The idea of these rituals of public disgrace was to make the spectators into participants in excluding the “dishonorable” and establishing the boundaries of the community and its honor.¹⁷⁸ At the same time, however, these rituals, in addition to placards and leaflets denouncing the *Rassenschänder*, also presented the act of solidarity with Jews and intimacy between Jews and Aryans for the public to see.

These public rituals, which often included severe violence, aimed to humiliate both the man and the woman accused of *Rassenschande*, yet the disgrace was attached to the Aryan woman.¹⁷⁹ The focus on the Aryan woman reflects, first of all, the fact that the majority of mixed marriages were between a Jewish man and an Aryan woman. Furthermore, the Nazi authorities that arrested those accused in such acts and

¹⁷⁶ Richard J. Evans, “Social Outsiders in German History: From the Sixteenth Century to 1933,” in Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus, eds, *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 20-44.

¹⁷⁷ Ann Goldberg shows that in the *Kaiserreich* the traditional idiom of honor changed its form and adapted to a democratic politics of rights, which expressed itself in a growing number of personal legal suits on slander. Ann Goldberg, *Honor, Politics, and the Law in Imperial Germany, 1871-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). This also led many Jews to see their equal rights as establishing their honor and thus any antisemitic act against them as slander that should be sued. See *ibid.*, 157-168.

¹⁷⁸ Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*, 219-266.

¹⁷⁹ Przyrembel, „*Rassenschande*“, 65-84.

organized the public humiliations, consciously focused on this gender constellation (which symbolized the reversal of “appropriate” power relations).¹⁸⁰

Moreover, the concentration on the woman’s honor had a tradition. In the Middle Ages, when a Christian woman was charged with having sexual relations with a Jewish man, the man was harshly punished, but the woman had to wear a “Jewish hat,” was tied to the pillory pillar or carried in a procession through the town before she was banished from it.¹⁸¹ In a similar manner, the Nazis tied the sexual breach of norms to the female participant, whose honor involved the body, and especially a woman’s role as a mother.¹⁸² The Nazis also drew on more recent norms, such as the middle class perception of female honor since the eighteenth century that emphasized women’s chastity and monitored their sexual conduct. While during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries premarital sexual activity of both men and women was not always considered as something to be ashamed of, for example in workers’ circles, even there a child born outside of marriage brought disgrace upon the mother and the family.¹⁸³ The Nazi regime took this idea to the extreme with the addition of the racial element that did not only refer to the birth of *Mischlinge* (children of mixed race) as a social aberration, but also to any suspicion of intimate relations between Jewish men and Aryan women. The regime also persecuted Jewish doctors, and especially

¹⁸⁰ Beate Meyer, “The Mixed Marriage: A Guarantee of Survival or a Reflection of German Society during the Nazi Regime?” in Bankier, ed., *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism*, 54-77. See pp. 54-55. Meyer’s findings refer in particular to Hamburg. Similar findings are found also in Düsseldorf: Vandana Joshi, *Gender and Power in the Third Reich: Female Denouncers and the Gestapo, 1933-45* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 133-135.

¹⁸¹ Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich*, 42-43. Toch says that in most cases the steps against the women were made to salvage the honor of the women themselves, yet the public demonstration of the punishment and the chasing away of these women testifies that it was, in fact, the community’s honor that was protected.

¹⁸² The Nazi state thus awarded “Honor Cards” for women purchasing in Aryan businesses and the “Honor Cross of the German Mother” to married women who bore many children. While at the same time the regime condemned women’s “sexual promiscuity” as immoral, one cannot simply speak about a “suppression” of sexuality in the Third Reich. Jill Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Germany* (Harlow, Pearson Education, 2001), 31-36; Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*.

¹⁸³ Ute Frevert, „Weibliche Ehre – Männliche Ehre,“ in *„Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann“: Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne* (München: Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995), 166-222.

gynecologists, who treated Aryan women, or even worked with Aryan female secretaries.¹⁸⁴ As such, however, the public condemnation of women accused of having sexual relations “with the enemy” is not unique to the Nazi racial thought and is anchored in a broader European context, as can be seen in the case of French Résistance members publicly shaving the hair of “dishonored” French woman accused of “horizontally collaborating” with the German occupiers.¹⁸⁵

Following the passing of the Nuremberg Laws in September 1935, the “treatment” of *Rassenschande* was largely taken from the local SA-man and entrusted to the courts. Thus local initiatives, such as the one of Nazi supporters in Bielefeld, who in early October 1935 planned to march a Jewish “lover of German blonde girls” through the streets of the town, had to be withdrawn.¹⁸⁶ The Nazi legal system prosecuted cases of extra-marital sexual relations, but not intermarriages concluded before the law was passed. Yet throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the state placed tremendous pressures on mixed couples to divorce, and quite a few succumbed to them and exposed the Jewish partner to persecution and death.¹⁸⁷ Those who stayed together contributed in most cases to the survival of the Jewish partner, who received a privileged position, as did also their children.¹⁸⁸ In their sheer existence, these couples thwarted the advancement of Nazi anti-Jewish policies in regard to their

¹⁸⁴ Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society*, 172, 201; Joshi, *Gender and Power in the Third Reich*, 93.

¹⁸⁵ These actions took place already during the occupation, but mostly in the immediate days after the liberation. See Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: Daily Life in the Heart of France during the German Occupation* (New York: Picador, 2004), 302-303, 340; Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford: Berg, 2002). Virgili shows the centrality of the element of honor in references made by participants in these shaming rituals. Evidence for public shaving the hair of Aryan women (and sometimes of the Jewish men as well) accused of *Rassenschande* is depicted in Przyrembel, „*Rassenschande*“, 69-84.

¹⁸⁶ Stapostelle Regierungsbezirk Minden, „Bericht für September 1935 (Minden, 3.10.1935),“ in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 162.

¹⁸⁷ See, for example, the reconstruction of such a case in Martin Doerry, *My Wounded Heart: The Life of Lilli Jahn, 1900-1944* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).

¹⁸⁸ Marion Kaplan thus points out the inversion of power relations within the family, since the Aryan woman was the one the Jewish man was dependent upon for survival, rather than the other way around. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*, 83-87.

family members, and often also changed the opinions of Aryans who in this way had the opportunity to personally know Jews and view them as humans.¹⁸⁹

The reactions of the population to the condemnation and persecution of *Rassenschande* varied. Based on the Gestapo files in the archive in Düsseldorf, Sarah Gordon discovered only a minor decrease in arrests of *Rassenschande* and thus of intimate relations between Jews and Germans by 1939. These relations appear to have continued to take place in spite of the extensive enforcement of the Nuremberg Laws, through which many of the Aryan partners were warned, arrested, and even incarcerated in concentration camps. On the other hand, Gordon found other popular reactions, such as reports from the early 1940s “that the population did not understand why Jews who were married to Germans were not also required to wear the [Jewish] star, since this oversight made it possible for them to escape detection.”¹⁹⁰ In any case, it becomes clear that *Rassenschande* and intermarriages, to which the Nazi regime gave considerable attention in the media, in public rituals, and in legal persecution, remained a widely familiar topic throughout the years of the Third Reich.

Judenfreunde

In addition to *Rassenschande*, the second major offence in which the Gestapo persecuted Aryans for their relations with Jews was the accusation of being friendly to Jews. This area of potential “criminality” was a catch-all accusation not supported by any specific state law that could be leveled at persons “who had uttered disagreement with some aspect of the racial policies, or had otherwise given reasons for suspicion that they did not accept the letter or spirit” of Nazi antisemitism.¹⁹¹ The unspecific

¹⁸⁹ Nathan Stoltzfus, “The Limits of Policy: Social Protection of Intermarried German Jews in Nazi Germany, in Gellately and Stoltzfus, eds, *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, 117-144.

¹⁹⁰ Sarah Gordon, *Hitler, Germans and the “Jewish Question”* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 180, 188.

¹⁹¹ Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society*, 160.

accusation of being a “friend of Jews” (*Judenfreund*) related to any kind of association with Jews, and included different facets of social interactions with them, from greeting Jews on the street to assisting them to escape persecution, as well as the interactions we have discussed so far, i.e. buying from Jews, going to Jewish doctors or lawyers, mixed marriage or having any kind of intimate relations with Jews. As such, the concept of *Judenfreund*, which was not confined to the use of the Gestapo alone, articulated the entire idea of moral separation from the Jews.

The Nazis divided the world into friends and foes and demanded from Germans to position themselves in a similar polarization either for or against Jews. Since the Nazis considered this choice a moral one, they rejected the existence of any middle ground, although in reality many Germans enthusiastically accepted some elements of National Socialism but distanced themselves from others.¹⁹² Rhetorically, this dichotomous distinction crystallized in Germany already in the 1870s, when parallel to the emergence of the concept “antisemitism” emerged also “philosemitism” or *Judenfreundlichkeit* (friendliness toward Jews) as its counter-concept.¹⁹³ Yet just as modern antisemitic depictions draw from older representations and practices, so did the division between the Jews’ opponents and friends began taking shape prior to the nineteenth century.

Reports on pro-Jewish attitudes, and even help to persecuted Jews, are already found in medieval accounts from the German lands, although not in large numbers.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*.

¹⁹³ Thomas Nipperdey and Reinhard Rürup, „Antisemitismus,“ in Otto Brunner et al., eds., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), vol. 1, 129-153.

¹⁹⁴ These reports refer, for example, to the massacres that took place during the first Crusade and in the fourteenth century, and depict Christian townspeople or members of the clergy who objected the killing of Jews and even saved some lives. Michael Meyer et al., *German Jewish History in Modern Times, Vol. 1*, 22, 42. Furthermore, the notion of protecting the Jews also appeared in a medieval custom that enabled some Jews to pay the local ruler (king, emperor, or even a cardinal) in order to become *Schutzjuden* (protected Jews). While this was a way of extorting money from the Jewish communities, it allowed a continuous existence of Jews in the area and may have also acted to provide an alternative to anti-Jewish practices. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, “Judenschutz - Eine mittelalterliche Königstugend?,” in

We also find negative portrayals of Christians helping Jews or siding with them throughout Medieval Europe in anti-Jewish charges of blood-libel and host desecration, in which Jews are said to have a Christian accomplice.¹⁹⁵ Other medieval accounts refer to “bad Christians” who are charged with cooperating with Jews and other “enemies” of the Christian community, for instance, during the Great Plague in the fourteenth century.¹⁹⁶ We can say, therefore, that the existence and condemnation of non-Jewish associates or supporters of Jews has a long history in anti-Jewish polemic, as well as the reference to these accomplices as “traitors” or at least outsiders within the Christian community.

The earliest German-language example I could find to the rhetorical distinction between friends and enemies of Jews appears in the early sixteenth century as part of the well-known theological dispute between Johannes Pfefferkorn and Johannes Reuchlin. In his 1509 pamphlet attacking the Jewish Talmud and Jews in general, Pfefferkorn proclaimed himself an enemy of Jews (*Juden Veindt*) and defined this position as the truly Christian one. In his later writings, Pfefferkorn directed his assaults also at the humanist Johannes Reuchlin, who refuted his accusations, and labeled him an enemy of Christians and a supporter and friend of Jews.¹⁹⁷ In the decades thereafter, anti-Jewish writings repeated Pfefferkorn’s message and designation,¹⁹⁸ while several Jewish authors proclaimed Reuchlin as proof for the possibility of peaceful coexistence of Jews and non-Jews.¹⁹⁹

Reinhard Schneider, ed., *Juden in Deutschland: Lebenswelten und Einzelschicksale* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 1994), 35-149.

¹⁹⁵ Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 45-47, 73-80.

¹⁹⁶ Johannes Heil, „Gottesfeinde“ – „Menschenfeinde“: *Die Vorstellung von jüdischer Weltverschwörung (13. Bis 16. Jahrhundert)* (Essen: Klartext, 2006), 493.

¹⁹⁷ Pfefferkorn called Reuchlin „Christenfeind“, „Judenbegünstiger“, and „Judenfreund.“ Ellen Martin, *Die deutschen Schriften des Johannes Pfefferkorn: Zum Problem des Judenhasses und der Intoleranz in der Zeit der Vorreformation* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1994), 115, 164-165, 284.

¹⁹⁸ A similar message appears in a book from 1570, whose author admits to have used Pfefferkorn’s text: Georg Nigrinus [= Georg Schwarz], *Jüden Feind. Von den Edlen Früchten der Talmutischen Jüden/so jetziger Zeit in Teutschlande wohnen/ein ernste/wolgegründte Schrift/Darin kurzlich*

In subsequent centuries, *Judenfreund* and similar concepts remained in the vocabulary of anti-Jewish writers as a designation for Christians siding with Jews or having close relations to them and was used to condemn actions, such as going to Jewish physicians.²⁰⁰ Thus, in the early nineteenth century, some advocates of Jewish emancipation identified themselves and were labeled by others with names such as “protectors of the Jews.”²⁰¹ The identification of these persons often endangered them on the occasion of violent outbursts against Jews, as during the Hep-Hep riots, when rioters physically attacked non-Jews whom they accused of supporting the improvement of Jews’ social and political status.²⁰²

Yet the most well-known and long-standing symbol for solidarity and friendship with Jews was Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s play *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise, 1779). The play introduced the figure of Nathan, a clever and wealthy Jew, who uses his wit to resolve the dispute between the monotheistic religions by making them irrelevant to human relationships. The reasons that made *Nathan der Weise* into a symbol for humanity and friendship with Jews are twofold. First, the play interprets friendship as an idea that brings together individuals of different social classes and “nationalities” and reaches out to the other in the name of human equality, i.e. “as if ‘a

angezeigt wirdt/Das sie die größte Låsterer vnd Verechter unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi/dazu abgesagte vnd vnuersünliche Feinde der Christen sind. Dargegen Freunde und Verwande der Türcken/...
Reprinted in Hartzitz, *Der „Judenarzt“*, 66-67.

¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, some Jewish writers who spoke of Reuchlin in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries questioned his “philosemitic” motivation. Julius H. Schoeps, „Das Doppelgesicht der Aufklärung: Der Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn-Streit in der jüdischen Historiographie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts,“ in *Deutsch-jüdische Symbiose oder Die Mißglückte Emanzipation* (Berlin: Phlio, 1996), 253-269.

²⁰⁰ See, for example, the excerpt from Christian Treumundt’s text *Gewissen=loser Juden=Doctor* (1698). Reprinted in Hartzitz, *Der „Judenarzt“*, 108.

²⁰¹ The theologian Johann Ludwig Ewald, who spoke much in favor of Jewish emancipation, reports in his book from 1817 (*Der Geist des Christenthums und des ächten deutschen Volksthums, dargestellt, gegen die Feinde der Israeliten*) on the following designations: *Judenvertheidiger* (protector of Jews) and *Judenadvokat* or *Judenverfechter* (advocate of Jews). Johann Ludwig Ewald, *Projüdische Schriften aus den Jahren 1817 bis 1821*, ed. by Johann Anselm Steiger (Heidelberg: Manutius Verlag, 2000), 11-14.

²⁰² Rohrbacher, *Gewalt im Biedermeier*, 102. While in most cases the general public looked by, in Heidelberg two liberal professors and their students acted against the assailants and stopped the violence, exhibiting a public display of solidarity with Jews. Amos Elon, *The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the German-Jewish Epoch, 1743-1933* (London: Picador, 2003), 102-103.

human being' (*Mensch*) and 'friend' (*Freund*) were only different words for the same noble concept."²⁰³ Unlike notions such as the "brotherhood of man," the play stresses friendship between Jews and Christians as an idea based on choice and dialogue rather than on one's alleged identity. Furthermore, Lessing's portrayal also went beyond perceptions of tolerance and compassion toward Jews, which maintain the latter's inferior status, and aimed to establish a society based on the acceptance of the other as equal (at least potentially).²⁰⁴ Lessing's notion of friendship was embedded in the cult of friendship common among Enlightenment intellectuals who although lacking in real political power, constructed small circles of friends that realized their ideals of humanistic equality. "Friendship was no longer a private celebration of mutually assured sympathy, but it spilled over into the public sphere by discussing the higher concerns of humanity."²⁰⁵

The second reason for the significance of *Nathan der Weise* as a symbol of friendship with Jews lies in the widespread assumption, especially among Jewish authors, that Lessing based his figure of Nathan on his Jewish friend Moses Mendelssohn. Some nineteenth-century writers, however, claimed that since Nathan is an ideal figure embodying humanity, it is Lessing himself who should be identified with the image of Nathan, and not Mendelssohn.²⁰⁶ In either case, supporters of Jewish emancipation acknowledged the play as a proof for the friendship between the two

²⁰³ In the words of one of Lessing's biographers from the early twentieth century. Erich Schmidt, *Lessing: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften*, 4th edition, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923), 368-369.

²⁰⁴ This interpretation became known in Hannah Arendt's analysis from 1959: Hannah Arendt, *Rede am 28. September 1959 bei der Entgegennahme des Lessing-Preises der Freien und Hansastadt Hamburg* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt/Rotbuch Verlag, 1999). Yet the basic features of this analysis of friendship appear already in earlier texts. See, in addition to the former footnote, also Benno von Wiese, *Lessing: Dichtung, Aesthetik, Philosophie* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1931), 67-71.

²⁰⁵ Klaus L. Berghahn, "On Friendship: The Beginnings of a Christian-Jewish Dialogue in the 18th Century," in idem, ed., *The German-Jewish Dialogue Reconsidered* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 5-24, here 18. See also Jost Hermand, "Documenta amicitiae: Literarische Freundschaftsbünde im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Freundschaft: Zur Geschichte einer sozialen Bindung* (Köln: Böhlau, 2006), 10-27.

²⁰⁶ E.g. David Friedrich Strauss, "Ueber Lessing's 'Nathan'," *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Politik und Literatur* 7 (1863): 339-368. Reprinted in Klaus Bohnen, ed., *Lessings 'Nathan der Weise'* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 31-32.

intellectuals and the ideal of coexistence and mutual acceptance. Thus mentioning Lessing or any part of the Lessing-Nathan-Mendelssohn triangle, for that matter, signified a position on the “Jewish question” that sided with the Jews and the Enlightenment’s humanism, and rejected antisemitism.²⁰⁷

This takes us (back) to the last third of the nineteenth century and the parallel creation of the concepts “antisemitism” and “philosemitism.” The schematic division between philosemites and antisemites, although overtly simplistic, became most significant in the *Kaiserreich* as a rhetorical instrument that marked two opposing worldviews not only on how to treat Jews, but also on the appropriate character that German society should embrace.²⁰⁸ An important milestone in the public quarrel between these two worldviews is the Berlin Antisemitism Dispute (*Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*). This dispute erupted following an article by the distinguished historian Heinrich von Treitschke, published on November 15, 1879, in which he complained about the negative effects of the Jewish emancipation, warned against the dangers Germany faces due to a flood of Polish Jews into Germany, and declared that “the Jews are our misfortune” (*die Juden sind unser Unglück!*), a slogan that became central to Nazi propaganda.²⁰⁹ In the responses of Heinrich Graetz, a Jewish historian whom Treitschke attacked personally, Graetz divided the debate on the emancipation into two positions: *judenfreundliche* (friendly to Jews) and *judenfeindliche* (hostile to Jews), and located Treitschke in the latter. Furthermore, argued Graetz, had Treitschke lived at the time of the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin dispute, he would have taken the side

²⁰⁷ Willi Goetschel, “Lessing, Mendelssohn, Nathan: German-Jewish Myth-Building as an Act of Emancipation,” *Lessing Yearbook* XXXII (2000): 341-360.

²⁰⁸ Alan T. Levenson, *Between Philosemitism and Antisemitism: Defenses of Jews and Judaism in Germany, 1871-1932* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

²⁰⁹ Heinrich von Treitschke, „Unsere Aussichten,“ in Walter Boehlich, ed., *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1965), 5-12.

opposed to the humanist.²¹⁰ The disagreement between the two historians is articulated also in their interpretation of Lessing and his importance within the German culture. Thus while Graetz crowned Lessing as Germany's greatest son, Treitschke rejected this opinion, depicting Graetz as a "foreigner" (*Fremdling*) who cannot be expected to truly understand the German playwright.²¹¹

Treitschke's stature as a well-known historian gave his charges against the Jews a great deal of public attention and provided antisemitism the respectability it still lacked. Yet his antisemitism was nevertheless different from that of the Nazis. One such difference relates to his mentioning of "Jewish friends." While Graetz identifies him with the adversaries of the Jews rather than their friends, Treitschke asserts in his articles during the dispute that "some of his Jewish friends" (he employs *jüdische Freunde* and *Judenfreund* synonymously) would agree with his points.²¹² Such a formulation, meant to strengthen the truth-value of an argument by stressing the speaker's impartiality, would be unthinkable from a Nazi sympathizer in the 1920s, whose racial antisemitism despised any relations to Jews. What we can see, therefore, is that at the time of Treitschke one must not have necessarily viewed a contradiction in opposing friendship with Jews on a social and political level, while speaking of having Jewish friends on the personal level. Furthermore, stating that one has Jewish friends could actually support arguing against friendship with Jews.

The combination of both levels of employing *Judenfreunde* (the socio-political and the personal) continued to circulate in Germany and Austria up to the Nazi rise to power, as is apparent in contemporaneous critical literary and filmic representations

²¹⁰ Heinrich Graetz, „Erwiderung an Herrn von Treitschke (7.12.1879),“ in Boehlich, ed., *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*, 5-12; Graetz, „Mein letztes Wort an Professor von Treitschke (28.12.1879),“ in *ibid.*, 45-52.

²¹¹ Treitschke, „Herr Graetz und sein Judenthum,“ in Boehlich, ed., *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*, 31-45.

²¹² Treitschke, „Unsere Aussichten,“ in Boehlich, ed., *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*, 8. And also Treitschke, „Noch einige Bemerkungen zur Judenfrage (10.1.1880),“ in *ibid.*, 77.

that exposed the anti-Jewish sentiments behind such arguments.²¹³ However, the public debate definitely did not revolve around the question of personal friendships with Jews, but rather concentrated on *Judenfreundschaft* (or philosemitism) as a political principle that one either endorsed or opposed. Publications that openly attacked the “other side” and attempted to draw the German population to one of these positions articulated this public conflict most clearly. We can see that, for example, in a book from 1923 entitled “The Exposed Friends of Jews.” The book collected statements by “Jews and their comrades (*Juden und Judengenossen*) who try to absolve the Jewish people from its guilt” toward Germany and the author defined his mission as correcting the “deceit and ignorance” of *judenfreundliche* texts by presenting “objective” information.²¹⁴ On the other hand, we find books on *Judenfreunde* whose authors fight antisemitism by documenting “the efforts of those noble, free thinking and enlightened friends of humanity,” who in different historical times “attempted to remove the political, stately, and social bounds that often separate Jews from Christians.”²¹⁵

Acting within the framework of this political-ideological conflict, Hitler and his fellow Nazis started from an early stage to denounce “friends of Jews” as traitors to their fatherland.²¹⁶ The political struggle between antisemites and philosemites

²¹³ Such a critical position is presented in the 1924 Austrian film *Stadt ohne Juden* (dir. H.K. Breslauer). At the beginning of the film’s second act, the chancellor gives a speech before the parliament in order to convince the public of the need to expel the Jews. The speech, which portrays all the misdeeds of the Jews, begins with the following words: „Ich bin ein Freund der Juden und ein Bewunderer ihrer glänzenden Eigenschaften.“ A similar depiction appears in Walter Mehring’s play *Der Kaufmann von Berlin: Ein historisches Schauspiel aus der deutschen Inflation* (1929), from which comes the following quote in German with a Yiddish touch: „Kaftan: ...As die Daitschen wolten gesiegt, wolt das gewen far uns asach besser? Ist nit a großer Judenfreund der General Ludendorff? Ihr hot schon mistumme fargessen jennen Oifruf: zu mein libn jidn in Poilen! Das wolt geweene die geille, die Erlösung! / Geschrei: Oich mir a Jidnfreund!“ Reprinted in Günther Rühle, *Zeit und Theater: Von der Republik zur Diktatur, vol 2, 1925-1933* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1972), 408

²¹⁴ Rudolf Wiedemeyer, *Die entlarvten Judenfreunde: Geistiges Exerzierreglement für völkische Redner und kritische Hörer* (München: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1923), 4.

²¹⁵ Dr. Adolph Kohut, *Gekrönte und ungekrönte Judenfreunde* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Basch & Co., 1913), 7.

²¹⁶ See, e.g., in a speech delivered by Hitler and printed in the VB (Munich) on September 23, 1922: „Aufruf,“ in Jäckel and Kuhn, eds, *Hitler: Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905-1924*, 694.

ended in 1933 with the Nazi ascension to power. Thus, as part of the moral revolution that the regime advanced, it removed Lessing's "Jewish plays" from schoolbooks and banned them from theatres, while maintaining an ambiguous relationship to the playwright.²¹⁷ The Jewish *Kulturbund*, on the other hand, chose *Nathan der Weise* as the play to open its cultural activities on October 1, 1933, but the opinions in the Jewish public were divided as to its final scene. Should the play conclude on an optimistic note or rather emphasize the Jews' isolation?²¹⁸

In reality, the growing isolation of the Jews within the Nazi society could not be overlooked. Victor Klemperer, a professor of French literature, who was expelled from the University of Dresden because of his "Jewish race," confided to his diaries his growing solitude as his Aryan friends gradually cut off all connections with him. At the same time, Klemperer attempted to discover whom he could trust as a friend, employing the same totalizing distinction between friend and foe that the Nazis did: "Only an absolute enemy (*Todfeind*) of the Nazis can be a friend of mine."²¹⁹

Klemperer was not the only one on the lookout for *Judenfreunde*; the Nazis' political triumph against "friendship with Jews" did not mean the end of the ideological campaign against them. Secret reports from the first years of the Third Reich recorded open confrontations between Nazi supporters and "friends of Jews," occurrences that decreased in number due to the expanding control of the regime over

²¹⁷ In a clear rebuttal of Jews' celebration of Lessing as an expression of "true Germanness" (for example in January 1929 in the occasion commemorating Lessing's 200th birthday), during the first years of the Third Reich his works encounter much criticism and he is even characterized as "un-German." But this image changes in the later 1930s, when a "purified" version of Lessing is refashioned into an exemplary German. Barbara Fischer, „Lösungsansatz ‚Raum‘ versus ‚Zeit‘: Jüdische Reaktionen auf Lessings *Nathan der Weise* im Vor-Shoah-Deutschland," *Lessing Yearbook* XXXII (2000): 325-339; Ann Schmiesing, "Lessing and the Third Reich," in Barbara Fischer and Thomas C. Fox, eds, *A Companion to the Works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing* (New York: Camden, 2005), 261-282.

²¹⁸ Herbert Freedon, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964), 27-33.

²¹⁹ In an entry from New Year's Eve, 1936. Victor Klemperer, *Tagebücher 1933-1945*, Walter Nowojiski and Hadwig Klemperer, ed. (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999), 156.

the society, but did not disappear completely.²²⁰ In some cases, the Nazi measures against the Jews are reported to have divided the local population into *Judenfreunde* and *Judengegner* (those who oppose the Jews), for example in response to the Nuremberg Laws in 1935.²²¹ These reports tended to concentrate on the educated bourgeoisie and on Christian circles as the problematic social groups that carried the messages of Enlightenment and Christian morality.²²² And indeed, while most clergypersons in both major German Churches stood by as the Nazi persecution of the Jews took place, some openly prayed for the persecuted or expressed solidarity with them in some other way.²²³ Some clergypersons, such as Gertrud Luckner in Freiburg and Heinrich Grüber in Berlin, actively assisted Jews to flee Germany, actions for which they were arrested and put into concentration camps. We shall return to them and to the Churches in subsequent chapters.

In condemning such cases of “friendliness to Jews” before and after 1933, Nazi activists did not restrict themselves to *Judenfreund* and used a whole arsenal of concepts. On some occasions those “traitors,” blamed for sharing the “poisonous” Jewish spirit and false morality, were simply called “Jews.” Thus, for example, members of the “German Christian” movement that reinterpreted Christian ideas according to racial principles and deplored all Jewish elements from the scriptures,

²²⁰ E.g. Regierungspräsident Ober- und Mittelfranken, „Halbmonatsbericht für Juli“ (Ansbach, 19.7.1933), in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 52; Bezirksamt Alzenau i. Ufr., „Bericht für November“ (Alzenau, 27.11.1934), in *ibid*, 95.

²²¹ Bezirksamt Bad Kissingen, „Bericht für September 1935 (Bad Kissingen, 27.09.1935),“ in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 163.

²²² The assumption of one report, for example, is that mixed marriage is a phenomenon that characterize the middle classes in Germany. Stapostelle Regierungsbezirk Magdeburg, „Bericht für September 1935 (Magdeburg, 5.10.1935),“ in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 161. As for the Christian influence, it appears in a report shortly after issuing the yellow star decree, saying that those rejecting the decree argued “that Jews are also humans and thus cannot be despised from a Christian perspective.” SD-Außenstelle Paderborn, „Bericht“ (Paderborn, 11.10.1941), in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 465.

²²³ See, for example, the following report: “A priest called Gillmann, lent porcelain [tableware] to a Jew, whose own porcelain was destroyed in the events [of *Kristallnacht*]. As a result, people threw rocks through the priest’s windows and mildly injured him. It was also known that this priest continued until recently to buy milk from the mentioned Jew. His *judenfreundliche* attitude caused grave resentment all around.” SD-Außenstelle Kochem, „Bericht für November 1938“ (Kochem, 25.11.1938), in Kulka and Jäckel, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten*, 326.

labeled their opponents in the Confessing Church as Jewish.²²⁴ A related designation is “white Jews,” which also refers to non-Jews who act and think like Jews or cooperate with them (Jews are thus conceived as dark, evil, and impure).²²⁵ Two additional designations that Nazi activists used quite frequently were *Judengenosse* (comrade of Jews) and *Judenknecht* (servant of Jews). The former, which clearly distinguished the positive German *Volksgenosse* from the negative *Judengenosse*, goes back to Luther’s translation of the bible (Matthew 23, 15), where it referred to proselytes, and later became an antisemitic catchword describing non-Jews taking the side of the Jews.²²⁶ The concept *Judenknecht* can be traced at least as far back as the seventeenth century,²²⁷ and has a more social tone to it, implying an unwelcome reversal in the “appropriate” power relations, hence raising the question: How could the morally inferior Jews be masters of the superior Christians (or Aryans)?²²⁸ In spite of the different associations connected to each of these concepts, they all articulated the same basic idea, and while sometimes used together (thus implying a somewhat different emphasis), they were often considered to be synonyms.²²⁹

In contrast to the variety of different antisemitic synonyms of *Judenfreund*, the philosemitic interpretation focused mostly on friendship between Jews and non-Jews as the main conceptual framework. The reason for that seems to lie in the equality and

²²⁴ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 33.

²²⁵ „Gegnerisches Schlagwort: Weißer Jude. Er ist schlimmer als der Rassejude. Der Rassejude tut, wenn er anderen Völkern Schaden zufügt, seinem Volke Gutes; der weiße Jude, der jüdisch handelt, sich mit dem Juden versippt, sich von ihm kaufen läßt, schadet seinem Volke. Weiße Juden sind meist Bastarde.“ [Anonymous], *Das kleine Einmaleins der Judenfrage: Rüstzeug für deutschnational und nationalsozialistische Versammlungsredner* (Erfurt: Bodung, 1930?), 27.

²²⁶ Cobet, *Wortschatz des Antisemitismus in der Bismarckzeit*, 142; Schmitz-Berning, *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus*, 329-330.

²²⁷ Johann Müller, *JUDAISMUS oder Judentumb* (1644). Reprinted in Hartzitz, *Der „Judenarzt“*, 93.

²²⁸ See this notion in the following quote from 1900, and note the similarity to issues of honor, disgrace, and the reversal of power relations as in the case of *Rassenschande*. „Wir sagen [...], daß alle Deutschen, welche dem Juden in die Hände arbeiten, unserem Volkstum Schande machen, und Judenknechte sind.“ Seidl, *Der Jude des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, oder Warum sind wir Antisemiten?*, x.

²²⁹ One on occasion Dühring refers both to *Judengenossen* and *Judenfreunde*, but treats them as constituting one group. Dühring, *Die Judenfrage als Rassen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage*, 20. See also Cobet, *Wortschatz des Antisemitismus in der Bismarckzeit*, 148.

dialog that friendship (in Lessing's version) entails that other, older concepts, like *Judenbeschützer* (protector of Jews), do not.²³⁰ Thus "Jewish friends" could not only refer both to a personal or socio-political level (as we have seen in the case of Treitschke), but could be employed either negatively or positively, a feature of the concept that will account for its postwar use, as we shall see.

Conclusion

This chapter traced the ways in which the Nazis addressed the issue of solidarity with and rescuing of Jews from the early days of the Nazi movement up to the fall of the Third Reich. The Nazis approached helping Jews as part of their version of particular morality based on the primacy of the *Volk* and the definition of "the Jew" as embodying all that is immoral. The Nazi propaganda acted to inform Germans on the central tenets of racist antisemitism and also demanded from Germans to demonstrate their adherence to Nazi morality. The most basic demand was the need to create a physical and "spiritual" separation between Aryans and all that the Nazis considered to be Jewish. Nazi calls for separation included both *positive* (what one should accept and do) and *negative* (what one must reject and not do) elements. Both elements expressed the main principles of Nazi morality and made it clear to people in Germany what behavior toward the Jews the regime would praise and what it would revile, yet only an examination of the negative element within Nazi propaganda shows that the Nazis also publicly addressed the issue of solidarity with and helping Jews.

The specific images, concepts, and practices the Nazis employed in condemning "friendship with Jews" drew on centuries-old anti-Jewish patterns (many of which were not unique to Germany) that received a racial interpretation since the late nineteenth century and were incorporated into the public disputes between

²³⁰ Nevertheless, we can find a few philosemitic references to *Judengenossen*, for example in a publication of the CV from 1895. See Paucker, *Deutsche Juden im Kampf um Recht und Freiheit*, 5.

philosemitism and antisemitism. The diverse concepts, arguments, and rituals that the Nazis used to denounce solidarity with and help to the Jews took two main forms: Identity and attitude. The former meant designating specific Aryans as *Judenfreunde* or traitors, marching those accused of *Rassenschande* through the streets of one's town carrying humiliating signs, taking pictures of those *Judenknechte* who enter Jewish businesses, posting the names and addresses of Aryans who go to Jewish doctors on pillory pillars, etc. These denunciations took place mostly on the local level, whereas on the national level the condemnation of associating with Jews deplored in general all those Germans who were *Judenfreunde*. The second form of denouncing solidarity with or helping Jews (which could more easily be used in nation-wide publications and speeches) attacked attitudes, emotions, and sentiments rather than referring to specific persons. To this second category belong the condemnations of *Mitleid*, references to "decent" Jews, *Humanitätsduselei* (sentimental humanitarianism), Christian love for one's neighbor, and the alleged tendency of some Germans to be "all too righteous."

In this chapter we have also seen that the public presence and character of Nazi references to solidarity and help given to Jews were directly related to the specific stages of the persecution of the Jews. For instance, public rituals of shaming *Rassenschänder* had to cease following the Nuremberg Laws of September 1935, which entrusted these cases to the courts. The verdicts did appear in newspapers, yet their local impact was different. The most significant change in public reporting on both the persecution of the Jews and the cases of "friendliness toward Jews" took place since *Kristallnacht*. The regime's reluctance to admit the use of violence against Jews altered the policy of openly reporting the persecution into a method of "imposed guesswork." In this technique, Nazi speakers who mentioned the "final solution"

without giving any specific details on what it meant, also condemned compassion with and assistance to Jews without explicitly mentioning these acts of solidarity.

But what happened to those who did express solidarity with or helped the persecuted Jews? While there was no law that explicitly forbade “friendliness with Jews,” the regime prosecuted Aryans for a variety of related offences or combined this accusation with others, such as listening to foreign radio stations during the war or any other illegal activity.²³¹ In many cases, the Nazi authorities prosecuted so-called *Judenfreunde* as part of a decree released in March 1933, and later the *Heimtücke*-Law from December 20, 1934 that protected the regime and the party from “treacherous” attacks and critical comments. An additional decree issued on October 24, 1941 instructed the police, SS, and Gestapo to place in “protective custody” of up to three months any persons of “German blood” who publicly expressed friendly relations toward Jews.²³² Some of these cases were not even brought before court, some ended with a warning, while others led to arrests, to incarceration in concentration camps and thus sometimes to death.

Military courts produced more severe sentences than the Nazi civil ones, since many violations could be prosecuted as a refusal to follow orders, and acts of assisting the population in an occupied territory could be presented as cooperating with the enemy. The offences ranged from expressing any sign of pacifistic attitude to desertion or speaking in favor of Jews. The punishments on such offences often led to execution, although the verdict depended on the situation and time in which the offence took place (with a clear escalation in the severity of the sentences at the last months of the war), as well as on whether the accused was an officer or a simple

²³¹ See, for example, the case of a woman accused of illegally listening to foreign radio stations and also being friendly to Jews: Michael P. Hensle, *Rundfunkverbrechen: Das Hören von „Feindsendern“ im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2003), 326.

²³² Wolfgang Benz, „Prolog: Juden im Untergrund und ihre Helfer,“ in idem, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich: Juden im Untergrund und ihre Helfer* (München: C.H. Beck, 2003), 11-48, here 39-40.

soldier. Thus, for example, a reserve medical officer, Oberstabsarzt Dr. Christian Schöne, who openly criticized the murder of the Jews in a letter he circulated in the summer of 1943 was sentenced to one year in prison. The trial of private Josef Salz, on the other hand, in whose diary positive comments about Jews and criticism against Hitler and the *Wehrmacht* were found, ended with the death sentence.²³³ In other cases, *Wehrmacht* soldiers on the different military fronts who actively assisted Jews to escape or supplied them or Soviet prisoners of war with food and the like could more easily be charged with treason or with undermining the morale of their comrades (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*) than non-soldiers within the German Reich and therefore be condemned to death. We shall later follow the stories and names of some of these soldiers, among them Sergeant Anton Schmid, who supported the Jewish underground resistance in the Vilna Ghetto and helped smuggle Jews outside its walls. Schmid was executed on April 13, 1942.²³⁴

Schmid was a part of a small minority of Germans and Austrians who paid dearly for their help to Jews. Most Aryan members of the Third Reich did not publicly express solidarity with Jews and clearly did not risk their lives in order to save them. But by the end of the Nazi regime the moral value of solidarity with Jews underwent a thorough change and so did the public speech about it.

²³³ Wolfram Wette et al., *Das letzte Tabu: NS-Militärjustiz und „Kriegsverrat“* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2007), 33-32.

²³⁴ Wette et al., *Das letzte Tabu*, 99-106, 241. For a more thorough study of such cases in the *Wehrmacht* see Wette, ed., *Retter in Uniform*; Wette, ed., *Zivilcourage*.

Chapter Two:

**“I Protected Jews and Treated Them with Decency”: Scattered References to
Rescue from the War Years to the Mid 1960s**

The Nazi regime’s depiction of its war against the Jews as a struggle between good and evil reached its height during the Second World War. In turn, this very depiction, as well as the character of the Nazi state and its aggressive warfare, contributed to producing the same basic binary image in the propaganda of the Allies who fought against the Third Reich. The main difference between these propaganda campaigns was, of course, their respective designation of the immoral foe. While the Nazi media described the Jews as an inhuman race that embodied all vices and maneuvered the Allied countries into combatting Germany, the Allies presented an inverted version of this image, in which war against Nazism was a crusade against the inhuman, the criminal, and the uncivilized.²³⁵

This wartime rhetoric of a moral clash between Nazism and its opponents was a significant element in the formation of postwar references to rescuing Jews. This chapter’s first section will thus reconstruct the forms of this moral struggle from the war years to the immediate postwar period in order to understand why and how Germans spoke about rescue after the fall of the Third Reich. The second to fifth sections will examine various patterns of articulating rescue in these years and trace them into the mid 1960s in East and West Germany. Section two will survey the mentioning of rescue in courtroom settings, section three will examine autobiographical writing, and sections four and five will turn their attention to the place of rescue in the construction of national and local myths and role models. What unites the different sections in this and the next chapter, which deal with various

²³⁵ Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany* (London: Routledge & Kegan Hall, 1979); Clayton D. Laurie, *The Propaganda Warriors: America’s Crusade against Nazi Germany* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1996); Richard Overly, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton & Company, 1997), 282-313.

media and practices under different socio-political conditions, is that they all belong to what I call *scattered memory*. Scattered memory designates, first, the existence of seemingly marginal details and episodes that are “scattered” in different books, articles, monuments, films, and other representations and practices, whose main interest is not the rescue of Jews, yet which nevertheless mention it. Scattered memory also includes isolated accounts that did make extensive reference to rescuers of Jews, but which usually had a personal and specific commemorative intention and did not try to place rescue, as a separate topic, in any wide public or institutional framework.

The analysis does not present a stark separation between the perspectives of “Jews” and “Germans,” but rather follows scholars who point to the exchanges between various populations²³⁶ and traces the existence of diverse individual motivations in the creation of postwar depictions of Nazism and the Holocaust.

A Moral Struggle

From February to March 1943, the British Royal Air Force threw over Germany thousands of copies of a leaflet that reprinted (in German translation) a sermon by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The text addressed all Christians in Germany and highlighted the public objection of a few German bishops to Nazi policies as well as the courageous actions of pastor Martin Niemöller, whom the Nazis arrested for his opposition. It then lamented the fact that there was no protest against

²³⁶ Frank Stern, “The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans, and Jews in Post-war Germany,” *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 19 (1990): 47–76; Jeffrey K. Olick, *In the House of the Hangman: The Agonies of German Defeat, 1943-1949* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in occupied Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007). This exchange characterizes specially the immediate postwar years, but is also apparent, although in a different manner, also in the later decades of West and East Germany.

the “*annihilation of the Polish people and against the gruesome slaughter of the Jews.*”²³⁷

Such a direct plea to do “the Christian thing” and help the persecuted was *not* common in Allied propaganda campaigns directed at the German population during WWII. Yet the moral message embedded in it, which depicted the war against Nazism as a humanistic, and often explicitly Christian mission, dominated a great many of the Allies’ wartime propaganda. Starting in the early stages of the war, the British and later the Soviet and American forces launched massive propaganda campaigns that aimed to weaken the grip of the Nazi regime over Germany and provoke popular resistance to Hitler. As a whole, there is no doubt that these efforts failed. Yet they established a strong sense of a moral conflict, which by the end of the war gave Germans a basic idea of what the Allies expected of them, and confronted the Nazi “particular morality” with universal-humanistic moral models.²³⁸

The characterization of the war as a moral struggle played a significant role especially for the troops. While the soldiers’ personal reasons for fighting in the different armies varied, there is no doubt that many of them combined these reasons with a moral commitment “forged from a heady mix of outrage, vengeance, loathing and contempt, and intensity of feeling and a depth of anxiety not experienced since the days of French Revolutionary Europe or the Thirty Years’ War.”²³⁹

The propaganda apparatuses of the different countries did their best to maintain a one-dimensional enemy image by avoiding complex human portrayals of the “other

²³⁷ Emphasis in the original. Klaus Kirchner, ed., *Flugblätter aus England: G-1943, G-1944 (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 5). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1979), 15-16.

²³⁸ This does not mean that the specific articulations of universal-humanistic morality were not of a particular national kind. Yet although each of the Allies presented somewhat different versions of this moral model and each also emphasized the struggle as a patriotic one aimed to defend the values it holds dear, the basic depiction of a humanistic (and even Christian) crusade against evil Nazi Germany was shared by all.

²³⁹ Overy, *Why the Allies Won*, 285.

side.”²⁴⁰ The different bodies of German propaganda (Goebbels’s ministry, the Foreign Office, and the military) portrayed the British, the French, and especially the Soviets, as savages,²⁴¹ and the Allies were not less explicit when describing the *Wehrmacht*. For example, a short Soviet propaganda film from 1941, entitled *Three in a Shell Hole*, depicted a wounded Soviet soldier, a wounded German soldier, and a Soviet nurse trapped in one shell hole after a battle. The nurse, a true humanist, tended to the German, who nevertheless tried to kill her, but the quick instincts of the Soviet soldier enabled him to shoot first.²⁴² The message is clear: The German soldier does not respect the rules of war nor holds any basic human decency and gratitude, whereas the Soviet soldier has no choice but to use force to protect the defenseless and caring woman.

In addressing the German population, however, the Allies’ propaganda was usually careful to distinguish between the Nazi elite and “ordinary Germans.” The leaflets occasionally addressed the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime within Germany and the killing of civilians in occupied Europe. This propaganda was supposed to confront the Germans with the horrors the regime did “in the name of the

²⁴⁰ In the German case, the indoctrination of the military with Nazi values started already in 1933 and was intensified with the beginning of the war, and further following the campaign against the Soviet Union in summer 1941. A further intensification of the ideological indoctrination took place in October 1942 as the wave of unprecedented German triumphs came to a halt. Christoph Rass, „Menschenmaterial“: *Deutsche Soldaten an der Ostfront. Innenansichten einer Infanteriedivision 1939-1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), 307-330.

²⁴¹ See, for example, *Dokumente britisch-französischer Grausamkeit: Die britische und die französische Kriegsführung in den Niederlanden, Belgien und Nordfrankreich im Mai 1940*. Im Auftrage des Auswärtigen Amtes auf Grund urkundlichen Beweismaterials zusammengestellt, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von der deutschen Informationsstelle (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1940). On the depiction of the Soviet Union and the Red Army in the Third Reich and especially during WWII see Hans-Erich Volkmann, ed., *Das Russlandbild im Dritten Reich* (Köln: Böhlau, 1994); Omer Bartov, “Savage War,” in Michael Burleigh, ed., *Confronting the Nazi Past: New Debates on Modern German History* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 125-139.

²⁴² Sergei Drobashenko and Peter Kenez, “Film Propaganda in the Soviet Union, 1941-1945: Two Views,” in K.R.M. Short, ed., *Film & Radio Propaganda in World War II* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 94-124, here 113.

German people” in order to create a moral distancing from the Nazis and to enable a future return to the “family of civilized nations.”²⁴³

The question of Germany’s national reputation was a major topic also in Allied radio addresses to the German population. The Allies recruited for these broadcasts three prominent German intellectuals in exile: Thomas Mann in England, Paul Tillich in the United States, and Johannes R. Becher in the Soviet Union. Despite the distinct backgrounds of these persons, there was a common emphasis in their radio speeches on the need to return to a certain model of humanism in order to salvage whatever was left of Germany’s name.²⁴⁴ The bourgeois author Mann focused in this context on the Enlightenment, the theologian Tillich on Christian and national notions of morality, and the communist author Becher on the progressive forces within the working class. For example, in a 1943 broadcast on Radio Moscow Becher urged the Germans to demonstrate to the world that Hitler is not Germany:

Do you want to go down in history as the people of executioners and their servants, as a people of miserable whiners and cowards, as a people that has demonstrated that it cannot cope with its national criminals (*Volksverbrechern*) and the deadly enemies of humanity [...]? Do you want that the name of a German will become a swear- and curse word for all free peoples of the world

²⁴³ A British leaflet that was dispersed over Germany between September 9 and 11, 1939 included the following lines: “Seit Jahren ist Euch durch die schärfste Zensur und durch ein unglaubliches System von Spitzeln und Angebern die Wahrheit vorenthalten worden. Ihr durftet Euch nicht einmal über die in Eurem Namen vollbrachten Grausamkeiten aussprechen. Euch gegenüber steht die vereinte Kraft freier Völker, die mit offenen Augen bis zum Letzten für die Freiheit kämpfen.“ Reprinted in Klaus Kirchner, ed., *Flugblätter aus England 1939/1940/1941 (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 1). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1978), 6-7. See also the leaflets of the other allies from different stages of the war in: Kirchner, ed., *Flugblätter aus England G-1942 (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 4). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1974); Kirchner, ed., *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR: Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 15). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1996).

²⁴⁴ Winfried Halder, *Exilrufe nach Deutschland: Die Rundfunkreden von Thomas Mann, Paul Tillich und Johannes R. Becher 1940-1945. Analyse, Wirkung, Bedeutung* (Münster: LIT, 2002); Martina Hoffschulte, „Deutsche Hörer!“. *Thomas Manns Rundfunkreden (1940 bis 1945) im Werkkontext* (Münster: Telos Verlag, 2003).

and that in the future, wherever a German shows himself, people will avoid him or glance upon him with contempt?²⁴⁵

In addition to the Allies' propaganda campaigns, resistance groups within Germany also distributed leaflets, which paid attention to the "moral degeneration" of Germany and sometimes also to the persecution of the Jews.²⁴⁶ The majority of the propaganda calls from within and without were formulated as warnings. They alerted Germans to the devastation that their continuous support of Hitler's war would mean for their lives and their national pride. Some broadcasts and leaflets, however, also emphasized positive role models for moral behavior. For example, the British RAF distributed in large numbers the text of the sermon the German bishop Clemens August Graf von Galen held on August 3, 1941, in which he openly criticized the "Euthanasia" killings of the Nazi regime.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, the BBC mentioned several cases of non-German sympathy toward and assistance to Jews in occupied Europe and presented them as acts that should be emulated.²⁴⁸

At the same time, the Allied propaganda was careful not to appear too sympathetic to Jews (perhaps also because of the Allied propagandists' own prejudices) and thus risk supporting the Nazi portrayal of the Allies as serving Jewish goals.²⁴⁹ Thus Allied propaganda did not necessarily criticize antisemitism itself, assuming, it appears, that the Germans in general were antisemitic, but often preferred to appeal to more elementary and "apolitical" moral convictions. We can see this in a BBC program called *Kurt und Willi* that used dialogues between fictional figures to

²⁴⁵ Quoted in Halder, *Exilrufe nach Deutschland*, 55.

²⁴⁶ See, e.g., Dieter Franck, "Youth Protest in Nazi Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book XLVII* (2002): 247-267.

²⁴⁷ Kirchner, ed., *Flugblätter aus England 1939/1940/1941*, 315-318, 319-322.

²⁴⁸ One such case took place on October 4, 1943, when the British station "gave a detailed report on the fate of the Jews in Denmark and Sweden, emphasizing the courage and bravery of the many Danish and Swedish Gentiles who had helped save Jews from Nazi persecution." Jeremy D. Harris, "Broadcasting the Massacres: An Analysis of the BBC's Contemporary Coverage of the Holocaust," *Yad Vashem Studies* 25 (1996): 65-98, here 77. See also Longerich, „*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*“, 241-246.

²⁴⁹ The British foreign office, for example, asked to avoid from moralizing arguments that might alienate the German audience. Harris, "Broadcasting the Massacres," 83.

discuss different opinions within the German population. In a broadcast on December 29, 1942 the two men debated the news on the killing of Jews, and Kurt, objecting the mass murder, told his friend: “Willi, you know that I am no friend of Jews. But I just can't believe that any upstanding German could approve of such a thing.”²⁵⁰

On the other side of the frontline, the Nazi propaganda dismissed the Allies' accusations as “tales of atrocity” (*Greuelmärchen*).²⁵¹ The daily reports of the German army (*Wehrmachtsberichte*) highlighted the deaths of hundreds of thousands German women, men, and children in Allied air raids, while stressing that the German army did all in its power to prevent civilian casualties in the occupied territories.²⁵² The media in Nazi Germany was full of accusing voices against the Allies' double standard that criticized Germany for its racist policies, violence, and repression, while the Americans lynch African Americans and the British repress Arabs in Palestine and send murderous bombing squads to Germany “in the name of humanity.” In doing so, the Nazi propaganda justified the regime's actions by *maintaining elements of both particular morality* (which put Germans' lives before any others) *and universal morality* (which denounced the killing of civilians, regardless of their nationality) in addressing the German population, and especially in reaction to Allied propaganda. In

²⁵⁰ Quoted in Eric A. Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 446.

²⁵¹ See, for example, Hans Gracht, *Hier spricht der Feind! London und Paris „enthüllen“...* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft GmbH, 1940); Herf, *The Jewish Enemy*, 176-177, and passim. In “exposing” the untrue claims of foreign media on so-called “tales of atrocity” the Nazis drew on a specific “tradition” they assumed people in Germany would recognize. Early in WWI, the international media published reports on violence of German soldiers against Belgian and French civilians, stories that included depictions of horrific brutality. The German army and the Foreign Office at the time vehemently rejected these accusations and denounced them as fabrications. John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

²⁵² See, for example, the report of the siege on Warsaw from September 1939, which blamed the Polish government of the unnecessary civilian deaths caused by its insistence to continue the hostilities, and did not mention the German bombardment of the Polish capital. Later, on September 23, 1939 the report stated: „Von der gesamten polnischen Wehrmacht kämpft zur Zeit nur mehr ein geringfügiger Rest auf hoffnungslosem Posten in Warschau, in Modlin und auf der Halbinsel Hela. Daß er das noch kann, verdankt er ausschließlich der *gewollten Schonung* unserer Truppen und unserer Rücksichtnahme auf die polnische Zivilbevölkerung.“ Emphasis added. *Die Wehrmachtsberichte 1939-1945. Band 1* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1985), 31.

this way, even those Germans who did not subscribe to the Nazi ethic could feel that their country's war was indeed moral.

As diaries and letters of German soldiers illustrate, at least some of them did believe that in sparing civilian lives they were morally superior to the Allies.²⁵³ This may come as a surprise to readers familiar with studies that demonstrate the extensive involvement of the *Wehrmacht* in the killing of civilians and in the "Final Solution." How could German soldiers deny having knowledge about things that they directly witnessed or participated in? One explanation emphasizes the effectiveness of Nazi propaganda on the soldiers, allowing them to project the brutality of the war onto their victims.²⁵⁴ An additional explanation is what Stanley Cohen calls "interpretive denial," according to which "the raw facts (something happened) are not being denied. Rather, they are given a different meaning from what seems apparent to others."²⁵⁵ Arguments such as: "this was an operation against saboteurs, not a massacre of civilians" belong to this kind of denial and could assist in avoiding a moral conflict among the soldiers.

Nevertheless, as the war progressed, the increasing number of Germans aware of at least some atrocities committed by the *Wehrmacht* and the SS made the argument of a Nazi moral superiority difficult to maintain. Even convinced Nazis had problems

²⁵³ Many also used the Nazi propaganda's language when referring to the atrocity stories of the Allied propaganda as ridiculous. See the diary entries of the police officer Günter Doebel from the Eastern Front and regarding the bombardment of the Ruhr, July 13, 1941 and May 12, 1943, respectively. Günter Doebel, „*So etwas wie Weltuntergang*“: *Kriegstagebücher eines Polizeioffiziers 1939-1945*. Edited by Peter Doebel (Mainz: C.P. Verlag, 2005), 92, 176. Hitler started mentioning the "ridiculous propaganda" of the Allies as early as September 19, 1939 and this expression is found in the letters of quite a few soldiers. Hitler's speech is reprinted in Günther Kaack, ed., *Wenn ein Wort zur Waffe wird. Aus den Reden Adolf Hitlers in den Kriegsjahren 1939-1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2004), 45. References to the propaganda of "the enemy" appear in Ortwin Buchbender and Reinhold Sterz, eds, *Das andere Gesicht des Krieges: Deutsche Feldpostbriefe 1939-1945* (München: C.H. Beck, 1983). See, for instance, letters 37, 105, 109, 125, 171, 181, and 324.

²⁵⁴ Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 106-178.

²⁵⁵ Stanley Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 7. Cohen gives the following examples for this kind of denial: "In the personal realm: I am a social drinker, not an alcoholic; what happened was not 'rape'. President Clinton smoked marijuana while he was a student, but never inhaled [...]. In the public realm: this was a population exchange, not ethnic cleansing; the arms deal was not illegal and was not really an arms deal."

believing the promises of the propaganda. Since 1943 the Nazi authorities detected a growing readiness to read Allied leaflets and listen to foreign radio stations, as a result of the bombings of German cities and the first defeats of the *Wehrmacht*.²⁵⁶ The rising skepticism within the population led the regime to demand unconditional faith in the *Endsieg* (final victory). In February 1945, when parts of Germany (in its pre-Nazi borders) have already fallen to the Allies, the regime turned to ruthless repressions of *Volksgenossen* accused of “defeatist” behavior. The persecution of any sign of dissent took an especially brutal form in the military, where summary courts executed deserters and alleged traitors by the thousands. The brutality of the Nazi state became, by that stage if not earlier, a fact that only a few could ignore.²⁵⁷

The war itself, which started as a continuous triumph and ended up unleashing violence on Germany on an unprecedented scale, provided the eventual evidence for Hitler’s failure and betrayal of his own *Volk*. Relentless bombings lay German cities in ruins, millions of “ethnic Germans” in East and Central Europe fled from the Red Army, resulting in the death of many of them, and Allied soldiers (especially of the Red Army) raped thousands of German women of different ages, often in an extremely violent manner.²⁵⁸ The disregard of human lives that characterized the German military campaigns during the first war years, now turned against the German population. “Nazism was no longer identified with economic recovery, order, conquest and strength, but rather with fear and wanton murder.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945*, 344; Hensle, *Rundfunkverbrechen*.

²⁵⁷ Gellately, *Backing Hitler*, 224-255; Richard Bessel, *Germany 1945: From War to Peace* (London: Pocket Books, 2010); Ian Kershaw, *The End: The Defiance and Destruction of Hitler’s Germany, 1944-1945* (New York: Penguin, 2011), 207-246.

²⁵⁸ Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 69-140; Atina Grossmann, “A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers,” in Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 33-52.

²⁵⁹ Bessel, *Germany 1945*, 66.

The German population awaited the occupiers with dread, but also with hope for the end of suffering.²⁶⁰ While some soldiers continued to fight to the end, once the war did end it marked also the demise of Nazism, and the Allies encountered only mild resistance after the military occupation of Germany. Günter Doebel, a police officer who up to the last months of the war still believed that Germany would be victorious, wrote in his diary on May 6, 1945, two days before the German capitulation:

By the way, the war is lost for us in a way that no war has ever been lost before. Though the *Volk* still retains many of the National Socialist ideas, as a whole the National Socialist ideology collapsed with the regime.²⁶¹

Indeed, surveys of the American occupation authorities in the first years of occupation showed that racist, antisemitic, and anti-democratic thinking patterns continued to exist in the German population, but the Nazi regime itself lost all legitimacy. Even the regime's former followers had to admit that although "Nazism was a good idea [it] was carried out badly."²⁶²

But the end of Nazism and the war did not diminish the moral challenge that the German population had to face. If anything, this challenge increased when the occupying Allies forced the German population to confront the crimes of the Nazi regime. The liberators, who entered Germany fuelled by a moral mission and often filled with resentment to Germans in general after years of harsh fighting, coerced civilians residing close to concentration camps to pass by the piles of bodies and view

²⁶⁰ Jörg Echternkamp, *Kriegsschauplatz Deutschland 1945: Leben im Angst – Hoffnung auf Frieden. Feldpost aus der Heimat und von der Front* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 85-93.

²⁶¹ Doebel, „*So etwas wie Weltuntergang*“, 274.

²⁶² Anna J. Merritt and Richard L. Merritt, eds, *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany: The OMGUS Surveys, 1945-1949* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 32-33. And see there also reports number 60 (April 1947), 68 (10 October 1947), and 175 (June 1949) on pages 160-163, 171-172, and 294-298, respectively. The report from October 1947 indicates that "the percentage of Germans describing National Socialism as a good idea badly carried out remained at a fairly high number – starting at 53 per cent in November 1945, dipping to a low of 42 per cent in July 1946, and rising again to 55 per cent by August 1947."

the crimes done in the midst of Germany.²⁶³ The British and American military authorities spread leaflets depicting the extreme cruelty in the camps, broadcasted survivors' accounts on the radio, published photographic reports from the camps in the international and local press, and screened films depicting the horrors in order to reach a large segment of the German population.²⁶⁴ Thus the four Allies (the U.S., France, Britain, and the Soviet Union), that implemented "reeducation" policies in their occupation zones, presented themselves as teachers of civility coming from a morally superior position – a standpoint that alienated many Germans.²⁶⁵

What caused an even stronger disagreement among the German population was the collective accusation implicit or explicit in the texts and images that exposed Germans to Nazi atrocities. Assuming a German "national character" or at least a widespread German acceptance of Nazi ideas, initial Allied plans aimed to effect a "mentality change" within the German populace that would evolve out of a response to collective guilt.²⁶⁶ Although the American authorities that were the most zealous supporters of this policy officially turned away from it by early 1946,²⁶⁷ the question

²⁶³ The soldiers who liberated the concentration camps or witnessed other examples of German brutality were drawn to hatred, acts of vengeance, and self-empowerment following their triumph over the once powerful "master race." In some cases such feelings urged them to humiliate the local population that was forced to visit the camps. Bessel, *Germany 1945*, 148-168.

²⁶⁴ The Allied radio broadcasts corresponded with the liberation of the first camps. Thus British leaflets and the BBC reported on the liberation of Maidanek by the Red Army in September 1944, and the BBC also brought two accounts by Jewish female inmates of Bergen-Belsen and one interrogation of a SS man who was in Auschwitz, Dachau, and Bergen-Belsen in different programs on April 15, 1945. Roller and Höschel, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen*, 250-255; Longerich, „Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!“, 241-246. For the photographic depictions see Cornelia Brink, *Ikonen der Vernichtung: Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), 23-99; Habbo Knoch, *Die Tat als Bild: Fotografien des Holocaust in der deutschen Erinnerungskultur* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), 123-156.

²⁶⁵ Also the implementation of the Allies' reeducation plans or "civilizing mission" – a concept that the French occupation authorities used, which had an arrogant colonial touch to it – did not assist in promoting popular acceptance to the Allies' plans of democratization, demilitarization, and denazification of Germany. Acknowledging the deficiency of such concepts, the British authorities quickly turned to speak of reform and reconstruction instead. Kurt Jürgensen, "The Concept and Practice of 'Re-Education' in Germany 1945-50," in Nicholas Pronay and Keith Wilson, eds, *The Political Re-Education of Germany & Her Allies after World War II* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 83-96.

²⁶⁶ Olick, *In the House of the Hangman*, 25-64.

²⁶⁷ The film *Die Todesmühlen* (The Death Mills), which showed shocking images from the liberation of the camps, was supposed to play a significant role in this policy. Yet when the Americans released it in

of collective guilt became a central issue in practically all postwar references to WWII and Nazism.

The accusations of a German moral failure and the collective notion of guilt were not only forced upon the German population from “the outside,” since feelings of shared guilt started to emerge among Germans already during the war.²⁶⁸ What this guilt actually referred to was not always clear, however, and Jeffrey Olick speaks in this context on the existence of a few distinct questions of guilt: “These included the role individuals played in *supporting* the Nazi regime, (materially, morally, politically, socially, or otherwise), which is different than asking whether one *perpetrated* specific crimes or was an active Nazis. They also included questions about how one should have reacted if one did not support [...] the regime” and applied to different kinds of crimes, victims, and circumstances, as well as to the individual and/or collective level.²⁶⁹ There is no doubt that in the majority of cases in which Germans discussed the issue of guilt they did so in order to rebuff a collective accusation that they felt the Allies falsely raised against the entire German people, and in doing so exaggerated the extent and coherence of these accusations. By claiming that the thesis of a German collective guilt did injustice to Germans and viewed them in national or racial terms,²⁷⁰ tackling the accusation of guilt could actually allow Germans to evade from admitting any responsibility for the Nazi regime and its crimes.²⁷¹

their occupation zone in January 1946, the American military government in Germany has already abandoned the hypothesis of German collective guilt. Cora Sol Goldstein, *Capturing the German Eye: American Visual Propaganda in Occupied Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 51-58.

²⁶⁸ Gilad Margalit, “The Consciousness of German Guilt and Its Repercussions after 1945,” in idem and Yfaat Weiss, eds, *Memory and Amnesia: The Holocaust in Germany* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2005), 228-266. [in Hebrew]

²⁶⁹ Emphases in the original. Olick, *In the House of the Hangman*, 139-140.

²⁷⁰ One of the most prominent figures to compare the collective accusation of “the Germans” with the Nazi accusations against the Jews was the first president of the Federal Republic, Theodor Heuss, in a speech he gave on December 1949. Barbro Eberan, *Luther? Friedrich „Der Große“? Wagner? Nietzsche? ...? ...? Wer war an Hitler Schuld? Die Debatte um die Schuldfrage, 1945-1949* (München: Minerva, 1983), 50.

²⁷¹ Brockmann, *German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour*, 28-30; Norbert Frei, „Von deutscher Erfindungskraft. Oder: Die Kollektivschuldthese in der Nachkriegszeit,“ in *1945 und wir: Das Dritte*

But some German intellectuals and political activists hoped that declarations of guilt would spur the population to distance itself from the Nazi ideology and to actively participate in the creation of another, moral Germany.²⁷² Discussions of guilt thus frequently presented plans for a new orientation that would enable a “moral, spiritual, and material reconstruction.”²⁷³ The contents of these new orientations depended upon the ideological background of the authors as well as on their future goals, as can be seen in a public declaration on the establishment of a new party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), in Berlin on June 26, 1945. The declaration called

the *Christian, democratic, and social forces to assemble* to a cooperation and construction of a new homeland (*Heimat*). Out of the chaos of guilt and disgrace (*Schuld und Schande*), to which the idolization of a criminal adventure has plunged us, an order of a democratic freedom can only arise when we recollect the culturally formative ethical and spiritual (*sittliche und geistige*) forces of Christianity and attach ourselves to our people’s sources of strength.²⁷⁴

This quote illustrates the attempt to create a moral order that is diametrically opposed to the Nazi particular ethic, while nevertheless using the terms disgrace (*Schande*) and

Reich im Bewußtsein der Deutschen (München: C.H. Beck, 2005), 145-155. For the different forms and arguments in the discussions of German guilt see Eberan, *Wer war an Hitler Schuld?*; Olick, *In the House of the Hangman*.

²⁷² Thus the philosopher Karl Jaspers argued in his book “The Question of German Guilt” (*Die Schuldfrage*, 1946) that only an understanding of “the question of our guilt” could lead to an inner regeneration. Similarly, the Protestant and Catholic Churches, which were reluctant to publicly acknowledge any direct responsibility, admitted that they have failed in “not doing enough,” and the political parties that emerged in all occupation zones often used a similar formulation when calling upon the population to embark upon a new path. See Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt*, 22. On the postwar approaches of the Churches and political parties to Nazism and to the question of guilt see Eike Wolgast, *Die Wahrnehmung des Dritten Reiches in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit (1945/46)* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2001).

²⁷³ For this formulation see, for example, the newspaper articles and placards reprinted in Bernhard Zeller, ed., „*Als der Krieg zu Ende war*“: *Literarisch-politische Publizistik 1945-1950* (Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum Marbach a. N.) (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1973), 25-26, 48-50.

²⁷⁴ Emphasis in the original. Reprinted in Christoph Kleßmann, *Die doppelte Staatsgründung: Deutsche Geschichte 1945-1955* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1991), 143.

honor (*Ehre*) that the Nazis used to determine Germans' loyalty to the ethical idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Here, however, a shift in the moral authority took place, in which honor and disgrace referred to the world and not to the national community. This means that postwar Germans were supposed to judge their deeds during the Third Reich according to what the entire humanity might think of them (as we have also seen in Becher's wartime radio address, above).²⁷⁵ The changed attitude to honor in relation to Jews was apparent also on the personal level. In the words of a recent historical study: "If, under the Third Reich, for example, being a Jew or Jew-like were slanderous charges subject to litigation, after the war the opposite was true. Now, being called an antisemite or a Nazi collaborator were felt to be slanderous, prompting lawsuits."²⁷⁶

The subscription to a universal-humanistic morality in the postwar years did not only refer to the change in the moral authority, but also to the sources of moral orientation, which in the case of the CDU's declaration are found in the (re)turn to a more-than-national Christian model.²⁷⁷ People's embrace of Christian values was very common in this period of chaos, in which the Churches offered ethical and institutional continuation, as well as heating, in the first cold winters.²⁷⁸ Christianity also provided the cultural idea of a Christian West (*Abendland*) that went beyond the immediate difficulties of the postwar years and played a prominent political role in

²⁷⁵ This was a recurring notion in the speeches of Becher, which were also distributed as leaflets during the war. For example on April 1942, in Kirchner, ed., *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR: Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland*, xviii. For postwar references see Zeller, ed., „*Als der Krieg zu Ende war*“, 16-17, 28; and also Alfred Andersch, one of the leading writers of the younger generation in West Germany, who denounced the lack of honor (*Ehrenlosigkeit*) that the Generals of the older generation brought upon Germany and what he described as the naïve young soldiers. Alfred Andersch, „Notwendige Aussage zum Nürnberger Prozeß,“ *Der Ruf* 1 (15. August 1946). Reprinted in Hans Schwab-Felisch, ed., *Der Ruf: Eine deutsche Nachkriegszeitung* (München: DTV, 1962), 26-29.

²⁷⁶ Goldberg, *Honor, Politics, and the Law in Imperial Germany*, 194.

²⁷⁷ The turn to Christian ideals cannot be seen as a necessarily universal address, as demonstrated by the national-racist focus of the "German Christians" during the Third Reich, and the national emphasis of the Churches in Germany and beyond during WWI. On the latter, see Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Anfang und Ende des bürgerlichen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2004).

²⁷⁸ Echternkamp, *Kriegsschauplatz Deutschland 1945*, 70-76; Kleßmann, *Die doppelte Staatsgründung*, 59-63; Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte: Die Bundesrepublik – 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2009), 25-26.

West Germany up to the 1960s. Especially conservative Catholic thinkers used *Abendland* to place themselves within a legacy of Christian humanism that opposed “Asian Bolshevism” and connected Germany to the “Western civilization.”²⁷⁹

Alexander Abusch’s book *Der Irrweg einer Nation* (The False Path of a Nation) presented a common communist interpretation on the existence of a continuous struggle in German history between two tendencies, i.e a reactionary destructive current and a progressive force bearing the legacy of German humanism.²⁸⁰ In spite of this social-political focus, like many of his contemporaries also Abusch saw in culture an important affirmative force for the devastated land and people.²⁸¹ The most significant cultural orientation celebrated the representatives of German *Kultur* and humanism, among them Schiller, Heine, Herder, and especially Goethe as examples for Germany’s contribution and connection to humanity.²⁸² Another recurring name mentioned as a source of “human orientation” was Lessing and his *Nathan der Weise*, a play that appeared frequently on East and West German stages in the immediate postwar years.²⁸³

Postwar attempts to create a new moral orientation by returning to what was conceived as the “true” German culture, took place also in the sphere of language.

²⁷⁹ Axel Schildt, *Zwischen Abendland und Amerika: Studien zur westdeutschen Ideenlandschaft der 50er Jahre* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999); Richard Faber, *Abendland: Ein politischer Kampfbegriff* (Berlin: Philo, 2002); Ronald J. Granieri, *The Ambivalent Alliance: Konrad Adenauer, the CDU/CSU, and the West, 1949-1966* (New York: Berghahn, 2004); Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, *Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

²⁸⁰ Alexander Abusch, *Der Irrweg einer Nation: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis deutscher Geschichte* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1946). The book first appeared in Mexico in 1945 and was reissued several times in East Germany.

²⁸¹ Hermann Glaser, *Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Zwischen Kapitulation und Währungsreform 1945-1948* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1985), 20.

²⁸² Brockmann, *German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour*, 115-141; Zeller, ed., „*Als der Krieg zu Ende war*“, 31-33, 59-60; Karl Robert Mandelkow, “Der ‚restaurierte‘ Goethe: Klassikerrezeption in Westdeutschland nach 1945 und ihre Vorgeschichte seit 1870,” in Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre* (Bonn: Dietz, 1998), 541-550; Nothnagle, *Building the East German Myth*, 39-53. One finds at the time also several calls for the integration of modern non-German cultural contributions as examples for a universal (or at least Western) cooperation. See Zeller, ed., „*Als der Krieg zu Ende war*“, 40-44.

²⁸³ Anat Feinberg, “The Janus-Faced Jew: Nathan and Shylock on the Postwar German Stage,” in Leslie Morris and Jack Zipes, eds, *Unlikely History: The Changing German-Jewish Symbiosis, 1945-2000* (Basingstoke: Plagrave, 2002), 233-250.

Both the occupation authorities and many German intellectuals demanded the “purification” of the German language from the Nazi influence that they feared might conserve Nazi ideology.²⁸⁴ The Allies initiated campaigns that determined which German words were tainted by Nazi militancy and immorality in order to infuse the language with democratic values,²⁸⁵ while an intellectual exchange took place in German journals and newspapers on what Thomas Mann called the Nazis’ “desecration of the word.”²⁸⁶ A large number of German intellectuals discussed “the corruption (*Verderb*) of the language [as] the corruption of the human being (*Mensch*).”²⁸⁷ Dolf Sternberger, who edited the journal *Die Wandlung* (Transformation), took a pronouncedly ethical approach to language. In the series *Aus dem Wörterbuch des Unmenschen* (From the Dictionary of the Non-Human) that he co-authored in the journal, Sternberger aimed to re-humanize the German language along with the German population.²⁸⁸

The attempts to transform the German language and morality did not succeed over night. In fact, large parts of the German population continued to use certain concepts and expressions of “Nazi language” for decades after the end of the war.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Germans were generally aware of the existence of a moral struggle in occupied Germany and were careful in what they were saying in public. The construction of this struggle in dichotomous terms (such as *Mensch* and

²⁸⁴ Georg Stötzel, „Die frühe Nachkriegszeit,“ in idem and Martin Wengeler, eds., *Kontroverse Begriffe: Geschichte des öffentlichen Sprachgebrauchs in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 19-34; Stötzel, „Der Nazi-Komplex,“ in ibid, 355-382.

²⁸⁵ Dirk Deissler, *Die entnazifizierte Sprache: Sprachpolitik und Sprachregelung in der Besatzungszeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 150-158.

²⁸⁶ Hoffschulte, „*Deutsche Hörer!*“.

²⁸⁷ Dolf Sternberger, „Aus dem Wörterbuch des Unmenschen,“ *Die Wandlung* 1: 1 (November 1945): 75. See also the writings of Victor Klemperer and Horst Lommer in the Soviet occupation zone, and Axel Eggebrecht in the western occupation zones.

²⁸⁸ The series appeared in the journal in 1945-1949 and reappeared, with some changes, as a book in 1957 and again in 1967. On Sternberger and *Aus dem Wörterbuch des Unmenschen* see Jürgen Schiewe, *Die Macht der Sprache: Eine Geschichte der Sprachkritik von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C. H. Beck, 1998), 227-234; William J. Dodd, *Jedes Wort wandelt die Welt: Dolf Sternbergers politische Sprachkritik* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007).

²⁸⁹ Horst Dieter Schlosser, *Es wird zwei Deutschlands geben: Zeitgeschichte und Sprache in Nachkriegsdeutschland, 1945-1949* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005).

Unmensch) often placed “the Nazis” and their ideology as the ultimate immoral, and the recently condemned notions of compassion toward Jews and “humanitarian sentimentality” as morally laudable.

Trials of Morality and Self-Declared Rescuers

An important reason why Germans had to pay attention to the moral demands of the Allies was because these could have a serious impact on their lives. The Allied authorities implemented a series of steps aimed to “denazify” the German population.²⁹⁰ These steps meant that German officeholders who were members of Nazi organizations had to prove that they resisted the influence of Nazi ideology in order to keep their jobs in public and semi-public positions, as well as in important private businesses.²⁹¹ Furthermore, the Allies arrested thousands of Germans for their alleged criminal activity as part of the Nazi regime and establishing one’s anti-Nazi and humanistic orientation could decide on one’s freedom. As a result of the change in what was publicly considered to be moral and especially in the attitude toward antisemitism, claiming that one was Jewish or demonstrating that one has always rejected Nazi antisemitism could thus become most instrumental.²⁹² As a German conservative wrote in his diary only a few days after the capitulation: “Earlier one

²⁹⁰ As a whole, “denazification” referred in the Allied plans to a whole series of interventions in the German society and population that included the Nuremberg Trials as well as structural changes that assumed a different form in each occupation zone. Yet a central element of denazification and the procedure that became most identified with the concept was the purge of lower level Nazis. Kleßmann, *Die doppelte Staatsgründung*, 78-92.

²⁹¹ This is basically the formulation found in the protocol of the Allied Potsdam Conference, which dates August 2, 1945. Wolfgang Benz, *Auftrag Demokratie: Die Gründungsgeschichte der Bundesrepublik und die Entstehung der DDR 1945-1949* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2010), 54. On the denazification and reeducation policies of the Allies see Clemens Vollnhals and Thomas Schlemmer, eds, *Entnazifizierung: Politische Säuberung und Rehabilitierung in den vier Besatzungszonen 1945-1949* (München: DTV, 1991); Peter Reichel, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland: Die Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Diktatur von 1945 bis heute* (München: C.H. Beck, 2001), 30-41; Olick, *In the House of the Hangman*, 117-135.

²⁹² Nevertheless, also here there was an initial level of misunderstanding regarding the special victim status of Jews from the side of the Allies. Especially in the British and American occupation zones Jewish Displaced Persons were initially interned with SS men in the same camps. On the Jewish DPs in Germany see Zeev W. Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

looked for the Aryan, and now one looks for the Jewish grandmother, or for other relations and connections to Judaism.”²⁹³

In this context, historian Frank Stern portrayed the emergence of philosemitism as a significant phenomenon in German-Jewish relations.²⁹⁴ Philosemitism denotes here

first, the notion that in any dealings with Allied institutions and officials, Germans should show an emphatically and demonstrative pro-Jewish attitude; second, a position that developed gradually and – while turning away from, and rejecting, traditional antisemitic stereotypes – elevated the *absolutized opposite* of such stereotypes into the object of public activities and publications; third, a political instrumentalization of pro-Jewish attitudes and norms with the development of West Germany along the path of sovereignty, in particular concerning Germany’s foreign policy and international image.²⁹⁵

According to Stern, philosemitism did not make stereotypes about Jews disappear from the minds of those Germans who held them. Instead, those Germans were now inclined to present Jews in a positive manner, but did so by using the same basic stereotypes.²⁹⁶ They continued to associate Jews with money or with certain physical

²⁹³ Paulheinz Wantzen, *Das Leben im Krieg: Ein Tagebuch. Aufgezeichnet in der damaligen Gegenwart von Paulheinz Wantzen* (Bad Homburg: Das Dokument, 2000), 1487 (Entry May 12, 1945).

²⁹⁴ Stern studied the western occupation zones, but as we shall see, the phenomenon he portrays applies also to the eastern occupation zone.

²⁹⁵ Emphasis added. Frank Stern, “German-Jewish Relations in the Postwar Period: The Ambiguities of Antisemitic and Philosemitic Discourse,” in Y. Michal Bodemann, ed., *Jews, Germans, Memory: Reconstructions of Jewish Life in Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 77-98, here 78.

²⁹⁶ Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992). Anthony Kauders criticized Stern and the study of postwar philosemitism, arguing that the concept does not reflect the reality of Germans’ attitudes at the time. In doing so, however, he misunderstood Stern’s analysis, which presents both the change and the continuation of attitudes (or habitus) among many, but not all, contemporary Germans. Anthony D. Kauders, “History as Censure: ‘Repression’ and ‘Philo-Semitism’ in Postwar Germany,” *History and Memory* 15: 1 (Spring/Summer 2003): 97-122.

features, but expressed admiration to these features and exaggerated the Jews' success and capabilities, while still seeing them as essentially different, as non-German.²⁹⁷

Stern views in postwar pro-Jewish attitudes a new phenomenon in German-Jewish relations, which differs from traditional Christian (and mostly missionary) philosemitism. We have noted in the first chapter, however, that modern philosemitism, its political relevance, and the concept itself goes further back to the last third of the nineteenth century.²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the Holocaust fundamentally altered many people's views of Jews and antisemitism and caused the Catholic and the Lutheran churches in Germany to gradually redefine their relationships with and understanding of Judaism.²⁹⁹ Also new in postwar German philosemitism was the extent to which it was complemented by references to assisting and rescuing Jews.

We find Germans uttering philosemitic statements and claiming to have assisted Jews in a variety of exchanges with the Allies, but especially in trial settings. These include the Nuremberg Trials in which the Allies prosecuted the leaders of the defeated Nazi state and leading members of its criminal organizations as well as the denazification procedures that applied to a much larger segment of the population.³⁰⁰ But how common were such statements? Let us start with the trials and then move to the denazification cases.

²⁹⁷ In this context, philosemitism and antisemitism share a basic trait. Zygmunt Bauman favors, accordingly, the term "allosemitism" that "refers to the practice of setting Jews apart as people radically different from all others, needing separate concepts to describe and comprehend them and special treatment in all or most social intercourse." Zygmunt Bauman, "Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern," in Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus, eds, *Modernity, Culture, and 'the Jew'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 143-156, here 143.

²⁹⁸ See especially Levenson, *Between Philosemitism and Antisemitism*. We need to remember that when Stern did his research there were practically no studies that dealt with modern philosemitism.

²⁹⁹ Ulrike Zander, „Christlicher Philosemitismus in Deutschland nach der Schoa,“ in Irene A. Diekmann and Elke-Vera Kotowski, eds., *Geliebter Feind – Gehasster Freund: Antisemitismus und Philosemitismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Julius Schoeps* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2009), 487-507.

³⁰⁰ On the different trials see Gerd R. Ueberschär, ed., *Der Nationalsozialismus vor Gericht: Die alliierten Prozesse gegen Kriegsverbrecher und Soldaten, 1943-1952* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000).

In spite of the possible benefits of claiming to have assisted Jews, not all defendants made such claims, and those who did, did not do so extensively. Defendants usually preferred to deny having known anything about war crimes, assuming that it would be safer to distance themselves from this topic and believing that the court would have a difficult task to prove the opposite. Moreover, while some defendants made efforts to adjust themselves to the new reality, others held on to at least a part of the Nazi worldview and expressed defiance, and even contempt, toward the historical interpretations the Allies forced upon them. Some convinced Nazis maintained such an attitude into the 1950s and beyond.³⁰¹

Yet there were also differences between what the defendants could and could not claim in court regarding their attitudes toward Jews, and not all trials gave the “Jewish issue” the same kind of attention. Some trials, such as the Nuremberg *Einsatzgruppen* Trial (September 1947 to April 1948) dealt directly with the mass murder of Jews that these killing units perpetrated. Therefore, the reactions of the killing units’ commanders to the indictments could hardly be based on a philosemitic attitude, and focused instead on other issues. Those defendants usually stressed that they were merely following orders, argued that their actions were a military necessity, that they feared retaliation from their superiors, that their actions were not criminal in a state of war, and that they were powerless to stop the killings.³⁰² The commander of *Einsatzgruppe D*, Otto Ohlendorf, told his interrogators that the killings were legal and executed in a humane fashion.³⁰³ Such a statement was the closest that Ohlendorf, who

³⁰¹ Christina Ullrich, „*Ich fühl’ mich nicht als Mörder*“: *Die Integration von NS-Tätern in die Nachkriegsgesellschaft* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2011).

³⁰² Hilary Earl, *The Nuremberg SS-Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1945-1958* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 135-178. The same basic arguments appeared also in other trials of Nazi perpetrators, whose active role in the atrocities was well established. See, for example, Michael S. Bryant, “Punishing the Excess: Sadism, Bureaucratized Atrocity, and the U.S. Army Concentration Camp Trials, 1945-1947,” in Nathan Stoltzfus and Henry Friedlander, eds, *Nazi Crimes and the Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 73-85.

³⁰³ Earl, *The Nuremberg SS-Einsatzgruppen Trial*, 46-58. Ohlendorf repeated this statement on the humane manner of killing also when talking to the military psychiatrist in Nuremberg, Leon

commanded the shooting of Jews by the tens of thousands, could come to asserting that he helped Jews.

The situation was very different in the trials of the economic elites of the Third Reich, in which the persecution of Jews was not the central issue at hand. In the trial of the industrialist Friedrich Flick (April-December 1947), for example, the charges concentrated on economic exploitation and enslavement of civilians in occupied Europe, and included one count on the Aryanization of Jewish property. In response to this last issue Flick's attorney stated that his client could not have prevented it from taking place, "that his cooperation, like that of a lawyer, on the contrary, served to protect the rights and interests" of the Jewish firms "and that the economic results of this Aryanization process, which was unavoidable at that time, would have been incomparably worse if Flick had not intervened..."³⁰⁴ This statement and similar ones Flick himself made during the trial presented him as righteous in his behavior toward Jews and were meant as a reply to this specific issue. The main argument of the attorney did not involve his client's attitudes toward Jews and stated that Flick was unfortunate to live under a government that compelled him and others to commit impious and iniquitous acts. "This was their tragedy, but not their guilt."³⁰⁵

A similar pattern appeared in the trial of the major war criminals in Nuremberg (November 1945 to October 1946). Also this trial was not focused on the role of the defendants in the Holocaust. The International Military Tribunal prosecuted the defendants on one or more of four indictments: 1) participation in a plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of crimes against peace, 2) planning, initiating, and waging wars of aggression and other crimes against peace, 3) committing war crimes, and 4)

Goldensohn. See Leon Goldensohn, *The Nuremberg Interviews* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 386-394.

³⁰⁴ *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10*, Vol. 6 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952), 133. And see also Flick's testimony on pages 604-637.

³⁰⁵ *Trial of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals*, Vol. 6, 115.

committing crimes against humanity. The persecution of Jews did not constitute a distinct category of prosecution and was mostly discussed in the frame of crimes against humanity, which was a most ambiguous category that denounced the crimes from a universal standpoint and did not judge them as crimes against a specific group.³⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the prosecution presented several documents portraying the brutalities in the concentration camps and the mass murder of Jews in order to confront the defendants with their shared or personal guilt in the persecution of the Jews.

Also here the defendants' reactions varied and depended on the specific accusations and on the convictions and strategies of each of them. But practically all of them stated that they knew nothing of the crimes, and even Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Heydrich's successor in the SS, argued that he only followed orders and was not aware of the scale of the crimes.³⁰⁷ The Soviet-licensed newspaper *Berliner Zeitung* remarked accordingly on October 26, 1945:

Having now heard the testimony of more than half of the defendants, one could get the impression from their words that the inmates of the concentration camp had themselves carried out the selections for the gas chambers, ordered themselves to march into the chambers, themselves turned on the gas and obediently choked to death, or had in Belsen beaten and bestially mistreated themselves [...] and shot themselves. All these villainous organizers of mass

³⁰⁶ Donald Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 57-90.

³⁰⁷ The reactions of other Nazi leaders included, for example, Julius Streicher, the editor of *Der Stürmer*, and Alfred Rosenberg, the main ideologue of the Nazi party, who openly held on to their antisemitic worldview, while claiming that they did not know of the mass murders and that they now object them. Hans Frank, the governor of occupied Poland, admitted to his former mistakes and antisemitic worldview and repented for them, while at the same time arguing he knew nothing of the mass killings. Albert Speer, Hitler's architect and the last Minister of Armament, was the only one to declare on the stand that as a member of the Nazi government he accepts responsibility for the atrocities, yet denied having any knowledge of them.

extermination claim to not have been there at all, in fact they were practically benefactors of the inmates.”³⁰⁸

The defendants’ self-presentation as benefactors of the persecuted appeared, for instance, in the testimony of Hermann Göring, who was the most prominent Nazi leader tried. Göring claimed to have objected to the deeds of “real antisemites” such as Goebbels, and described his own alleged attempts to prevent violence against Jews, arguing that he did not know of the mass murder of the Jews and the atrocities against civilians. At the same time he relativized the Jews’ status as victims and argued that they had to be separated politically and culturally from the German *Volk* to which they brought damage.³⁰⁹ Göring portrayed himself as a benefactor of the persecuted also in relation to other groups. When asked about his part in creating concentration camps in 1933-1934, he stated that once he had heard that Ernst Thälmann, the incarcerated leader of the German Communist Party (KPD), was beaten, he interfered in the inmate’s favor and cordially replied to the inquiries of Thälmann’s wife.³¹⁰ All these statements were supposed to present Göring as corroborating with the moral standards of the court.

Also other defendants expressed their embrace of a universal morality, using philosemitic language and claims on having objected the anti-Jewish measures. We can see this in the testimony of general Alfred Jodl, chief of operations at the Armed

³⁰⁸ Quoted in Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 39.

³⁰⁹ *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, Nuremberg 14 November – 1 October 1946, Vol. 17 (Nuremberg: International Military Tribunal, 1948), 178.

³¹⁰ *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, Nuremberg 14 November – 1 October 1946, Vol. 9 (Nuremberg: International Military Tribunal, 1947), 259.

Forces High Command,³¹¹ and in the trials of other *Wehrmacht* generals, who reported on their protests on the killing of Jews and other civilians by the SS and SD.³¹²

A defendant who addressed the mass killing of Jews more extensively than others and reported on his assistance to Jews was Hans Fritzsche. Fritzsche was head of the news division in the Nazi Propaganda Ministry and a popular radio commentator, who was charged with contributing to the Nazis' militaristic and antisemitic agitation. Accordingly, an important part of his defense concentrated, firstly, on proving that he was unaware of the mass murder of Jews and thus could not have campaigned for it, and secondly, that he himself assisted Jews in need:

FRITZSCHE: On several occasions Jews or relatives or friends of Jews appealed to me because of discrimination or arrests. A large number of non-Jews also did this as my name has become well-known to the public. Without exception, I made their pleas my own and tried to help through various offices such as the RSHA, through the personnel section of my Ministry, through individual ministers or Gauleiter, *et cetera*.

DR. FRITZ [Fritzsche's attorney]: Why did you turn to so many different authorities and offices?

FRITZSCHE: Very many requests were involved, and if my name had appeared too often at the same office its effectiveness would have been exhausted very quickly.³¹³

Fritzsche's attorney also presented the court with three sworn statements that testified to the pro-Jewish activity of his client.³¹⁴

³¹¹ Jodl proclaimed that he had Jewish acquaintances and claimed he had reported infamous actions (*Schandtaten*) of the SS to Hitler (who then allegedly acted against them) and also protested the killing of American POWs as well as other atrocities. *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof*, Nürnberg 14. November 1945 – 1. Oktober 1946, Band 15 (Nürnberg: Internationaler Militär-Gerichtshof, 1948), 327-328.

³¹² Valerie Geneviève Hébert, *Hitler's Generals on Trial: The Last War Crime Tribunal at Nuremberg* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 99-127, 189-190.

³¹³ *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, Vol. 9, 272-278, 652.

The defendants were more than willing to repeat their stories of friendship with and assistance to Jews also outside the courtroom setting. They had the opportunity to do so with Gustave M. Gilbert,³¹⁵ an American psychologist and with Leon Goldensohn, an American psychiatrist.³¹⁶ In 10 out of 19 cases, the defendants told Goldensohn of their objection to antisemitism and their deeds for Jews.³¹⁷ Hjalmar Schacht, who was Germany's minister of the economy up to 1937, told Goldensohn that he had Jewish friends, and that he regrets the loss of Jews to German culture and society. This last argument became a classic in the arsenal of philosemitism. Goldensohn asked Schacht whether he ever opposed antisemitism in public, and Schacht said he did, but unfortunately no documents could support his claim. When Goldensohn noted in disbelief that it does not seem that Schacht was disturbed by the antisemitic measures in the economic sphere, Schacht replied: "I stayed in the Hitler government [...] because I felt that at least one honest man in that government might serve as a check on Hitler." Goldensohn commented that Schacht is not the only person that used this line of argument.³¹⁸ And indeed, in the postwar years many Germans made this claim in order to portray themselves as moral individuals.

³¹⁴ *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof*, Band 17, 199-201.

³¹⁵ Gilbert documents many behind-the-scenes comments of the defendants in the courtroom as well as his discussions with them in their cells. It includes a few instances in which the defendants asserted their indignation on the persecution of the Jews and declared to have protested against it or assisted Jews. G. M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* (New York: New American Library, 1947).

³¹⁶ Göring used the opportunity to elaborate on what he said in court and presented himself as no antisemite, adding, following Goldensohn's question: "Whenever Jews applied to me for help, I did so." Also Fritzsche was delighted to be able to speak of his Jewish friends from school and to repeat, at length, his actions for the Jews.

³¹⁷ The fragmentary character of Gilbert's "diary" leaves many statements of the defendants undocumented, whereas Goldensohn's recently published interviews often give a more in depth account of the conversations and uncover more extensive references to assisting Jews than in the defendants' courtroom testimonies. The comparison of meetings in which both Gilbert and Goldensohn were present makes this clear. There appear to be several additional reasons for the difference between the accounts documented by the two on the issue of assisting Jews. The first lies in the various topics that Gilbert was interested in, which also reflected the courtroom discussion he wished to document, and what appears to be Goldensohn's greater interest in the defendants' positions toward the persecution of the Jews. Furthermore, as a Jew with a "Jewish name" Goldensohn was also probably identified by the defendants as someone who would like to hear about their positive actions toward Jews. See, respectively, Goldensohn, *The Nuremberg Interviews*, 117, 47-75.

³¹⁸ Goldensohn, *The Nuremberg Interviews*, 228.

The word that Germans often used in making such an argument was *anständig* (decent). We have seen in the first chapter how Nazi leaders such as Goebbels, Ley, and Himmler criticized those Germans who did not want anything bad to happen to “their decent Jews.” In its postwar use, the word “decent” served the same basic purpose of distinguishing certain individuals from a group, but this time it aimed to draw a boundary between the criminal Nazis and the decent “ordinary Germans.”³¹⁹ It was used to either designate the majority of Germans as moral, as in the testimony of the *Wehrmacht*’s supreme commander Wilhelm Keitel in Nuremberg, who argued “that the large mass of our brave soldiers were really decent,”³²⁰ or to maintain one’s morality even while being in an immoral Nazi environment. Even Germans, whose direct involvement in the Holocaust was undeniable, sometimes depicted themselves as innocent using this word. This can be seen in the case of Franz Stangl, the commander of the death camp Treblinka, who argued years after the war that while he had to obey orders, on an interpersonal level he was still a decent person.³²¹

Establishing one’s decency was especially relevant in the denazification procedures, which aimed to discover one’s internal attitudes and “true” moral inclination. Also there we find persons combining a claim on their morality with a claim on rescuing Jews by asserting, for example, “I protected Jews and treated them with decency.”³²² In denazification procedures, those Germans that the Allies arrested in the first phase of occupation or dismissed from their jobs, and those who applied for

³¹⁹ Knoch, *Die Tat als Bild*, 231-232. The word appeared already during the Third Reich in private correspondences and diaries, as in the case of a German colonel, who wrote in his diary on November 21, 1939 regarding the occupation of Poland and the atrocious acts committed there, that one day the “decent Germans” might feel the wrath of revenge. Quoted in Burleigh, *The Third Reich*, 436.

³²⁰ *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, Nuremberg 14 November – 1 October 1946, Vol. 10 (Nuremberg: International Military Tribunal, 1947), 470.

³²¹ Welzer, *Täter*, 23-35. The same was also recently established in the case of *Wehrmacht* soldiers, who in spite of openly speaking (with fellow soldiers in POW camps, during and after the war) on the immoral actions they took part in, still see themselves as decent people. Sönke Neitzel and Harald Welzer, *Soldaten: Protokolle vom Kämpfen, Töten und Sterben* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2011), 201-204.

³²² Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Bestand 856, Akte 210047.

public employment or a position in the military authorities,³²³ were required to demonstrate that while they may have been “nominal” members of the Nazi party or its associated organizations, they have internally opposed the Nazi ideology. On several occasions the suspected Germans merely needed to present written evidence supporting their cases, whereas in others they were also required to stand in front of special courts (*Spruchkammer*) that decided on the classification of their personal guilt.³²⁴

In my archival research I looked at hundreds of denazification files in regional and national archives located in Berlin,³²⁵ Koblenz,³²⁶ Hanover,³²⁷ and Munich³²⁸ that covered parts of the Soviet, French, British, and American occupation zones, respectively. The number of the denazification procedures reached over a million and any attempt at a comprehensive account would be impossible. Yet after comparing my findings with studies that dealt with the personal denazification in different areas I can safely say that statements on having close personal relations with and saving the lives of Jews appear in all occupation zones, and in the files of Germans of different age, political status, and social background.

Statements on rescuing Jews in the denazification procedures were uttered in the written and oral statements of the defendants on themselves, as well as in sworn statements that third party persons wrote about them. In some cases, former Nazi functionaries based a significant portion of their defense on proving that they actively

³²³ The requirements on Germans to demonstrate their resistance to the Nazi regime were especially strict in the case of those who were to serve in the denazification courts. See in the case of Hessen: Armin Schuster, *Die Entnazifizierung in Hessen 1945-1954: Vergangenheitspolitik in der Nachkriegszeit* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 1999), 261-272.

³²⁴ In the American zone there were five classification categories: “major offenders,” “offenders,” “lesser offenders,” “followers” (*Mitläufer*), and exonerated persons. This classification also influenced the denazification in the western occupation zones, and the Federal Republic used it after 1949, as well.

³²⁵ Landesarchiv Berlin; Bundesarchiv Berlin.

³²⁶ Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

³²⁷ Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover; Stadtarchiv Hannover.

³²⁸ Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München.

protected Jews from Nazi persecution.³²⁹ But defendants often preferred not to speak at length of any specific deeds, and elaborated instead on their decent *character* and on their liberal or Christian socialization. Their implicit claim was that a decent, polite person who grew up with humanistic values could not have had any direct contact with Nazi criminality.³³⁰ One of the main concepts they employed to characterize their behavior was *Mensch* (human being), a word that symbolized the universal-humanistic message of the Enlightenment and articulated an opposition to Nazi racial inequality. *Mensch* and *menschlich* (human/e) became major components in the postwar moral struggle and appeared in numerous anti-Nazi publications, as well as in the fourth indictment of the Nuremberg Trials, crimes against humanity (*Menschlichkeit*), that became a standard moral and legal category.³³¹

Members of Nazi institutions who participated in the persecution of the Jews found an abstract category such as *menschlich* especially useful in distinguishing their behavior from that of their colleagues. Thus former SA, SS, and Gestapo members stated that they always acted as human beings (“*immer als Mensch gehandelt*”), exhibited “correct and decent behavior,” and did all in their power to “guarantee a humane (*menschlich*) treatment of the inmates.”³³² *Mensch* and *menschlich* thus functioned both as statements on one’s moral character and as an (at least implicit) assertion on helping the persecuted.

³²⁹ See, for example, the denazification file of Hanover’s Nazi mayor Henricus Haltenhoff, who appealed to the court in 1948-1949 hoping to receive the pension denied from him in May 1945. Stadtarchiv Hannover, Akte 6788.

³³⁰ The emphasis on virtues such as politeness, diligence, and the like, points to the defendants’ conflation of several notions of morality. Morality could refer not only to how people treat each other, but also to the ways in which they live their lives and behave in different social contexts.

³³¹ The German translation of “crimes against humanity” as *Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit* (rather than *Menschheit*) emphasizes moral behavior rather than humanity as a community of all people.

³³² For examples from the north German cities Bremen and Bremerhaven, see Hans Hesse, *Konstruktionen der Unschuld: Die Entnazifizierung am Beispiel von Bremen und Bremerhaven 1945-1953* (Bremen: Selbstverlag des Staatsarchiv Bremen, 2005), 288-293. For similar examples from the western parts of Germany see Johnson, *Nazi Terror*, 29-31, 36.

An additional abstract concept that Gestapo men used to distinguish themselves from their organization's criminality without giving accurate details that might be difficult to prove was "friendship with Jews." As in *menschlich* and *anständig*, also this concept was rooted in Nazi morality's attitude toward Jews. Also here the dichotomous character of Nazi morality allowed Germans to simply reverse the concept's value from negative to positive without changing its basic meaning. Thus a Gestapo member in charge of "Jewish affairs" in Bremen asserted before a denazification court that his "friendliness toward Jews" (*Judenfreundlichkeit*) caused him to save some of his town's Jews and asked to be acknowledged as a resistance fighter.³³³

Establishing one's friendship or family relations with Jews was not only important for Gestapo and SS men (and women³³⁴). Having close contacts with Jews played a role also in the statements of Germans who wanted to work for the *Spruchkammer* and participate in the denazification trials of fellow Germans. In order to demonstrate her complete rejection of Nazi ideology, Klara K., the chairperson of such a court in a small Bavarian town, wrote on April 1948 on her marriage with a Jewish man, the continued "friendly relations" with his Jewish family after their divorce in 1930, and on the loss of her job in 1933 due to these relations.³³⁵ Otto M., the prosecutor in another court in a smaller town in Bavaria, reported not only on maintaining personal and business relations with Jews throughout the Nazi period, but also on having assisted Jews to gain documents with which they could flee

³³³ The court rejected his plea for the lack of evidence. Hesse, *Konstruktionen der Unschuld*, 367-370.

³³⁴ Only rarely did women have responsible positions in the Gestapo. As such, the charges against women usually focused on their connections to the Gestapo, and especially on their roles as denouncers and informers. Hesse, *Konstruktionen der Unschuld*, 330-347. For a statement by a woman who did have a responsible position in the Gestapo and maintained anti-Nazi convictions by claiming she tried to improve the fate of the Jews see *ibid*, 334-335.

³³⁵ Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München. MSo 3861. I refrain from mentioning full names in accordance with the archives' requirements.

Germany.³³⁶ Also here the assertion of one's morality included both continued (long term) *attitudes* toward Jews and specific (short term) *actions* of assisting them to escape Nazi persecution.

We can see how in the postwar years individual Germans reproduced and negated not only the main concepts of the Nazi campaigns that aimed to separate the Jews from Aryan *Volksossen*, but also the main elements of these campaigns (which we explored in the first chapter). Thus buying from Jews or doing businesses with them, marrying Jews and keeping family relations with them, as well as friendship with Jews functioned in denazification settings as positive rather than negative markers of morality. The same applied also to the final element of the Nazis' attempted racial separation, i.e. going to Jewish doctors. For example, Martha W., a Berliner salesperson and member of the Nazi party, appealed to the denazification court in 1946 to classify her as a mere nominal party member, stating: "During this period [1941] I allowed myself to be treated by the physician Prof. F., who lived on Bergstrasse, Berlin-Neukölln. This physician was Jewish."³³⁷ The same practices that only a few months before threatened to exclude Germans from the moral community of the *Volk* became honorary activities after the war's end that integrated them into the moral humanistic community that the Allies reintroduced into Germany.

Much of the evidence that defendants presented to prove their internal opposition to Nazism included sworn attestations on the moral convictions and behavior of the persons involved. The denazification courts themselves urged the public to produce these testimonies in order to assist in the search for justice.³³⁸ Yet these attestations were quickly known as "Persil-notes" (*Persilscheine* – "Persil" being a common brand of detergent) because they helped to whitewash the records of Nazis.

³³⁶ Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München. MSo 4136.

³³⁷ Landesarchiv Berlin, C Rep. 375-01-13, Nr. 5084 (NS-Archiv des MfS), Berlin ZB II, Karton 946, Akte 3.

³³⁸ See, for example, Vollnhals and Schlemmer, eds, *Entnazifizierung*, 119.

Those Germans who joined the Nazi party in order to improve their lives, now felt a mutual need and responsibility to overcome the persecution of Nazi party members, and even people who resented the regime often succumbed to the pressure of their neighbors.³³⁹

As Susanne Beer notes, some Germans tried to gain *Persilscheine* also from those non-Jewish Germans who were known to hide Jews. Also here social pressure had its influence, and while some German rescuers stubbornly resisted it, others did produce fraudulent *Persilscheine* in order to avoid tensions with the community and allow lower rank Nazis to participate in the rebuilding of Germany.³⁴⁰

The certificates that Jews and other victims of the Nazis produced were especially sought for. In some occasions, Nazi Germans tried to attain *Persilscheine* by way of extortion,³⁴¹ while in others former victims were happy to show their appreciation to those individuals who contributed to their survival. In any case, whether or not the attestations reflect the actual deeds of the defendants is difficult to ascertain. But what we can say is that the statements of former victims of Nazi persecution show the same basic notions that appeared in the arguments of the defendants, i.e. buying from Jews, contacts with Jews and “mixed Jews,” a Christian socialization, and a non-Nazi attitude. These are exemplified in a letter from

³³⁹ In some villages and towns there were mayors, priests, and other public figures that gave exculpating attestations to their acquaintances. Rainer Möhler, *Entnazifizierung in Rheinland-Pfalz und im Saarland unter französischer Besatzung von 1945 bis 1952* (Mainz: Hase & Koehler, 1992), 318-319; Schwabe, *Entnazifizierung in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, 15-16; Schuster, *Die Entnazifizierung in Hessen 1945-1954*, 286-310; Ullrich, „*Ich fühl’ mich nicht als Mörder*“, 70-78.

³⁴⁰ Susanne Beer, “Good Germans in Collective Memory: Public References on Assistance for Jews in West Germany’s Postwar History,” in Pol O. Dochartaigh and Christiane Schönefeld, eds, *Representing the Good German in Literature and Culture* (Forthcoming). Bethold Beitz, the industrialist and rescuer of many Jews, recalled on his decision after the war to leave aside his resentments against these Nazis and produce *Persilscheine* for them. See Joachim Käppner, *Berthold Beitz: Die Biographie* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2010), 127-130.

³⁴¹ For example, in a report that a Jewish survivor submitted to the Wiener Library in September 1958, the survivor told of such an attempt by two local women shortly before the final occupation of their town. Eva Deutschkron, “Untold Hardships of an ‘Illegal’ Life,” in Wiener Library Archive, *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series One, Section Two (eyewitness accounts), reel 50, P. III. d, No. 950. Page 6.

December 1948 to the denazification committee of Karl S., who lived in a small town in western Germany:

Herr Karl S. [...] never behaved as a Nazi. While he was in the SA and the [Nazi] Party, he always tolerated his wife's shopping in our business, although my mother, the owner of the business, was Jewish. For many years he was also with me in the church choir, despite of the fact that as a party member he was ordered not to foster friendly contacts with a *Mischling*.³⁴²

Oftentimes it seems that defendants asked those who testified for them to stress certain aspects and perhaps also concepts that would convince the court. We find this taking place, for example, in the case of Johannes W., a physician from Berlin, who asked to renew his license based on his help to Jewish patients, in spite of his position in the SA. His file includes three similar attestations in which Jewish survivors praise the medical and humane help he gave their families, and one that also mentions the doctor's efforts to save Jews from Nazi persecution.³⁴³ Thus emerged an exchange between the persecuted (Jews and non-Jews), the German population, and the Allies as part of the same moral and judicial discussion.

This moral and judicial discussion provided formulas that contributed to the acquittal of many former Nazi officeholders and to what some critical voices in Germany saw as the failure of denazification as a whole. We thus find articles that criticize the inflational and apologetic use of *Menschlichkeit* and its related concepts,³⁴⁴ and express indignation regarding former Nazis who now present

³⁴² As a result, the court decided to classify him as a "follower." Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Bestand 856, Akte 020028.

³⁴³ Landesarchiv Berlin, C Rep. 375-01-13, Nr. 5078 (NS-Archiv des MfS), Berlin ZB II, Karton 941, Akte 7.

³⁴⁴ See the following poem and article, both in the journal *Die Weltbühne*, in the Soviet occupation zone: Karl Schnog, Die neuen Rein-Menschlichen, *Die Weltbühne* 2: 21 (1. November 1947): 935; Frank Bussard, „Menschlich,“ *Die Weltbühne* 4: 37 (14. September 1949): 1183-1185.

themselves as resistance fighters and rescuers of Jews.³⁴⁵ One critic added with irony: “We know that each and every one of them actually deserves a commendation for their manful good deeds to Jewish friends.”³⁴⁶

As the years progressed and the Cold War became the main priority of the Allies, the denazification came to a halt. In the newly established West Germany, the final cases were closed with acquittals in 1952 and in East Germany this happened gradually when former Nazis joined the ruling party (SED) and could start anew. But the extensive public attention that the procedures and the Nuremberg Trials received³⁴⁷ nevertheless established the foundations for a public debate that continued into the trials of the 1960s and 1970s.³⁴⁸ At the same time, however, much of the discussion around the trials focused on the unfair and inefficient “victors’ justice” and presented the “little Nazis” and the German society as a whole as victims of the Allies.³⁴⁹ Donald Bloxham sees some of the reasons for this in the trials themselves that “did little to clarify conceptualizations of Nazi criminality in the public sphere anywhere.”³⁵⁰ That assisting Jews or having contacts with them became common formulas for self-acquittal in the postwar years was an unintended outcome of the

³⁴⁵ Marie Dubois, „Die ‚Große Stunde‘ der ‚Kleinen Leute‘“, *Die Weltbühne* 2: 7 (1. April 1947): 298-300; Willy Brandt, *Verbrecher und andere Deutsche: Ein Bericht aus Deutschland 1946*, bearbeitet von Einhart Lorenz (Bonn: Dietz, 2007), 181.

³⁴⁶ Karl Lerbs. „Rand Bemerkung,“ *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 2/44 (30.5.1946): 5.

³⁴⁷ For example, from May 1945 to November 1948 the most discussed topic in broadcasts of the British controlled radio station NWDR were the trial in Nuremberg and its subsequent trials (46 % of the reports on the Nazi era, almost all of them in 1946), while the second most discussed topic was the denazification (11% of the reports, most of them in 1946-1947). Christof Schneider, *Nationalsozialismus als Thema im Programm des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks (1945-1948)* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999), 109-110, 150-156, 161-180. Furthermore, American surveys show the great interest of the population in the Nuremberg Trials. Merritt and Merritt, eds, *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany*, 34-35, 93-94, 121-123.

³⁴⁸ Susanne Karstedt, “The Nuremberg Tribunal and German Society: International Justice and Local Judgment in Post-Conflict Reconstruction,” in David A. Blumenthal and Timothy L. H. McCormack, eds, *The Legacy of Nuremberg: Civilising Influence or Institutionalised Vengeance?* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), 13-35.

³⁴⁹ Jörg Osterloh and Clemens Vollnhals, eds, *NS-Prozesse und deutsche Öffentlichkeit: Besatzungszeit, frühe Bundesrepublik und DDR* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

³⁵⁰ “Sometimes they actually muddied the waters by drawing attention away from the victims of Nazi genocide and onto much more ambiguous symbols of suffering.” Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial*, 2.

trials and denazification procedures. But as we shall see in the next sections and chapters, these formulas were not restricted to courtroom settings alone.³⁵¹

Rescue and Solidarity between Experience and Autobiographical Writing

We have seen so far how non-Jewish Germans claimed to have helped Jews as part of a calculated attempt to present themselves to the Allies in a positive manner. But I will show that a significant portion of postwar references to rescuing Jews in the Germanys were not simply exculpatory, but also emanated from particular experiences and relations between Jews and non-Jews during and after the war. Let us examine the connection between these relations and the publications on rescue from the end of the war until the early 1960s.

In examining whether the statements on close relations between Jews and non-Jewish Germans reflected reality, we must first examine their wartime experiences and postwar situation. After the war, most of the Jews found in Germany were not German citizens before 1933 (German Jews were 15,000 from about 250,000 Jews in 1945/6), but rather East European Jews that were either liberated on German soil or escaped pogroms in their home countries. Many of these Jews went through Nazi concentration and death camps, lost most of their family members, and were waiting in camps for Displaced Persons (DPs – in the American and British zones) for an opportunity to leave for Palestine or other countries. They hardly tried to integrate into the German society and practiced Yiddish and Hebrew cultural and social activities.³⁵² Many German Jews, in contrast, survived within Germany in “privileged marriages”

³⁵¹ An illustration of this point appears already in the group experiment of the Institute for Social Study in Frankfurt that collected its material among West Germans in the years 1950-1951. Friedrich Pollock, ed., *Gruppenexperiment: Ein Studienbericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1955).

³⁵² Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*; Angelika Königseder and Juliane Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope: Jewish Displaced Persons in Post-World War II Germany* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001); Hagit Lavsky, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945-1950* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002).

(with Aryan partners), in hiding, or with false identities. Jews who survived within Germany often owed their lives to individual non-Jewish Germans or to entire networks of rescue.³⁵³ Their attitudes on whether to continue living in Germany divided between those whom Atina Grossmann calls “reconciliationists,” who wanted to stay and build a new democratic society, and those who saw in the good deeds of a German minority an evidence for the moral failure of the majority.³⁵⁴

The approaches of non-Jewish Germans to Jews after the war were another important element in defining personal relations of Jewish survivors with their German surroundings. While in the first year or so under Allied occupation, antisemitism in public statements has diminished considerably, by the late 1940s a new wave of anti-Jewish sentiments emerged in the German population and with it cases of cemeteries’ desecrations, insults, and harassment of Jews. Aimed especially at the Eastern Jews in the DP camps, this antisemitism drew on Nazi stereotypes combined with the new conditions after the war.³⁵⁵ The mere presence of Jewish survivors in Germany constituted a reminder to the crimes of the Nazi regime and to collective accusations against Germans and aroused bitterness. Furthermore,

[Non-Jewish] Germans resented the benefits granted their former neighbors by the Allies and muttered about Jewish “revenge” driving war crimes trials and denazification measures. Jews in turn were outraged that defeated Germans

³⁵³ The significance of rescue networks that includes in some cases dozens of non-Jews (and sometimes also Jews) is well established in studies of rescue. Such networks existed in all countries under Nazi occupation and also in Germany itself. For general overview of rescue stories and studies and the place of these networks in them see Mordecai Paldiel, *Saving the Jews: Amazing Stories of Men and Women Who Defied the “Final Solution”* (Rockville, MD: Schreiber, 2000); Barzel, *Choice of the Good*; Jacques Semelin et al., eds, *Resisting Genocide: The Multiple Forms of Rescue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

³⁵⁴ Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 106-108.

³⁵⁵ Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb, *Anti-Semitism in Germany: The Post-Nazi Epoch since 1945* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997); Jay Howard Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany, 1945-1953* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

profited from “aryanized” homes and businesses while they had to struggle for minimal restitution.³⁵⁶

Mutual distrust caused especially Displaced Persons to restrict their contacts with non-Jews to necessary economic exchanges. At least in the first generation of those survivors who stayed in Germany, friendship and marriage were exceptional.³⁵⁷ Some Jews continued to maintain a sense of separation and suspicion even to their non-Jewish acquaintances, as one Jewish survivor (originally from Krakow) stated in the late 1980s: “If you meet somebody in a restaurant, fine—but I don't go to their homes and they don't come to mine.”³⁵⁸ Also among those Jewish and non-Jewish Germans who stayed in contact throughout or tried to restore their friendship from before the war, there were difficulties of understanding each other. Members of each side tended to seal themselves in their own sense of collective suffering, which made it difficult to accept the pain of others.³⁵⁹

In some cases there were conscious or unconscious attempts to reconcile antagonistic feelings and reestablish a German-Jewish dialogue through “mixed marriages.” We thus find non-Jewish German women who lost their husbands in the

³⁵⁶ Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 112. See also Frank Stern, “Antagonistic Memories: The Post-War Survival and Alienation of Jews and Germans,” in Luisa Passerini, ed., *Memory and Totalitarianism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 21-43.

³⁵⁷ “What usually prevailed was what a visitor to the Jewish DPs observed: “‘I hate the Germans,’ is the general expression. ‘I can't bear to see them, I could kill them all in cold blood.’ But when the conversation continues, it turns out that the subject is soon ‘my friend Schmidt,’ and ‘our dear neighbors, the Müllers,’ for even the greatest hatred cannot live in isolation when you have to go on living where the torment took place.” Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 51-52.

³⁵⁸ Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 117. In a study of German-Jews' lives and social interactions in the West in late 1980s to mid 1990s, Lynn Rapaport uncovers the level of distrust and dislike toward Jews who went through Nazi persecution, and how these issues were transferred to their children. While the children seem to be more open to having non-Jewish German friends, they maintain stronger relationships with Jews and hold on to general reservations against Germans in general (although not against their non-Jewish friends). Lynn Rapaport, *Jews in Germany after the Holocaust: Memory, Identity, and Jewish-German Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 162-204. A similar and even stronger negative sentiment against non-Jewish Germans characterizes Jewish parents' objections to their children marrying non-Jewish Germans. See *ibid.*, 205-251.

³⁵⁹ See, for example, Steven E. Aschheim, “The German-Jewish Dialogue at Its Limits: The Case of Hermann Broch and Volkmar von Zuelsdorff,” in *Culture and Catastrophe*, 85-96.

war and started a relationship with Jewish men.³⁶⁰ But also here the distinct memories of suffering could rarely be bridged and marriages often ended in divorce.³⁶¹ The situation was frequently not better even in cases of non-Jews who saved the lives of Jews. The continuous stress of living together for months or years under constant threat to all participants caused quite a few of the individuals involved to cut all personal connections after the war.³⁶²

But there were also other cases. The personal relations and emotional connections that Jews and non-Jews nurtured during the persecution did not always come to a halt. Many survivors continued to communicate with their former benefactors, even those who left Germany or settled on the “wrong” side of the Iron Curtain.³⁶³ Those Jews who owed their lives to Oskar Schindler, for example, continuously supported him with gifts during his postwar financial failures.³⁶⁴ Some survivors invited their former rescuers to their new homes abroad and made great efforts to award them with tokens of public appreciation.³⁶⁵ Such initiatives usually took place on a personal level, from the rescued to the rescuer, thus articulating the survivors’ commitment and gratitude to the persons who helped save their lives. In contrast, acts of gratitude on a collective or communal level were rather rare in

³⁶⁰ Svenja Goltermann argues that German-Jewish relations could be interpreted in some cases as a kind of atonement for German crimes against Jews. Svenja Goltermann, “The Imagination of Disaster: Death and Survival in Postwar West Germany,” in Alon Confino et al., eds, *Between Mass Death and Individual Loss: The Place of the Dead in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 261-274, here 268.

³⁶¹ Atina Grossmann mentions in this context the short-lived marriage between Kurt Hirsch, a Czech-Jewish American GI who lost 16 members of his family and the non-Jewish German actress Hildegard Knief. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 75.

³⁶² See various examples and discussions of this point in Kosmala and Schoppmann, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund*; Benz, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich*.

³⁶³ See, for example, Marion Neiss, „Berlin Wielandstrasse 18 – Ein ehrenwertes Haus,“ in Benz, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich*, 51-66, here 65-66.

³⁶⁴ David M. Crowe, *Oskar Schindler: The Untold Account of His Life, Wartime Activities, and the True Story Behind the List* (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2004).

³⁶⁵ In Israel, for instance, the efforts of the survivors were central to the creation of the Yad Vashem honorary titles for the “Righteous among the Nations,” and also Jews living outside of Israel addressed Israeli representatives in attempts to honor their rescuers. See Kobi Kabalek, “The Commemoration before the Commemoration: Yad Vashem and the Righteous Among the Nations, 1945-1963,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 39: 1 (2011): 169-211.

Germany of the first postwar decade. This can be explained as a reluctance to portray Germans as a whole in a too positive and philosemitic image, which was something that the *Persilscheine* anyway did. Thus many Jewish survivors rejected a reconciliation with “the Germans” (since now they often identified themselves as “Jews in Germany” rather than “German Jews”) as a whole based on the deeds of the rescuers: “With those, who inflicted this suffering upon us, there is no reconciliation, and with those, who stood by us and suffered with us, there is nothing to reconcile...”³⁶⁶

The widespread tendency of Jews not to present all Germans as rescuers expresses itself in the public statements of the Jewish communities. From the 1940s to at least the early 1950s, in the rather rare instances in which a Jewish community’s newspaper introduced a German rescuer to its readers, the article often combined praise to the individual person with dissatisfaction with the actions of most Germans. Such was the case, for example, in a 1950 report in *Allgemeine*, the official newspaper of the Jewish communities in West Germany, on the visit of the priest Hermann Maas in the state of Israel. This article on Maas, honoring the person who helped rescue many Jews, is titled “a good ambassador of Germany” and ends with the following: “One can only think with melancholy on where Germany and the Germans would stand today, had Dean Maas been the prototype of the German in the last few decades.”³⁶⁷

But Jews who pursued a more reconciliatory stance did hope that German rescuers would become the prototypes for the postwar German society. They saw in these rescuers’ actions a proof for the fallacy of German collective guilt and thus for the continuation of coexistence even under the Nazi regime, and merged this general

³⁶⁶ Gerda-Ruth Böhm, „Aus den Gemeinden: Gedenken der ‚Kristallnacht‘ in Hamburg,“ *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die britische Zone* (3.12.48): 8.

³⁶⁷ Dr. Ernst Linz (Jerusalem), “Ein guter Botschafter Deutschlands,“ *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (21.4.1950): 18.

message with their own personal gratitude to their benefactors. Max Krakauer's 1947 memoir *Lights in the Darkness: Flight and Rescue of a Jewish Couple in the Third Reich*, does exactly that.³⁶⁸ Krakauer depicts in this book his and his wife's Ines experiences during the Third Reich. It focuses on the period from early 1943 to the end of the war, in which a large network of non-Jews from different parts of Germany assisted the couple to escape the Gestapo.

After summarizing the different stages of persecution, including the boycott on April 1933, loss of property and profession, *Kristallnacht*, forced labor, wearing the yellow star, and the begin of deportations from Berlin (where the couple resided), Krakauer writes:

Now I come to the part of our experience under the Nazi regime that was the actual motivation for these notes. They are meant to show that in Germany of those years, which presented itself to the outside observer so totally in the clothes of the murderer, there were still a whole number of individuals, families, and institutions that risked their own lives and their relatives' existence, partially under deprivations and strains, and took on themselves to aid two human beings that the Gestapo persecuted and chased. And that was infinitely difficult! Much more difficult than one commonly believes, since the denunciation (*Denunziantentum*) in Germany at the time sprawled more abundantly than the weed on the field. Never could we, or others, who know of this noble attitude repay those who rescued us from the claws of Himmler's henchmen. And I know that they do not seek that, since they acted not for earthly reward or thanks but out of human kindness and Christian mercy (*aus Menschenliebe und christlicher Barmherzigkeit*) and because they wanted to act in the face of God and their conscience in order to ease or make good the

³⁶⁸ Max Krakauer, *Lichter im Dunkel: Flucht und Rettung eines jüdischen Ehepaars im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: Behrendt, 1947).

bitter injustice committed on people, whose sole offence was that they were of Jewish descent. In doing so, they risked their lives. They were the merciful Samaritans in the Third Reich.³⁶⁹

I quoted this section at length because it displays the strong emotional commitment and gratitude of the Krakauers to their helpers. The book itself became a medium through which to express this gratitude, and the couple gave several of their rescuers a copy of the book with a personal dedication.³⁷⁰

Max Krakauer did not relieve all Germans from the responsibility for the persecution of the Jews and spoke of the widespread denunciations among the German society (“the sprawling weed”). He also described various situations in which some Germans who assisted them did so reluctantly. Nevertheless, the majority of individuals and families he told about demonstrated their willingness to assist these two as well as other Jews they did not know personally and treated them with benevolence. After describing a case in which a person they never met before went to the police to validate a fake identification card for the two, placing himself and his family in danger, Krakauer wrote:

There were also such human beings (*Es gab auch solche Menschen*) in Germany of the year 1944, and I must stress that in order to counter the thesis according to which all Germans were Nazis, [and] that all Germans approved of everything that took place in Hitler’s Germany. What we experienced [...] are powerful proofs of the opposite.³⁷¹

Although Krakauer rejects the notion of a German collective guilt, we should not ignore the emotional involvement that led to his account and dismiss it as a mere

³⁶⁹ Krakauer, *Lichter im Dunkel*, 21. All my quotes from this book refer to the 1947 edition.

³⁷⁰ This information is included in the most recent edition of the book: Max Krakauer, *Lichter im Dunkel: Flucht und Rettung eines jüdischen Ehepaars im Dritten Reich*, ed. by Gerda Riehm and Jörg Thierfelder (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 2007), 152-159.

³⁷¹ Krakauer, *Lichter im Dunkel*, 96.

attempt to arouse sympathy among the German population. Furthermore, “*Es gab auch solche*” (a formulation that we shall return to in chapter four) does not excuse the entire German population, but looks for a balance and focuses on the hope that these individuals embody. Also the metaphor of “Lights in the Darkness” in the book’s title implies a (religious) moral redemption in an overwhelming presence of the darkness, not of goodness.

The majority of the Krakauers’ helpers were members of the Confessing Church, a segment of the Protestant congregation in Germany that opposed the Nazi regime’s attempt to “coordinate” the Churches. While the members of this Church were not always resistant to antisemitism, some of them acted illegally to hide and rescue Jews. In the book’s conclusion, Krakauer thanks the Protestant Bishop Theophil Wurm for his condemnation of the persecution of Jews “that enabled his priests to accept us as they did.”³⁷² Yet the image that he portrays is too rosy, since Wurm admitted to having some antisemitic convictions, and in the years after the war the Protestant Church was still divided between those who held on to anti-Jewish sentiments and those who wished to fight them. Some of the latter, such as pastor Heinrich Grüber (to whom we shall return), participated personally in actions to save Jews.³⁷³

Krakauer’s account concentrated on a small section of the German society. In doing so he offered German readers with a positive section of the recent past that they could willfully embrace. But Krakauer’s book was also a report on the anxieties, suffering, and fates of the Jews. That was probably too much for most Germans, who preferred to focus on their own suffering and not to ask what they have done to help

³⁷² Krakauer, *Lichter im Dunkel*, 131.

³⁷³ Kurt Meier, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz: Die evangelische Kirche im Dritten Reich* (München: DTV, 1992), 152-174; Matthew D. Hockenos, *A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004).

the persecuted. The book's first edition thus printed only 5000 copies and the second had to wait until 1975.

Other published autobiographies of Jewish survivors from the first postwar decade presented diverse relationships between persecution, rescue, and survival. But all shared the basic message on the existence of some "good Germans" who deserve gratitude within a society indifferent to or supportive of the persecution. The conclusions that the survivors drew for themselves from these acts of rescue varied. Some, such as Else Behrend-Rosenfeld who published her diary with the telling title *Ich stand nicht allein* (I Did Not Stand Alone), settled in West Germany and continued to cooperate with her former rescuers.³⁷⁴ Others, such as Jakob Littner, whose memoir appeared as *Aufzeichnungen aus einem Erdloch* (Notes from a Hole in the Ground), left to the U.S.³⁷⁵ In any case, there weren't a great many such books published in the occupation zones and later in the new German states. But since many survivors had at least some help from non-Jews (Germans or others), a certain level of gratitude did find a place in their autobiographies,³⁷⁶ as well as in radio interviews with Jewish survivors.³⁷⁷ In any case, the books received a rather limited attention and were discussed mostly in circles of Jewish-Christian reconciliation.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ Else Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Ich stand nicht allein: Erlebnisse einer Jüdin in Deutschland, 1933-1944* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1949). The diary Behrend-Rosenfeld wrote, appeared first in Switzerland with a title that focused on her suffering rather than on solidarity and survival as in the German title: Rahel Behrend, *Verfemt und verfolgt: Erlebnisse einer Jüdin in Nazi-Deutschland, 1933-1944* (Zürich: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1945).

³⁷⁵ Jakob Littner, *Aufzeichnungen aus einem Erdloch* (München: Verlag Herbert Kluger, 1948). This publication has a fascinating story, since its editor, the German author Wolfgang Koeppen, rewrote much of the original manuscript and later claimed that the book was his own fictional creation. Yet the original manuscript was rediscovered about a decade ago. See Jakob Littner, *Mein Weg durch die Nacht: Mit Anmerkungen zu Wolfgang Koeppens Textadaption*, ed. by Roland Ulrich (Berlin: Metropol, 2002).

³⁷⁶ Another example for a memoir that gives much room to the German rescuer is Lotte Paepcke, *Unter einem fremden Stern* (Frankfurter am Main: Verlag der Frankfurter Hefte, 1952).

³⁷⁷ „Die Frau, Gespräch mit Valerie von Wolfenstein,“ (29.3.1948), in Felix Kresing-Wuld and Eva-Maria Mühlmann, ed., *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft, vol. 2/1: Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen 1947-1990* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1997), 16-17.

³⁷⁸ See in the case of Behrend-Rosenfeld's book: Y. Michal Bodemann, "Eclipse of Memory: German Representations of Auschwitz in the Early Postwar Period," *New German Critique* 75 (Autumn 1998):

For many Jewish survivors the real rescuers were the Allied troops who ended the war and liberated them from the camps. In their words of thanks, survivors often articulated a sense of humanistic emancipation regarding the soldiers “who returned us to human life and endowed us with what we were denied of for years: human dignity.”³⁷⁹ The portrayal of the Allies as the humane liberators had also important political functions, since it both pronounced the moral and educational authority of the occupiers and incorporated the population to the respective Cold War powers. For Jews living in East Germany this meant that since the late 1940s in commemorating the persecution of the Jews and the war’s end they simultaneously protested the recent antisemitic incidents, commemorated the Soviet liberation from the Nazis, and linked themselves to antifascist Germans who embraced the campaigns of the (East) “German-Soviet friendship.”³⁸⁰

Also those non-Jewish Germans who underwent persecution in the Third Reich conceived the Allied occupation as a moment of liberation. Some of them shared similar experiences of suffering with Jews in concentration camps or exile and these sometimes led to a mutual acknowledgment, support, and cooperation after the war. Especially well researched is the case of Paul Merker, the communist activist who spent years in the Mexican exile with Jews and later publicly reflected on the need for reparation and recognition of their suffering.³⁸¹ Germans who shared such experiences

57-89, here 66-67. Bodemann harshly criticizes the differentiated account of Behrend-Rosenfeld, which he views as a sign of weakness and apology.

³⁷⁹ Abraham Hochhäuser, *Unter dem gelben Stern: Ein Tatsachenbericht aus der Zeit von 1933 bis 1945* (Koblenz: Humanitas Verlag, 1948), 53-54.

³⁸⁰ The earliest mention of such a ceremony that I found is from the commemoration of *Kristallnacht* in 1954. Summary of the event in the (undated, probably December 1954) brochure of the community. Centrum Judaicum Archiv (CJA), 5A1 – 0696. See also Harald Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung: Die "Reichskristallnacht" als politischer Gedenktag in der DDR* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2004). On the campaigns of the “German-Soviet Friendship” see Nothnagle, *Building the East German Myth*, 143-198.

³⁸¹ Herf, *Divided Memory*, 40-68. See also the cooperation between Jewish and non-Jewish authors in exile: Guy Stern, “German-Jewish and German-Christian Writers: Cooperation in Exile,” in Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg, eds, *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985), 150-163.

of oppression and persecution produced some of the first autobiographical publications that included solidarity with and help to Jews.

Autobiographical writing of those who opposed and denounced Nazism flourished in occupied Germany, with the encouragement of the Allies, who saw in such publications important vehicles for reeducating the German population.³⁸² In most cases, references to helping Jews in these writings were minor. Solidarity, however, was a major theme especially in texts that former concentration camp inmates wrote. While the reality in the camps was more conflict-laden than inmates were usually willing to admit,³⁸³ solidarity allowed for a dichotomous moral image and gave many the feeling that not all humanity and hope were taken from them.³⁸⁴

A published diary that paid much attention to solidarity and help toward Jews is Ruth Andreas-Friedrich's *Der Schattenmann* (The Shadow Man).³⁸⁵ Andreas-Friedrich worked as a journalist and writer in Berlin throughout the Nazi period. She was active in the resistance group "Uncle Emil," which gave refuge to Jews, political activists, and resistance fighters.³⁸⁶ She tells the story of this group in her diary, which includes hiding "Jewish friends" in her apartment during *Kristallnacht*, helping them prepare for emigration, providing food to the elderly Jews who stayed behind, etc. Andreas-Friedrich portrays many instances in which the Jews present their tragedy

³⁸² See especially Helmut Peitsch, „*Deutschlands Gedächtnis an seine dunkelste Zeit*“: *Zur Funktion der Autobiographik in den Westzonen Deutschlands und den Westsektoren von Berlin 1945 bis 1949* (Berlin, Edition Sigma, 1990).

³⁸³ On the rivalries and struggles between and among the different inmates' groups, see Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1997), 117-144.

³⁸⁴ See, for example, the case of Nico Rost, a Dutch journalist who was active in the resistance to the Nazis, and published after the war a diary he secretly wrote in the concentration camp Dachau. The book, *Goethe in Dachau*, became famous for documenting his attempts to maintain civility by reading Goethe and other humanist authors in the camp's library. But Rost, whose book was published both in the eastern and western occupation zones, also recalls the friendship, compassion, and assistance of the inmates to each other – and also toward Jews – as central elements of an inmate's physical and moral survival. Nico Rost, *Goethe in Dachau: Literatur und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt, 1948).

³⁸⁵ Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, *Der Schattenmann: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1938-1945* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1947).

³⁸⁶ Karin Friedrich, „„Es ist gemein zu unseren Freunden...“: Das Retternetz der Gruppe ‚Onkel Emil‘“ in Benz, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich*, 97-108.

using their own words,³⁸⁷ and refers to the diary as a memorial for them and the resistance.³⁸⁸ With her dramatization of many episodes and the dominant commitment to life that inhabits the diary as a whole,³⁸⁹ Andreas-Friedrich attempted to arouse sympathy with the Jews and advocate the need for moral responsibility.

Despite the relevance of these moral and commemorative messages to the German public at the time, Andreas-Friedrich's initial intention was actually to publish the diary abroad. She had it translated into English and published in New York in 1947 under the title *Berlin Underground 1938-1945*.³⁹⁰ Addressing international audiences was to act as a proof for the existence of an "other Germany" that was not synonymous with the Nazis. In a later edition of the diary, she explicitly says that her main effort was "to send the manuscript to the place where it could mostly convince: to America."³⁹¹ The publication in Germany was the idea of the publisher Peter Suhrkamp, who had a humanistic religious background and believed in a cultural enlightenment as a way to prevent another German catastrophe.³⁹²

As we can see, there were various reasons for the publication of non-Jewish autobiographical writings that addressed solidarity with and help to Jews. The reasons include the authors' shared experience with the Jews and thus a personal commitment to commemorate the victims, as well as an "enlightening" message aimed to Germany or the world. We find these basic notions not only in West German autobiographies,

³⁸⁷ In one such case, a letter left behind by a Jewish woman, Frau Rosenthal, says "don't forget me," thus expressing the Jewish woman's intimacy with the diarist and implicitly calling upon the readers to reflect upon the Nazi past. Andreas-Friedrich, *Der Schattenmann*, 91.

³⁸⁸ Andreas-Friedrich, *Der Schattenmann*, 95. Entries that discuss the call not to forget and the erection of memorials for the persecuted, appear also in relation to resistance fighters. See, *ibid*, 245, 268.

³⁸⁹ The use of these means supports the assumption that the diary was edited and made more literary before its publication, or that it may be a memoir in the form of a diary. For this point see Peitsch, „*Deutschlands Gedächtnis an seine dunkelste Zeit*, 300.

³⁹⁰ Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, *Berlin Underground 1938-1945*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947). The two editions present some different selections from the manuscript, but most of the material overlaps.

³⁹¹ Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, „Vorwort," *Schauplatz Berlin: Ein Tagebuch, aufgezeichnet 1938-1945* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964), 7.

³⁹² Also Suhrkamp rejected an exaggerated notion of collective guilt. See Ursula Reinhold, „Beiträge zur Humanität": Der Verleger Peter Suhrkamp," in Ursula Heuerkamp, ed., *Unterm Notdach: Nachkriegsliteratur in Berlin 1945-1949* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1996), 175-196.

but also in memoirs that rescuers published in the Soviet occupation zone. These include the 1949 book of the prison priest Harald Poelchau, and the articles of Helene Jacobs and Gertrud Staewen in the Berlin Protestant periodical *Unterwegs* from 1947.³⁹³ All three put forward a notion of Christian duty and charity toward all humans.

An additional reason for mentioning assistance to Jews was personal apology. As in the case of the trials and denazification procedures, those who used this strategy felt the need to publicly portray themselves as moral. Most of them did not oppose the regime, but rather benefited from it in various ways. A revealing example is that of Ursula von Kardorff, a journalist who worked in several Nazi newspapers and became critical of the regime during the final war years. Kardorff published her diary only in 1962, but revised the original text already in 1947. According to Peter Hartl, who compared the original diary notes to the book, the published version contains passages to which there is no sign in the original manuscript. To these late additions belong practically all references that describe her own and her family's friendly attitudes toward and help to Jews.³⁹⁴ We cannot know whether she lied about these occurrences, then the reason for their omission from the original entries could have been fear that the notes might fall to the Gestapo (although the original diary does contain a few regime critical comments that were just as risky). The significant issue is, however, that she found it important to integrate these references into her published diary. Did she attempt to present herself and her family as active opponents of the regime?

³⁹³ Harald Poelchau, *Die letzten Stunden: Erinnerungen eines Gefängnispfarrers* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt, 1949); Helene Jacobs, „Illegalität aus Verantwortung. Dr. Franz Kaufmann zum Gedächtnis,“ *Unterwegs* 3 (1947): 10-19; Gertrud Staewen, „Bilder aus der Arbeit der illegalen Judenhilfe,“ *Unterwegs* 3 (1947): 20-27.

³⁹⁴ Ursula von Kardorff, *Berliner Aufzeichnungen 1942-1945*, unter Verwendung der Original-Tagebücher neu herausgegeben und kommentiert von Peter Hartl (München: C.H. Beck, 1992). Hartl shows that the additions often followed notes she made in her calendar and in letters, and that she also drew on her own and others' postwar recollections.

There is no doubt that many other Germans who incorporated references (regardless how minor) into their autobiographies in which they depict themselves as friends and rescuers of Jews did have such an apologetic intention. Unlike the victims of the regime or resistance fighters who were the first to publish their memoirs and diaries, those who had more to hide published their autobiographies after the foundation of the two German states, when the restrictive publishing regulations of the Allies were no longer valid. Their main goal was to justify their actions before, during, and after the Nazi years. Autobiographies of politicians tended to explain away political mistakes and claim not to have known about the Nazi crimes, those of generals argued they acted according to the rules of warfare and in defense of the homeland, and other public figures either emphasized the apolitical nature of their activities or claimed to have opposed the regime in one way or another. Only a minority employed their memoirs for critical self-reflection.³⁹⁵

As part of this exculpating tendency, some autobiographers explicitly stated in the 1950s that they helped Jews or took pride of occasions in which Nazis denounced them as *Judenfreunde*.³⁹⁶ These were often very short references that enabled their authors not to dwell on questions of personal or collective responsibility. Some autobiographers, however, addressed the question of rescuing Jews by claiming that it was impossible – an argument that was common also in oral communication.³⁹⁷ In his 1951 bestseller autobiography, *Der Fragebogen* (The Questionnaire) from West Germany, Ernst von Salomon even asserted that “no one could have helped the Jews,

³⁹⁵ Christine Deußen, *Erinnerung als Rechtfertigung: Autobiographien nach 1945*. Gottfried Benn – Hans Carossa – Arnolt Bronnen (Tübingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag, 1987); Rolf Düsterberg, *Soldat und Kriegserlebnis: Deutsche militärische Erinnerungsliteratur (1945-1961) zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Motive, Begriffe, Wertungen* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000); Angelika Schaser, ed., *Erinnerungskartelle: Zur Konstruktion von Autobiographien nach 1945* (Bochum: Winkler Verlag, 2003).

³⁹⁶ See various examples in Ingo Piel, *Die Judenverfolgung in autobiographischer Literatur: Erinnerungstexte nichtjüdischer Deutscher nach 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001).

³⁹⁷ Two such examples: Even Göring’s wife failed in trying to help Jews, so what can be expected from us? And: it’s not that there was no civil courage during the war, it’s that it was useless. Pollock, ed., *Gruppenexperiment*, 309, 335.

since any help would only risk them further.”³⁹⁸ This argument is probably based on the assumption that when caught, the Jews could have also been convicted of associating with Aryans, and enables to portray inaction as morally motivated.

But as in the Nuremberg Trials and in the denazification procedures, autobiographers often preferred simply to argue that they did not know about the mass killing of the Jews and focused on claiming they had close relations with Jews and assisted them during the period of non-violent persecution (i.e. up to 1938). This basic pattern continued to appear especially in West German memoirs published in the 1960s, 1970s, and later. Let us look at a few famous examples. Albert Speer, Hitler’s architect and last armament minister, published his memoirs in 1969 after his release from prison. In them he spoke of his fascination with Hitler’s personality, but promised his readers: “I was not an anti-Semite; rather, I had Jewish friends from my school days and university days.”³⁹⁹ Veit Harlan, Goebbels’s favorite director who made the antisemitic film *Jud Süß* (1940) and aroused public contempt after the war, presented his perspective in a memoir from 1966.⁴⁰⁰ He portrayed his family background in philosemitic terms, and reported on mitigating the antisemitic message of his infamous film (which he allegedly did not want to direct) and on employing people of Jewish descent or Aryans who were married to Jews.⁴⁰¹ In her 1987 autobiography, Leni Riefenstahl, another famous Nazi filmmaker, also took pride of her Jewish staff members and forgot to mention those she disowned for the sake of her

³⁹⁸ Ernst von Salomon, *Der Fragebogen* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1951), 456. See also Piel, *Die Judenverfolgung in autobiographischer Literatur*, 70-71. Salomon stresses his resistance to the Nazi persecution of the Jews in many sections of the book, but simultaneously states that this could not lead to any rescue action.

³⁹⁹ Speer added that even after joining the party he continued to associate with Jews. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs* (London: Sphere Books, 1971), 16, 19.

⁴⁰⁰ Veit Harlan, *Im Schatten meiner Filme: Selbstbiographie* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1966).

⁴⁰¹ The author of the recent biography of Harlan accepts many of his claims in his autobiography, while often ignoring the political implications of his “apolitical” activity. Ingrid Buchloh, *Veit Harlan: Goebbels’ Starregisseur* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010).

career.⁴⁰² Riefenstahl also reprinted several *Persilscheine* when reporting on her denazification. In one of them, an acquaintance stated: “Before the entire world I can demonstrate her attitude in favour of and not against Jews [...]. Very few people know, for example, that she kept her Jewish physician,” under the Nazi regime.⁴⁰³

Autobiographical writing during (diaries) and after (memoirs) major events enable people to both cope with historical change and place themselves within something bigger than themselves. Autobiography promises its readers an insight into history, which is both private and collective, since it opens up new perspectives and experiences for others to share. These basic functions of autobiography have a tradition in Germany that goes back to the “memoir boom” at the turn of the century and the written experiences of WWI.⁴⁰⁴ But in post-1945 Germany, autobiographical texts had additional functions. In the first years they were incorporated into the reeducation policies of the Allies and served especially victims of the Nazis as channels to report on what parts of the population were not willing to believe or confront.⁴⁰⁵

In writing about rescue, both Jewish and non-Jewish autobiographers commemorated their suffering and loss, but also expressed their gratitude and presented a world of solidarity and human relations that was hidden from the public. Unlike them, from the 1950s onward much of the autobiographical writing of non-

⁴⁰² Leni Riefenstahl, *A Memoir* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1993). For a critical biography of Riefenstahl see Jürgen Trimborn, *Riefenstahl: Eine deutsche Karriere* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2002).

⁴⁰³ Riefenstahl, *A Memoir*, 355.

⁴⁰⁴ On the “memoir boom” see Katharina Gerstenberger, *Truth to Tell: German Women’s Autobiographies and Turn-of-the-Century Culture* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000).

⁴⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Ariane Eichenberg rejects the established interpretation of Jewish autobiographies of the first five years after the war as mere factual accounts of “documentary realism.” She points, instead, to their often complex and fragmented narration, elements that scholars have viewed as characterizing later Holocaust writing. Ariane Eichenberg, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Erfindung: Jüdische Lebensentwürfe nach der Shoah* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004). On non-Jewish autobiographical writing during and after WWII in Germany see Peitsch, „Deutschlands Gedächtnis an seine dunkelste Zeit“; Lothar Bluhm, *Das Tagebuch zum Dritten Reich: Zeugnisse der Inneren Emigration von Jochen Keppler bis Ernst Jünger* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1991); Susanne zur Nieden, *Alltag im Ausnahmezustand: Frauentagebücher im zerstörten Deutschland 1943 bis 1945* (Berlin, Orlana Frauenverlag, 1993).

Jewish Germans aimed to correct the images that the denazification procedures and early trials presented. It seems that most of these memoirs appeared in West Germany, where former Nazi officials could more easily reintegrate into society, whereas in East Germany since the 1960s the state coauthored accounts of “old communists” that stressed the ideological conviction and accomplishments of the individuals, the party, and the socialist state.⁴⁰⁶ As a whole, apart from several accounts that rescuers and rescued composed, solidarity with and assistance to Jews received no more than a few lines.⁴⁰⁷

Collective Rescue in East and West Germany

In the final two sections of this chapter I ask whether references to helping Jews participated in constructing national and local myths and role models in the two German states up to and beyond the early 1960s. 1949 witnessed the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the western occupation zones and of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the Soviet occupation zone. Both newly founded states defined themselves in stark contrast to the Nazi regime’s political system and its racist ideology. Thus even the East German communists stressed early on that they envision a democratic state, which they interpreted in socialist terms.⁴⁰⁸ In addition, the constitutions of both Germanys open with statements that placed them within a universal-humanistic narrative. The East German constitution starts with a promise to “warrant the freedom and rights of human beings,” and the first paragraph of the West German Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) states that “human dignity⁴⁰⁹ is

⁴⁰⁶ Catherine Epstein, “The Production of ‘Official Memory’ in East Germany: Old Communists and the Dilemmas of Memoir-Writing,” *Central European History* 32: 2 (1999): 181-201.

⁴⁰⁷ We shall return to the topic of Jewish autobiographies in the fourth chapter, which discusses also the writing about rescuers following the rising importance of the survivor-witness in the 1970s.

⁴⁰⁸ Ulrich Mählert, *Kleine Geschichte der DDR* (München: C.H. Beck, 2009), 19-23.

⁴⁰⁹ The concept of “human dignity,” a core idea of the Enlightenment, is associated with freedom and equality. It became central to post-WWII declarations of human rights and was a statement regarding

inviolable” (*Die Würde des Menschen ist unantastbar*).⁴¹⁰ In spite of the shared humanistic impulse, the leaders of each Germany differed in the sources and goals of their specific humanism. The KPD and later SED (born out of a forced union of the KPD with the SPD) called for “socialist humanism” or a “humanism of class conflict,”⁴¹¹ while the FRG’s first chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, wrote retrospectively: “Only [the] traditional Christian principle could now help us to show the German people a new political goal, to recall them to a new political life.”⁴¹²

We have seen by now that in courtroom settings and autobiographies, individual non-Jewish Germans backed their claims on being humane with references to assisting Jews. But Germans made similar claims for the same basic purpose also in political and other public occasions. The main difference of these latter settings from what we have discussed so far lies in the centrality of the collective relevance of the argument. In political and public statements one attempted to either make an assertion regarding the majority of the German population or to establish a certain person as a moral role model in order to generate popular identification with this person’s cause.⁴¹³

ethical behavior. See Antoon De Baets, “A Successful Utopia: The Doctrine of Human Dignity,” *Historiein: A Review of the Past and Other Stories* 7 (2007): 71-85.

⁴¹⁰ <http://www.documentarchiv.de/ddr/verfddr1949.html> (accessed May 2012). Eckart Conze sees in the opening sentence of the *Grundgesetz* the first and fundamental expression of a longstanding search for individual and collective security in the FRG. Eckart Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit: Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart* (München: Siedler Verlag, 2009).

⁴¹¹ The latter concept appeared in a 1947 article by Alexander Abusch. See Hermann Glaser, *Deutsche Kultur: Ein historischer Überblick von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000), 77-78.

⁴¹² Konrad Adenauer, *Memoirs 1945-53* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 45. The centrality of this principle for Adenauer and the CDU was apparent in the immediate postwar years in the party’s embrace of the *Abendland* idea, as discussed above.

⁴¹³ While the collective relevance of the argument on Germans saving Jews is apparent also in autobiographical texts (as we have seen in the cases of Krakauer and Andreas-Friedrich) these autobiographical texts depict the collective message as emanating from the individual cases that stand at the center, and do not present the majority of Germans as rescuers. In the examples we shall explore here, however, the collective relevance is much more explicit and often lacks any reference to individual rescuers.

We find examples of the collective argument already in the immediate postwar period. For example, Willi Fuchs, a member of the CDU in the Soviet occupation zone, held a radio speech on November 8, 1945 (at the occasion of the anniversary of *Kristallnacht*) in which he maintained that “the Christian churches courageously raised their voice against the racial hatred” and actively helped “wherever they could.” Fuchs pointed to the tolerance of his Christian party and appealed to the Jewish survivors to join him in rebuilding Germany.⁴¹⁴ The speech reflects the efforts to draw votes while presenting the Churches as moral authorities by overtly exaggerating their actions for the persecuted. Calling upon the Jews to join the CDU had an important symbolic significance, as Hans Habe, editor of *Die Neue Zeitung* in the American zone, wrote in August 1946: “The treatment of the Jewish question has become a symbol of humanity, a symbol of the treatment of all minorities—and thus a question of the political maturity of a people...”⁴¹⁵

Nevertheless, Jews were a small minority in Germany and when Fuchs delivered his speech the broadcasting time radio stations dedicated to the fate of the Jews was minor.⁴¹⁶ The main concern of the young German states was not the Jews but how to make former *Volksgenossen* of the Third Reich into loyal citizens. But could Germans trust the Federal Republic, when a great portion of them looked negatively at democracy following the weaknesses of the Weimar Republic?⁴¹⁷ And why would Germans living in the GDR accept a communist regime after years of

⁴¹⁴ The speech was broadcasted in Berlin and Leipzig. See Christoph Classen, *Faschismus und Antifaschismus: Die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit im ostdeutschen Hörfunk (1945-1953)* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004), 130.

⁴¹⁵ Quoted in Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge*, 266-267.

⁴¹⁶ Nazism, however, was a prominent topic in radio stations in the different occupation zones. The fate of Jews was either only shortly mentioned, some broadcasts spoke of nameless victims without differentiation, and only rarely on the Jews from a personal and direct perspective. See Classen, *Faschismus und Antifaschismus*; Schneider, *Nationalsozialismus als Thema im Programm des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks*.

⁴¹⁷ Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 122-131; Hans Mommsen, „Von Weimar nach Bonn: Zum Demokratieverständnis der Deutschen,“ in Schildt and Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 745-758.

strong anti-communist propaganda and bitter experiences with the Red Army at the final stages of the war?⁴¹⁸ In order to achieve political legitimacy for the new states and their values, each Germany created myths that offered citizens with ways to find themselves in it. Political myths are stories that instill past events with meaning and connect them to the future. Their semiotic articulations reduce the complexity of events in order to create “concentrated loyalties.”⁴¹⁹ As such, these myths are foundational acts that introduce populations with ways to start anew.⁴²⁰

The postwar need for a new mythical arsenal emanated from the destruction of the Third Reich that brought with it a de-legitimation of most political myths, symbols, and identification figures of the German national movements since the nineteenth century.⁴²¹ Political myths tied to figures such as Bismarck and Friedrich the Great, which Hitler presented as his forerunners, were now publicly discredited, also because in the early postwar years the three men were still popularly conceived as “the greatest Germans.”⁴²² The western Allies’ condemnation of Prussia as the carrier of militaristic spirit⁴²³ and East Germany’s campaign against monarchic exploitation enhanced the need for new myths.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁸ Christina Morina, *Legacies of Stalingrad: Remembering the Eastern Front in Germany since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 29-33.

⁴¹⁹ Herfried Münkler and Jens Hacke, „Politische Mythisierungsprozesse in der Bundesrepublik: Entwicklungen und Tendenzen,“ in idem, eds, *Wege in die neue Bundesrepublik: Politische Mythen und kollektive Selbstbilder nach 1989* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2009), 15-31, here 18-20.

⁴²⁰ Yet in order to do that, foundational myths must be constantly reaffirmed. Claus Leggewie, „Der Mythos des Neuanfangs – Gründungsetappen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: 1949-1968-1989,“ in Helmut Berding, ed., *Mythos und Nation* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), 275-302, here 279-280.

⁴²¹ See Herfried Münkler, *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2009), 413-415.

⁴²² This is the result of a survey conducted in the Federal Republic 1952. By the mid 1950s and with the successes of the Adenauer government, the Federal chancellor overran his predecessors. Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 131.

⁴²³ The Allied Control Council officially resolved the State of Prussia on February 25, 1947. Even the pious national ideal embodied in the Prussian Queen Luise (from the time of the anti-Napoleonic wars) had no place in the postwar order. See Lothar Machtan, „Bismarck,“ in Etienne François and Hagen Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 2 (München: C. H. Beck, 2001), 86-104; Günter de Bruyn, „Königin Luise,“ in François and Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 2, 286-298. Nevertheless, a few German conservatives, such as historian Gerhard Ritter, emphasized the humanistic and just character of Friedrich the Great and his Prussian state already in the immediate postwar period.

Yet also newly invented traditions often draw their authority from patterns and historical examples that the population is supposed to be familiar with, even if they present a new interpretation of the national tale. As we have mentioned in the first section of this chapter, the legacy of German humanists, such as Goethe, fulfilled the role of cultural and moral orientation throughout Germany. Furthermore, the anniversary of the 1848 revolution was celebrated simultaneously in the western and eastern sectors of Berlin, in attempts to use this event to claim to the eventual success of either the progressive powers or bourgeois democracy a hundred years later.⁴²⁵ Presenting such continuities served to display the German nation as an eternal entity at a time in which, following the Nazi example, nationalism was widely considered as dubious at best. By portraying Nazism as an alien element or a disease that attacked the German “soul,” one aimed to avoid a conviction of Germans and their history as a whole.⁴²⁶ The need for continuous identifications also emerged from the grassroots,

See Frank-Lothar Kroll, „Friedrich der Große,“ in François and Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 3, 620-635.

⁴²⁴ This campaign led, for example, to the demolition of several architectural emblems of the Hohenzollerns, such as the Berlin Schloss (castle) in 1950. Nevertheless, the Hohenzollern monarchy continued to be of interest especially for conservative politicians and a source of romanticism in the FRG, and several Prussian symbols and figures received a similar revival in the GDR in the 1970s and 1980s. Eva Giloi, *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 358-362; Peter März, *Mythen, Bilder, Fakten: Auf der Suche nach der deutschen Vergangenheit* (München: Olzog, 2010), 92-98.

⁴²⁵ Aleida Assmann and Ute Frevert, *Geschichtsvergessenheit, Geschichtsversessenheit: Vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999), 151-157. This was not the only attempt to harness historical events for political purposes. For example, in the GDR we find an interpretation of the Peasants' War of 1525 as a social uprising. Laurenz Müller, “Revolutionary Moment: Interpreting the Peasants' War in the Third Reich and in the German Democratic Republic,” *Central European History* 40 (2007): 193-218. Also interesting are the anniversaries that received only minor attention in the immediate postwar years. 1948 also marked the 300th anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War and much of the confessional struggles in the German lands. This event seems like a good candidate for a reconciliatory message after 1945, when another thirty years' war (1914-1945), as some called it, ended. The commemorations of this event include the following example. The West German town of Münster, in which some of the peace treaties were signed, commemorated the anniversary as a warning for the temptations of a bad peace agreement (because of the loss of German territories, etc.). Claire Gantet, „Der westfälische Frieden,“ in François and Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1, 86-104 here, 102-103. It seems unlikely that such a critique aimed at the Allies could have turned into a general national symbol.

⁴²⁶ Recovering of the German “soul” was the project that the historian Friedrich Meinecke envisioned in his famous 1946 book, and which interpreted Nazism as a disease that can be cured. Friedrich Meinecke, *The German Catastrophe: Reflections and Recollections* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963). On the metaphors of sickness and healing in postwar Germany see Jennifer M. Kapczynski, *The German Patient: Crisis and Recovery in Postwar Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008).

when people wished to submerge in allegedly apolitical spheres. After 1945 Germans did so by reviving the idea of the *Heimat* that allowed for emotional participation and relief from the consequences of the war and from disturbing thoughts on guilt. In the GDR of the 1950s this mostly took the form of local festivities that the SED first tolerated and later embraced, and in the FRG this decade was dominated by melodramatic *Heimat*-films.⁴²⁷

The threads of cultural and historical continuities addressed the Nazi past only indirectly (if at all). As such, while they often accommodated examples of German-Jewish historical coexistence (embodied, for example, in Heine and Lessing), they had no room for rescuers of Jews. But the central political myths of both Germanys did address the Nazi past. The main founding principle of the GDR, the antifascist myth, basically claims

that the GDR was the direct product of a popular anti-Nazi resistance struggle carried out with tragic loss of life under the leadership of the KPD. The bloody struggle against Nazism had had a purifying and unifying effect on the new socialist society emerging in the Soviet Zone of occupation. The SED, as successor to the KPD, was a thoroughly antifascist party whose credentials in the German resistance movement provided it with the legitimacy it needed to assume the leadership of German society.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁷ Ted Ripley, Melissa Sundell, Suzanne Townley, "'Ein wunderbares Heute': The Evolution and Functionalization of '*Heimat*' in West German *Heimat* Films of the 1950s," in Jost Hermand and James Steakley, eds, *Heimat, Nation, Fatherland: The German Sense of Belonging* (New York: Lang, 1995), 137-160; Heide Fehrenbach, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 148-168; Jan Palmowski, "Building an East German Nation: The Construction of a Socialist *Heimat*, 1945-1961," *Central European History* 37: 3 (2004): 365-399; Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). The role of *Heimat* images in the East German film industry was much less apparent than in the FRG. See Thomas Lindenberger, "Home Sweet Home: Desperately Seeking *Heimat* in Early DEFA films," *Film History* 18: 1 (2006): 46-58

⁴²⁸ Nothnagle, *Building the East German Myth*, 93-94.

This myth developed to a great extent already in the war years. Soviet authorities and communist German exiles that returned from Moscow and settled in the eastern occupation zone did not trust the German population because of its support of Hitler. Yet as a lesson from the Weimar years, the Soviet authorities and Walter Ulbricht, the SED's first secretary up to 1971, decided to utilize a nationalist standpoint that would both criticize Germans' previous mistakes and allow the majority of mid to low-level Nazis to integrate into the new society.⁴²⁹ In this way, former Nazi officials who joined the SED could retroactively become antifascists.

“Antifascism” depicted the GDR as the “better Germany” also because of the present and not only the past. The GDR's understanding of “fascism” was based on Georgi Dimitrov's definition from the 1930s, which interpreted it not as an exceptional historical phenomenon, but as an extreme example of “the power of finance capital itself.”⁴³⁰ As such, official publications in the GDR denounced West Germany as a capitalist and thus fascist state. The content and frequency of these accusations changed throughout the 40 years of the German divide, but the basic function remained.⁴³¹

The antifascist legacy of the GDR expressed itself also regarding assistance to Jews. In some political pamphlets, speeches, and publications that dealt with the Nazi past, Jewish and non-Jewish communists told their audiences on the KPD's opposition against the persecution of the Jews. This narrative started taking shape already during the war, as is apparent in a communist brochure from 1943 that criticized the German

⁴²⁹ Herf, *Divided Memory*, 13-39.

⁴³⁰ Georgi Dimitrov, “The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism,” Main report delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International (August 2, 1935).

http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/dimitrov/works/1935/08_02.htm#s2 (accessed May 2012)

⁴³¹ Münkler, *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen*, 421-453; Nothnagle, *Building the East German Myth*, 93-142; Olaf Groehler, „Antifaschismus – vom Umgang mit einem Begriff,“ in idem and Ulrich Herbert, *Zweierlei Bewältigung: Vier Beiträge über den Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1992), 29-40.

population for not actively resisting the Nazi boycott and the extermination of the Jews. Unlike them:

Those who opened their mouths in defense of the Jews had their mouth shut with clubs. The ‘*Judenknechte*’, i.e. hundreds of thousands of progressively thinking Germans, disappeared in concentration camps and were delivered there to the torturers of the SS and the SA, along with their Jewish brothers.⁴³²

As we can see, the text focuses more on the fate of the communists and other antifascists (“progressively thinking Germans”) because of their standing by the Jews than on the fate of the Jews themselves. It describes a brotherhood of shared persecution and reverses the derogatory antisemitic concept *Judenknechte* (servants of Jews) in order to establish the morality of the communists.

Solidarity with the Jews was also the main message of a document to which SED representatives often returned, i.e. a special issue of the communist newspaper/leaflet *Rote Fahne* that appeared in November 1938, entitled “Against the Disgrace (*Schmach*) of the Jewish Pogroms.” The leaflet contained a declaration by the central committee of the KPD, which hanged the blame for social distress on “imperialist criminals” and capitalists and not the Jews. In the text’s opening paragraph, the communist party saluted the many brave Germans “who tried, under difficult circumstances, to protest against the Jewish pogroms and render humane assistance to the persecuted Jews.” It then appealed its readers:

The communist party addresses all communists, socialists, democrats, Catholics, and Protestants, and all decent and honorable Germans (*anständigen*

⁴³² *Eine Erklärung deutscher Antifaschisten: Zur Frage der Wiedergutmachung des Unrechts an den Juden*, Bundesarchiv Berlin, NY 4266/4. Page 4. The pamphlet was printed in London.

und ehrbewussten Deutschen) with the plea: *Help our tortured Jewish fellow-citizens with all means!*⁴³³

This call for solidarity and mutual help among the persecuted fitted well the integrative message of the SED in the postwar years, and became a valuable sign of moral ancestry for the SED. I found references to this text in several speeches and publications from the 1950s up to the late 1980s.⁴³⁴ It was also included in a 1960 collection of documents that was to demonstrate the resistance of the KPD to antisemitism and which became a standard text for later historical references to Jews in the GDR.⁴³⁵ Furthermore, a facsimile copy of the leaflet was exhibited in the Jewish barracks of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp memorial, inaugurated in 1961.⁴³⁶

In spite of such messages of solidarity and assistance, the public attention given to Jewish victims in the GDR was not substantial. East German publications, official statements, and commemorative practices often neglected to mention that many of the victims were persecuted as Jews, thus privileging class and political interpretative categories over religion or ethnicity. They depicted the war of destruction against the Soviet Union and the East European countries as the Nazis' most severe crime.⁴³⁷ As part of the appeal to the German population, the GDR considered the (non-Jewish) Germans themselves as victims of Hitler and the war. While East German history schoolbooks from the 1950s denounced *Wehrmacht*

⁴³³ Emphasis in the original leaflet. The earliest full reprint of this document I could find is *Zur Geschichte der deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandsbewegung, 1933-1945: Ein Auswahl von Materialien, Berichten und Dokumenten* (Berlin: Verlag des Ministeriums für Nationale Verteidigung, 1957), 126-128.

⁴³⁴ East Berlin newspapers made general references to the "decent antifascists" who opposed the Nazi actions and saved the honor of Germany already in November 1948, in commemorating the tenth anniversary of the *Kristallnacht*. Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung*, 29-30.

⁴³⁵ Siegbert Kahn, „Dokumente des Kampfes der revolutionären deutschen Arbeiterbewegung gegen Antisemitismus und Judenverfolgung,“ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* 2: 3 (1960): 552-564. On the later centrality of this collection see Olaf Groehler, „Der Holocaust in der Geschichtsschreibung der DDR,“ in idem and Herbert, *Zweierlei Bewältigung*, 41-66, here 51-52.

⁴³⁶ „Gegen die Schmach der Judenpogrome!“ *Rote Fahne* 7 (November 1938), Archiv Sachsenhausen, NMG Mus K1 J4.

⁴³⁷ Christina Morina, „Vernichtungskrieg, Kalter Krieg und politisches Gedächtnis: Zum Umgang mit dem Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion im geteilten Deutschland,“ *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34 (2008): 252-291.

soldiers' pillaging in the occupied countries, many critical examinations of the soldiers' behavior gradually disappeared from the books, when "finance capitalism" and the SS were made the sole explicit culprits.⁴³⁸ The GDR thus gave much more attention to German suffering and victimhood, which, in the spirit of the Cold War, concentrated on the American and British bombings of German cities, rather than on the deeds of the Red Army. German perpetrators did appear in East German depictions of Nazism, yet mostly in texts that exposed former Nazis who found shelter in the "fascist" Federal Republic.⁴³⁹

As for West Germany, Political scientist Herfried Münkler argues that unlike the GDR, the FRG did not have to invest much effort in a political myth, since it declared itself the legal (though not political) heir of the German state: "The construction of a legal succession of the German Reich suffices for the claim of representing all Germans, and otherwise the FRG understood itself as a temporary arrangement that will only exist until *all* Germans will freely decide about Germany's political order."⁴⁴⁰ Münkler points out that it was unclear which story could have relevant mythical characteristics for the FRG. "Thus there developed primarily an *economic* founding myth that emphasized the material wellbeing, which after the war and postwar period one could only explain as a 'wonder'."⁴⁴¹ The economic success narrative and the emphasis on welfare was central to Adenauer's government, gaining

⁴³⁸ Anne Rossow and Ulrich Wiegmann, „Die Instrumentalisierung identitätsloser Opfer: Zum Platz jüdischer Geschichte und des Genozids an den deutschen und europäischen Juden in den Geschichtslehrplänen und -büchern der SBZ und der DDR 1946-1990,“ in Thomas Lange, ed., *Judentum und jüdische Geschichte im Schulunterricht nach 1945: Bestandsaufnahmen, Erfahrungen und Analysen aus Deutschland, Österreich, Frankreich und Israel* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), 113-124.

⁴³⁹ Herf, *Divided Memory*; Mario Keßler, *Die SED und die Juden – zwischen Repression und Toleranz: Politische Entwicklungen bis 1967* (Berlin, 1995); Fox, *Stated Memory*; Niven, ed., *Germans as Victims*; Gilad Margalit, *Guilt, Suffering, and Memory: Germany Remembers Its Dead of World War II* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

⁴⁴⁰ Emphasis in the original. Münkler, *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen*, 455.

⁴⁴¹ Emphasis in the original. Münkler, *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen*, 457.

it popular support in spite of broad opposition to his other policies, such as the remilitarization of West Germany.⁴⁴²

The FRG was not very different from its eastern neighbor in defining itself also in relation to what it is not. The same basic pattern applied to the interpretations of the Nazi past and their postwar relevance, as well. A prevalent understanding of Nazism in the Federal Republic (and among its western allies) saw in it a totalitarian regime that was not very different from the SED state. Just like the concept of antifascism, totalitarianism identified the current opponent with the former one.⁴⁴³ To fight perceived threats to the new democracy, the FRG banned first the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party (SRP) and then the western KPD. In order to assure popular approval Adenauer declared a sweeping rehabilitation of Nazi officeholders, concessions that did not differ much from Ulbricht and the SED.⁴⁴⁴

Another similarity between the two young societies was their focus on notions of German victimhood. The West German myth of the “clean *Wehrmacht*” was even more thorough than in the GDR and the state supported portrayals of Germans fleeing the Red Army and the suffering of German POWs in Soviet camps.⁴⁴⁵ The polyphony

⁴⁴² Michael Geyer, „Der Kalte Krieg, die Deutschen und die Angst: Die westdeutsche Opposition gegen die Wiederbewaffnung und Kernwaffen,“ in Klaus Neumann, ed., *Nachkrieg in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), 267-318.

⁴⁴³ Helmut Peitsch, *Nachkriegsliteratur 1945-1989* (Osnabrück: V&R Unipress, 2009), 142-146. Anti-communism served as an umbrella concept that integrated earlier anti-Bolshevik sentiments into the Cold War reality and united members of different political parties under abstract calls for “freedom.” See Axel Schildt, „Ende der Ideologien? Politisch-ideologische Strömungen in den 50er Jahren,“ in Schildt and Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 625-635. Following the suppression of the popular uprising in East Germany on June 17, 1953 by Soviet tanks, this day became the central West German commemorative event, known as the “Day of German Unity.” This anniversary solved the problem of a (West) German identity by externalizing it, and without having to directly address the Nazi past. See Edgar Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Der Weg zur bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung, 1948-1990* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 39-107.

⁴⁴⁴ Adenauer and other conservative politicians assumed that it would be impossible to accomplish democratization with a critical examination of the Nazi past. Claudia Fröhlich, „Rückkehr zur Demokratie – Wandel der politischen Kultur in der Bundesrepublik,“ in Peter Reichel, Harald Schmid, and Peter Steinbach, eds, *Der Nationalsozialismus – Die zweite Geschichte: Überwindung – Deutung – Erinnerung* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2009), 105-126, here 108.

⁴⁴⁵ Moeller, *War Stories*; Detlef Bald, Johannes Klotz and Wolfram Wette, *Mythos Wehrmacht: Nachkriegsdebatten und Traditionspflege* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001); Niven, ed., *Germans as Victims*; Margalit, *Guilt, Suffering, and Memory*; Frank Biess, *Homecomings*.

of self-critical public statements that characterized the immediate postwar years dwindled in number by the mid 1950s, when the state consolidated its “politics of the past” (*Vergangenheitspolitik*).⁴⁴⁶ Only seldom did these politics and public depiction give special attention to Jewish victims, who were depicted as one group among the many victims, in an era of global war and massive forced migrations.⁴⁴⁷

Also in West Germany politicians made statements that portrayed Germans as collectively rescuing Jews. Adenauer, who wanted to demonstrate that the Federal Republic possesses “the political maturity of a people” (in Habe’s words, above), presented the *Wiedergutmachung* (reparation) plan before the West German parliament (*Bundestag*). His speech on the topic in September 27, 1951, was his first (and one of the few) public statement that directly addressed the Holocaust. He stated that reaching an agreement on restitution with Israel was a “moral, political, and economic necessity”; a way of showing the Federal Republic’s different character from Nazi Germany and a price to be paid in order to enter the western alliance.⁴⁴⁸ His speech relegated all guilt to “the Nazis” and exonerated the German population:

In an overwhelming majority, the German people abhorred the crimes committed against the Jews and did not participate in them. During the period of National Socialism there were many Germans, acting on the basis of religious belief, the call of conscience, and shame at the disgrace of Germany’s name, who at their own risk were willing to assist their Jewish fellow citizens. In the name of the people, however, unspeakable crimes were committed which require moral and material restitution.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik*; Helmut Dubiel, *Niemand ist frei von der Geschichte: Der nationalsozialistische Herrschaft in den Debatten des Deutschen Bundestages* (München: Carl Hanser, 1999), 35-77; Herf, *Divided Memory*, 201-333.

⁴⁴⁷ For a critical examination of this universal interpretative model see Y. Michal Bodemann, *In den Wogen der Erinnerung: Jüdische Existenz in Deutschland* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002).

⁴⁴⁸ Herf, *Divided Memory*, 285-287.

⁴⁴⁹ Quoted in Herf, *Divided Memory*, 282.

The statement received much positive attention in circles of German-Jewish reconciliation.⁴⁵⁰ But in spite of this overwhelming acquittal of the majority of Germans, the international benefits it offered, and the state's publications that supported it,⁴⁵¹ Adenauer encountered difficulties in approving the reparations and had to count on the votes of the opposition (the SPD in particular).⁴⁵² Adenauer's vague reference to "many Germans" who assisted Jews made all Germans into possible rescuers, and thus acted against an official commemorating of individual rescuers. The chancellor preferred not to commend any specific rescuers by name, probably because that might have led him to admit that there weren't so many rescuers after all.

Moral Role Models

Since the leaders of neither the FRG nor the GDR wanted to emphasize the persecution of the Jews, celebrating German rescuers of Jews made little political sense. Nevertheless, the new German states definitely needed moral figures of imitation. The Nazis have corrupted the image of the hero in the service of a genocidal war, and postwar German intellectuals were looking for moral orientation that did not turn to traditional military heroism.⁴⁵³ The humane nature of a hero stood at the core of postwar role models, not his valor or chivalry, and two figures in particular represented this new tendency: The doctor and the priest.

⁴⁵⁰ The journal *Freiburger Rundbrief* that rescuer Gertrud Luckner edited, dedicated an entire issue to Adenauer's statement and reprinted it in its entirety: *Freiburger Rundbrief* 12 (Dezember 1951). Another public initiative printed a brochure that depicted the reparations as a major step toward reconciliation between Jews and German non-Jews: *Aktion Friede mit Israel, Versöhnung mit den Juden: Ein Beitrag zur Wiedergutmachung* (Hamburg, 1952). The brochure is found in the political archive of the German foreign office. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, B10, 1.540.

⁴⁵¹ See Press- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, ed., *Deutschland und das Judentum: Die Erklärung der Bundesregierung über das deutsch-jüdische Verhältnis* (Bonn: Deutscher Bundes-Verlag, 1951). The brochure includes the entire speech as well as a collection of supportive voices from West German and international newspapers, Jewish communities, etc.

⁴⁵² Nana Sagi, *Wiedergutmachung für Israel: Die deutschen Zahlungen und Leistungen* (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1981).

⁴⁵³ Stephen Brockmann, "Heroes of the Zero Hour," in idem and James Steakley, eds, *Heroes and Heroism in German Culture: Essays in Honor of Jost Hermand* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 103-122.

The Nuremberg Doctors' Trial and consecutive trials exposed the public to the role physicians played in selections and hideous experiments in the camps and in the Euthanasia, and aroused calls to return to a humane medicine (and science in general). Postwar accounts that depicted the nation as "sick" argued that also the doctors had to be healed before a collective cure could be achieved.⁴⁵⁴ Fiction films on this topic included doctors examining their morality immediately after the war, comedies on doctors celebrating life and the family, and thrillers that confronted older physicians using "Nazi methods" with young and humane doctors.⁴⁵⁵ In successful West German novels, autobiographies, and films we find repeated references to humane military doctors who express the morality of the soldiers on the eastern front and in captivity,⁴⁵⁶ and in East German autobiographies, doctors styled themselves as carriers of humanity.⁴⁵⁷ In most cases, men fulfilled the role of the doctors, whereas women appeared in their traditional roles as non-violent, reconciliatory, and caring, bringing love and compassion to the misguided men.⁴⁵⁸

The image of the moral priest appeared (unsurprisingly) especially in West German fictional and autobiographic accounts,⁴⁵⁹ either as a main or a secondary

⁴⁵⁴ The classic critical appeal for humane medicine was Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke, *Wissenschaft ohne Menschlichkeit: Medizinische und eugenische Irrwege unter Diktatur, Bürokratie und Krieg* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1949). See also Kapczynski, *The German Patient*, as well as Boris Böhm and Julius Scharnetzky, „Wir fordern schwerste Bestrafung': Der Dresdner ‚Euthanasie'-Prozess 1947 und die Öffentlichkeit,“ in Osterloh and Vollnhals, eds, *NS-Prozesse und deutsche Öffentlichkeit*, 189-206.

⁴⁵⁵ See, respectively, Wolfgang Staudte's 1946 *The Murderers are among Us*, (eastern occupation zone), Curt Goetz/Karl Peter Gillmann's 1949 *Frauenklinik Dr. Prätorius* (FRG), and Falk Harnack's 1959 *Arzt ohne Gewissen* (FRG).

⁴⁵⁶ On the films see Moeller, *War Stories*, 123-170. A very successful West German novel (that became also a film) on a German physician in Stalingrad was Heinz G. Konsalik, *Der Arzt von Stalingrad* (München: Kindler, 1956). An autobiography of a doctor on the eastern front that received many reprints is Peter Bamm, *Die unsichtbare Flagge: Ein Bericht* (München: Fischer, 1957). It appeared originally in 1952.

⁴⁵⁷ Sabine Schleiermacher, „Humanistisch, dem Menschen dienend, ist deshalb das Ethos des Arztberufes': Die Beschreibung des Nationalsozialismus in ärztlichen Autobiographien in der DDR,“ in Schaser, ed., *Erinnerungskartelle*, 141-166.

⁴⁵⁸ This was the case, for example, in Staudte's *The Murderers are among Us*. In at least one West German film a woman doctor is the main protagonist, facing the choice between saving humans, regardless of their nationality, and her loyalty to Germany: Helmut Käutner's 1954 film *Die letzte Brücke*. In *Arzt ohne Gewissen* the humane doctors are a man and a woman.

⁴⁵⁹ I discuss the difference between fiction and non-fiction in the next chapter.

figure. These include the 1950 novella *Uneasy Night* (*Unruhige Nacht*) by Albrecht Goes (and Falk Harnack's 1958 film adaptation with the same name), and many others, in which the priest is the person who confronts the protagonists and viewers with difficult moral questions (in East Germany, this function was given to figures of experienced communists).⁴⁶⁰

There were also actual members of the Churches that became known as moral role models in Germany, either because of their public protests against the Nazis (such as bishop Galen) as members of the resistance (e.g., Martin Niemöller), and as martyrs that the Nazis murdered (e.g., the Catholic Max Josef Metzger and the Protestant Dietrich Bonhoeffer). In several of these cases, assistance to Jews functioned as an attribute added to a person's positive character rather than as a main characteristic. An example appears in a brief newspaper report on Cardinal Michael Faulhaber who in 1949 received the title of an honorary citizen of Munich at the occasion of his eightieth birthday. According to the text, this title was given to Faulhaber because of his charitable activity in Munich, and because "He was also active in attaining emigration possibilities for Jewish fellow citizens, and through his mediation at least 1500 could be brought to safety."⁴⁶¹

Faulhaber, who was also known for several anti-Jewish statements, died as early as 1952, and did not become a living model for orientation.⁴⁶² Other Christian clergypersons, whose pro-Jewish attitudes were flawless and who risked themselves and suffered while rescuing Jews, fulfilled this function and became local representatives of humanity. Some of them rarely spoke of their deeds, but these

⁴⁶⁰ In DEFA films, for example, we find communists as secondary figures that embody the activist and humanist attitude and help the protagonist make the right choice. They appear, for example, in Wolfgang Staudte's 1949 film *Rotation*, as well as in *Lissy* (Konrad Wolf, 1957), and *Sie nannten ihn Amigo* (Heiner Carow, 1959). See Heinz Kersten, „Entwicklungslinien,“ in Heiko R. Blum and Hans C. Blumenberg, eds, *Film in der DDR* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1977), 7-56.

⁴⁶¹ „Kardinal Faulhaber Ehrenbürger München,“ *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 5: 21 (19.2.1949): 2.

⁴⁶² See Michael Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1964* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 15-16.

became known either due to the priests' moral authority in the denazification procedures or following publications by the Jews they helped.⁴⁶³ The three most familiar rescuers were Heinrich Grüber in Berlin (East⁴⁶⁴ and West), Gertrud Luckner in Freiburg, and Hermann Maas in Heidelberg.⁴⁶⁵ They received various honorary titles, although mostly for their charitable activity in general, and not necessarily for their rescue of Jews. For example, when newspapers in and around Heidelberg reported on Maas's 70th, 75th, and 80th birthdays in 1947, 1952, and 1957, his help to Jews was only one, and often the smallest element, in his list of accomplishments before, during, and after the war. General statements commended his "participation in people's worries, troubles, and joys and his willingness to find practical solutions to burning questions of the time." His "wanting and being obliged to help did not overwhelm him, but made him stronger," as he was "thankful for the divine mercy," etc.⁴⁶⁶ The intention of such comments was obviously to portray a model of a good Christian's life, and not to address questions of collective guilt or memory. Yet other articles did emphasize Maas's role in reconciling Christians and Jews in Germany and abroad.⁴⁶⁷ Thus when the mayor of Heidelberg granted Maas the city's honorary

⁴⁶³ For example, when the 1952 autobiography of Lotte Paepcke appeared it revealed the the actions of Heinrich Middendorf, a priest from a monastery near Freiburg, where she hid and survived. See Bernd Bothe, „Judenrettung im Kloster der Herz-Jesu-Priester in Stegen bei Freiburg: Pater Heinrich Middendorf SCJ, Gerechter unter den Völkern,“ in Wolfram Wette, ed., *Stille Helden: Judenretter im Dreiländereck während des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Freiburg: Herder, 2005), 87-106. The autobiography is Paepcke, *Unter einem fremden Stern*.

⁴⁶⁴ As part of the moral authority that Grüber had also in the socialist GDR, we find a collection of his speeches and sermons that include also references to his activity in helping Jews. Heinrich Grüber, *Dona nobis pacem! Predigten und Aufsätze aus 20 Jahren*, ed. by Günter Wirth and Gottfried Kretschmar (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1956).

⁴⁶⁵ Dennis Riffel pointed to the local significance of Grüber and Luckner. See Dennis Riffel, „„Unbesungene Helden“: Der Umgang mit ‚Rettung‘ im Nachkriegsdeutschland,“ in Kosmala and Schoppmann, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 317-334, here 329-331.

⁴⁶⁶ Ika, „Ehrenbürger Prälat Hermann Maas 80 Jahre alt,“ *Heidelberger Tageblatt* (5.8.1957), in Stadtarchiv Heidelberg, ZGS 2/142.

⁴⁶⁷ See, for example, „Kreisdekan Maas Heidelberger Ehrendoktor,“ *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* (7.8.1947), in Stadtarchiv Heidelberg, ZGS 2/142.

citizenship he addressed the minister not as a theologian, but “as a person who assisted the persecuted in a dark period.”⁴⁶⁸

In 1954 Maas was awarded the FRG’s highest decoration, the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*, and was probably the only rescuer of Jews to receive this honor in the state’s first decade.⁴⁶⁹ Nevertheless, his reputation remained restricted mostly to local and especially Christian circles. Like his acquaintances, Grüber, who founded a center that assisted former victims of racial persecution, and Luckner, who established a journal (*Freiburger Rundbrief*) dedicated to Christian-Jewish encounters, Maas continued to be publicly active in the fight against antisemitism and in inter-religious dialogues.⁴⁷⁰ A few Jewish survivors joined rescuers (such as Luckner) and took part in the activities of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation (*Gesellschaften für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit*), whose goal was to foster reconciliation between Jews and Christians, and which reserved public room in their activities for these moral authority figures.⁴⁷¹

Outside these Christian and local frameworks, rescuers of Jews still living in the Germanys received practically no public attention. The heroes whose images both German states chose to nurture were, instead, the members of the resistance against Hitler. In East Germany, the antifascist myth was based on portraying the resisters,

⁴⁶⁸ WS, „Ein Wald bei Nazareth trägt seinen Namen: Verdiente Ehrungen für Kreisdekan Maas – Bürgermeister Amann übergab Ehrenbürgerbrief der Stadt Heidelberg,“ *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* (6.8.1952), in Stadtarchiv Heidelberg, ZGS 2/142.

⁴⁶⁹ Markus Schlicher, „Ich stehe bei Ihnen, nicht ‚trotzdem‘ Sie Jude sind, sondern ‚weil‘ Sie es sind‘: Der evangelische Pfarrer Dr. Hermann Maas,“ in Wette, ed., *Stille Helden*, 125-141, here 135.

⁴⁷⁰ See Jörg Hildebrandt, *Bevollmächtigt zum Brückenbau: Heinrich Grüner, Judenfreund und Trümmerpropst – Erinnerungen, Predigten, Berichte* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 1991); Schlicher, „Ich stehe bei Ihnen, nicht ‚trotzdem‘ Sie Jude sind, sondern ‚weil‘ Sie es sind“; Hans-Joseph Wollasch, “Hilfe für Verfolgte: Die Freiburgerin Gertrud Luckner, eine ‘Botschafterin der Menschlichkeit’,” in Wette, ed., *Stille Helden*, 67-86.

⁴⁷¹ See Josef Foschepoth, *Im Schatten der Vergangenheit: Die Anfänge der Gesellschaften für Christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Esther Braunwarth, *Der christlich-jüdische Dialog in Deutschland am Beispiel der Gesellschaften für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit (GcjZ)*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doktor der Philosophie der Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 2009.

and especially the communists, as carriers of a moral legacy to the postwar era.⁴⁷² In the Soviet occupation zone, publications and commemorative ceremonies initially gave room to various resistance groups and victims.⁴⁷³ But by the late 1940s and following decisions of the SED's central committee in the early 1950s, a hierarchy of commemoration consolidated, in which "passive victims" were placed below active political victims from the working classes.⁴⁷⁴ A brochure of an exhibition from January-February 1949 in Halle, the Soviet occupation zone, clearly demonstrates this hierarchy. The exhibition, created under the auspices of the regional Ministry for Education, Art, and Science, focused on the communist resistance fighters and used an anti-capitalist interpretation also when incorporating texts by non-communists (such as Thomas Mann and Eugen Kogon). Most interesting for our purposes here are the two plaques that exposed antisemitism as a means for manipulating the masses, and portrayed the antifascists' battle as a struggle also against the persecution of Jews.⁴⁷⁵

The most explicit celebration of communist and socialist resistance fighters as rescuers of Jews took place in the context of the Buchenwald concentration camp memorial. We shall explore this issue in chapter four, when examining the institutionalization of references to rescuing Jews in the GDR since the late 1950s. As for other resistance groups, following its integrative effort, the SED continued the wartime slogans (which we encountered in the 1938 call "Against the Disgrace of the Jewish Pogroms") of a unity of antifascist powers. This meant that anthologies of the

⁴⁷² Fox, *Stated Memory*; Nothnagle, *Building the East German Myth*, 93-142.

⁴⁷³ For example, many of the initial commemorative initiatives of the resistance took place in cooperation between various resistance groups that had different political orientations and that came from all occupation zones. See Jürgen Danyel, „Bilder vom ‚anderen Deutschland‘: Frühe Widerstandsrezeption nach 1945,“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 42: 7 (1994): 611-621.

⁴⁷⁴ Ines Reich, „Geteilter Widerstand: Die Tradierung des deutschen Widerstandes in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR,“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 42: 7 (1994): 635-644; Susanne zur Nieden, *Unwürdige Opfer: Die Aberkennung von NS-Verfolgten in Berlin 1945-1949* (Berlin: Metropol, 2003). "Passive victims" included the majority of Jewish victims, although GDR publications on the resistance did refer to Jews who perished in the struggle against the Nazis, as in the case of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

⁴⁷⁵ Brochure *Das andere Deutschland: Eine Schau der deutschen Widerstandsbewegung gegen das Naziregime*, vom 19. Januar bis 16. Februar 1949 in Halle. Buchenwald Archiv, 02-3-4.

antifascist struggle depicted even conservative resisters and Christian groups in a positive manner.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, the GDR wanted to draw educated white-collar workers (many of whom left to West Germany up to the construction of the Berlin Wall) to the antifascist myth by commemorating also the bourgeois resistance, and also these included messages of assistance to and solidarity with Jews. For example, in fictional depictions such as the theater and radio play *Professor Mamlock* (Friedrich Wolf, 1945) and the later film (Konrad Wolf, 1960), the tragic fate of Jewish bourgeois figures and the loyalty of several Aryan friends offered the educated middle classes a humanist example with which to identify.⁴⁷⁷ Such humanist solidarity with and also help to Jews appeared occasionally also in non-fictional depictions about the bourgeois resistance.⁴⁷⁸

In West Germany, the public acceptance of the resistance encountered serious hindrances. The western Allies were initially uncertain on how to treat the German resisters, also because in the first postwar years so many Germans anyway claimed to have opposed Hitler all along.⁴⁷⁹ After 1949, the Federal Republic attempted to rehabilitate the resistance from accusations of treason,⁴⁸⁰ and especially the

⁴⁷⁶ We thus find in GDR publications also the conspirators of July 20th, 1944 and the White Rose that were central to commemorations in the FRG. Ines Reich, „Das Bild vom deutschen Widerstand in der Öffentlichkeit und Wissenschaft der DDR,“ in Peter Steinbach and Johannes Tuchel, eds, *Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1994), 557-571.

⁴⁷⁷ Manuela Gerlof, *Tonspuren: Erinnerungen an den Holocaust im Hörspiel der DDR (1945-1989)* (Berlin: de Gruyter 2010), 115-132.

⁴⁷⁸ Karlheinz von Brück, *Im Namen der Menschlichkeit: Bürger gegen Hitler* (Berlin: Buchverlag Der Morgen, 1963). Karlheinz von Brück (his name appeared with the correct C at the beginning in the 1964 edition) was a member of the liberal East German party LDPD. He published a book on another middle class resistance hero a decade later: Karlheinz von Brück, *Ein Mann, der Hitler in die Enge trieb: Hans Littens Kampf gegen den Faschismus: Ein Dokumentarbericht* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1975).

⁴⁷⁹ Lothar Kettenacker, „Die Haltung der Westalliierten gegenüber Hitlerattentat und Widerstand nach dem 20. Juli 1944,“ in Gerd R. Ueberschär, ed., *Der 20. Juli: Das „andere Deutschland“ in der Vergangenheitspolitik* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1998), 22-46; Kurt Finker, „Die Stellung der Sowjetunion und der sowjetischen Geschichtsschreibung zum 20. Juli 1944,“ in *ibid.*, 47-67; Edgar Wolfrum, „Frankreich und der deutsche Widerstand gegen Hitler 1944-1964: Von der Aberkennung zur Anerkennung,“ in *ibid.*, 68-81.

⁴⁸⁰ In his trial, Admiral Dönitz made the often-shared claim that it is a dangerous and non-patriotic act to go against the regime during war. *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof*, Nürnberg 14. November 1945 – 1. Oktober 1946, Band 13 (Nürnberg: Internationaler Militär-Gerichtshof, 1948), 337-338.

conspirators around the failed attempt at Hitler's life on July 20th, 1944.⁴⁸¹ Nevertheless, many Germans did not change their minds about the resistance. Even within the *Bundeswehr*, the West German army founded in 1955, the authorities were unable to successfully introduce democratic and anti-Nazi role models. Up to the late 1960s, personal attacks against officers associated with the 20th of July were not an uncommon phenomenon in an army that named military facilities after talented generals who supported Hitler's war to the very end.⁴⁸²

Aware of the enduring public reluctance to celebrate the German resisters as national role models,⁴⁸³ survivors, relatives, and admirers of the opposition in West Germany advanced an interpretation that underplayed the resistance groups' diverse and often non-democratic orientation and looked away from their members' early support of Hitler's policies.⁴⁸⁴ They portrayed them instead as patriotic, altruistic, and morally motivated. Thus Inge Scholl, the sister of Hans and Sophie Scholl and the public authority on the resistance group the White Rose, stated "that their strength did not grow out of a political drive, but from feelings of humanity (*Gefühle der Menschlichkeit*)," enhanced by a liberating bond with God.⁴⁸⁵ As the experience of the first German democracy has shown that politics divided Germans, in the 1950s the

⁴⁸¹ Adenauer's cabinet declared in October 1951 that the resisters were motivated by feelings of "moral (*sittlich*) and patriotic duty" and that they tried to save Germany from the catastrophe. Also, in 1953 the state unveiled a central monument to the 20th of July in Berlin, and in a speech he held in the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the July conspiracy, the FRG's president, Theodor Heuss, discussed the legal right to oppose a destructive regime. Gerd R. Ueberschär, "Vorwort," in idem, ed., *Der 20. Juli*, 12-19; Norbert Frei, „Erinnerungskampf: Der 20. Juli in den Bonner Anfangsjahren,“ in *1945 und wir*, 129-144.

⁴⁸² As late as 1969, a *Bundeswehr* general (Helmut Grashey), who was known for his völkisch statements, harshly criticized the "honor" of the 20th of July officers in front of trainees in the Hamburg military academy. Detlef Bald, *Die Bundeswehr: Eine kritische Geschichte, 1955-2005* (München: C.H. Beck, 2005), 60-69.

⁴⁸³ Gerd Ueberschär depicts the existence of widespread reluctance in the FRG to celebrate the 20th of July even in the 1990s. Ueberschär, "Vorwort," in idem, ed., *Der 20. Juli*.

⁴⁸⁴ On the motives and plans of the resistance groups see Steinbach and Tuchel, eds, *Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus*; Jürgen Schmädke and Peter Steinbach, eds, *Der Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus: Die deutsche Gesellschaft und der Widerstand gegen Hitler* (München: Piper, 1986).

⁴⁸⁵ This quote appeared in a radio speech that Inge Scholl held in 1945. Christine Hikel, „Erinnerung als Partizipation: Inge Scholl und die ‚Weiße Rose‘ in der Bundesrepublik,“ in idem, Nicole Kramer, and Elisabeth Zellmer, eds, *Lieschen Müller wird politisch: Geschlecht, Staat und Partizipation im 20. Jahrhundert* (München: Oldenbourg, 2009), 105-114, here 109.

politicization of the humanist message used an apolitical appearance in legitimizing the democratic state.⁴⁸⁶

Since in the postwar years attitudes toward Jews functioned in public as indicators of one's morality, commemorative accounts sometimes depicted the resistance in general as opposing the Nazi antisemitic measures and racial theory.⁴⁸⁷ While the main reason that commemorative accounts gave to turning against Hitler was the wish to save Germans rather than Jews from destruction, some accounts portrayed it also as an attempt to stop the SS from committing atrocities against Jews and other civilians.⁴⁸⁸

Several well-known studies of the resistance, such as historian Hans Rothfels's *The German Opposition against Hitler* (published 1948 in the USA and in 1949 in the FRG) and writer Günter Weisenborn's *The Silent Uprising (Der lautlose Aufstand, 1953, 1954)* dedicated short sections to "attitudes toward Jews" or "the struggle for the Jews" and reported also in other parts of their books on resisters assisting Jews.⁴⁸⁹ These authors ignored neither the existence of antisemitism within the German population, nor the very small number of Jews that were rescued. "But," Rothfels wrote, "the number of Germans who risked their lives in order to gain this relatively

⁴⁸⁶ The humanistic focus also justified the ideological struggle against the GDR on the basis of human rights. This is also the reason why West German commemorations of the resistance usually ignored the actions of the communist opposition that received much attention in the GDR.

⁴⁸⁷ See in general, Frank Stern, „Wolfschanze versus Auschwitz: Widerstand als deutsches Alibi?“, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 42: 7 (1994): 645-650. At least one German resistance group, the Bund, seems to have recognized that emphasizing their attitudes toward and help to Jews was an important source of credibility in the postwar period, and acted accordingly. See Mark Roseman, "The Rescue of Memory: Reconstructing the Wartime Activities of an Anti-Nazi Group." A lecture held in Oxford on February 22, 2011. I am grateful to Mark Roseman for allowing me to look at his findings. See also Mark Roseman, "Surviving Undetected: The 'Bund,' Rescue and Memory in Germany," in Semelin et al., eds, *Resisting Genocide*, 465-479.

⁴⁸⁸ This is the case, for example, in Falk Harnack's 1955 film *Der 20. Juli*, in which a young *Wehrmacht* officer joins the resisters after witnessing atrocities in a concentration camp. The same kind of reason for a transformation from soldier to resistance fighter appears in Ricarda Huch's biographical portrayal of Willi Graf, of the White Rose: Ricarda Huch, „Letzte Manuskripte: Willi Graf“, *Die Wandlung* 3: 1 (1948): 12-16, here 13-14. I discuss this point further in the next chapter.

⁴⁸⁹ Hans Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler: An Appraisal* (Hinsdale, Ill: H. Regnery, 1948); Hans Rothfels, *Die deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler: Eine Würdigung* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1958); Günther Weisenborn, ed., *Der lautlose Aufstand: Bericht über die Widerstandsbewegung des deutschen Volkes 1933-1945* (Hamburg: Deutsche Hausbücherei, 1954).

minor achievement, must have been much larger – and they should not be forgotten.”⁴⁹⁰ Both Rothfels, who was of Jewish origin and had to flee Nazi Germany, and Weisenborn, himself a member of a resistance group, addressed the resistance myth to German and international audiences in an attempt to simultaneously reject collective guilt and allow for a democratic orientation in the FRG.⁴⁹¹

Other West German accounts of the resistance assigned assistance to Jews an even smaller role, but nevertheless used the topic in order to counter allegations against particular members of the resistance or an entire group. In pointing to these people’s moral characters, authors occasionally added episodes, and sometimes only a single sentence, that told of a resistance fighter helping Jews and other persecuted groups.⁴⁹²

We see, therefore, that as in the case of Faulhaber, in celebrating and commemorating figures that would become local or national role models, West and East German postwar accounts used the topic of rescuing Jews, first, as an attribute demonstrating their moral character and the legitimacy of their struggle. Second, in some cases, those Germans who assisted Jews or openly expressed solidarity with them became important moral authority figures. This took place also within publications dedicated to the resistance, in which especially Christian clergypersons were mentioned. A recurring figure in these publications was Bernhard Lichtenberg, the priest of the Berlin St. Hedwig cathedral who preached against the persecution of the Jews, was arrested, and died on the way to a concentration camp. He was

⁴⁹⁰ Rothfels, *Die deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler*, 38.

⁴⁹¹ On Rothfels’s willing instrumentalization by German historians in establishing the myth of the resistance see Nicolas Berg, “Hidden Memory and Unspoken History: Hans Rothfels and the Postwar Restoration of Contemporary German History,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 49 (2004): 195-220.

⁴⁹² In some cases these descriptions became more explicit with the passage of time. For example in the case of the famous report on the military resistance, whose author first wrote about a resistance hero as someone who “suffered indescribably” knowing that also others were submitted to the Nazi terror, whereas in a later description the same person was turned into an active rescuer of “life and health of Jews and non-Jews.” See Fabian von Schlabrendorff, *Offiziere gegen Hitler* (Zürich: Europa, 1946), 20-21 and Fabian von Schlabrendorff, *Offiziere gegen Hitler* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1959), 26-27.

presented as a martyr who negated collective guilt and sometimes used to condemn the “totalitarian” East or the “fascist” West.⁴⁹³

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that as a whole the rescue of Jews was a secondary element in drawing the images of German role models after the war. A person’s assistance to Jews was often a mere addition that helped to construct a positive picture of a “good German” and was not used in any consistent manner. Thus even anthologies of the resistance that hailed Lichtenberg’s protests against the persecution and quoted his appeal to oppose the antisemitic agitation and love one’s fellow man, completely ignored the pro-Jewish deeds of other persons they mentioned, even though at least some contemporaries knew of these actions.⁴⁹⁴

The occasional portrayal of resistance fighters as rescuers of Jews continued to appear in publications in the 1960s and beyond.⁴⁹⁵ Similarly, the Berlin memorial of the resistance (*Gedenkstätte deutscher Widerstand*) focused at least until 2004 in its exhibitions on the moral motives of the resistance.⁴⁹⁶ But the moral claim of the resistance in relation to Jews came under attack when thirty years ago historian Christof Dipper traced antisemitic sentiments and actions of some of the resistance

⁴⁹³ In addition to the scattered references in books such as Rothfels, there appeared a few books that covered Lichtenberg’s martyrdom and moral model: Alfons Erb, *Bernhard Lichtenberg: Domprobst von St. Hedwig zu Berlin* (Berlin: Morus-Verlag, 1946). The book received a fourth print in 1949. In East Germany appeared: Karl Grobbel, *Bernhard Lichtenberg* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1967).

⁴⁹⁴ Figures such as Werner Sylten and Elisabeth von Thadden. See, respectively, Helmut Gollwitzer, Käthe Kuhn, and Reinhold Schneider, eds, *Du hast mich heimgesucht bei Nacht: Abschiedsbriefe und Aufzeichnungen des Widerstandes 1933-1945* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1954), 39-40, 190-191, 411-414. The portrayal of von Thadden as expressing solidarity with Jews is found in Rothfels, *Die deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler*, 37.

⁴⁹⁵ See, for example, the following quote from van Roon’s important book that characterizes individual resisters also as rescuers and focuses on their humane motivations: „Einzelne Angehörige des Kreises aber, insbesondere Moltke, setzten sich couragiert ein, um politisch und rassisch Verfolgte zu unterstützen sowie Geiseler-schüßungen und andere faschistische Verbrechen zu verhindern.“ Ger van Roon, *Neuordnung im Widerstand: Der Kreisauer Kreis innerhalb der deutschen Widerstandsbewegung* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1967), 41.

⁴⁹⁶ See, e.g., the exhibition that opened there on July 19, 2004: „20. Juli 1944 – Vermächtnis und Erinnerung: Sonderausstellung aus Anlass des 60. Jahrestages des Umsturzversuchs vom 20. Juli 1944.“

heroes, and the studies that followed threaten to shatter the image that took so long to establish.⁴⁹⁷

Conclusion

In this chapter we explored depictions of solidarity with and assistance to Jews in various situations and media from the immediate postwar years up to the early 1960s. Their introduction into certain publics in occupied Germany resulted from the collapse of the Nazi regime and the occupiers' rhetoric on the need for a transformation of values that no longer judged Germans' positive attitudes toward Jews as moral failures, but rather as signifying personal virtue and political maturity. We have seen that while there was a diametrical *change* in the moral interpretation of antisemitic language and actions toward Jews, postwar accounts also presented *continuation* in the forms of argumentation (for example regarding going to Jewish doctors and businesses and having intimate and friendly relations with Jews) that Germans mentioned in courtroom settings, autobiographical accounts, and in political and other public contexts.

Pointing out that Germans employed claims on assisting Jews when dealing with the Allies is not a new finding, since even studies that argue to the lack of any public willingness to deal with rescue of Jews in the postwar Germanys indicate the apologetic uses of such claims at least in denazification procedures.⁴⁹⁸ But in taking a closer look at such arguments and the contexts of their utterance, I went beyond

⁴⁹⁷ The central contributions to this dispute among historians are Christof Dipper, „Der Widerstand und die Juden,“ *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 9 (1983): 349-380; Peter Steinbach, „Antisemitismus und Widerstand,“ in *Widerstand im Widerstreit*, 302-317; Hermann Graml, „Massenmord und Militäropposition: Zur jüngsten Diskussion über den Widerstand im Stab der Heeresgruppe Mitte,“ *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54: 1 (2006): 1-24; Johannes Hürter, „Alte und neue Geschichtsbilder vom Widerstand und Ostkrieg: Zu Hermann Gramls Beitrag ‚Massenmord und Militäropposition,‘“ *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54: 2 (2006): 301-322; Peter Hoffmann, *Carl Goerdeler and the Jewish Question, 1933-1942* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁴⁹⁸ See, for example, Peter Steinbach, „Unbesungene Helden,“ in *Widerstand im Widerstreit*, 215-233. Steinbach speaks only about the Federal Republic.

looking at this phenomenon as nothing more than momentary expressions of dishonest self-interest. I tried to demonstrate that, first, such references to rescue remained relevant also after the denazification and the trials ended, and argued that these courtroom settings contributed to establishing claims on assisting Jews as moral points of reference in general. Second, I showed that references to assisting Jews did not always serve self-exculpatory and apologetic purposes, since both in *Persilscheine* and autobiographical writings they enabled Jewish survivors to express gratitude to their benefactors. Third, in telling about solidarity with and rescuing Jews, both Jewish and non-Jewish Germans aimed to create a model for a better Germany based on humanistic values and the legacies of resistance and Christian love of one's fellow man. Finally, claims on the rejection of Nazi antisemitism by "the majority of Germans" (Adenauer) or by the working classes (in the GDR) and on the help that "many" gave Jews functioned as ways to approach the persecution of Jews in official declarations and publications of the FRG and GDR while maintaining the image of Germans as victims, legitimizing the governments of the new states, and presenting them in a positive manner to the world.

In their self-depiction as victims, individual Germans and political and public figures usually preferred not to pay too much attention to the murder of Jews and often stated that they did not know about it. But in instances in which they felt it necessary to demonstrate their and other Germans' moral character and conduct they occasionally addressed the topic and asserted that they assisted Jews. These contradictory tendencies and the attempts to maintain a delicate balance between them led to what may appear as insignificant short references on the topic from the mid 1940s to the early 1960s and beyond. But when looking at these minor details and comments in a great number of media and public settings in both Germanys, we encounter an abundance of references that cannot justify historians' evaluation of this

topic as “forgotten.” Such references were *scattered*, not inexistent or invisible, and while Jews and non-Jews in Germany did not try to commemorate the actions of all rescuers and discuss the topic beyond the personal and sporadic, some of them still considered rescuers as worth noting, just like the mayor of Heidelberg who was happy to have a personality such as Hermann Maas in his town. The same applies to the West German Foreign Office that collected international publications on German rescuers of Jews, just in case, but for the lack of any clear policy on the topic, did not try to make any use of them.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁹ A person who received some public attention in historical and journalistic publications outside of Germany and attracted the attention of the West German Foreign Office was Felix Kersten. Kersten was Himmler’s masseuse and claimed after the war to have saved many Jews and non-Jews from concentration camps, but there were contradictory evidences about his actions and personality. See Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, B10, 2372 and B11, 534.

Chapter Three

**Celebrating Failure: Depictions of Unsuccessful Rescue of Jews in German Film
and Literature from 1945 to 1965**

This chapter concentrates on fictional depictions of rescue. In the previous chapter I showed that certain narrative patterns of depicting solidarity with and helping Jews in the postwar German societies are not restricted to a specific genre and are found across fictional and non-fictional representations. The purpose of this chapter, however, is to demonstrate that fictional portrayals of rescue from 1945 to the mid 1960s display certain characteristics that distinguish them from non-fictional depictions of the same topic. The main feature that sets fictional accounts of rescue apart from non-fictional accounts is that the majority of the former depict cases of unsuccessful rescue, whereas in the latter, as we saw in the previous chapter, it is successful rescue that predominates.

For the purpose of this dissertation the difference between “fiction” and “non-fiction” applies to certain conventions of writing that are based on the relationship between reality and its depiction. This kind of relationship focuses on the *claim and intention* in writing rather than an actual and discernible distinction between real and unreal. This means that while some of the claims of rescue we have seen in the previous chapter did not *really* take place, their authors insisted that they did and grounded their narrative on this insistence (e.g. in statements brought before a denazification court).⁵⁰⁰ Unlike non-fiction pieces, in fiction the reference to concrete

⁵⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the authors of these statements and of autobiographical texts sometimes claim that their accounts may include some false information, but that their account as a whole corresponds with reality and the way they experienced it. See Kobi Kabalek, “Immediate Memories: Written Experiences of the Nazi Past in Occupied Germany, 1945-1949,” in Withold Bonner and Arja Rosenholm, eds, *Re-Calling the Past – (Re)constructing the Past: Collective and Individual Memory of World War II in Russia and Germany* (Helsinki: Aleksanteri Institute, 2008), 137-146.

historical occurrences is not explicitly stated, but is rather a matter of interpretation.⁵⁰¹ That means that while in the writing or filming of fiction the historical accuracy of specific details may be compromised (and in some cases a completely imaginary story is constructed) the author may still aim to provide insights regarding an implied reality. Such an intended insight is not restricted to the facts of a particular case, and authors of fiction frequently prefer to depict occurrences that *could* have taken place and figures that *might* have existed. In doing so, authors of fiction often offer a deeper understanding of the events or phenomena and portray individual fates as representations of something that is larger than any particular occurrence.

Nevertheless, the distinction I introduced between fiction and non-fiction is not absolute and we shall see that the two occasionally shape each other and that the boundaries between them are not always clear. The authors of the works we shall examine in this chapter are either Jewish or non-Jewish. The German states' geopolitical borders frame our investigation, yet we shall see that some works that mention solidarity with and assistance to Jews were influenced by ideas and people from beyond these borders and some were imported from other countries, translated, and adapted to the local requirements.

The first section will explore the few accounts of successful rescue of Jews in the first two decades of postwar Germany. Subsequent sections will analyze four patterns of unsuccessful rescue accounts from this period. The main question we shall explore is: Why did authors of fiction prefer in most cases to speak of failed rather than successful rescue and in what way do fictional accounts differ from the non-fictional ones?

⁵⁰¹ "Reference to the world is not so much a property of literary as a function they are given by interpretation." Jonathan Culler, *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 31.

Successful Rescue and Philosemitism in Fiction

How did postwar German literature and film portray Jews and the Holocaust? Studies that deal with this question agree that in the period from the end of the war up to the early or mid 1960s, Jews had played mostly minor, yet generally positive roles on West and East German stages, screens, and in literature. The main protagonists in works of fiction were usually non-Jewish Germans and their experiences of the war and of Nazism stood at the center, and not the Holocaust. Nevertheless, the different pieces at least hint at the persecution of the Jews and the protagonists' relations to Jews are supposed to articulate the personality and morality of the non-Jewish Germans. In this function as "reference points," Jews were frequently secondary figures and the authors often portrayed them in a one-dimensional manner that presented no real depth of character. Fictional pieces in this period present a philosemitic bias (as defined in the previous chapter) that emphasizes external features (such as dark hair and facial appearance), portrays Jewish women almost universally as beautiful,⁵⁰² Jewish men as smart, and sometimes associates them with money and trade.⁵⁰³ In their positive (though often stereotypical) description of Jewish figures, postwar German authors that internalized the reversal of attitudes toward Jews after the fall of Nazism often drew on philosemitic works created throughout the nineteenth century.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² On the stereotype of the beautiful Jewess see Anna-Dorothea Ludewig, „„Schönste Heldin, süßeste Jüdin!‘: Die ‚Schöne Jüdin‘ in der europäischen Literatur zwischen den 17. Und 19. Jahrhundert – ein Querschnitt,“ *Medaon: Magazin für jüdisches Leben in Forschung und Bildung* 3 (2008).

www.medaon.de

⁵⁰³ Christiane Schmelzkopf, *Zur Gestaltung jüdischer Figuren in der deutschsprachigen Literatur nach 1945* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1983); Heidi M. Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa (1945-1981)* (Königstein: Anton Hain, 1986); Anat Feinberg, *Wiedergutmachung im Programm: Jüdisches Schicksal im deutschen Nachkriegsdrama* (Köln: Prometh Verlag, 1988); Robert R. Shandley, *Rubble Films: German Cinema in the Shadow of the Third Reich* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Peter Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung: Weltkrieg und Judenmord im Film und Theater* (München: Carl Hanser, 2004). There are some exceptions to the general characteristics I have surveyed here, as we shall see below.

⁵⁰⁴ Irving Massey, *Philo-Semitism in Nineteenth-Century German Literature* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000).

A part of the literary and filmic depictions of Jews in this period presents a heroic and successful rescue of Jews. One such depiction is *Sansibar oder der letzte Grund* (Zanzibar or the Last Reason), the first novel of the West German author Alfred Andersch, which appeared in 1957 and became a classic work of postwar literature in West Germany.⁵⁰⁵ In the novel, two men who are members of the communist party, together with a boy and a priest, save the life of Judith, a young Jewish woman. The novel takes place in 1937, when the communist functionary Gregor arrives at the seaport Rerik (a fictitious place) on the North Sea with the mission of instigating anti-Nazi activity there. He meets with Knudsen, a fisherman and long-time member of the communist party, and following encounters with Judith and the priest Helander, orders Knudsen to transport the Jewess along with a wooden statue that the priest wishes to save from the Nazis, to Sweden and to safety. Knudsen is unwilling to follow Gregor's instructions, since in his view they do not serve the communist cause and unnecessarily endanger his family and boat. An exchange of blows between the two ensues and the issue is resolved only when the boy agrees to steer the boat himself, whereupon the fisherman concedes and they set sail. Gregor, who was supposed to join them on the boat, decides at the last moment to stay and continue fighting against the Nazis, which in the novel are called "the others" (*die Anderen*). The novel depicts Gregor and the other men as active figures who decide on their own fates and whose morality is examined and reaffirmed. In contrast, Judith is passive, frightened, and politically naïve, and she manages to escape only thanks to Gregor's intervention.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁵ Alfred Andersch, *Sansibar oder der letzte Grund* (Olten/Freiburg in Br.: Walter-Verlag, 1957). The Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft in Berlin/Darmstadt published an additional print of the novel in 1967, and it received other editions and translations worldwide. I used the following edition: Alfred Andersch, *Sansibar oder der letzte Grund* (Zürich: Diogenes, 1972).

⁵⁰⁶ References in the novel to Judith's political immaturity and naïve manner may have been added to hint at the German Jews' refusal to see the seriousness of the threat posed by the Nazis. Alexander Ritter, *Erläuterungen und Dokumente: Alfred Andersch, Sansibar oder der letzte Grund* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2003), 70.

Early West German reviewers of the novel welcomed its articulation of human solidarity in the cooperation of different anti-Nazi protagonists (Jews, communists, and Christians). They saw the novel's critique of Nazism even in the lack of attention to Nazi figures and considered the designation "the others" as a welcome rejection of the inhuman totalitarianism that was also applicable to the Soviet Union.⁵⁰⁷

In the mid 1980s, literary critic Ruth Klüger offered a much less favorable review of Andersch's novel and of other literary portrayals of Germans rescuing Jews. She argued that the Jews' experience of persecution in these pieces is either partial or completely missing, and is almost never presented from the Jews' own perspective. In what early reviewers saw a praiseworthy universal-humanistic message, Klüger, a Holocaust survivor, viewed a silencing of the victim's voice. Furthermore, she noted that in stories of Germans rescuing Jews the Jewish figures are either children or passive women and are thus devoid of the choice and individuality that characterize the non-Jewish figures. They do not hide or escape, but are "taken" as if they were mere objects (as in the parallel that Andersch draws between the Jewess and the wooden statue) that "good Germans" carry. Germans' anti-Nazi attitude thus appears to be the norm rather than the exception that it actually was. In this way, the image of the rescued Jew allows German readers to deny collective responsibility to the Nazi crimes and achieve personal reassurance by emphasizing the humane aspects of Germans' behavior under the Nazi regime.⁵⁰⁸

Klüger's harsh evaluation raised a large number of assumptions among literary critics as to the proper way of understanding *Sansibar*. Why did Andersch choose to depict a successful rescue and focus on "good Germans" in the resistance rather than

⁵⁰⁷ Ritter, *Alfred Andersch, Sansibar oder der letzte Grund*, 114-117.

⁵⁰⁸ Ruth Klüger, „Gibt es ein ‚Judenproblem‘ in der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur?“, in *Katastrophen: Über deutsche Literatur* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), 9-37. Similar conclusions on the "types" of Jews in postwar German works (by both Jewish and non-Jewish authors) appears in Nancy A. Lauckner, "The Jew in Post-War German Novels," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook XX* (1975): 275-291.

critically confront his readers with the deeds of “the others” and with popular antisemitism? Some critics wondered whether the author’s choice reflected his own anti-Nazi convictions and experiences, e.g. his former membership in the communist party. In contrast, others assumed that feelings of guilt emanating perhaps from his service in the German army motivated him to write a rescue story whose happy ending would allow him to retrospectively join the “good guys.”⁵⁰⁹ Perhaps it was also Andersch’s attempt to gain public acclaim by introducing a piece that provided uncomplicated and positive identification figures, unlike his former book, *Kirschen der Freiheit* (Cherries of Freedom, 1952), that defended his desertion from the German army in 1944 on a moral basis. Unsurprisingly, such a position that questioned loyalty to the army during the discussion on West Germany’s remilitarization, gained the book only limited success.⁵¹⁰

Sansibar, in contrast, received a wide circulation in book form, was turned into a radio play in 1958,⁵¹¹ made into a television film in 1961 that was shown thrice up to the mid 1960s,⁵¹² and adapted into yet another film in 1987 (dir. Bernhard Wicki). There is little doubt that the story’s simple language and the positive figures that enabled easy identification contributed to its success, especially among young audiences.

Yet it would be false to treat the novel as presenting only easy identification with the anti-Nazi perspective. *Sansibar* also includes instances of moral conflict,

⁵⁰⁹ Alexander Ritter, „Eine Skandalinszenierung ohne Skandalfolge: Zur Kontroverse um Alfred Andersch in den neunziger Jahren,“ in Stefan Neuhaus and Johann Holzner, eds, *Literatur als Skandal: Fälle – Funktionen – Folgen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 469-479. See also Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa*, 101-106.

⁵¹⁰ Alfred Andersch, *Kirschen der Freiheit* (Hamburg: Claassen Verlag, 1952). In spite of the existence of a wide popular and official condemnation of desertion, some contemporary reviewers praised the literary style of the author and generally welcomed a discussion of this topic. See „Fahnenflucht: Die Ehre des Deserteurs,“ *Der Spiegel* 42 (15.10.1952): 30-33.

⁵¹¹ The title of the radio play was *Aktion ohne Fahnen* – Action With No Flags.

⁵¹² The television film was directed by Rainer Wolffhardt and shown on the south German channel SDR on 28.12.1961, 3.8.1962, and 27.9.1963. Christoph Classen, *Bilder der Vergangenheit: Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus im Fernsehen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1955-1966* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999), 92.

which reach their peak in Knudsen's reluctance to help save Judith and the statue and in Gregor's attempt to settle it by violently attacking the older fisherman. We realize, furthermore, that the reasons for their dispute were personal, and only indirectly touched on ideological questions: "My God, thought Gregor, this man hated me. Everything he has done since the afternoon, since we have met in the church, followed from his hatred against me."⁵¹³

In her critique of the novel, Klüger describes it and other fictional depictions of rescue as the authors' attempts to avoid difficult questions on German guilt. Similarly, other literary and film scholars concentrate in their studies of German postwar references to the Holocaust on what is missing or "silenced" in them and present accounts of rescuing Jews as exculpatory.⁵¹⁴ But this focus of Klüger and others ignores other elements and intentions within these pieces. While from a present-day perspective such accounts may appear as incomplete or problematic, it seems that their authors often viewed them as better suited for providing non-Jewish Germans at the time with positive role models based on what they could have done and what should have been, rather than alienate them with collective condemnations. As such, in the case of *Sansibar* we need also pay attention to the role that the novel and its various adaptations served in educating young West Germans more than a decade after the end of the war, on the moral community and values they should embrace.

⁵¹³ Andersch, *Sansibar oder der letzte Grund*, 140. This conflict, however, is much milder in the 1961 film, in which no physical struggle takes place, and although Knudsen is unwilling at first to let Judith board the boat, he quickly agrees, demonstrating that his rough exterior conceals a kind and humane nature. In diminishing the notion of conflict, the film allowed an even easier and comforting identification with the protagonists. This change can most probably be explained as a reaction to the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem, which raised a wave of publications that emphasized the existence of "good Germans" – as we shall see in the next chapter.

⁵¹⁴ See, e.g., Ernestine Schlant, *The Language of Silence: West German Literature and the Holocaust* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Ingo Loose, „Die Ambivalenz des Authentischen: Juden, Holocaust und Antisemitismus im deutschen Film nach 1945,“ in *Medaon: Magazin für jüdisches Leben in Forschung und Bildung* 4 (2009). www.medaon.de

Sansibar received no East German edition, as far as I can tell, yet East German authors produced their own accounts of successful rescue.⁵¹⁵ Undoubtedly the most familiar example of such an account is *Nackt unter Wölfen* (Naked among Wolves), Bruno Apitz's novel published in East Germany in 1958 and its 1963 film adaptation that describe how brave communist inmates rescue a Jewish boy in the concentration camp Buchenwald. But there are some important limitations on seeing *Nackt unter Wölfen* as a work of fiction, and we shall examine this story thoroughly in the next chapter when discussing the institutionalization of rescue images in the GDR.

Another, earlier, example is found in a short story that Willi Bredel published in 1948 in the Soviet occupation zone.⁵¹⁶ The story, *Das schweigende Dorf* (The Silent Village), tells of a German soldier returning from British captivity to his German village. The soldier learns that during his absence, 14 Jews sought refuge in the village, but they found no shelter and the Nazis caught and executed them. The sole survivor was a young Jewish girl that a village woman and her closest circle kept hidden up to the end of the war, while the village as a whole retained its guilt. The story's choice to describe the Jews as passive was common in the works of East German authors, both Jewish and non-Jewish.⁵¹⁷ It also corresponds to Klüger's observation on the favoring of children and women as Jewish figures in order to emphasize their passivity and thus to test the actions of non-Jewish Germans. Children, those symbols of innocence, also enable readers to express uncomplicated compassion with the fate of the Jews (or at least with the fate of some of them).⁵¹⁸ As

⁵¹⁵ While there appears to be no East German edition of Andersch's novel, the 1987 film of the West German filmmaker Bernhard Wicki includes several East German actors and filmmakers.

⁵¹⁶ Willi Bredel, *Das schweigende Dorf und andere Erzählungen* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1948).

⁵¹⁷ Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa*, 61-63; Paul O'Doherty, *The Portrayal of Jews in GDR Prose Fiction* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), 88-90.

⁵¹⁸ Klüger sees this critically as a point that allows Germans to empathize with Jewish children and women while still maintaining that Jewish men had to be punished for the alleged crimes they committed: "Der Leser kann den Juden in Gestalt des Kindes bemitleiden und ihn gleichzeitig in Gestalt des Erwachsenen ablehnen." Klüger, „Gibt es ein ‚Judenproblem‘ in der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur?“, 11.

such, the story demonstrates a pedagogical orientation that urges the German population to identify the Jews as victims of the Nazi regime and confronts Germans with enabling the Nazi crimes.

The trope of a soldier returning from captivity to his hometown and exploring the changes that it underwent in the war is found in a number of German accounts from the immediate postwar years. The most well known example is Wolfgang Borchert's play *Draußen vor der Tür* (Outside the Door), published in 1947 in the British occupation zone.⁵¹⁹ The play describes a returnee's moral dissatisfaction with the townspeople of the older generation, whom he blames for sending the soldiers to a useless and murderous war.⁵²⁰ In assigning the returning soldier the role of a person in whom the occurrences and moral failures of the town can be confided, both accounts assume his moral virtue, and thus neglect the partial culpability of the *Wehrmacht* in war crimes and the Holocaust. But unlike Borchert, who was 26 years old upon writing the play (and died one day before its Hamburg premiere), Bredel was 47 years old when he published *Das schweigende Dorf* and his concerns were not those of the young generation's self-assertion. Bredel was a dedicated communist, whom the Nazis incarcerated in 1933, who then fled Germany and returned to it in 1945 in the uniform of the Red Army. He participated in the cultural reconstruction of East Germany and the story should therefore be understood within what Johannes R. Becher, who became the chief cultural leader in the East, called "a national liberation and rebuilding effort in the ideological-moral sphere."⁵²¹ As such, *Das schweigende Dorf* advances a model of a moral community for the German postwar society that is based

⁵¹⁹ Wolfgang Borchert, *Draußen vor der Tür: Ein Stück, das kein Theater spielen und kein Publikum sehen will* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1947).

⁵²⁰ On the generational standpoint in the play and its relation to similar complaints from that time see Brockmann, *German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour*, 179-182.

⁵²¹ Naimark, *The Russians in Germany*, 398-399.

on the example of a small circle of individuals whose morality is validated through their rescue of the Jewish girl.

In spite of the different place and time of their creation, Bredel's *Das schweigende Dorf* and Andersch's *Sansibar* present one important similarity. Both authors use a tale on Germans rescuing Jews as a way to establish an affirmative model for a moral community in postwar Germany that combines a limited level of critique, with an offer of positive characters that the reader can identify with.

Affirmative morality narratives based on the successful rescue of Jews were, however, rather rare in postwar German literature and film. We do find a few literary works with short instances describing solidarity and friendship with Jews, as well as small-scale assistance (such as isolated cases of giving food to the persecuted), whose aim is to confirm the philosemitic outlook of the protagonists, but which do not evolve into a central preoccupation with rescue.⁵²² The theme of rescue and solidarity stories does appear, however, in the context of Christian love and sacrifice, as we have also seen in non-fictional accounts (in chapter two). Distinct renderings of the same basic pattern are found in two short stories produced in West Germany that I would like to explore now.

The first is Albrecht Goes' *Das Brandopfer* (The Burnt Offering) that this author, a Protestant priest and writer, published in West Germany in 1954.⁵²³ The story takes place in a small town in southern Germany a few years after the war's end and reconstructs, in a series of letters and conversations, the small acts of a butcher's wife's (Frau Walker) solidarity with the town's Jews during the Third Reich. The narrator, an assistant in the local library who rents the room above the butcher shop, fulfills a similar function to the returning soldier in Bredel's story, uncovering the

⁵²² For different examples of minor instances of assistance to and solidarity with Jews in literature and theater in these years see Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa*, 38-41, 48-54; Feinberg, *Wiedergutmachung im Programm*, 24-27.

⁵²³ Albrecht Goes, *Das Brandopfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1954).

events from the war that the townspeople keep to themselves. The narrator is also an acquaintance, and perhaps lover, of Sabine, a “half Jewish” young woman, who survived the war with a false identity, and whose Jewish father managed to flee Germany.

The reconstructed story takes place in 1942 before and during the deportations of the Jews to the death camps. Frau Walker’s husband was forced to join the army and in his absence the Nazi authorities order her to open her shop for two hours on Fridays (shortly before the Sabbath begins) only to Jews. At first, the Jewish customers are suspicious of the butcher’s wife, but as time goes by they develop a good relationship with her.⁵²⁴ The shop turns into a kind of safe space on Friday evening, in which Frau Walker encounters different aspects of Jewish life⁵²⁵ and gets to know the Jewish members of the town. She also assists the Jews in various ways and witnesses Nazi acts of brutality against them.

In the night of a massive air raid on the town and before the deportation of the Jews, a pregnant Jewish woman, whom Frau Walker previously helped, pays a last visit. The woman confirms the rumors that the deportations mean death and gives Frau Walker a baby carriage that she will no longer need. Frau Walker then reports on thinking:

When it has come to this, when a woman expecting her first child has to give away the baby carriage because the death sentence has been pronounced over her unborn child without cause, when that can happen the world can never be

⁵²⁴ The nickname the Nazi crowd gives her is *Judenmetzig* (the Jews’ butcher), a negatively connoted designation in their eyes, which becomes for her a positive symbol of solidarity with the Jews. In this sense, it functions in the same manner as the concept *Judenfreund*, which Nazi antisemitism denounced and its opponents considered an honorary title.

⁵²⁵ Christiane Schmelzkopf notes that the description of the Jewish rituals and customs presents the perspective of a Christian priest whose knowledge of them is limited and filled with mythical and even stereotypical notions. Schmelzkopf, *Zur Gestaltung jüdischer Figuren in der deutschsprachigen Literatur nach 1945*, 16-17.

right again. You just can't restore the balance. And really there's no remedy left, except one: to clear up thoroughly—with fire."⁵²⁶

The narrator later discovers the rest of that night's events from a letter by Sabine's father, who salvaged Frau Walker from her burning house/shop. Upon regaining consciousness, Frau Walker tells Sabine's father that God has not accepted her burnt offering, thus implying that she intentionally stayed in the burning house, hoping that her sacrifice would restore the "balance" in the world. This idea of a balance was common among Germans since the end of the war, who argued that the suffering inflicted upon the majority of Germans through Allied bombing, expulsion, etc., atones for what the minority of Germans (i.e., Nazis) did to other peoples.⁵²⁷ The sacrifice of Frau Walker appears most suitable, since it draws on an ancient (and also very Christian) notion of sacrificing an innocent person to cancel the crimes of the guilty. The narrator raises the issue again in the book's conclusion:

The question: whether there is one who can balance the terrible guilt of the age against the wild self-immolation of a butcher's wife, against this readiness to crawl into the fiery furnace.⁵²⁸

Sociologist Michal Bodemann presented this paragraph as an implicit claim that Germans' suffering in the war balanced the German guilt of Auschwitz, as expressed in Frau Walker's willingness "to crawl into the fiery furnace," an apparent hint to the crematoria in the death camps.⁵²⁹ Yet the next paragraph, which Bodemann does not mention, clearly negates this option:

⁵²⁶ Albrecht Goes, *The Burnt Offering* (New York: Pantheon, 1956), 77-78.

⁵²⁷ In the words of Hans Frank, the former governor of occupied Poland during WWII (*Generalgouvernement*) upon standing on trial: "The enormous mass crimes ... which have been committed, and are still being committed today, by Russians, Poles and Czechs towards the Germans, have already completely wiped out any imaginable guilt of our people." Raphael Gross, "Relegating Nazism to the Past: Expressions of German Guilt in 1945 and Beyond," *German History* 25: 2 (2007): 219-238, here 224.

⁵²⁸ Goes, *The Burnt Offering*, 92.

⁵²⁹ Bodemann, "Eclipse of Memory," 69.

But one who could draw up this balance will say he “desires no sacrifice,” that “he delights not in burnt offering” nor in “the peace offering of your fat beasts,” but only in a broken spirit and a contrite heart. And would say—and *this is the answer*—that all of them, even he who shares the knowledge of it [the narrator], Sabine, too, so curiously interwoven with it, and Sabine’s father, who saved and was saved, have been retained for further service. True, in the burn on the woman’s face [a scar from the night of the fire] that sign will remain, the sign that must not be interpreted otherwise than as a sign of love, of that love which maintains the world....⁵³⁰

Instead of placing German suffering on the same level as Jewish suffering, the text presents Frau Walker’s realization on that fateful night that she should reject sacrifice for the sake of a continued solidarity with Jews. And indeed, the narrator meets her in a “pro Israel” society, spreading the message of solidarity and reconciliation with Jews in the postwar years. This is the “love” the narrator speaks of, to which Frau Walker and the Jewish survivors testify, and that those who know of the story, i.e. the narrator and now the readers, should subscribe to.

While the story emphasizes solidarity and humanity, it cannot be considered a rescue story. The majority of Jewish townspeople were sent to their death, and those who did survive (Sabine and her father) do not owe their lives to Frau Walker. What she did was give solace to the Jews in the time prior to their deportation, nothing more. Furthermore, Heidi Müller, who analyzed *Das Brandopfer* together with Goes’ later short story on non-Jewish solidarity with persecuted Jews (*Das Löffelchen*, 1965), points out that in both pieces the protagonists’ assistance to Jews does not involve any actual jeopardy to the former.⁵³¹ The two stories thus avoid discussing whether or not Germans *could* have done more for the Jews than minor everyday

⁵³⁰ Emphasis added. Goes, *The Burnt Offering*, 92.

⁵³¹ Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa*, 78-79.

humanitarian acts and imply that they couldn't have.⁵³² In this sense, the choice of a (weak and vulnerable) woman as the main protagonist stresses Germans' powerlessness against the SS-men and makes any attempt to rescue the Jews to appear as futile.

The second book, Gertrud von Le Fort's *Das fremde Kind* (The Foreign Child), approaches the topic of Christian sacrifice from a very different perspective.⁵³³ Published 1961 in West Germany, this story presents a model of Christian love embodied in the figure of Caritas (!) von Glas, a kind of saintly figure, who "belongs to a completely different world,"⁵³⁴ has a strong connection to nature, and feels instinctive compassion to all living beings in need. The first part of the plot depicts a love story between Caritas and Jeskow von Nestriz, both from aristocratic families, in the years prior to WWI.⁵³⁵ In the second part of the plot, the narrator, Jeskow's cousin, describes him becoming a Nazi follower following the defeat in the war. Jeskow joins the Waffen-SS and later confesses to his cousin (the narrator) that he participated in the shooting of Poles and Jews, or actually that he did not prevent it:

"Not to have prevented the shooting is as good as if one shoots himself." Then [he added] in unutterable agony: "I can still see the little Jewish girl, who implored me with her eyes when she was taken, and yet I did not move a hand to save her: an order is an order, as it was called then."⁵³⁶

The narrator later comes across Caritas, who adopted a Jewish girl (Esther) whose parents were deported. She invites Caritas to see Jeskow, but in spite of the girl's

⁵³² See also Janina Bach, *Erinnerungsspuren an den Holocaust in der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur* (Wroclav – Dresden: Neisse Verlag, 2007), 271-287.

⁵³³ Gertrud von Le Fort, *Das fremde Kind: Erzählung* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1961). The story was later reprinted in Gertrud von Le Fort, *Die Erzählungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1967).

⁵³⁴ Le Fort, *Das fremde Kind*, 19.

⁵³⁵ The first part ends with Caritas leaving Jeskow in a dance and rushes to help a lost kitten in the rain. This scene, as well as the next section of the book, present Caritas as totally committed to the wellbeing of others, especially the innocent and young creatures.

⁵³⁶ Le Fort, *Das fremde Kind*, 80.

immediate affection toward him, the rueful SS-man keeps a distance from her. Eventually a “primitive” and wicked Nazi murders Caritas and this pushes Jeskow to embrace the girl who reminds him of his deceased loved one. Jeskow and his cousin hide Esther until the end of the war when her biological mother, who managed to survive, basically tears the child from her new loving family. In this story, we find a double successful act of atonement based on love. In the first, Caritas dies so that Jeskow could find peace, thus taking his guilt upon herself in a Christ-like sacrifice.⁵³⁷ In the second, Jeskow, who was involved in the death of a Jewish girl, saves another Jewish girl, thus reestablishing a “balance.”

The story offers a Christian solution of reconciliation and forgiveness to the Holocaust, although only to the majority of Germans and not to the “real Nazis.”⁵³⁸ It corresponds with Le Fort’s theological view of Nazism as the rise of mythical violence that can only be defeated through one’s commitment to humanity.⁵³⁹ In doing so, the author continued the line of argumentation put forward in her 1945 lecture (published in 1947) in which she responded to international condemnations of German collective guilt by contrasting Germans’ crimes with acts of solidarity with and assistance to the persecuted as a balancing measure.⁵⁴⁰

Le Fort’s Christian interpretation of the events underscored the need for Christian role models to help prevent war, tyranny, and genocide. In presenting the saintly Caritas, however, Le Fort may have actually hindered readers’ direct identification with this more-than-human protagonist. Goes, in contrast, introduced a

⁵³⁷ It is Caritas who suggests this sacrifice to him. Le Fort, *Das fremde Kind*, 106.

⁵³⁸ In this sense, it is significant that Jeskow did not shoot the Jews himself, and that his guilt is based on what he did not do, and not on what he did. We shall see also in the last section of this chapter that this is an important condition for a protagonist’s moral transformation in postwar German fiction.

⁵³⁹ See also Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa*, 28-30; Sascha Kiefer, *Die deutsche Novelle im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Gattungsgeschichte* (Köln: Böhlau, 2010), 271-272. Le Fort (1876-1971) was born a Protestant, but converted to Catholicism in 1926 as an expression of an ecumenical standpoint. As such we can assume that she strongly believed in a reconciliatory mission.

⁵⁴⁰ Joël Pottier, “Erlebte und gedeutete Geschichte: Gertrud von le Forts ‚Weg durch die Nacht‘ im Dritten Reich,” in Frank-Lothar Kroll, ed., *Die totalitäre Erfahrung: Deutsche Literatur und Drittes Reich* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003), 153-169.

more accessible identification with the minor gestures of assistance and solidarity of Frau Walker, gestures which German readers could have recognized as corresponding to their own actual or imagined deeds toward the persecuted.

In this section we have surveyed three accounts of successful rescue and one account that avoided the issue of rescue by focusing on solidarity instead. Within the time period discussed here, from 1945 to the mid 1960s, there is a very small number of such accounts. In fact, the pieces I mentioned constitute the only fictional accounts of successful rescue from the postwar Germanys that I could find. But how familiar were German audiences with these accounts? Bredel's and Le Fort's short stories were rather unknown pieces of older and established authors. They received a limited printing that did not extend beyond their respective German societies.⁵⁴¹ *Sansibar*, on the other hand, received a wide circulation, but only in West Germany. *Das Brandopfer*, written by a West German, was adapted into West German television as a play called *Der Schlaf der Gerechten* (The Sleep of the Righteous, 1962).⁵⁴² The book also gained East German editions. The first appeared a year after the original volume, and others were printed in 1961 and 1971.⁵⁴³

Unlike these works, most authors of fiction who chose the topic of solidarity with and assistance to Jews usually preferred to do so in depictions of unsuccessful rescue. In what follows I will try to understand why. My discussion is divided into four sections that combine central patterns of failed rescue with possible explanations for their employment. The patterns are: 1) suicide, or failure as a triumph, 2) the hiding place, 3) failure as criticism, and 4) failure and transformation. I will illustrate

⁵⁴¹ Bredel's book received no West German edition, and Le Fort's book was published in East Germany only in 1987. Gertrud von Le Fort, *Das fremde Kind: Erzählung* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1987).

⁵⁴² Director: Rolf Hädrich. The play was shown twice on the WDR channel up to the mid 1960s, on 21.11.1962 and 18.11.1964. Classen, *Bilder der Vergangenheit*, 71-72.

⁵⁴³ Albrecht Goes, *Das Brandopfer* (Aufbau Verlag Berlin, 1955); *Unruhige Nacht, Das Brandopfer* (Union Verlag, Berlin 1961); *Novellen: Unruhige Nacht, Das Brandopfer, Das Löffelchen* (Union Verlag, Berlin 1971).

these patterns according to specific literary and filmic pieces, but must stress that each piece combines at least some of these patterns and its employment of a failed rescue is thus motivated by a number of concerns.

Suicide, or Failure as a Triumph

Postwar German writers and filmmakers very often described the suicide of Jews when expressing empathy with the persecution of the Jews.⁵⁴⁴ One explanation for this common use of suicide relates to the actual experiences of many Germans living especially in cities who, while often preoccupied with their daily life, have encountered the outcomes of the persecution of Jews by discovering that their neighbors took their own lives. Suicide was, therefore, something that people could relate to and be acquainted with and at the same time could be integrated into a plot that takes place within Germany and not in the mass death sites in “the East.”

Several postwar German works of fiction applied suicide scenes to describe failed rescue accounts that focused on “racially mixed” couples. As we have seen in the first chapter, living in such “privileged marriages” actually saved the lives of many Jews in Nazi Germany, as long as the couple stayed married. Yet in fictional accounts from the period we discuss here, this was not the case. Instead, the three films from occupied Germany that present partners in a mixed marriage, end in suicide and not in survival. In what follows we will try to understand why. The three films are Helmut Käutner’s 1947 *In jenen Tagen* (In Those Days) and Harald Braun’s 1948 *Zwischen gestern und morgen* (Between Yesterday and Tomorrow) from the Western occupation zones of Germany, and Kurt Maetzig’s 1947 *Ehe im Schatten* (Marriage in

⁵⁴⁴ We shall encounter several such cases in this chapter. One prominent example comes from Günter Grass’s renowned 1959 novel *Die Blechtrommel* (The Tin Drum), in which Sigismund Markus, the Jewish owner of a toys store, who provides the protagonists with his drums, commits suicide during the events of *Kristallnacht*. The episode invites the reader’s sympathy with the Jews, yet also obscures certain elements of the Jewish catastrophe. See Schlant, *The Language of Silence*, 64-65.

the Shadow), an East German production. All films use flashbacks as a means to switch from the present to the recent Nazi past and thus explicitly address the question of memory. I will examine here *In jenen Tagen* and *Ehe im Schatten*.

Käutner's *In jenen Tagen* premiered on July 14, 1947 in Hamburg and was the first new German production in the Western occupation zones. The film begins with a conversation between two mechanics while dismantling a car shortly after the war, within a landscape of ruins. One of the men complains about the lack of humanity in the 12 years of the Nazi regime and the continuation of this lack ever since. Responding to this statement is the car itself (voiced by Käutner) that functions as the narrator, arguing that there were, in fact, cases of humanity in Nazi Germany. What follows are seven episodes, from January 1933, when the car met its first owners, to the time it reached the junkyard. In these episodes people who owned the car help each other, express humane affection to those in need, and oppose Nazi inhumanity. The film's third episode tells the story of an elderly couple, a Jewish woman and a non-Jewish man, who decide to stick together despite the pressure the regime put on them. Confronted with the violence against Jews and Jewish businesses in *Kristallnacht*, the two end their lives by leaving the gas on in their home.⁵⁴⁵

It seems probable that in depicting the loyalty and love of this mixed couple, Käutner, who co-wrote the script, was inspired by the personal story of his acquaintance, film producer Alf Teichs. Teichs divorced his Jewish wife in 1934, but continued to share a house with her. In a statement that Käutner composed for Teichs's denazification committee, the director wrote: "His brave defense of his Jewish wife, with whom he continued to live throughout the entire period, in spite of denunciations and difficulties, proves that he was prepared to face the consequences of

⁵⁴⁵ While this was a common way of committing suicide, it could also be seen as a hint toward the mass killing of Jews in the death camps. Also other authors, such as Le Fort, depicted suicide with gas. See Le Fort, *Das fremde Kind*, 66.

his outlook also in private matters.”⁵⁴⁶ When Käutner wrote this statement he has already started working on the film, and the outlook he praised in Teichs is reproduced also in the car’s (and film’s) closing words:

Yes sirs, I have not seen much of those days. No major events, no heroes, only a few fates – and thereof only excerpts. But I have seen a few human beings (*Menschen*). The time was stronger than them, but their humanity was stronger than the time. They existed, these human beings, and they will always exist, in all times. Think about it when you go to work.

In spite of the similar message, the film’s depiction of an act of humanity that leads to the death of the mixed couple is opposed to the reality of Teichs’s case. Why didn’t Käutner portray the couple’s survival, considering also that some of the other six episodes in the film end with the car’s owners escaping Nazi persecution? In fact, one reviewer of the film bemoaned the lack of deaths in a film about National Socialism.⁵⁴⁷ I believe that Käutner felt that it would be inappropriate to portray Jews’ successful rescue only two years after the end of the war. At a time in which some Germans still refused to accept the discoveries on the mass killing of the Jews as anything more than Allied propaganda, a tale of Jewish survival might have appeared as counterproductive for the reeducation of the German population. Moreover, in describing Jews committing suicide, especially together with a non-Jew, the director could incorporate into his film an episode about the Holocaust without necessarily delving deeply into questions of German perpetration and guilt.

Most contemporary reviewers welcomed Käutner’s decision to concentrate on the positive sides of “those days” and on the continuation of humanity, and implied that it could serve both to counter accusations of a German collective guilt and to

⁵⁴⁶ Correspondence with Alf Teichs (Hamburg, 20.6.1946), Helmut Käutner Archiv, Akademie der Künste Archiv, Akte 59.

⁵⁴⁷ Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 179.

participate in the denazification of German society by denouncing the Nazis as the inhuman “others.” A few reviewers, however, criticized the missing attention to the perpetrators and the film’s portrayal of a society full of “decent Germans.”⁵⁴⁸ In his reply letter to a disapproving review by a Swiss newspaper, Käutner denied that he created a political or historical film with an exculpatory mission. The film, he argued, does not attempt to describe the behavior of the German society as a whole, but to spread the message of humanity by showing that acts of human kindness were possible even under the Nazis, and “so much more today!”⁵⁴⁹

It may be that Käutner, who directed several entertainment films in the Nazi years and wanted to reestablish himself in the postwar film industry, needed a film that would not be too political. A celebration of humanity that avoids difficult issues of guilt must have seemed like a safe choice that also the Allies would (and did) approve of.⁵⁵⁰ Nevertheless, we should not reduce Käutner’s early postwar work to mere pragmatic self-interest. His later preoccupation as a well-established script writer and director with films that raised moral issues regarding the Nazi period, such as *Die letzte Brücke* (The Last Bridge, 1954) and *Des Teufels General* (The Devil’s General, 1955), suggest that his motives were not purely career-oriented or apologetic. Furthermore, the fact that Käutner made entertainment films under the Nazis was actually beneficial for the advancement of a universal-humanistic message among the German population. Then the director could draw on this experience when discussing

⁵⁴⁸ Karsten Witte, „Im Prinzip Hoffnung: Helmut Käutners Filme,“ in Wolfgang Jacobsen und Hans Helmut Prinzler, eds, *Käutner* (Berlin: Spiess, 1992), 62-109, here 88-92; Shandley, *Rubble Films*, 51-64; Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 174-180.

⁵⁴⁹ Beilage zum Brief an Redaktor Stickelberger, Luzerner Neueste Nachrichten (Zürich, 31.7.1947), Helmut Käutner Archiv, Akademie der Künste Archiv, Akte 2784, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁰ Shandley, *Rubble Films*, 59-60.

historical issues via portrayals of love relationships to attract audiences that were familiar with such dramatic constellations in the cinema of the Third Reich.⁵⁵¹

While for Käutner a mixed couple's suicide constituted only one episode out of seven, the even more successful film by Kurt Maetzig dedicated the topic an entire plot. Maetzig's debut film *Ehe im Schatten* was a production of the East German DEFA, but premiered in all four sections of Berlin on October 3, 1947. The film is based on the true story of the actor Joachim Gottschalk and his Jewish wife Meta Wolff, who committed suicide together with their son the day before they were scheduled to be deported to Theresienstadt.⁵⁵² But Maetzig did not include the son in the film and also the two other postwar films describing the suicide of a mixed couple avoided mentioning children, assumingly because such an addition would complicate the story of a self-chosen death by people who were the Nazis' victims. While Maetzig did not know Gottschalk personally, his Jewish mother took her own life to avoid the Gestapo, so that the topic was not foreign to him.⁵⁵³

The film begins by presenting Elisabeth (Ilse Steppat), the talented and acclaimed actress, together on the stage with Hans (Paul Klinger), a fellow actor who is secretly in love with her. After the performance, a young publisher, Herbert Blohm (Claus Holm), addresses her and a romance develops between the two. The time is early 1933, and the Nazis have recently gained power in Germany. While the two are on vacation with their friends, Elisabeth encounters a sign proclaiming that "Jews are unwanted" and tells Herbert she is Jewish. Herbert, a Nazi sympathizer who quotes

⁵⁵¹ Witte, „Im Prinzip Hoffnung,“ 66-69. See also Karsten Witte, "Film im Nationalsozialismus: Blendung und Überblendung," in Wolfgang Jacobson et al., eds, *Geschichte des deutschen Films* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2004), 117-166.

⁵⁵² Maetzig adapted the script from a novella that Hans Schweikart, a friend of Gottschalk, wrote shortly after the war. On Schweikart, Maetzig, and the adaptation of Gottschalk's character into the film see Sabine Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001), 213-217.

⁵⁵³ Also two Jewish actors who played in the film (Alfred Balthoff and Willy Prager) partially experienced the persecution they depicted in front of the camera. Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 185-186.

Nietzsche and speaks of the upcoming “new era,” is surprised but says he loves her nevertheless. Yet upon receiving a position in the Propaganda Ministry he decides to terminate the relationship. Simultaneously, in response to the Nazi persecution of the Jews, Kurt Bernstein (Alfred Balthoff), Elisabeth’s Jewish friend, decides to emigrate. She deliberates whether to do the same, but the non-Jewish Hans offers to protect her by getting married, and so they do. The film then follows the growing isolation of the woman and the difficulties and frustration of the man, who is unsure whether she loves him. Hans begins a flirt with another actress, when sounds of shattering glass and screams for help tear him from her. He rushes to his wife. It is *Kristallnacht* and Elisabeth wishes to leave Germany, but agrees to stay with Hans.

The next scene declares that the year is 1943. Hans was drafted to the war, and Elisabeth works in hard physical labor with other women from “privileged marriages.” The fear of deportation governs the women’s conversations, and during one night a fellow worker cannot bear the tension any more. She cries out that this must end (*Schluß machen! Schluß machen!*) and jumps under a train. Suicide is introduced here as a possibility for ending the suffering and uncertainties. But this is a very violent, dark, and dirty suicide, and the deadly train hints at the deportations to the death camps.

Hans finally returns from the war and Elisabeth’s confidence is restored. Their love is stronger than ever. Later, in her longing to escape their apartment that became a prison, she convinces her husband to attend together the premiere of his latest film. This, however, was a hasty decision and Nazi officials discover Elisabeth’s identity. Hans is called to Herbert’s office, and the latter informs him that he is either to cancel the marriage and save his career, or stay married and be sent to the front. His choice cannot change Elisabeth’s fate, since she is to be deported the next day. Hans rejects the deal and reproaches Herbert for his inhuman opportunism. He returns home,

seeing in his mind SS-men taking his wife by force and boarding her onto a train. In a lengthy scene, Elisabeth reminisces on the happier days they had, while he declares: “We are staying together.” The two drink poison and lay on their bed, he in a black suit and she in a white dress, as if they were to marry again. Their death equals sleep. It is quiet, beautiful, and lacks any sign of violence. It follows the ideal of bourgeois dying and differs greatly from the suicide of the Jewish woman in the earlier scene.

The film became an immense success in all occupation zones. It drew more than ten million viewers in the first year and additional two million within five years. The reasons for that seem to lie in its melodramatic structures that filmgoers in Nazi Germany were accustomed to.⁵⁵⁴ Many film melodramas in the Third Reich described a marital crisis, often involving a romantic triangle that raised a moral demand on the partners to make the “right” choice.⁵⁵⁵ *Ehe im Schatten* presents such a love triangle and moral choice, yet not the one the Nazis had in mind.⁵⁵⁶ Maetzig’s film shows some similarities to *Die große Liebe* (The Great Love, dir. Rolf Hansen, 1942), the most commercially successful film in the Third Reich. *Die große Liebe* presents love emerging out of the war, portrayed as a crisis that allows the man to demonstrate his heroism as a fighter pilot and turn the woman he loves into a faithful wife and mother.⁵⁵⁷ *Ehe im Schatten* clearly does not aim to justify the war and the Nazi sense of a marital union. But it does present a time of crisis, i.e. the Nazi persecution of the Jews, as the context that enables the marriage and love between Hans and Elisabeth. This crisis also exposes the true face of the different characters, and under this crisis’ conditions Hans demonstrates his heroism.

⁵⁵⁴ This does not mean, of course, that these features characterize only Nazi or German cinema. Some actually featured also in American movies of the period. The point is, however, that the public was used to see such films and saw them in masses.

⁵⁵⁵ Mary-Elizabeth O’Brien, *Nazi Cinema as Enchantment: The Politics of Entertainment in the Third Reich* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006), 160-205.

⁵⁵⁶ A similar trio constellation structures one episode of *In jenen Tagen*.

⁵⁵⁷ Stephen Brockmann, *A Critical History of German Film* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 167-179.

The film scholar Robert Shandley also points out that *Ehe im Schatten* appealed to many women, who could see in Elisabeth a career woman trapped in forced domesticity. The DEFA and the Soviet occupation authorities may have hoped that viewers would extend such identification to her Jewishness and to the persecution of the Jews.⁵⁵⁸

The sentimentality and emotionality of the film did not always satisfy the reviewers, since also here (as in *In jenen Tagen*) some expected a more critical approach toward Germans rather than a romantic tale of humanity.⁵⁵⁹ In interviews conducted years later, Maetzig claimed that his intention was to create a film that would confront its audience with their sins or mistakes during the Nazi past. He wanted to present the couple as responsible for becoming victims because of their choice to stay in Germany and their naïve hope that things would turn out well.⁵⁶⁰ But, as the film critic Siegfried Kracauer wrote, the film itself treats alternatives such as emigration as useless (exemplified in Kurt's failed attempt to leave Germany) while hailing the protagonists' loyalty to their German homeland and their decision to die in it. Kracauer also points out that the film prefers to celebrate a humanist ideal to political self-examination and argues that the protagonists' escape into the emotional privacy neutralizes the discussion of their social responsibility.⁵⁶¹ And indeed, while there are instances in the film that pass judgment on the political inactivity and careerism of the middle classes, it is uncertain whether the film embraces or rejects the protagonists' retreat into the private sphere. But while Kracauer is right in his basic observation, he ignores the fact that mixed marriages were themselves politicized

⁵⁵⁸ Shandley, *Rubble Films*, 88-89.

⁵⁵⁹ Shandley, *Rubble Films*, 81-90; Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 185-191.

⁵⁶⁰ Kurt Maetzig, *Filmarbeit: Gespräche, Reden, Schriften* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1987), 54-55; Wolfgang Becker and Norbert Schöll, *In jenen Tagen... Wie der deutsche Nachkriegsfilm die Vergangenheit bewältigte* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1995), 55.

⁵⁶¹ Siegfried Kracauer, „Der anständige Deutsche: Ein Filmportrait,“ *Film und Fernsehen* 1 (1999), 6-8. The article originally appeared in 1949.

under the Nazis and that an attempt to make Germans identify with Jewish suffering and renounce Nazi ideology was one of the main goals of Allied reeducation policies at the end of the war.

As we have seen in the first chapter, since the nineteenth century many Germans (Jews and non-Jews) saw these marriages as symbolizing the final act of social integration. It was for this reason that the Nazi regime prohibited them and excluded the Aryan partners from the moral national community. In turn, some anti-Nazi circles depicted mixed couples as icons of solidarity and resistance. For example, the literary works of German authors in exile, Jews and non-Jews, “increasingly accentuated interreligious relationships. The problem of intermarriages or liaisons, though not a new subject in German literature, became more frequent.”⁵⁶²

Leo Menter, a contemporary reviewer who praised *Ehe im Schatten*, argued that the depiction of mixed marriages both exposes the tragedy of the Jews and enables an investigation into the real nature of individuals. Such a melodramatic film can also succeed in doing what the pictures of piled bodies in the concentration camps could not: “Art opens the eyes also where people desperately want to keep them closed.”⁵⁶³ But does it always work? Menter was unsure:

The audience left the theater with moist eyes, dreading to utter the first words. But after such a film one has to ask if this is enough. Does the emotion in the theater suffice to further make a spontaneous comment? [...] Isn't it nothing more for the people than a moving, but actually foreign, fate that is empathized with?⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶² Stern, “German-Jewish and German-Christian Writers,” 154.

⁵⁶³ Leo Menter, „Ehe im Schatten,“ *Die Weltbühne* 2: 20 (2. Oktober 1947): 895-897, here 896.

⁵⁶⁴ Menter, „Ehe im Schatten,“ 896.

Remembering that he heard a few laughs during the film and sighs of relief at the end of it, Menter added in skepticism that “there is still much work to be done, which even the best art work cannot master alone.”⁵⁶⁵

Let us review our findings in this section. The makers of these two films decided to end the stories of mixed couples with suicide in spite of the fact that in reality quite a few Jews survived thanks to their “privileged marriage.” As such, they consciously chose to present a failed rescue rather than survival. But suicide, which symbolizes the persecution and the inhumanity of the regime, is not mourned here as a failure, but rather celebrated as a triumph of humanity and love. Such an interpretation is apparent also in the writings of some historians who treated the suicides of German Jews under the Nazis as gestures of resistance, protest, and self-assertion. These historians, in turn, followed the positive evaluations of suicide that several Jews expressed in their diaries in the 1930s and 1940s.⁵⁶⁶

The treatment of suicide as expressing both the impossibility of coping with the world and at the same time as an act of accepting and facing reality, flourished in the artistic, musical, and literary tradition of European Romanticism since the early nineteenth century. In this current that continues to exert its influence up to this day, the demands of passion, love, and romance were seen as superior to those of “plain” life, and suicide was considered a courageous way to exit one’s troubled existence. Especially for lovers, a joint suicide was deemed a “most worthy” death that emphasized the beauty of the act and glossed over its more hideous aspects.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁵ Menter, „Ehe im Schatten,“ 897.

⁵⁶⁶ Christine Hartig, “‘Conversations about Taking Our Own Lives – Oh a Poor Expression for a Forced Deed in Hopeless Circumstances!’: Suicide among German Jews 1933-1943,” *Leo Baeck Year Book* 52 (2007): 247-265. See also Christian Goeschel, “Suicides of German Jews in the Third Reich,” *German History* 25: 1 (2007): 22-45.

⁵⁶⁷ Robert L. Barry, *Breaking the Thread of Life: On Rational Suicide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1994), 73-77.

In the case of *Ehe im Schatten* and *In jenen Tagen* we can also assume that a description of such a death, both individual and larger than that (but not self-serving and lonely) provided a counterpoint to the Nazi emphasis on a heroic death in battle. The Nazis' vision of dying for Germany focused on the obliteration of the self for the sake of the community.⁵⁶⁸ In the case of these postwar movies, however, suicide was the final heroic, but not violent, action of the powerless.⁵⁶⁹ Their suicide was, as a brochure of *Ehe im Schatten* declared, "a path to freedom."⁵⁷⁰ By not succumbing to the pressures of inhumanity (embodied in the Nazi regime) they maintained universal morality.⁵⁷¹ In the words of the Käutner-car: "Their humanity was stronger than the time."

The Hiding Place

The second pattern of failed rescue in fiction concerns the hiding place. The significance of spatial boundaries as markers of isolation and fear are not limited to this pattern. The couple's apartment in *Ehe im Schatten*, for example, fulfills a similar function. Nevertheless, in Maetzig's film it is the marriage and not the apartment that defines the boundaries of rescue and steers the plot. We have also seen how the butcher shop in *Das Brandopfer* constituted a place in which Jewish and non-Jewish Germans enacted their solidarity. But also there, the shop itself did not signify rescue and survival. Unlike these pieces, the ones discussed in this section present the walls

⁵⁶⁸ This does not mean that there were no depictions of suicide in Nazi literature and propaganda, yet these appear to be less frequent and less instrumental. See Jay W. Baird, *To Die for Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

⁵⁶⁹ In the words of one Swiss reviewer of *In jenen Tagen*: "Die innere Kraft des kleinen Rahmenhändlers, der mit seiner jüdischen Gattin in den Tod geht, nachdem er sein eigenes Schaufenster eingeschlagen hat, erscheint uns auf einmal *heldenhafter als der mutigste Partisane mit der Maschinenpistole*." Emphasis added. Note, however, that the bravery the reviewer describes here is of the non-Jewish man and not of both. Anonym, „Man traf sich in Locarno: Der zweite ‚Festival internazionale del film‘ am Lago Maggiore“, *Die Tat* 12: 188 (Zürich, 6. Juli 1947): 4.

⁵⁷⁰ The brochure is in my possession.

⁵⁷¹ See the discussion in Fernand Jung, „Das Thema Antisemitismus am Beispiel des DEFA-Films ‚Ehe im Schatten‘“, in Rainer Waterkamp, ed., *Nationalsozialismus und Judenverfolgung in DDR-Medien* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1996), 45-52.

of the hiding place as the only thing that separates life from death, and secrecy assumes crucial importance.

The sentimental and melodramatic measures we have seen in the former section play an important role also in the hiding place pattern. Also here, one aim of failed rescue depiction is to create identification with the Jewish victims, yet this pattern differs from the former in two significant ways. First, here the persecuted Jew dies alone or far from the audience's view, and not with his or her loved ones. Second, the unsuccessful rescue is not depicted as a triumph or liberation, but as a tragic failure.

It is difficult to identify a specific cultural model from which authors of fiction drew when describing the hiding place as the framework of rescue. Undoubtedly, such depictions also referred to actual experiences in postwar Germany, when persecuted Jews, who lived "underground" in Nazi Germany and in occupied Europe, "rose" to the surface after the collapse of the regime. The end of the war also witnessed many non-Jewish Germans emerging from cellars and bunkers, where they found shelter from the bombings and escaped the dreaded wrath of the occupying soldiers.⁵⁷² The hiding place may have been, therefore, a "natural" location to which both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences could relate. Furthermore, as a hidden place, it could justify the postwar claims of non-Jewish Germans that the Jews "disappeared" and that their fates remained unknown up to the end of the war.

A text that undoubtedly influenced many literary pieces and helped make hiding into a symbol of Jewish persecution was the diary of Anne Frank. While not a fictional account, the diary served as a model for fictional depictions of the Holocaust and its theatrical and filmic adaptations employed melodramatic means similar to those we have examined above. Anne Frank was born 1929 in Frankfurt to a Jewish

⁵⁷² Bessel, *Germany 1945*, 116-118; Jörg Friedrich, *The Fire: The Bombing of Germany, 1940-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 325-356.

family that moved to Holland after the Nazi rise to power. Following the country's German occupation, the family hid for two years in a building's secret annex in Amsterdam. The family members were caught and deported to Auschwitz and Anne died in Bergen-Belsen. In 1947, her father, Otto Frank, who was the sole survivor in his family, published her diary, which articulates Anne's observations while in hiding. The book received a first West German translation in 1950 and met with only limited public attention at first. Already then, the "Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation," whose goal was to foster reconciliation between Jews and Christians, placed it at the center of its "Week of Brotherhood" of the same year. One of the Society's representatives wrote that Anne Frank's "martyrdom" is an occasion for a joint mourning that would absolve "us from responsibility for the death of millions."⁵⁷³

When in 1955 the West German Fischer Publishing House printed the diary in paperback, it turned into an immediate bestseller. The diary, which in the meantime appeared in many other languages, received in the same year an American theatrical adaptation that premiered on both East and West German stages on October 1, 1956 and became a hit. It played repeatedly in different locations in both Germanys up to the mid 1960s and on a lesser scale ever since. In 1957 a first East German edition followed as well. A year later, the GDR produced a documentary film called *A Diary for Anne Frank* (dir. Joachim Hellwig) that used the diary as a pretext for attacking the Federal Republic and the Nazi criminals that lived undisturbed there. In 1959 *The Diary of Anne Frank* was made into an American feature film (dir. George Stevens) that became a significant source of identification for the West German youth, but was not shown in the GDR.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ Quoted in Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge*, 329-330.

⁵⁷⁴ Juliana Wetzel, „Anne Frank-Tagebuch,“ in Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Legenden, Lügen, Vorurteile: Ein Wörterbuch zur Zeitgeschichte* (München: DTV, 1992), 24-25; Lawrence Graver, *An Obsession with Anne Frank: Meyer Levin and the Diary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 127-131; Wolfgang Benz "Mythos Anne Frank", in *Bilder vom Juden: Studien zum alltäglichen Antisemitismus*

Attempts to understand the German and international success of the diary argue that especially the play and movie provide a very easy-to-swallow version of the Holocaust, that they present no perpetrators and thus do not require any critical self-examination from the side of Germans, and that the changes to the diary in its German editions and in the American play erase the “Jewish characteristics” of Anne and allow an emotional identification with the victims on the basis of universal suffering.⁵⁷⁵ Furthermore, the play does not portray the camps and Anne’s death in any extensive way, thus obscuring the actual violence and the dirty and cruel reality. The play also ends on an optimistic note: “I still believe that people are really good at heart,” a statement that in the diary itself actually emerged from a moment of desperation and defeat and not of hope.⁵⁷⁶ The West German Fischer paperback edition carried an abridged version of this optimistic sentence (“*Ich glaube an das Gute im Menschen*”) on its cover.⁵⁷⁷ Nevertheless, while some Germans embraced the universal perspective in the diary and found in them a cathartic trigger for their own suffering in the war, others were shocked and ashamed for what “Hitler’s fascism” did to Jews, thus emphasizing the particular “Jewish elements” of the diary and of Anne Frank’s family.⁵⁷⁸

As a girl, Anne symbolized innocence, thus offering the readers or viewers an uncomplicated opportunity for expressing compassion with the fate of Jews. Theodor Adorno famously quoted a German woman saying, after watching the play: “*that girl*

(München: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2001), 86-95; Sylke Kirschnik, *Anne Frank und die DDR: Politische Deutungen und persönliche Lesarten des berühmten Tagebuchs* (Berlin: Links, 2009).

⁵⁷⁵ For such evaluations see Graver, *An Obsession with Anne Frank*; Benz “Mythos Anne Frank”; James E. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 27; Ralph Melnick, *The Stolen Legacy of Anne Frank: Meyer Levin, Lillian Hellman, and the Staging of the Diary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁵⁷⁶ Rachel Feldhay Brenner, “Writing Herself Against History: Anne Frank’s Self-Portrait As a Young Artist,” *Modern Judaism* 16 (1996): 105-134, here 130-131.

⁵⁷⁷ Anne Frank, *Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1955).

⁵⁷⁸ Graver, *An Obsession with Anne Frank*, 129-130; Kirschnik, *Anne Frank und die DDR*, 118-132, 145-156.

at least should have been allowed to live.” Adorno then asked whether such a confrontation leads to critically examining the suffering of others (the Jews) or is used to avoid such a confrontation, and commented on the woman’s statement:

To be sure even that was good as a first step toward understanding. But the individual case, which should stand for, and raise awareness about, the terrifying totality, by its very individuation became an alibi for the totality the woman forgot.⁵⁷⁹

In any case, it appears that the emotional reactions to the diary in its various forms stem from the intimacy with Anne Frank’s perspective, which is established through her narrative voice. In this sense, the diary is very different from many other fictional pieces of its time, in which the perspective of a Jewish victim was practically nonexistent. Moreover, the emotional reactions to the diary must have evolved from the shattering acknowledgment that the audience’s hopes for her survival were futile. The fact that her story is one of a failed rescue seems, therefore, to have enhanced the hopes and thus increased the tragedy in a way that a narrative without the possibility of rescue might not have.

Identification and emotional participation in the diary are strongly connected to spatiality. The hiding place constitutes both the setting and the point in which Anne Frank’s thoughts and fantasies take shape. In the play and film, the stage and set respectively give a visual expression to the experience of persecution, and offer the viewers to take part in it. This experience includes the isolation and the interactions inside, but also the danger that awaited outside. The audience thus gains access into the inner, hidden, world of the figures, peeping and listening with terror to the sights and sounds coming from outside.

⁵⁷⁹ Theodor W. Adorno, “The Meaning of Working Through the Past,” *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 89-104, here 101.

As a German-Jewish story written in Dutch and influenced by American theatrical and filmic adaptations, the diary demonstrates quite clearly the transnational interconnectedness of memory.⁵⁸⁰ Transnationality plays a part also in fictional works that follow the example of Anne Frank's diary and employ the setting of the hiding place in discussing failed rescue. Such a setting structures the novella *Romeo, Julie a tma* (Romeo, Julia, and Darkness) that the Czechoslovak author Jan Otčenášek published in 1958. The East German publishing house *Verlag der Nation* that printed the novella in German, presented it as portraying "the fate of a Czech Anne Frank,"⁵⁸¹ and an East German review of the film based on it spoke of "Anne Frank's sister in Prague."⁵⁸²

In the novella we find a Jewish girl (Ester) of about 16 years who escapes the deportation and wanders alone in Prague, until an 18-year-old guy (Pavel) finds her and hides her in a storage room. At first she is rather suspicious as to his motives, but after a while the two fall in love. The closed room becomes a place where they share their thoughts, hopes, and fears, and the darkness in the title refers to the nights in which they meet and also acts as a symbol for the persecution. The year is 1942, shortly after the assassination of Heydrich and the brutal retaliations of the German army. When the building is surrounded for a search, a Czech neighbor, who collaborated with the occupiers, discovers Ester and fears the consequences for himself. He intends to deliver her to the Germans, but she runs out of her hideout in order not to risk her loved one, and dies from the bullets of the Germans.

Similar to the story of Anne Frank, also here the readers are introduced to the experiences of a Jewish girl within the frame of the hiding place and are supposed to

⁵⁸⁰ See, for example, Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 59-66.

⁵⁸¹ „Gutachten“ (undated, probably mid to late 1959), Bundesarchiv Berlin, DY 17/4276.

⁵⁸² Hartmut Albrecht, „Der CSSR-Film ‚Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis‘“, *National-Zeitung* (East Berlin) (14.5.1961). HFF-Zeitungsdokumentation, Akte *Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis*.

grow fond of her and participate in her tragedy. But the differences from Anne Frank are also evident. First of all, the narrator is not the girl herself, and the perspective is, therefore, not of the victim, but of a narrator's external voice. Second, the novella has two main protagonists rather than one, and the plot is based on the expression of humanity through their love story. Third, while Ester is confined to the hiding place (leaving it is the cause of her death) Pavel moves between this space and the outside world. She is generally passive while he is active. The last two points are closer to *Ehe im Schatten* than to the diary of Anne Frank, but the fourth one differs from both. It presents the Jewish girl as the person sacrificing herself, alone, for Pavel. There is no attempt for atonement, as the ones we have seen in Le Fort's and Goes's stories, and the reason for its lack appears to be the specific Czech context, in which both Jews and Czechs were persecuted by the Germans. While this constellation differs from Shakespeare's play, what these Romeo and Julia share with the original ones is love and tragedy. Ester accepts her fate and thus rejects Pavel's willing sacrifice for her. In doing so, both figures demonstrate their humanity, but only she falls victim. Therefore, while he, as the active one, carries the responsibility of doing the moral thing, also the Jewish victim has a moral choice to make.

The story received much attention in East Germany. Important clues for understanding the reasons for this attention are found in the files of the GDR's Ministry of Culture. Whenever an East German publisher wanted to print a book or any other text, she needed the approval (*Druckgenehmigung*) of the Ministry. In order to receive such an approval, the publisher needed to submit experts' reports on the author, text, and the political, ideological, cultural or historical relevance of the publication. The publisher submitted two such reports on October 23, 1959 for the

first East German edition of the book (in German translation: *Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis*).⁵⁸³ One report includes the following text:

It appears that Otčenášek restricts himself in this story to the depiction of two young people's purely subjective experiences. His artistic creativity captures, however, the entire oppressive-uncanny atmosphere of that time, defined by fear and angst. [...] The only thing that one had to preserve and with which one could protest against the darkness is the human decency (*menschliche Anständigkeit*), "but there are moments, in which the human being must show that he is human at all, so that he could look again in the eyes of decent people" [- a quote from the book]. [...]

Otčenášek fashions no resistance fighters in the story, he shows only the helpless suffering of the young [and] ideologically unfortified Pavel, who does not find his way in this world, and cannot face losing Ester. But Pavel stands for millions of people, who did not lose their humanity in spite of unspeakable suffering in the darkness of the fascist night. The publication of this story, which is also suitable for literally sophisticated readers, is highly recommended.⁵⁸⁴

Both the book itself and the report about it do not portray Pavel as a communist or a resistance fighter. Instead, Pavel is depicted as a weak, repressed, and ideologically undecided young man, who nevertheless does the right thing (although with the encouragement of a communist co-worker). The reason for such a depiction presents a common pedagogical approach and evaluation of the Nazi past in communist countries. Many writers in East Germany (and probably also in Czechoslovakia) were well aware that the majority of their respective populations did not support the

⁵⁸³ Jan Otčenášek, *Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1960).

⁵⁸⁴ Hanna Baum, „Jan Otčenasek, Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis.“ Bundesarchiv Berlin, DR1/5050a.

resistance during the war and belonged to the inactive mass. Therefore, Pavel's behavior focuses on his moral-humanistic choice and on his anti-Nazi orientation, i.e. values that also the general population could embrace.

The above-quoted report focuses on Pavel's behavior, seeing in the Jewish Ester the "object" against which the male protagonist tests his morality (as in *Sansibar*, above). However, other evaluations of the book, found in the files of the East German publishing house, emphasized the moral test of the girl as well, and minimized Pavel's part. Thus a short (anonymous) synopsis from June 19, 1959 stressed the Jewish perspective of the story,⁵⁸⁵ while other summaries neglected to mention that the story involves a Jewish girl.⁵⁸⁶ Such inconsistencies do not only show the lack of homogeneity in the opinions within the publishing house and in the GDR in general, but also illustrate the myriad of interests in referring to the persecution of the Jews. On the one hand, the antifascist myth in the GDR treated the Holocaust as only one case of Nazi brutality that does not require special attention. Accordingly, an internal report of the publishing house mentioned four other planned publications that involved Jewish figures and raised the following concern on publishing the book: "Does the problem of antisemitism appear too often in our thematic plan?"⁵⁸⁷

On the other hand, publications on the Holocaust offered East Germany a possibility for criticizing the West German neighbor as the immoral German state, while celebrating the GDR as the state of moral Germans. This tendency became an

⁵⁸⁵ "At the center stands the fate of a Czech Anne Frank. In Prague, in the summer of 1942 she hides from the Nazi terror, but must willfully deliver herself to the executioners in order to save a loved person from being shot dead." Bundesarchiv Berlin, DY 17/4276.

⁵⁸⁶ For example: „Die Erzählung ‚Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis‘ (Romeo, Julie a tma) schildert eine Episode aus der Zeit des faschistischen Terrors in Prag. Zwei extreme Welten, die der Liebe und des Hasses, der Reinheit und der Verderbtheit, des Glücks und des Grauens werden hier überzeugend gegeneinander gehalten. Zwischen sie stellt das Schicksal ein junges Liebespaar, das wie das klassische Paar Romeo und Julia tragisch an seiner Zeit zerbricht.“ „Jan Otcenasek“ (5.12.1959), Bundesarchiv Berlin, DY 17/4276.

⁵⁸⁷ „Gutachten“ (undated, probably mid to late 1959), Bundesarchiv Berlin, DY 17/4276.

official orientation starting in the mid 1950s⁵⁸⁸ and the success of Anne Frank's diary pushed it further.⁵⁸⁹ The GDR's leadership also wished to make propagandistic use of the wave of antisemitic incidents in West Germany that reached its peak during December 1959 and January 1960 and involved many youngsters who did damage to and painted swastikas and the like on synagogues and Jewish cemeteries.⁵⁹⁰ Within this context, once the East German edition appeared, a member of *Verlag der Nation* presented the new book in a newspaper article, stating: "In these days, when renewed antisemitic excesses [...] in West Germany bring to mind the dreadful time of fascism, appeared in our republic the small novella of the Czech author Jan Otcenasek: '*Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis*'.",⁵⁹¹

In 1962, the book received a second edition in the GDR. But the story itself expanded already beyond the printed word. Simultaneous with the first German translation was a Czech television play based on the story, which the East German television broadcasted. An East German radio station aired a radio play version in May 1960 and again in June 1962.⁵⁹² In 1961, movie theaters in the GDR presented a Czech film adaptation of the novella that director Jiří Weiss released a year earlier.⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁸ Jutta Illichmann, *Die DDR und die Juden: Die deutschlandpolitische Instrumentalisierung von Juden und Judentum durch die Partei- und Staatsführung der SBZ/DDR von 1945 bis 1990* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 136ff.

⁵⁸⁹ We mentioned this in reference to the film *A Diary for Anne Frank*, a documentation that *Verlag der Nation* also printed in book form. Joachim Hellwig et al., *Ein Tagebuch für Anne Frank* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1959).

⁵⁹⁰ Werner Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten: Kollektives Lernen in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik 1949-1989* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997), 235-250. We will dwell more on this issue in the next chapter.

⁵⁹¹ Ingeborg Harnisch, „Ergreifende Liebestragödie und Dokument,“ *Funk und Fernsehen* 21/60 (15.5.60): 11.

⁵⁹² Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Potsdam, B009985943 (broadcasted on May 18, 1960 by Radio DDR I); and Gg, „Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis,“ *Bauern-Echo* (22.6.1962). From the newspaper stand of the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Potsdam.

⁵⁹³ The film reviews I went over present the moral responsibility of both the Jewish girl and the non-Jewish Pavel. See, e.g. Manfred Haedler, „Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis? – Bedeutender CSSR-Film,“ *Der Morgen* (East Berlin) (7.5.1961). HFF-Zeitungsdokumentation, Akte *Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis*.

Furthermore, the story was also made into a ballet in 1964 and shown on television that same year.⁵⁹⁴

While the novella was not published in the FRG, Weiss's film was shown on West German television on 1965⁵⁹⁵ and in 1965-1967 also in film theaters. West German reviewers praised the film's aesthetics as well as its message that can be used to fight antisemitism among the young generation. As one reviewer wrote in 1967: "A little love story under terrible difficulties was the tactical recipe Weiss dedicated [...] to the younger ones: They should be able to imagine which horrors took place and understand it with feelings that are familiar to them as they were to that Romeo, [and to] that Juliet in the attic."⁵⁹⁶

This quote nicely sums up the entanglement of emotional participation, identification, and knowledge about the Holocaust as they are portrayed in failed rescue accounts that focus on the hiding place. All accounts of successful or unsuccessful rescue also raise questions on the possibilities of rescue, the moral choices needed, and the ways in which the protagonists express their humanity. But the singularity of the hiding place pattern lies in the *spatial* boundary used to distinguish between love and hatred, life and death, and hope and tragedy. We find these characteristics also in other works of fiction that depict attempted rescue in a hiding place. These include very different pieces from West Germany, such as Luise Rinser's 1948 short story *Jan Lobel aus Warschau* (Jan Lobel from Warsaw),⁵⁹⁷ Günter Eich's 1952/1958 radio play *Die Mädchen aus Viterbo* (The Girls from

⁵⁹⁴ Angela Kuberski, „Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis,“ *Film und Fernsehen der DDR* 13 (22.-28.3.1964): 15. It was shown on television on March 23, 1964.

⁵⁹⁵ Wulf Kansteiner, „Entertaining Catastrophe: The Reinvention of the Holocaust in the Television of the Federal Republic of Germany,“ *New German Critique* 90 (Autumn, 2003): 135-162, here 8, 21. (ZDF, 15.11.1965).

⁵⁹⁶ Vs, „Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis' am Olivaer Platz,“ *Der Abend* (West Berlin) (28.3.1967). HFF-Zeitungsdokumentation, Akte *Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis*.

⁵⁹⁷ Luise Rinser, *Jan Lobel aus Warschau* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1956).

Viterbo),⁵⁹⁸ and Robert Siodmak's 1958 film thriller *Nachts, wenn der Teufel kam* (Nights, When the Devil Came). It also includes an East German translation of a novel for the youth by the Slovak Rudolf Jašík called *Die Liebenden vom St.-Elisabeth-Platz* (The Lovers from St-Elisabeth Square) that received a first GDR edition in 1961 and a second in 1974.⁵⁹⁹

All of these works emphasize the fragility of the refuge and the experience of being surrounded by enemies and morally weak persons. All portray friendship, family, or love relationships as the governing standards within the shelter, i.e. positively charged relationships in which love and affection stand for a humanistic moral standard. And all end with a tragedy, with a failed rescue, which does not only aim to enhance the level of emotional identification (through the shattering of hope and intimacy), but also enable authors to speak openly of the Holocaust while also presenting those members of the non-Jewish population that tried to save the Jews in a positive light. Then their failure to save the Jews is explained not as something that they did not want, but as something they were unable to achieve.

Failure as Criticism

The pieces discussed in the previous section criticized immoral conduct only of secondary characters, which they defined from the very start as corrupt or morally weak (such as the Czech collaborator in *Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis*). The protagonists, however, and other positively associated figures, faced no criticism and their failure to rescue the Jews was explained as emanating from their powerlessness rather than from moral incompetence. But there are pieces that present an unsuccessful rescue of Jews in order to pass judgment on the positive characters as well. I argue that since the readers and viewers are supposed to identify with these characters,

⁵⁹⁸ Günter Eich, *Die Mädchen aus Viterbo* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1961).

⁵⁹⁹ Rudolf Jašík, *Die Liebenden vom St.-Elisabeth-Platz* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1961).

depictions of failed rescue in these cases serve to criticize instances of behavior and thought within the German population as whole.

My first example of such a case is the recently “rediscovered” bestseller, Hans Fallada’s novel *Jeder stirbt für sich allein* (Every Man Dies Alone, also known as *Alone in Berlin*).⁶⁰⁰ The book, published in 1947, shortly after the author’s death, tells the story of an elderly couple in Berlin, a worker (Otto Quangel) and his wife (Anna Quangel). The novel begins in 1940 when the two are informed that their son died on the French front and decide, as a result, to protest against the Nazi regime. They start a modest resistance activity, writing anti-Nazi postcards and placing them in different parts of the city. The novel follows their activity until they are caught, interrogated, and executed. It also traces a whole range of people with different attitudes, fates and actions, whose lives cross with that of the Quangels.

The novel is based on an actual case of the workers Otto and Elise Hampel whom the Nazi state executed in 1943 for the distribution of subversive material. Knowing Fallada’s interest in the fates of “little people,” Johannes R. Becher gave the couple’s Gestapo file to Fallada, so that he would incorporate it into the cultural reeducation of the German population.⁶⁰¹ The focus on the resistance was to provide an account of what even simple folks could have done to oppose the Nazis and act as an example for an antifascist orientation in postwar Germany. The book received

⁶⁰⁰ Fallada’s real name was Rudolf Ditzen, but I will use here the name he used as an author. The editions I consulted are Hans Fallada, *Alone in Berlin* (London: Penguin, 2009) and Hans Fallada, *Jeder stirbt für sich allein* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2011).

⁶⁰¹ Fallada’s relationship with the Nazi regime was a complex one. On the one hand he objected many of the regime’s actions and in the regime later years suffered from its policies. On the other hand, in the earlier years of the Third Reich he was able to publish several books and received public acclaim. For the specific reasons on Becher’s interest in Fallada see Jenny Williams, *Mehr Leben als eins: Hans Fallada. Biographie* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2002), 329-331. On the connection between reality and fiction in the novel see Manfred Kuhnke, „...daß ihr Tod nicht umsonst war!“ – Beziehungen zwischen Realität und künstlerischer Fiktion, dargestellt am Entstehungsprozeß von Falladas letztem Roman *Jeder stirbt für sich allein*,” in Gunnar Müller-Waldeck and Roland Ulrich, eds, *Hans Fallada: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1995), 285-298.

numerous printings in both Germanys, was adapted to a radio play, and made into three films in the 1960s and 1970s.⁶⁰²

One of the episodes in the book tells of an elderly Jewish woman, Frau Rosenthal, whose husband the Gestapo arrested.⁶⁰³ She seeks shelter from the SS at the Quangel's place, and after spending one night there, turns to the apartment of judge Fromm. The author's choice of this retired judge clearly hints at the "retired," i.e. pre-Nazi, perceptions of justice, according to which helping an old woman to escape her persecutors is a moral act, regardless of the identity of those involved.

The judge's behavior indeed seems to fit this first impression when he invites Frau Rosenthal to hide in one of his apartment's rooms. The judge, bringing something warm to drink and eat,

said to the terrified woman, 'First have some breakfast, Frau Rosenthal, and then we can talk!' And when she wanted to bring out a word of thanks, he said kindly, 'No, please, I insist. Just make yourself at home here, take an example by me!'

With that, he picked up the book under the reading lamp and calmly carried on reading, all the while mechanically stroking his beard. He seemed entirely oblivious of his visitor.

By and by, a little confidence returned to the frightened old Jewess. For months she had lived in fear and confusion, with her bags packed, always waiting for a vicious attack. For months she had known no home nor ease nor peace nor

⁶⁰² The first, a TV film directed by Falk Harnack was shown on West German television on July 19, 1962 in the context of the commemoration of the 20th of July resistance. The second was a 1970 three-part mini-series of the DEFA (dir. Hans-Joachim Kasprzik). The third film was a 1976 West German film (dir. Alfred Vohrer). The only film of the three I was able to watch in its entirety was the last. The film does not mention the critique point that I discuss here, and presents a more dichotomous image between Nazis and "good Germans."

⁶⁰³ The figure of Frau Rosenthal shows some similarities to those of Fallada's Jewish friend, who renewed the contact with him in a letter received while he was working on the novel. Williams, *Mehr Leben als eins*, 340. Such an incorporation of figures from the author's biography was common in Fallada's work.

calm. And now here she was sitting with the old gentleman whom before she had never seen except on the stairs, and very occasionally at that; the light and dark brown leather bindings of many books looked down at her, there was a large mahogany desk by the window (furniture the likes of which she had once owned herself, in the early years of her marriage), a slightly warm Zwickau carpet was under her feet. And then, add in the old gentleman himself, reading his book, stroking away at his not un-Jewish-looking goatee, and wearing a long dressing gown that reminded her of her father's kaftan.

It was as though a spell has caused a whole world of dirt, blood, and tears to fade away, and she was back in a time when Jews were still respected people, not fugitive vermin facing extermination.⁶⁰⁴

Frau Rosenthal does not only feel safer, following the judge's kind behavior, but also imagines her environment as her home and him as her family. Yet when she tries, once again, to thank her benefactor, suggesting that she poses danger to him and should perhaps go back to her flat, she interrupts his reading and seems to annoy him. The judge urges Frau Rosenthal not to worry about him, assures her that returning to her flat or contacting her imprisoned husband would only lead to negative results. Then she noticed a change in him:

Suddenly his eyes were no more smiling, and his voice sounded strict. She saw that this small, gentle, kindly man (once known as the bloody Fromm, Fromm the executioner⁶⁰⁵) was following some implacable law, probably the law of that Justice he referred to earlier.

⁶⁰⁴ Fallada, *Alone in Berlin*, 75-76.

⁶⁰⁵ This part only appears in the German original, p. 98.

‘Frau Rosenthal,’ (said this bloody Fromm⁶⁰⁶) quietly, ‘you are my guest – as long as you obey the (laws⁶⁰⁷) of my hospitality.’⁶⁰⁸

With a somber voice the judge counts what she is and isn’t allowed to do. “Do you understand?” He then leads her to a room, which used to belong to his deceased daughter, and advises her, for the safety of both of them, to sleep during the day and stay up at night. “‘I’m not going to lock the door, Frau Rosenthal,’ he said, ‘but I do ask that you bolt it immediately from the inside.’”⁶⁰⁹ In an instance, the warmth and familiarity of the home disappears and the house of rescue seems to turn into a prison. What she longed for was to be treated as a human again, but it is not what she received. The book grants us a glimpse at her thoughts:

He is a good and kind old gentleman, but so distant. I could never talk to him properly, the way I talked to Siegfried [her husband].

If first she incorporated the judge, this “old gentleman,” into her family, now she stresses the strangeness of this man that the text describes as “this bloody Fromm”:

I think he is cold. For all his goodness he is cold. His goodness itself is cold. That’s on account of the law he serves, the law of justice. I have followed only one law, which is to love my husband and children and help them in their lives. And now I’m sitting here with this old man, and everything I am has fallen from me. That’s the solitude he mentioned. It’s not quite half past six in the morning, and I won’t see him again until ten at night. Fifteen and a half hours by myself – what will I discover about myself that I never knew? I’m afraid, I’m so afraid! I think I am going to scream in my sleep! Fifteen and a half hours. He could have spent at least the half hour sitting with me. But he wanted

⁶⁰⁶ The English translation deleted this negative designation of the judge. I follow here the German original, p. 98.

⁶⁰⁷ I follow here the German original, p. 98.

⁶⁰⁸ Fallada, *Alone in Berlin*, 78.

⁶⁰⁹ Fallada, *Alone in Berlin*, 79.

to go on with his old book. For all his goodness, human beings don't mean anything to him, the only thing that has meaning for him is his justice. He does it for that, not for me. It would only matter to me if he did it for my sake.⁶¹⁰

This paragraph and the chapter as a whole emphasize the situation of terror and solitude in which Nazi persecution put the Jews. The dialogue between the judge and Frau Rosenthal thus allows the reader access to the inner thoughts and fears of the persecuted and invites their empathy.⁶¹¹ Yet I think that Fallada also constructed this episode to criticize assistance to Jews in what he saw as the wrong way and coming out of the wrong reasons.

Fallada echoes here two common motivations for philosemitism, which have their roots at least in the late eighteenth century. The first refers to the expression of support toward Jews as individual humans and on the base of an interpersonal acquaintance. It is this idea that Lessing expressed in his play *Nathan der weise*, in which he urges his non-Jewish fellows to judge him as a friend, rather than as “a Jew” (as discussed in the first chapter). The second refers to support or affection toward Jews grounded on political, religious, or legal convictions that place a certain principle and not the particular individual at the center.⁶¹² One could argue that this is a minor point that should not be seen as an actual critique. Indeed, Fallada emphasizes here that the judge is good and kind. But in rigidly following his “laws” the judge misses

⁶¹⁰ Fallada, *Alone in Berlin*, 80.

⁶¹¹ Angelika Kieser-Reinke, *Techniken der Leserlenkung bei Hans Fallada: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsforschung mit einer empirischen Untersuchung des Romans ‚Jeder stirbt für sich allein‘ (1946)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979), 113.

⁶¹² Some scholars call this phenomenon “secondary philosemitism.” See, for example, in the case of Christian Hebraists, Stephen G. Burnett, “Philosemitism and Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1620),” in Diekmann and Kotowski, eds, *Geliebter Feind – Gehasster Freund*, 135-146. See also other contributions in that volume as well as Tony Kushner and Nadia Valman, eds, *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and the Jews: Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Phyllis Lassner and Tara Trubowitz, eds, *Antisemitism and Philosemitism in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries: Representing Jews, Jewishness, and Modern Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008). The question of motivation is however more complicated, since the reasons for apparently altruistic deeds draw on both egotistic considerations and social interactions. See Charles Tilly, “Do Unto Others,” in *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), 45-67.

the human aspect of the situation and unintentionally continues the persecution rather than stops it. Fallada stressed this critique further when describing the judge's lack of empathy as the thing that led to the death of Frau Rosenthal and to the failure of this rescue attempt.

At the end of the chapter we read the following: "So it came about that Frau Rosenthal saw no human being during the first three days of her protective custody."⁶¹³ The author used the term "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*), which the Nazis employed as an excuse to incarcerate their opponents with the claim of protecting them from "popular anger." In doing so, the text again associates the judge's apartment with a prison. The text continues: "She slept through the nights and woke to anguished, fear-tormented days. On the fourth day, half-crazed, she did"⁶¹⁴ something."⁶¹⁵ A few chapters later we are told what Frau Rosenthal did. Waking up from a nightmare, she cannot stand the loneliness and isolation anymore and leaves the apartment to look for the judge, to speak to him. She swallows many sleeping pills in order to escape the loneliness, but does not fall asleep. Eventually she wanders to her own apartment, hoping to see her husband. Instead, three Nazi officials enter the apartment and interrogate her. When the three are momentarily distracted she enters the kitchen and jumps out of the window. When Fromm learns of Frau Rosenthal's death he says to his maid, reflecting on his mistake: "You can't just want to save someone. Also the other must completely agree with the rescue."⁶¹⁶

It appears that Fallada stressed the failure of the judge, a positive figure in the novel, not in order to question his deed itself, but rather to highlight the importance of interpersonal humane sentiments that were missing among the German population

⁶¹³ Fallada, *Alone in Berlin*, 82.

⁶¹⁴ I have changed this word according to the German original, p. 98.

⁶¹⁵ Fallada, *Alone in Berlin*, 82.

⁶¹⁶ I follow here the German original. It is my translation of „Man muss nicht nur retten wollen. Der andere muss mit der Rettung auch richtig einverstanden sein.“ Fallada, *Jeder stirbt für sich allein*, 156.

during the Third Reich. By criticizing this positive and authoritative figure, Fallada may have wanted to make his readers conscious not only of abstract principles and ideals (such as justice), but also to assert that good intentions are not enough. In a state of human catastrophe, empathy and understanding are necessary.

Also other works of fiction from this period portray good intentions and incomplete actions as insufficient for opposing the Nazis and for helping the persecuted Jews. One such work is Carl Zuckmayer's play *Des Teufels General* (The Devil's General).⁶¹⁷ Zuckmayer wrote the play during the war while in exile and it received its first staging in Zurich, Switzerland on December 14, 1946. The play focuses on the figure of Harras, a celebrated WWI pilot and a general who is in charge of the production of new fighter planes for the German *Luftwaffe*. He is depicted as very manly and witty character that drinks a lot, enjoys life, and openly expresses his dislike for the Nazis. Harras is held responsible for the malfunction and possible sabotage of planes in which German fighters are killed. The SS arrests and later releases him under the condition that he must find the person guilty of the sabotage. Upon Harras's return, Oderbruch, one of his reliable engineers, confesses to Harras that he is the one who damaged the planes and explains his deeds as acts of resistance against the Nazi regime. Harras neither betrays his friend nor joins him. Instead, he climbs on one of the defective planes and plunges to his death.

Zuckmayer described the play in the following way:

It is the tragedy of the 'apolitical person' in general, who avoids a clear political and moral decision for the sake of his profession, his expertise, and his sportily passion [in this case the passion for flying], and for which the pilot-general is only the strongest symbolization.

⁶¹⁷ Carl Zuckmayer, *Des Teufels General: Drama in drei Akten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982 [1946]).

The entire play depicts a conflict of conscience – Harras’s actual ‘adversary’ is [...] his own conscience, which he initially tries to cover [...] with occasional humane [and] decent actions (*gelegentlichen menschlichen anständigen Aktionen*), but [...] which drive him more and more to a corner and eventually bring to his downfall.⁶¹⁸

Harras’s “occasional humane and decent actions” seem to refer in particular to his attempt to save a Jewish man (Dr. Bergmann) and his wife, who were persecuted for *Rassenschande*, by flying them out of Germany. But Harras is arrested before the plan can materialize, and the couple commits suicide by taking poison. Olivia, his friend, who participated in the attempted rescue, gives Harras a farewell letter that Dr. Bergmann addressed to him, which echoes the theme of a mixed-couple’s suicide, as examined above:

“My dear friend – When this letter reaches you, I have taken the step toward freedom. This is the only way to freedom possible for me, after all that I have experienced. We have taken this step calmly, without pain. I haven’t the strength for a ‘new life’ and I cannot buy it with the sacrifices of my friends. I know what you were willing to do for us. You did it for others [...]. The thought that there are still human beings like you” --⁶¹⁹

Harras stops reading the letter at this point, before the scene would turn into emotional kitsch. It is Olivia who praises his behavior, stating that he should be proud of it, that he earned it. But Harras replies:

What noble people we are. [...] Each of us has his conscience Jew (*Gewissensjuden*), or Jews, so that he can sleep at night. But one cannot buy

⁶¹⁸ Carl Zuckmayer, „Grundsätzliche und grundlegende Erwägungen über die Verfilmung meines Stücks ‚Des Teufels General‘“, Helmut Käutner Archiv, AdK, Akte 2070. Zuckmayer made a similar statement also in a public discussion in Frankfurt on December 1947. Karin Weingran, „Des Teufels General“ in der Diskussion: Zur Rezeption von Carl Zuckmayers Theaterstücks nach 1945 (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2004), 54-55.

⁶¹⁹ Zuckmayer, *Des Teufels General*, 98.

his way out of it in this manner. It is self-deception. We are still guilty of what is happening to thousands of people we don't know and can never help. Guilty and damned for all eternity. Permitting malice to happen is worse than doing it.⁶²⁰

This scene, as well as later references to it in the play, establishes HARRAS as a *Judenfreund* who has already rescued several Jews, and against whom one cannot raise any moral accusations. Furthermore, throughout the play HARRAS and his friends express solidarity with the Jews on various occasions.⁶²¹ In this way, readers and viewers are given the opportunity to identify with “good Germans” rather than with perpetrators. At the same time, however, HARRAS's reply to OLIVIA criticizes even this kind of assistance to Jews as merely a way to temporarily sooth one's conscience and thus avoid effective action. Since, in the words of ZUCKMAYER above, HARRAS stands here as an extreme example for the deeds of Germans in general, the play criticizes all other minor acts of humanity, solidarity, and assistance, which other works of fiction, such as *Das Brandopfer*, celebrate. These acts include the greetings of Jews on the street, the occasional buying in Jewish businesses or going to Jewish doctors, those actions that after the war Germans claimed to have been doing and thereby presented themselves as moral anti-Nazis (as we have seen in the previous chapter).

But if solidarity with and assistance to Jews isn't enough, then what is? In this scene HARRAS admits he does not know, and both he and OLIVIA ascertain their helplessness facing the Nazi state. It is ODERBRUCH who later answers this question with his uncompromised resistance. Whereas HARRAS hated the Nazis but also served their military goals, ODERBRUCH is willing to bear the guilt of causing his friends' death for the sake of fighting the Nazis. ZUCKMAYER admitted in an article published in May

⁶²⁰ Zuckmayer, *Des Teufels General*, 98-99.

⁶²¹ Zuckmayer, *Des Teufels General*, 27, 56, 91-92, 107, 114-115, 123-124.

1948 that he had problems fully embracing Oderbruch's actions, but that he nevertheless favored his standpoint over that of Harras.⁶²²

Zuckmayer wished the play to present the complex choices, doubts, and compromises of the time, without giving a simple identification figure. But the play itself also offered less critical perspectives on the Nazi years that go against the playwright's intentions.⁶²³ Unlike Oderbruch, who is an underdeveloped and pale character, Harras is charming and heroic and identification with him is more easily attainable. It should not surprise us, therefore, that the occupation authorities in Germany feared that Harras's figure might rehabilitate the *Wehrmacht* and its generals shortly after these generals stood on trial in Nuremberg.⁶²⁴ When the British and Americans (but not the Soviets and the French) eventually authorized its staging in late 1947, reviewers of the play were skeptical whether the audience would understand Zuckmayer's complex message and pointed out that the general's suicide might be perceived as atonement, or simply as yet another failure of a tragic figure that had no control over the events.⁶²⁵ Zuckmayer attempted to guide the audiences to a "correct reading" by participating in a series of public discussions about his play.⁶²⁶ Yet it seems that what made *Des Teufels General* into one of the most often staged plays in the immediate postwar years⁶²⁷ was Harras's wit rather than his admittance of a moral

⁶²² Carl Zuckmayer, „Persönliche Notizen zu meinem Stück ‚Des Teufels General‘,“ *Die Wandlung* 3: 4 (1948): 331-333.

⁶²³ For this point see Mariatte C. Denman, “Nostalgia for a Better Germany: Carl Zuckmayer's *Des Teufels General*,” *The German Quarterly* 76: 4 (Fall 2003): 369-380.

⁶²⁴ Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 55. We can assume that Zuckmayer made Harras so likable in the play also because the playwright based this figure on Ernst Udet, a celebrated WWI pilot and Luftwaffe general, who was his close friend.

⁶²⁵ Weingran, „*Des Teufels General*“ in *der Diskussion*, 29-65.

⁶²⁶ Carl Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir. Horen der Freundschaft* (Wien: S. Fischer Verlag, 1966), 560-563. See also Weingran, „*Des Teufels General*“ in *der Diskussion*, 29-65.

⁶²⁷ Since the play's German premiere in Hamburg in November 1947, *Des Teufels General* played 2913 times on different German stages. Weingran, „*Des Teufels General*“ in *der Diskussion*, 34-35.

failing and we definitely cannot assume a wide public approval of Oderbruch's actions.⁶²⁸

By 1955, the play was shown over 5000 times in West Germany,⁶²⁹ and Zuckmayer's efforts to film it reached fruition. The director was Helmut Käutner, whom we already know, who made a few changes in the story. The film makes Oderbruch into a more morally acceptable figure,⁶³⁰ and the public discussions in West Germany by the mid 1950s presented a growing willingness to view the German resistance to Hitler in positive terms. This gradual change took place both on the political and legal levels⁶³¹ as well as in a number of films, some of which directly praised German soldiers' use of violence against the Nazi regime, as in the case of Oderbruch.⁶³²

More important for us are the film's changes regarding the failed rescue of the couple. First off, the couple (now called Rosenfeld) is not "mixed" but Jewish. It may be that Zuckmayer, whose "half Jewish" mother survived thanks to her mixed marriage, originally chose a mixed couple out of autobiographical reasons. Käutner, in contrast, probably did not want to repeat this constellation from his earlier film (*In jenen Tagen*) and preferred instead to portray Harras (played by the charming Curd Jürgens) as the person with the sole responsibility for the Jews' rescue, without

⁶²⁸ We also need to remember that while in book form the play demonstrated many critical and complex notions, its different stagings often shortened some of the dialogues or completely cut several scenes, thus altering Zuckmayer's message.

⁶²⁹ Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 53.

⁶³⁰ This change was acknowledged in some of the film reviews. See e.g. Dora Fehling, „Quartier in der Hölle: Der Zuckmayer-Film ‚Des Teufels General‘ im Gloria-Palast,“ *Der Telegraf* (Berlin, 31.3.1955), in ADK, Käutner Archiv, Akte 2422.

⁶³¹ Norbert Frei, „Erinnerungskampf: Der 20. Juli 1944 in den Bonner Anfangsjahren,“ in *1945 und wir*, 129-144. And see also the discussion in the previous chapter.

⁶³² The most significant of which were *Canaris* (dir. Alfred Weidenmann, 1954) and the two filmic depictions of the 20th of July: *Der 20. July* (dir. Falk Harnack, 1955) and *Es geschah am 20. Juli* (dir. G.W. Pabst, 1955).

sharing it with the non-Jewish partner.⁶³³ Therefore, the film treats the failed rescue as Harras's personal failure.

At the same time, however, Peter Reichel rightly points out that the film gives much more attention to Harras's arrest and thus emphasizes his powerlessness vis-à-vis the Nazi regime.⁶³⁴ Furthermore, in the film Harras directly sees the Jewish couple laying dead on a park bench and views in it a sign for the danger that also he and his loved ones might face. Manuel Köppen argues accordingly that “[t]he reference to the persecution of Jews has shifted its function from the question of guilt (in the play) to the condemnation of an inhuman regime (in the film).”⁶³⁵ Köppen does not reflect on Käutner's decision to make the mixed couple Jewish and thus overlooks the film's criticism aimed at the general as the person who took their fate in his hands and failed them. But his observation nevertheless reveals the change of emphasis from the immediate postwar years in which many authors focused on a moral self-examination to the West German Cold War rhetoric of the 1950s that presented the Nazis as a totalitarian regime similar to the contemporary Soviet “threat.”

Both Fallada and Zuckmayer/Käutner use short episodes of failed rescue in order to examine the moral commitment of their protagonists and to raise critical points even when the general depiction of these characters invites positive identification. The use of failed rescue accounts for criticism is most intriguing in works that present the German population (soldiers and civilians) as victims rather than as perpetrators, but nevertheless include such episodes in order to remind the German audiences of their moral failures and not only of their suffering. Two such

⁶³³ It appears that Käutner decided on this change already in an early stage of working on the film, since before turning the play into a script, he deleted all references to the mixed marriage and to *Rassenschande* in his personal copy of the play. Helmut Käutner Archiv, AdK, Akte 2897.

⁶³⁴ Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 58.

⁶³⁵ Manuel Köppen, “The Rhetoric of Victim Narratives in West German Films of the 1950s,” in Paul Cooke and Marc Silberman, eds, *Screening War: Perspectives on German Suffering* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 56-79, here 59.

works are the 1955 book *Am grünen Strand der Spree* (On the Green Shore of the River Spree) by Hans Scholz⁶³⁶ and its successful 1960 TV film adaptation (dir. Fritz Umgelter),⁶³⁷ as well as the 1959 film *Nacht fiel über Gotenhafen* (Night Fell over Gotenhafen) of director Frank Wisbar.

Failure and Transformation

The final pattern of failed rescue portrays it as the cause of a protagonist's transformation. The notion of a personal transformation was common in postwar German fictional accounts. It functioned as a way to urge Germans to acknowledge their mistakes in the Nazi period and to embark on a new path in the postwar years. A recurring depiction of transformation presents a German soldier who believes to be fighting for his fatherland, family, and friends, and is unaware of the Nazi goals in the war and the killing of civilians. Once he witnesses war crimes, the soldier experiences some kind of shock and is looking, disappointed and betrayed, for a way out of the situation. This depiction is based on the soldier's *knowledge* of the facts. It does not present him (or the majority of German soldiers) as morally flawed in any way, but rather denounces the deceitful and exploitative Nazi regime, and supports the common postwar claim that Germans did not know about the Holocaust.

In *Des Teufels General* we find this figure in the young officer Hartmann. In the first part of the play, Hartmann is eager to die in battle for the Nazi cause. Yet a conversation with Harras and later the witnessing of his fellow soldiers killing civilians trigger in him a negative response toward the Nazis and the war. As in many such depictions, an older, experienced figure (Harras) helps the younger soldier find a

⁶³⁶ Hans Scholz, *Am grünen Strand der Spree* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1955).

⁶³⁷ For a discussion of this film in relation to the failed rescue of Jews see Kobi Kabalek, „Das Scheitern und die Erinnerung: Über das Nicht-Retten von Juden in zwei deutschen Nachkriegsfilmern,“ in Lisa Bolyos and Katharina Morawek, eds, *Diktatorpuppe zerstört, Schaden gering: Kunst und Geschichtspolitik im Postnazismus* (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2012), 92-103.

new direction – in this case by assigning him to Oderbruch and opening his way to the resistance.⁶³⁸ While the young man begins a new moral path, which Zuckmayer saw as an example for the German youth after the war,⁶³⁹ the member of the older generation is not given the option of transformation because of his complicity in the Nazi war. His figure follows the classic tragic model of a man who acknowledges his sins and whose death serves to both pay for his misdeeds and awaken fear and pity among the viewers, thereby unraveling the reasons of his failure.⁶⁴⁰

The death of the protagonist in fictional works of the discussed period did not always take place within a scheme of transformation. While postwar German fictional accounts often present the protagonist's realization that the war is not what he thought it would be, this does not necessarily lead him to try and change the situation. We find this kind of passive realization in "apolitical" West German war films from the 1950s that critics exposed as apologetic pieces supporting the Federal Republic's remilitarization and Cold War politics.⁶⁴¹ One prominent example is the 1958 blockbuster *Der Stern von Afrika* (The Star of Africa, dir. Alfred Weidemann). The film celebrates the legendary fighter pilot Hans-Joachim Marseille who shot down more than 150 enemy planes. It portrays the pilot as a "good guy" in an adventurous and "normal" war, showing neither signs of racism (the German pilots treat a black African servant as equal) nor any dead enemy pilots. Still, the death that meets all German pilots presents heroism and fame as illusionary, and the former enthusiastic Marseille turns into a bitter man who pities the new recruits, who are unaware of the cruelty of war, and delivers himself willingly to death.

⁶³⁸ We saw a very similar transformation in the 1955 West German film *Der 20. July* (dir. Falk Harnack), discussed in the previous chapter.

⁶³⁹ Zuckmayer, „Persönliche Notizen zu meinem Stück ‚Des Teufels General‘“, 333; Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir*, 562.

⁶⁴⁰ For a discussion of modern perceptions of Aristotle's notion of Greek tragedy see Menachem Brinker, *Aesthetics as the Theory of Criticism* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1982), 30-35. [in Hebrew]

⁶⁴¹ On the West German war films of the 1950s see Jennifer M. Kapczynski, "Armchair Warriors: Heroic Postures in the West German War Film," in Cooke and Silberman, eds, *Screening War*, 17-35.

A few West German films from this decade do reveal WWII as the criminal war that it was, yet also there the moment of realization does not necessarily lead to oppositional action. The 1958 film *U-47 – Kapitänleutnant Prien* (U-47 – Marine Captain Prien, dir. Harald Reinl) presents the story of a famous submarine captain and his crew who realize that some ships they sunk were not military vessels, but rather transported refugees from Nazi Germany. The images of floating civilian bodies haunt the minds of the captain and the crew and change their attitudes toward the regime. Yet the men are presented as having no choice but to continue fighting until also their submarine is sunk. The film's final scene shows the seamen's women holding babies in their hands, thus suggesting that the possibility of transformation is given to the next generation alone.⁶⁴²

We find similar moments of realization also in East German fictional works. In 1958, the same year in which the film about Prien appeared, the East German Rolf Guddat published a novel narrating the case of another submarine captain who has doubts whether he serves his fatherland or rather Hitler's murderous war.⁶⁴³ In this sense, war novels and stories published in the GDR share with West German works the portrayal of the soldier as a victim of a senseless war, whose real aims he is initially unaware of. But East German literary works contained a stronger political and moral critique than their West German equivalences and stressed the transformation of the protagonists from soldiers in Hitler's army into fighters against fascism.⁶⁴⁴ The

⁶⁴² On the real and fictional Prien see Michael L. Handley, *Count Not the Dead: The Popular Image of the German Submarine* (Montreal: McGill-Queens's University Press, 1995).

⁶⁴³ Rolf Guddat, *Für jeden kommt der Tag* (Neunhagen bei Berlin: Verlag Sport und Technik, 1958). The book was printed several times up to the mid 1960s.

⁶⁴⁴ In addition to the similarities between novels from both German societies, several West German war novels appeared and were printed in the GDR. Helmut Peitsch, „Zur Geschichte von ‚Vergangenheitsbewältigung‘: BRD- und DDR-Kriegsromane in den fünfziger Jahren,“ in Gerhard P. Knapp et al., eds, *1945-1995: Fünfzig Jahre deutschsprachige Literatur in Aspekten* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 89-117.

same applies also to several DEFA films.⁶⁴⁵ Probably the most publicly familiar example of such a transformation in East German accounts related to the historical case of *Wehrmacht* soldiers who turned into antifascists in the Soviet POW camps and founded there the resistance organization *Nationalkomitee "Freies Deutschland"* (National Committee "Free Germany").⁶⁴⁶ In this case, the fictional accounts indubitably drew on the historical occurrence and its commemoration in the GDR.

A few East German fictional works present a different transformation from the one discussed so far.⁶⁴⁷ In them, the change that the protagonist undergoes is not based primarily on the acquisition of new facts, but rather on deeper reasons. In the remaining of this section I explore such a change that leads the protagonist to attempt and save Jews, and how the failure of this attempt completes his transformation process and aims to draw the viewers along.

I will discuss this pattern by looking at an East German film production that premiered in early 1959, Konrad Wolf's *Sterne* (Stars). Wolf is the son of the famous German-Jewish playwright Friedrich Wolf and at the time a rather young, yet promising filmmaker. The Bulgarian Angel Wagenstein wrote the film's script and the production was hailed as the first German-Bulgarian cooperation. The film tells the story of Walter (Jürgen Frohriep), a young German sergeant, an artist, who, together with his superior and friend Kurt (Erik S. Klein) returned from the Eastern front and is

⁶⁴⁵ This pattern appeared in films from the 1950s to at least the 1970s in the GDR. Two examples include *Königskinder* (1962, dir. Frank Beyer) and *Meine Stunde Null* (1970, dir. Joachim Hasler).

⁶⁴⁶ Accordingly, Peitsch shows that one common convention in the East German novel of the 1950s depicted the death of the deserter as an individual sacrifice in the struggle against fascism and a better world. Peitsch, „Zur Geschichte von ‚Vergangenheitsbewältigung‘“, 111-112. On the history and commemoration of the NKFD see Sabine R. Arnold and Gerd R. Ueberschär, eds, *Das Nationalkomitee ‚Freies Deutschland‘ und der Bund Deutscher Offiziere* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995).

⁶⁴⁷ The notion of realization and transformation we have discussed so far was not common in early East German works of fiction. These works preferred the “decision model,” which depicted Germans unable to resist the temptation of career or other material goods who cooperated with the Nazis. But since about the mid 1950s we find a turn away from the “decision model” in fictional works in the GDR toward an examination of an individual's change. Annemarie Noelle, „Die individuelle Ausprägung des Helden: Gedanken zur Gestaltung der Zeiterfahrung im neueren DEFA-Film,“ *Filmwissenschaftliche Mitteilungen* 8: 1 (1967): 202-225.

now in charge of a *Wehrmacht* workshop in Bulgaria. Life seems peaceful in this romantic country area, apart from a few attempts at stealing weapons by the partisans.

One day a convoy of Greek Jews arrives. The Jews are imprisoned in a temporary camp before they will be put on a train to Auschwitz (a name that Walter does not know at this stage of the film). Walter's behavior is characterized by reservation and disinterest in what goes on around him, until a young and beautiful Jewish woman, from behind the barbed wire, asks him to call a doctor to treat a pregnant woman. When he says it's none of his business, she confronts him and denounces all Germans as beasts. The woman, Ruth (Sascha Kruscharska), returns to her people, and the camera follows her, while she walks among different characters of Jews in a crowded building.⁶⁴⁸ Suddenly, Walter appears together with a doctor, who tends to the woman in labor. From this moment on, Walter and Ruth meet several times and take long romantic walks, in which she reproaches him for his indifference toward life.

The closer the two get, the more Walter tries to help Ruth and the Jews in the camp. Yet whatever he does, fails. The delivery of the baby by the doctor he brought was successful, but the baby died a day later. He smuggles medications into the camp, but these are discovered and the Jews are punished for it and receive no food for three days. Finally, Walter tries to convince Ruth to escape the transport to Auschwitz, but she refuses to leave her family, and his friend Kurt fools him to think that the transport leaves the next day. After arranging a hideout for Ruth, Walter goes to the railway, and arrives just in time to see the train leaving and finally disappearing into a tunnel. The train entering the dark tunnel seems to symbolize the death awaiting the Jewish passengers.

⁶⁴⁸ In this sense, while the image of the beautiful Jewess stands at center of the film, it also presents different "kinds" of Jews, thus attempting to avoid a stereotypical description.

In a recent analysis of the film, Thomas Elsaesser designated this series of unsuccessful actions a performance of failure.⁶⁴⁹ According to Elsaesser, these failures have a function of reminding the viewers that what they see, and thus the Holocaust as a whole, is in the past and cannot be prevented. Therefore, the hope for a happy ending, which movies often promise and deliver, should not be expected. In so doing, *Sterne* differs from other failed rescue stories (such as Anne Frank's diary and *Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis*) that build up hope that at least *that* girl would survive.⁶⁵⁰ We have seen that such hope could play a central role in viewers'/readers' identification with the Jewish victims. *Sterne's* filmmakers, whose families were persecuted as Jews, clearly did not want to prevent such identification, and their elaborate reference to the Jewish fate is almost unprecedented in both West and East German films up to that time.⁶⁵¹ Yet their focus lay elsewhere. In constructing a series of already known failures, the film does not only commemorate the Holocaust, but also functions as the point in which the future can be altered.

At the end of the film Walter returns to the town and offers his acquaintance, the Bulgarian partisan, assistance in supplying weapons to the war against Nazi Germany. A brochure of the film states:

This film was made so that we won't forget [the persecution of the Jews], so that our memory against fascism, which threatens humanity again, will remain strong. [...] Walter cannot save Ruth from the transport to the death camp Auschwitz. But that, which their love has bred, will last. Ruth's belief that truth and justice will triumph over the terror of fascism had transformed Walter. His

⁶⁴⁹ Thomas Elsaesser, „Vergebliche Rettung: Geschichte als Palimpsest in STERNE,“ in Michael Wedel und Elke Schieber, eds, *Konrad Wolf – Werk und Wirkung* (Berlin: Vistas, 2009), 73-92.

⁶⁵⁰ In his 1960 filmic adaptation of *Romeo, Julia, and Darkness*, the Czech director Weiss chose a different beginning from that of the book. Perhaps inspired by Wolf's *Sterne*, Weiss opened the film with Pavel returning to the empty hiding place. Nevertheless, unlike *Sterne*, the Czech film does not portray the Jewish girl's death as part of Pavel's series of failures.

⁶⁵¹ With the only exception being *Lang ist der Weg* (Western occupation zones, dir: Herbert B. Fredersdorf and Marek Goldstein, 1948).

love to Ruth taught him that it makes sense to fight for this goal up to one's last breath."⁶⁵²

When stating that fascism "threatens humanity again," the brochure argues that the antifascist struggle is still relevant for the late 1950s in East Germany. As another, multilingual brochure, affirms (English in the original):

The makers of the film, themselves participants in the fight against fascism, do not aim only to remind us of the past. The film is a warning that things like this could happen once again, and an appeal to us to make such a development impossible. This depends upon all men of good will, people like Walter who have not yet found their place in life, but who must find their place. The people need peace, but peace needs people, active people who know that it is too late if they wait until all is lost. Fascism must not be allowed to return: war must not be allowed to return.⁶⁵³

These brochures do not say explicitly what is the new face of fascism, but several East German newspaper reviews do. The reviews pointed to "the perilous present in which we live" and juxtaposed the Nazi persecution of the Jews with the rise of "antisemitic excesses" in West Germany.⁶⁵⁴ Some reviewers added to their discussion of *Sterne* also the film documentary *A Diary for Anne Frank* (mentioned above), which premiered in 1958 and attacked West Germany's political elites that allowed former Nazi officials to walk free in the republic.⁶⁵⁵ The East German references to the film thus followed the GDR's antifascist myth and propaganda campaigns since about

⁶⁵² Text by Hans-Jürgen Geisthardt. Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 337.

⁶⁵³ VEB DEFA Studio für Spielfilme, Deutsche Demokratische Republik, Studio für Spielfilme Sofa, Volksrepublik Bulgarien, zeigen die Co-Produktion: *Sterne*, 1959. Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 360.

⁶⁵⁴ These specific quotes are from Dr., „„Sterne’: Ein deutsch-bulgarischer Gemeinschaftsfilm,“ *Liberal-Demokratische Zeitung* (Halle, 31.3.1959), in Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 346. This file contains similar statements from other East German newspapers, and such recurrence implies the existence of a central guidance.

⁶⁵⁵ For example: Winfried Junge, „„STERNE’ / Wir haben nichts vergessen: Ein bulgarisch-deutscher Gemeinschaftsfilm gegen den Faschismus für den wir der DEFA danken,“ *Forum* (16.4.59) in Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 346.

1956, which distinguished the FRG (depicted as a state harboring former Nazi officials and pursuing an imperialist-fascist policy) from the GDR (portrayed as an antifascist state and a haven of socialist humanism).⁶⁵⁶

The political-ideological interpretations of the film's message did not start only after it was finished. Wolf and Wagenstein had to present their work in progress in front of a committee and discuss, for example, what would be the most appropriate ending for the film.⁶⁵⁷ Furthermore, an internal evaluation of the finished product from the last day of 1958 hailed the creation of a film whose "relevant political meaning" is expressed "when the re-fascization and the open persecution of the Jews in West Germany makes further steps."⁶⁵⁸ 1957-1958 indeed witnessed an increase in antisemitic incidents in the West German society that gained a growing public attention there and in the Eastern neighbor.⁶⁵⁹ These incidents gave the GDR an opportunity to depict itself in a more positive light than the "other" Germany in the West, and the policy that emerged from it influenced also its cultural production. The film *Sterne* thus served both as a self-reassuring moral proof of the GDR, while urging German viewers to acknowledge their past failures and use them as a means for a transformation and commitment to East German antifascism.

The notion of acknowledging one's mistakes and learning from them was not only a product of the specific political context, however, but also a recurring topic in

⁶⁵⁶ Illichmann, *Die DDR und die Juden*, 136-148.

⁶⁵⁷ „Aktennotiz der Diskussion des Rohdrehbuches ‚Sterne‘,“ (18.3.1958), Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 374. It is important to note that the version of the script presented in this meeting, the film ended with Walter surrendering after being caught for stealing weapons for the partisans. The committee examining the film, however, saw this ending as too pessimistic. The preference of a more open ending seems, therefore, to express a conscious choice in an optimistic conclusion that would encourage action against fascism.

⁶⁵⁸ „Einschätzung des Films ‚Sterne‘,“ (31.12.1958), Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 374. This formulation was common in East German anti-FRG declarations of the late 1950s.

⁶⁵⁹ Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten*, 198-235.

the films that Konrad Wolf directed before and after *Sterne*.⁶⁶⁰ In these films one can identify “the long road to understanding,”

along which the central characters learn to reassess themselves and their place in society, a process of searching and reflecting which forms the core of Wolf’s conception of the social and political issues he projects into the screen. [...] We see his protagonists steeped in false values or misled by the force of circumstances, learning, though perhaps only partially, to face and correct their mistakes.⁶⁶¹

Such a “road for understanding” is different from the cases of realization and transformation we have discussed above, since in *Sterne* it is not only the confrontation with new facts that changes Walter and pushes him on a new path. It is, rather, a process of self-discovery, examination, and criticism that he undergoes, and it is indeed a very lengthy process. Walter starts as a person indifferent to all that is around him. Ruth’s accusing words and later his love to her change this, and he starts taking action. He does not become a wholly different person, since Ruth, who “recognizes his original decency” only “awakens and strengthens his conscience” (as an official DEFA publication tells us).⁶⁶² But just as in the previous examples, also here his transformation is possible because he is not a perpetrator, but merely a bystander guilty of nothing more than apathy.

But what action should Walter take? Here we see the second function of the series of failures in the film. Each of them signifies a certain step further that Walter is

⁶⁶⁰ On the distinct character of his films in relation to other DEFA films of the time see Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 207-208.

⁶⁶¹ Anthony S. Coulson, “Paths of Discovery: The Films of Konrad Wolf,” in Sean Allan and John Sandford, eds, *DEFA: East German Cinema, 1946-1992* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), 164-182, here, 165.

⁶⁶² „Neue Film des VEB DEFA Studio für Spielfilme: ‚Sterne‘,“ in *DEFA Information: Mitteilungsblatt des DEFA-Aussenhandels*, 3 (1959): 1-2. Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 338. Similarities in formulation indicate that several newspaper reviewers used this information paper as a foundation for their reviews. The same appears, for example in „Der Film ‚Sterne‘ gelangt im Bezirk zur Aufführung,“ *Märkische Volksstimme* (27.3.1959), in Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 346.

willing to make (bring a doctor, smuggle medications to the sick Jews, save Ruth). “But what about the rest of the Jews?” – his acquaintance, the Bulgarian partisan, asks him. In all of these actions Walter avoids choosing a side. These are nothing but “occasional humane and decent actions,” as Zuckmayer called them. Only with the final failure, marked with the train taking the Jews to their death, does Walter make the ultimate choice and turns to fight Nazi Germany as a whole. Only in this way, can he save the rest of the Jews and complete his transformation.

The West German reactions to *Sterne* are telling as well. The FRG’s Foreign Office that was in charge of the state’s moral reputation attempted to prevent the film from participating in the 1959 Cannes Film Festival, since its depiction of Germans persecuting Jews might “damage the German standing in the world.”⁶⁶³ Furthermore, when the film was distributed in West Germany, it was shown without the final scene, in which Walter decides to join the partisans.⁶⁶⁴ Desertion, which in East Germany was interpreted positively as a moral transformation, was a highly problematic issue in the FRG that distributors probably preferred to avoid.⁶⁶⁵ As a result, West German reviewers often praised *Sterne* as a poetic film about the need to “never forget,” but their references to the rescue were often quite different from their East German colleagues. While East German commentators emphasized the failed rescue and Walter’s resulting transformation, some West German reviewers saw the failed rescue as demonstrating the impossibility of helping Jews.⁶⁶⁶ Instead of criticizing the “occasional humane and decent actions” as insufficient, they celebrated these as the

⁶⁶³ Wolfgang Jacobsen and Rolf Aurich, *Der Sonnensucher Konrad Wolf: Biographie* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2005), 284. In itself, such a response of the Foreign Office occurred also in other cases in which international depictions of Nazi Germany showed Germans as perpetrators.

⁶⁶⁴ Jacobsen and Aurich, *Der Sonnensucher Konrad Wolf*, 284.

⁶⁶⁵ While some works, such as Andersch’s *Kirschen der Freiheit* stressed the moral element of desertion, it was far from widely accepted and was negatively connoted also in the private realms of many former soldiers, and even deserters. See Magnus Koch, *Fahnenfluchten: Deserteure der Wehrmacht im Zweiten Weltkrieg – Lebenswege und Entscheidungen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008).

⁶⁶⁶ Gsl., „Vor der letzten Station: ‚Sterne‘ in der Filmbühne Wien [a cinema in West Berlin],“ *Berliner Morgenpost* (19.6.1960): 59.

only thing that could have been done. One reviewer even goes so far and claims that under the conditions of the dictatorial regime, most Germans indeed tried to help the Jews.⁶⁶⁷ Another actually guessed that Walter might eventually decide to turn to the partisans, but focused on the depiction of the Holocaust rather than on the implications of the protagonist's decision.⁶⁶⁸ While many of these reviews expressed their satisfaction over the absence of explicit political propaganda in the film, others condemned it as exactly that. One article even asked where did the "Soviet-German DEFA," representing "a similar inhuman (*menschenverachtend*) system" to that of the Nazis, find the moral justification to make such a film.⁶⁶⁹

Conclusion

Why did most authors of fiction in West and East Germany prefer to depict unsuccessful rather than successful stories of rescuing Jews? After surveying these depictions' main patterns from 1945 to the mid 1960s we can say the following. *Successful* rescue accounts gave authors the possibility of enlightening and educating postwar Germans by offering identifications with "good Germans" and focusing on what each individual should and perhaps could have done. These works were characterized by a positive and reaffirming message and contained only minor points of criticism thus enabling Germans to embrace this embodiment of a humanistic morality without being burdened by a direct condemnation of their moral failures under Nazism. This was one way of encouraging former members of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* to reject the moral values they were supposed to adopt in the twelve years under Hitler.

⁶⁶⁷ G.A., „Die Spur der Menschlichkeit: ‚Sterne‘ – Ein Film ohne Hass,“ *Film und Frau* 2 (1960): 114-117.

⁶⁶⁸ S. F., „Mit Authentizität: Der Film ‚Sterne‘,“ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (15.7.1960), in Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 347.

⁶⁶⁹ „Sterne,“ *Der Kurier* (West Berlin), 18.6.1960), in Konrad Wolf Archiv, AdK. Akte 347.

Other authors, however, Jews and non-Jews, must have feared that accounts of successful rescue would appear as overtly exculpatory, that they might disregard the fact of the German majority's indifference to the fate of Jews, and might support the continuing doubts among parts of the population regarding the factuality of the Holocaust. Therefore, what they did was to *insist on an unhappy ending* in the depiction of the Jews during the Third Reich. In this way, at least a part of the Jews' catastrophe found its expression and the audience was denied the relief on the survival of the Jewish protagonist. To counter such relief, many of the works we have examined introduced dramatic measures that aimed to make viewers and readers identify with the Jewish figures, participate in their anguish and suffering, and then acknowledge their deaths.

It is significant, however, that these works did not simply present the persecution of Jews, but felt a need to couple it with attempted rescue acts by non-Jews. In doing so, Germans could see themselves not as immoral perpetrators, but as weak bystanders or victims of the Nazis. At the same time, however, some of the works used depictions of unsuccessful rescue as means to criticize the Germans' moral failures and as a trigger for what they saw as a much-needed transformation. Yet even then, none of the protagonists is described committing acts of violence and immorality, which was a role reserved for one-dimensional characterizations of a minority of "the others." Thus the critique does not challenge the reassuring image of the German societies, whose members may have admitted that they did not do enough to stop the Holocaust, but rarely confessed that they actively participated in it.

Nevertheless, depictions of unsuccessful rescue offered readers and viewers the possibility of critically examining their behavior in the past. Exactly because these works of fiction rejected the notions of a German collective guilt and presented Germans as weak victims they were able to confront a wide audience with at least

some issues of Germans' failures. Therefore, those scholars of German memory who reduce postwar successful and unsuccessful depictions of Jews to mere apologetic accounts miss the complex message that these depictions carry.

But why do depictions of unsuccessful rescue predominate in fictional rather than non-fictional accounts? The reason for that seems to lie in the different purposes and characteristics of the two. Fiction offered flexibility in presenting one's vision of the past and the future, and unsuccessful rescue seemed to allow for more complex and critical messages. It enabled authors to use familiar dramatic constellations and symbols, such as the power of heterosexual love, to stir up human affection and overcome racial thought, and thus attract the public. Furthermore, authors may have had personal or collective apologetic intentions, but in composing a work of fiction they were not obliged to prove their own personal morality, unlike many of the composers of non-fictional accounts we have encountered in the previous chapter. Presenting a case of failed rescue in front of a denazification court or in one's memoirs was potentially counter-productive, and authors of non-fiction thus usually neglected to mention what happened with "their Jews" after they allegedly helped them. While this could be done in non-fictional accounts it was hardly possible in works of fiction, whose viewers/readers expect a closure of some sort. The question of what happens to the protagonists is, therefore, an important element of the fictional plot and was often central to what the piece wished to convey.

I have analyzed, or at least mentioned, practically all of the fictional depictions of successful and unsuccessful rescue from the discussed period that I could find. The number of these works is certainly not massive. Yet it includes more than a few blockbusters and bestsellers that received much public attention and aroused debates in newspapers and in academic circles. The public presence of these works was not restricted to the time of their initial composition, since many of them received several

printings, were re-screened in film theaters and on television, restaged, and re-broadcasted. Quite a few of them were also adapted to different media, thus prolonging their exposure to German audiences in some cases into the 1980s and 1990s. For example, Fallada's 1947 *Jeder stirbt für sich allein* was filmed in East and West Germany in 1970 and 1976 (respectively), Andersch's 1957 *Sansibar* was made into a film (again) in 1987, and Zuckmayer's *Des Teufels General* was staged once more in Berlin in 1996. Each adaptation offered a new interpretation of the piece and of the past, and the discussions around the new versions or their renewed exposure demonstrated the changes in the public attitudes toward the Nazi past.⁶⁷⁰

In spite of these pieces' "afterlife," German authors of fiction appear to have abandoned the topic of successful and unsuccessful rescue in works they composed after the mid 1960s. One reason for that seems to be connected to the change in literary conventions since the late 1950s, which moved away from the stereotypical functionalization of Jews as "types" and "points of reference" for the non-Jewish protagonists to more complex and individualistic Jewish figures.⁶⁷¹ In the late 1950s and during the 1960s we also find a growing public emphasis on German perpetrators in both East and West Germany. This focus seems to have undermined the validity and usefulness of portraying good German rescuers, even if for the sake of criticizing some of their moral failures, and moved the discussion to other directions.⁶⁷² Yet while literary philosemitism gradually disappeared by the 1960s, making references to rescue more minor and rare, philosemitism and also rescue continued to appear in

⁶⁷⁰ For example, see the changed attitudes toward Käutner's 1947 *In jenen Tagen* when it was shown in the Federal Republic during the 1960s. Shandley, *Rubble Films*, 56.

⁶⁷¹ See footnote 503, above.

⁶⁷² The few German literary works from the late 1960s and later that did refer to successful or unsuccessful rescue of Jews present a different, and often less stereotypical, treatment of the subject. See, for example, Franz Josef Degenhardt, *Zündschnüre: Roman* (1973) and Wolfdietrich Schnurre, *Ein Unglücksfall: Roman* (1981), discussed in Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa*, 124-127 and 170-171.

popular television, both in the FRG,⁶⁷³ and the GDR,⁶⁷⁴ in fiction and non-fiction programs. Furthermore, the depiction of rescuing Jews did not lose its validity with the new focus on German perpetrators. As we shall see in the next chapter, these new tendencies actually endowed the topic of rescue with new significance.

⁶⁷³ In features and documentaries on West German television, Wulf Kansteiner traced a growth in philosemitic depictions since the early 1960s, which included also accounts on rescuers of Jews. Kansteiner, "Entertaining Catastrophe"; Wulf Kansteiner, „What is the Opposite of Genocide?: Philosemitic Television in Germany, 1963-1995,“ in Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe, eds, *Philosemitism in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 289-313.

⁶⁷⁴ In a 1968 East German TV film (*Wege übers Land*) we find, for example, the rescue of a Jewish child in a depiction very similar to the story of Willi Bredel from 1948. See Lisa Schoß, „Politik, Unterhaltung und Romantisierung: Juden und ‘Juden’ im DDR-Fernsehen,“ in Ulrike Heikaus, ed., *Das war spitze! Jüdisches in der deutschen Fernsehunterhaltung* (München: Klartext, 2011), 115-125, here 119.

Chapter Four:

“There Were Also Others”: The Gathering of Rescuers from the Late 1950s to the mid 1970s

In the previous two chapters we explored the scattered character of public references to rescuing Jews in the first two decades of the postwar Germanys. We saw that while some fictional and non-fictional accounts from this period received a wide public attention, the issue of rescuing Jews had no consistent and unified presence in public discussions. The topic of rescue was used for various purposes, often acting as an attribute, without attempting to seek and commemorate rescue and rescuers in general as a separate topic. In what follows, we shall examine a few concentrated initiatives in both German states from the late 1950s to the mid 1970s that actively looked for rescuers of Jews. They celebrated German rescuers as national role models in public debates and commemorative settings, providing them with new conceptual, public, and institutional frameworks. Most importantly, these initiatives made concentrated efforts to find and honor German rescuers and thus *gather* what was until then a scattered memory.

The chapter will start by examining the public celebration of rescuers of Jews around the Eichmann Trial. In the second section we will look at the first anthology of rescuers that appeared in West Germany and its influence on similar publications that collected the stories of rescuers in the FRG, but also the GDR. The third section will explore the contribution of these publications to West German official initiatives in honor of rescuers. And, finally, the fourth section will trace the role of solidarity with and assistance to Jews in and around East German concentration camp memorials.

The Eichmann Trial

On May 23, 1960, David Ben Gurion, the Israeli prime minister, announced the capture of Adolf Eichmann, a former SS man who took an active part in planning the “Final Solution.” The news encountered much interest throughout the world, and also in the East and West German media, which discussed the question of Eichmann’s abduction from Argentina and where he should be tried.⁶⁷⁵ The upcoming trial raised concerns among the West German government that feared negative international publicity. It had good reasons to be concerned. From the mid 1950s, the FRG had had bad publicity due to an increase in antisemitic incidents (from public insults aimed at Jews to the distribution of neo-Nazi and antisemitic materials) that caused an outcry in West Germany and abroad. An even greater challenge to the West German government posed a series of desecrations of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues on Christmas 1959 and in the first months of 1960, i.e. around the time when Ben Gurion announced Eichmann’s capture.⁶⁷⁶

The threat to West Germany’s reputation, stability, and democratic character was considerable,⁶⁷⁷ and in 1959-1960 the government took swift steps to improve the political education in schools and universities, and passed a law against the incitement of popular hatred (*Volksverhetzung*).⁶⁷⁸ Furthermore, a month before the Eichmann Trial began, the West German Foreign Office, which was in charge of monitoring events and publications that could damage the republic’s reputation, advised the

⁶⁷⁵ On the media discussions surrounding the trial see Peter Krause, *Der Eichmann-Prozeß in der deutschen Presse* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002).

⁶⁷⁶ Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten*; Heiko Buschke, *Deutsche Presse, Rechtsextremismus und nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit in der Ära Adenauer* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003).

⁶⁷⁷ The connection between the antisemitic incidents and the stability of the West German democracy was raised in several discussions of the *Bundestag*. Dubiel, *Niemand ist frei von der Geschichte*, 81-86.

⁶⁷⁸ The law was passed on May 20 1960. Detlef Siegfried, „Zwischen Aufarbeitung und Schlussstrich: Der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten 1958 bis 1969,“ in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds, *Dynamische Zeiten: Die 60er Jahre in den beiden deutschen Gesellschaften* (Hamburg: Christians, 2000), 77-113; Fröhlich, „Rückkehr zur Demokratie – Wandel der politischen Kultur in der Bundesrepublik,“ 115-117.

chancellor's office to prepare for incriminating evidences on members of the FRG's administration that might come up in the proceedings.⁶⁷⁹

The Foreign Office spoke with the experience of prior years. In the 1950s the GDR launched occasional campaigns that exposed the Nazi past of leading figures in the FRG's politics, economy, and justice.⁶⁸⁰ The frequency of this propaganda increased since 1956 and in 1959-1960 it became part of a series of concentrated campaigns that were sometimes orchestrated together with other East European countries. The most prominent figures that these campaigns attacked were Theodor Oberländer, the Minister for Refugees and Expellees, and Hans Globke, Adenauer's personal adviser, and one of the formulators of the Nuremberg racial laws.⁶⁸¹

The GDR's reasons for pointing out the "refascization" of the FRG were not only related to its antifascist legacy, but also served to draw attention away from East Germany's internal problems. By 1959-1960, signs of economic crisis, the growing popular dissatisfaction of the population with the regime, the rising number of East Germans leaving to the FRG, as well as failures on the international arena, led the SED to launch an ideological offensive to legitimize the antifascist state by discrediting the West German government. Pointing out the FRG's failures in confronting and overcoming the Nazi legacy regarding the Jews was not the sole component in the East German propaganda offensive.⁶⁸² But in the late 1950s and

⁶⁷⁹ A.H. van Scherpenberg, Staatssekretär des Auswärtigen Amtes an Hans Globke, Staatssekretär des Bundeskanzleramtes (17.3.1961). Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B/136/50275. Of course, the Foreign Office was well aware that Globke himself would probably be one of these persons.

⁶⁸⁰ In the first half of the 1950s these were mostly short-term campaigns. For example, a 1954 edition of the satirical magazine *Eulenspiegel* presented Adenauer as Hitler's substitute, surrounded by the same persons that were the elite of the Third Reich. *Eulenspiegel* 1: 25 (Oktober 1954).

⁶⁸¹ Illichmann, *Die DDR und die Juden*, 136-148.

⁶⁸² The contents of the offensive included criticizing the West German remilitarization and nuclear armament, Bonn's imperial intentions, and the danger that capitalist monopolies pose to democracy and world peace. Michael Lemke, „Kampagnen gegen Bonn: Die Systemkrise der DDR und die West-Propaganda der SED 1960-1963,“ *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 14: 2 (April 1993): 153-174; Michael Lemke, „Instrumentalisierter Antifaschismus und SED-Kampagnenpolitik im deutschen Sonderkonflikt 1960-68, in Jürgen Danyel, ed., *Die geteilte Vergangenheit: Zum Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Widerstand in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 60-86.

early 1960s publicized events such as Anne Frank's diary, the antisemitic incidents in the FRG, and the Eichmann Trial, offered the SED a fertile ground on which to act.

The East German anti-FRG offensive also aimed to hide the GDR's own recent antisemitic incidents. In addition to cases of everyday antisemitism, the 1952-1953 Stalinist campaigns against "cosmopolitan elements" in the Eastern Block took an anti-Jewish orientation in the GDR.⁶⁸³ These experiences left their mark on Jews who hoped that antisemitism would not strike root in the "land of antifascists."⁶⁸⁴ Furthermore, the SED's anti-Zionist stance and the Soviet Union's support of Arab states aroused the disapproval of many East German Jews.⁶⁸⁵ By the mid 1950s, the SED improved its relation to Jews⁶⁸⁶ and even before the Eichmann Trial recruited Jewish personalities, such as the East Berlin Rabbi Martin Riesenburger, to present the GDR as a haven for Jews.⁶⁸⁷ This turn took place also in the production of cultural creations, such as the film *Sterne* (discussed in chapter three),⁶⁸⁸ and in public

⁶⁸³ Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*; Keßler, *Die SED und die Juden*, 52-105; Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung*; Robin Ostow, "The Shaping of Jewish Identity in the German Democratic Republic, 1949-1989," *Critical Sociology* 17: 3 (Fall 1990): 47-59.

⁶⁸⁴ Nevertheless, looking back at their experiences after 1990, many, though not all, Jews who were former GDR citizens, tended to view the GDR as a whole as not antisemitic. See Cora Granata, „Das hat in der DDR keine Rolle gespielt, was man war' – ‚Ostalgie' und Erinnerungen an Antisemitismus in der DDR, 1945-1960,“ in Zuckermann, ed., *Zwischen Politik und Kultur*, 82-100.

⁶⁸⁵ This was a card that West German commentators drew when critical voices on West German antisemitism came from the East. See, for example, Leo Perl, „Die Lage der Juden in der Sowjetzone,“ *Berliner Stimme* (9.1.60); Willy Brandt, *Deutschland, Israel und die Juden: Rede des Regierenden Bürgermeisters von Berlin vor dem Herzl-Institut in New York* (Berlin-Schöneberg: Press e- und Informationsamt des Landes Berlin, 1961), 9-10.

⁶⁸⁶ This improvement included the authorization of more publications on the persecution of the Jews in the later 1950s. Keßler, *Die SED und die Juden*, 106-148; Thomas Jung, „Nicht-Darstellung und Selbst-Darstellung: Der Umgang mit der ‚Judenfrage' in der SBZ und der frühen DDR und dessen Niederschlag in Literatur und Film,“ *Monatshefte* 90: 1 (1998): 49-70. For an example of an East German Jew who protested against the GDR's anti-Zionism, but refuses to portray the GDR as antisemitic see Gabriel Berger, *Ich protestiere also bin ich: Erinnerungen eines Unangepassten* (Berlin: Trafo, 2008).

⁶⁸⁷ For example, „Hunderte Opfer verlangen in Jerusalem: Prozeß gegen Nazismus führen. Immer wiederkehrende Forderung: Auch Adenauers Intimus Globke vor Gericht,“ *Neues Deutschland* (14.4.1961). Bundesarchiv Berlin DO 4/70. Riesenburger's life story, published in 1960, demonstrated his message, since it included the story of his rescue with the help of non-Jewish Germans, and his consequent decision to live in the GDR. Martin Riesenburger, *Das Licht verlöschte nicht: Dokumente aus der Nacht des Nazismus* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1960).

⁶⁸⁸ I mentioned in chapter three that the international attention given to Holocaust accounts was often tied to political-ideological goals. This was the case of the press discussion around *Sterne*, as well as of the 1958 documentary *A Diary for Anne Frank* that utilized the success of the diary in order to expose the comfortable life of former Nazi officials in the FRG.

statements given, for example, in ceremonies commemorating *Kristallnacht* in 1960 and 1961 that functioned as pretexts for criticizing Globke and Eichmann.⁶⁸⁹

In light of these challenges, Adenauer made careful steps to draw David Ben Gurion on his side in order to avoid the mentioning of Globke during the trial. Therefore, while the SED took the offensive, the West German government preferred to adopt a defensive standpoint.⁶⁹⁰ In accordance with this line, on April 10, 1961, the eve of the trial, Adenauer delivered a speech in which he emphasized West Germany's special relations with Israel, and asserted that "in the moral life of the German people today there is no more National Socialism."⁶⁹¹

While the chancellor did not explicitly mention German rescuers of Jews, these played a role in West German publications that surrounded and reacted to the trial. The news magazine *Stern* gave rescuers the most extensive room, when in 1961, during the trial, it published a series of articles entitled "*Es gab auch andere*" (There Were Also Others), which collected stories of rescuers, told by the people they helped save.⁶⁹² Interestingly, the first article did not, in fact, tell about the rescue of Jews. It describes a *Wehrmacht* soldier who helped a few men from Luxemburg to escape an unjust death sentence. While the next articles in the series dealt with the rescue of Jews, it is clear that in the early 1960s, more than a decade before the Holocaust became anchored as the most significant element in public discussions around the Third Reich, Germans did not necessarily concentrate only on assistance to Jews when speaking on "good Germans."

⁶⁸⁹ Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung*, 52-54.

⁶⁹⁰ See Christina Große, *Der Eichmann-Prozess zwischen Recht und Politik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 134-169.

⁶⁹¹ „Wir sind ein Rechtsstaat geworden’: Bundeskanzler Dr. Adenauer zum Eichmann-Prozeß,“ *Das Parlament* (19.4.1961): 5. In this special issue of *Das Parlament*, the journal of the West German *Bundestag*, dedicated to the opening of the Eichmann Trial, we find many other articles expressing friendship, solidarity, and reconciliation with the state of Israel and with Jewish institutions and personalities.

⁶⁹² „Es gab auch andere: An diese Wand wollten sie uns erschießen,“ *Stern* 16 (1961): 26-32. This is the first article in the series.

But why did *Stern* publish this series? The opening words of the series' first article provides us with a clue on the motivation for this publication:

Eichmann may again signalize an occasion to lump all Germans together. But we find that this is the time to prove that our people, even in the darkest days of its history, did not consist only of the criminal and indifferent. There were also others. There were Germans, who risked their lives against inhumanity. They speak only rarely about [their deeds]. That is why we give the word to those people whom Germans threatened – until other Germans saved them.⁶⁹³

Unlike Adenauer's 1951 speech during the reparation negotiations, this paragraph speaks neither of the majority of Germans who objected the persecution nor on the "many Germans" who helped the Jews. Its message is simply that "there were also others," and in this sense it does not reject the guilt of some, perhaps many Germans. Instead, it aims to insert a *balance* into the depiction of Germany and the Germans by emphasizing acts of rescue and naming the rescuers at a time in which the name of Eichmann, a German perpetrator, occupied the headlines.⁶⁹⁴

I argue, therefore, that the moral challenge of the Eichmann Trial contributed to introducing the notion of a balance in relation to "good Germans" in general, and to rescuers of Jews in particular. The reason for that lies in the fact that the trial marked a major highpoint in the public "discovery" of perpetrators in West Germany. While West German official statements as well as fictional and non-fictional depictions of WWII and Nazism during much of the 1950s focused on presenting Germans as

⁶⁹³ „Es gab auch andere: An diese Wand wollten sie uns erschießen,“ 26-27.

⁶⁹⁴ Using the same basic approach, an article in *Das Parlament* that appeared shortly after the opening of the trial, reminded its readers that while the Eichmann Trial "once again" demonstrates to the world "which crimes members of our people were capable of doing under the Nazi regime, it is also the place to commemorate those Germans, who at the same time passionately fought against the brown disgrace..." Hajo Knebel, „Jugend im Widerstand: Zum 20. Todestag von Robert Oelbermann,“ *Das Parlament* 16 (19.4.1961): 5.

victims, since the late 1950s the works of artists, writers,⁶⁹⁵ and intellectuals, looked more critically at the behavior of the German population under the Nazi regime, and condemned what they saw as the continuation of Nazi tendencies in the Federal Republic.⁶⁹⁶ Moreover, a renewed wave of trials of Nazi perpetrators since 1957 confronted the population with the details of the murder of the Jews. Some critics also pointed to the role of former Nazi judges, who held on to their positions in West Germany, in hitherto preventing the prosecution of Nazi perpetrators. In so doing, these critical voices corroborated the GDR's campaigns against the *Blutrichter* (blood judges) in the FRG and exposed the failure of the republic's denazification.⁶⁹⁷

The discussion surrounding Eichmann intensified the preoccupation with German perpetrators, when West German commentators pointed to the participation of many institutions and bureaucrats in the mass killings, thus enlarging the known number of German perpetrators.⁶⁹⁸ In the process, Eichmann's name became a designation for Nazi perpetrators in general and publications from both West⁶⁹⁹ and

⁶⁹⁵ Famous among these authors were Heinrich Böll and Günter Grass. On the politicization of West German authors since the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s and their critical writing on the confrontation with the Nazi past, see Manfred Durzak, „Die zweite Phase des westdeutschen Nachkriegsromans,“ in Wilfried Barner, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C.H. Beck, 2006), 368-434.

⁶⁹⁶ Leftist and liberal West German intellectuals openly expressed their fears on the weakness of democracy, pointed to similarities between the Nazi regime and the methods that the CDU/CSU government used regarding the military and the control of the media, and condemned Adenauer's "authoritarian style." They also expressed their concern on the growth of neo-Nazi parties and extremist tendencies within students' fraternities. Moses, *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past*, 160-172. On the intellectual and artistic critique in general see Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 179-181, 206-211.

⁶⁹⁷ Especially the Ulm *Einsatzgruppen* Trial of 1958 revealed that hundreds of perpetrators were not yet brought before the courts, and often lived undisturbed in the republic. Michael Kohlstruck, „Das zweite Ende der Nachkriegszeit: Zur Veränderung der politischen Kultur um 1960,“ in Gary S. Schaal and Andreas Wöll, eds, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung: Modelle der politischen und sozialen Integration in der bundesdeutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), 113-127; Marc von Miquel, *Ahnden oder amnestieren? Westdeutsche Justiz und Vergangenheitspolitik in den sechziger Jahren* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004).

⁶⁹⁸ Krause, *Der Eichmann-Prozeß in der deutschen Presse*, 198-208.

⁶⁹⁹ For example, Max Oppenheimer, *Eichmann und die Eichmänner: Dokumentarische Hinweise auf den Personenkreis der Helfer und Helfershelfer bei der „Endlösung“* (Ludwigsburg: Schromm, 1961); Albert Wucher, *Eichmanns gab es viele: Ein Dokumentarbericht über die Endlösung der Judenfrage* (München: Droemersch Verlag, 1961).

East Germany⁷⁰⁰ spoke of the *Eichmanns* or *Eichmänner* safely living in the FRG and abroad.⁷⁰¹

Those West German authors, who wished to counter the suggestion that all or most Germans were Eichmanns, found the best opportunities for that in the trial itself. Among the many testimonies of survivors on the horrors that Germans inflicted on them, there were also witnesses who told about their survival thanks to the help of non-Jews, some of whom Germans.⁷⁰² The German rescuer of Jews who gained most attention was the Protestant priest Heinrich Grüber, whom we have already encountered. Between 1938 and 1940, Grüber organized a network of assistance in Berlin that made it possible for many Jews (especially Christians of “Jewish race”) to leave Germany. The Gestapo arrested Grüber in December 1940 and he was incarcerated in the concentration camps Sachsenhausen and later Dachau, where his health deteriorated and he lost all his teeth as a result of ruthless beating by the guards. Grüber was released in June 1943, and after the war he was one of the first Protestant clergymen devoted to constructing a new positive relationship with Jews.⁷⁰³

All these activities made Grüber a familiar moral figure especially in Protestant circles and in the Berlin vicinity. He was also known for his uncompromising attitude

⁷⁰⁰ For example, Werner H. Krause, *Der Fall Adolf Eichmann u. a.* (Berlin: Verlag des Ministeriums für Nationale Verteidigung, 1960); *Eichmann: Henker, Handlanger, Hintermänner. Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Ausschuss für Deutsche Einheit, 1961).

⁷⁰¹ Similarly, Oskar Schindler’s name became a designation for all rescuers of Jews starting in the mid 1990s. We will discuss that further in the last chapter.

⁷⁰² Among the non-German rescuers mentioned in the testimonies were the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, and the Austrian *Wehrmacht* soldier Anton Schmid, whom we shall encounter again later. Among the Germans was Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, a senior member of the West German Foreign Office at the time of the trial. While the Foreign Office did not take any initiative to celebrate Duckwitz publicly as a rescuer, a few West German journalists did report with satisfaction on the mentioning of Duckwitz in the trial. See „Er vereitelte Eichmanns Mordplan in Dänemark: Ein Deutscher verhalf 7000 Juden zur Flucht,“ von unserem Korrespondenten J. E. Palmon, *Telegraf* (16.5.1961): 2; „Propst Grüber sagt als Zeuge der Anklage in Jerusalem aus: Widerstand der Bevölkerung in den besetzten Ländern im Westen gegen die Juden-Deportation / Der Eichmann-Prozeß,“ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (11.5.1961): 5. See a similar article from the same Israeli correspondent in the newspaper of the Jewish community in Munich: „Der Mann, der Eichmanns Pläne verriet: Wochenbericht unseres Korrespondenten in Israel, J. E. Palmon,“ *Münchener Jüdische Nachrichten* (19.5.1961): 5.

⁷⁰³ He offered, for example, that the Protestant Church would give money to rebuild a synagogue in Berlin in 1950, at a time in which many Churches still lay in ruins. His idea was rejected with outrage by Bavarian pastors and laypersons. Hockenos, *A Church Divided*, 143.

against injustice in encounters with the Allies and the SED as part of his role as representative of the Protestant Church in East Germany (1949-1958).⁷⁰⁴ In this position and following his actions during the war, Grüber received public honors and tokens of appreciation from private persons and state officials during the 1940s and 1950s.⁷⁰⁵ In speeches and publications, representatives of the Protestant Church in and around Berlin honored his service for the Church and his example of “a better Germany.”⁷⁰⁶

With the Eichmann Trial Grüber became a known moral figure also on a national scale. He was the only German witness of the prosecution to testify against Eichmann, and although his testimony did not contribute much to the conviction, his significance rested on his being on the witness stand, in Jerusalem, facing Eichmann.⁷⁰⁷ International commentators on the trial depicted a duel-like clash between the two men as a clash between good Germans and Nazis. West German newspaper articles reported about Grüber’s statements on his wartime meeting with Eichmann as an encounter with a man of no emotions, no conscience, “a block of ice,” who is incapable of human feelings. In doing so, Grüber himself presented Eichmann

⁷⁰⁴ In this position and following his deeds during and after the war, Grüber was also assigned as the contact person of the East German Protestant Church with the GDR’s Jewish communities. See Irena Ostermeyer, *Zwischen Schuld und Sühne: Evangelische Kirche und Juden in SBZ und DDR 1945-1990* (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 2002), 279-280.

⁷⁰⁵ Among the greeters on Grüber’s 60th birthday in 1951 were Walter Ulbricht, general secretary of the GDR, Heinz Galinski, head of the Jewish community in Berlin, and a whole line of local East and West German politicians, Jewish representatives, and Christian clergypersons. Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 43. A somewhat smaller flood of greetings and publications reached Grüber in 1956, in the occasion of his 65th birthday. Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 49.

⁷⁰⁶ See the speech of Otto Dibelius, Protestant bishop of Berlin, on August 5, 1945 in Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 33. And see the reference to Grüber as embodying “das bessere Deutschland” in “Männer, die wir kennen müssen: Heinrich Grüber,” *Die Kirche: Evangelische Wochenzeitung*, Berliner Ausgabe (26.2.1956): 3.

⁷⁰⁷ In his testimony, Grüber could not reconstruct with certainty all the relevant details on his meeting with Eichmann, and contemporary commentators agreed that the testimony did not contribute much to the conviction. Also prosecutor Hausner stressed in his memoirs the moral lesson of Grüber taking the stand, and Hannah Arendt argued that apart from pointing out the existence of an “other Germany,” Grüber did not add to the historical and legal significance of the trial. See Gideon Hausner, *The Jerusalem Trial* (Bet Lochem Hagetaot and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1980), vol. 1, 299-300 [in Hebrew]; Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Penguin, 1963), 127-131.

as an exceptional and almost inhuman figure who could not be identified with the German population in general. Against the image of the defendant, the articles depicted Grüber as a humane and compassionate man, who did not dwell on his own ordeal, but rather emphasized that the Jews suffered much more.⁷⁰⁸

Many of the West German press reports made references to the influence of Grüber's testimony on the FRG's international reputation and on the question of German guilt.⁷⁰⁹ The article in one of West Germany's most widely read newspapers, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, opened by reporting on the deep impression that Grüber left on the Israeli public. It then noted the positive impact of his testimony on Germany's reputation:

The confessional courage (*Bekennenmut*) of this clergyman (*Geistliche*), his selfless and brave action for the persecuted Jews is valued as the exemplary deed of a German, whom one perceives as worthy of imitation. This has contributed here to some brightening up of Germany's bleak image from those days.⁷¹⁰

The quote illustrates the employment of Grüber's testimony in the "land of the Jews" in the service of rejecting German collective guilt.⁷¹¹ The Eichmann Trial, which was

⁷⁰⁸ „Propst Grüber: Eichmann war selbst verantwortlich: Aussage des ersten nichtjüdischen deutschen Zeugen belastet den Angeklagten,“ *Frankfurter Rundschau* (17.5.1961): 2; „Propst Grüber über den Angeklagten: ‚Im Grunde war er ein Landesknechtstyp‘,“ *Telegraf* (17.5.1961): 7. See also the successive footnotes and the collection of press releases on the trial in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, ALL. Proz.6/153.

⁷⁰⁹ Some articles also reported on the cross examination of the witness, which actually threatened to raise a collective guilt accusation. Robert Servatius, Eichmann's attorney, tried to diminish his client's responsibility by claiming that the Nazi regime's anti-Jewish measures were accepted by the German population as a whole, and also by the Churches. But Grüber claimed that one should not confuse many Christians' initial enthusiasm toward the Nazi ideas with the "Final Solution." „Eichmann war ein Eisblock, sagt Propst Grüber: Der Berliner Geistliche als Zeuge vor dem Jerusalemer Gericht / Auswanderung von Juden wurde verhindert,“ *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (17.5.1961): 4.

⁷¹⁰ Schw., „Propst Grüber hinterläßt einen tiefen Eindruck: Anerkennende israelische Stimmen nach den Aussagen im Eichmann-Prozeß. Bericht unseres nach Jerusalem entsandten Redaktionsmitglieds,“ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (17.5.1961), in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, ALL. Proz.6/153.

⁷¹¹ In fact, a summary of West German press releases on the Eichmann Trial shows that they reported extensively about positive Israeli reactions toward Germany. See Jürgen Wilke et al., *Holocaust und NS-Prozesse: Die Presseberichterstattung in Israel und Deutschland zwischen Aneignung und Abwehr* (Köln: Böhlau, 1995), 92.

the first extensive media encounter of Germans with Israel, also raised questions on how will Israelis look at Germans. While most newspaper reports maintained a matter-of-factly tone in this issue, individuals' personal reactions to Grüber's appearance were often more emotional, enthusiastic, and direct. For example, in his memoirs Grüber recalled how West German journalists thanked him after his testimony, saying they could now "walk differently through the streets of Jerusalem. Until now we were Eichmann's countrymen (*Landsleute*), now we are Heinrich Grüber's countrymen."⁷¹² An even more remarkable account appears in a report that Christa G., a West German student, who stayed in Israel from summer 1960s to summer 1961, wrote after she returned home. G. describes how she and her fellow students followed the trial and the international press commentaries, and laments the fact that East and West Germany "used the trial, of all things, for mutual slander as part of the internal German Cold War." She then adds:

From within this gray in gray that Germany offered, came Provost Grüber. I sat that day in the courtroom, I read all the reports and commentaries in all the newspapers, I heard the conversations about him in the months that followed: It was as if a thirsty, dried out soil lusts for the good deed of a little rain, and when it came, it drew it in avariciously and lived a little, in spite of the desert that remained. It's not that Grüber was the only righteous man (*Gerechte*); this was not how things were seen in Israel. But his testimony in the trial gave him, and all the rest as well, the opportunity to manifest the small light, which lit in the darkness, and so there was hope that one could believe in humanity again. Yes, "[believe] also in Germany," said Shulamit, my [Israeli] roommate, who

⁷¹² Propst Heinrich Grüber, *Erinnerungen aus sieben Jahrzehnten* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1968), 410.

was otherwise very skeptical, “even when only 5% of the Germans are like him.”⁷¹³

The account of Christa G. expresses the difficult situation in which many young Germans (especially West Germans) found themselves at this time. Those who were born in the last years of the Third Reich or after the war had to confront the accusations on immoral conduct not only against their parents, but also against themselves. The public debate around the antisemitic incidents in 1959-1960 emphasized the large number of teenagers and adults in their early twenties who participated in the vandalism, and media commentators repeatedly spoke about the moral responsibilities that the “wild” youth (influenced by Rock ‘n’ Roll and Western consumerism) must accept.⁷¹⁴ Furthermore, the internal and external critique against the continuation of Nazi tendencies in West Germany made the Nazi past an issue that concerned also the youth.⁷¹⁵ The most common reaction of young Germans at the time was to denounce the persecution of the Jews while simultaneously dissociating themselves from this difficult past. But many of them still felt that they belonged to a national collective that made the Nazi legacy into their problem as well. The acknowledgment of this problem did not necessarily make young Germans confront the Nazi past and their parents, but it did cause an enhanced sensitivity to this past among younger generations.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Christa G., (26.10.1961), „Bericht über einen Studienaufenthalt in Israel (Sommer 1960 bis Sommer 1961).“ Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 311.

⁷¹⁴ Public calls on the youth’s “lack of education” and the process of “de-civilization” appeared in the mid to late 1950s in West Germany in particular in relation to the “Halbstraken” problem – the rebellious youth. See Axel Schildt, „Von der Not der Jugend zur Teenage-Kultur: Aufwachsen in den 50er Jahren,“ in Schildt and Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 335-348; Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*.

⁷¹⁵ See newspaper articles that documented public discussions with West German youth in Hans Lamm, ed., *Der Eichmann-Prozess in der deutschen öffentlichen Meinung* (Frankfurt am Main: Ner-Tamid-Verlag, 1961), 64-70.

⁷¹⁶ Axel Schildt, „Die Eltern auf der Anklagebank?: Zur Thematisierung der NS-Vergangenheit im Generationenkonflikt der bundesrepublikanischen 60er Jahre,“ in Christoph Cornelißen et al., eds, *Erinnerungskulturen: Deutschland, Italien und Japan seit 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), 317-332; Harald Welzer, „Krieg der Generationen: Zur Tradierung von NS-Vergangenheit und Krieg in deutschen Familien,“ in Neumann, ed., *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*, 552-571; Detlef Siegfried, “Don’t

The Eichmann Trial offered a figure against which young Germans could position themselves, as well as a balancing measure. Accordingly, the media interest in him did not cease after his testimony, but continued for months afterwards. He was interviewed in the press and on the radio, and some newspapers dedicated long articles to his positive impact in Israel.⁷¹⁷ About a month after his testimony, on June 24, 1961, Grüber celebrated his 70th birthday, and this gave newspapers a special opportunity to present him in a heroic manner.⁷¹⁸ For some commentators, the priest's moral standing served to draw the attention away from discussing German collective guilt and from the criticism against the FRG. Thus Eugen Gerstenmaier, a Protestant theologian, CDU politician, and president of the *Bundestag* from 1954 to 1969, wrote in the conservative weekly *Christ und Welt* on Grüber as a representative of the "other Germany." He then added:

One can doubt whether Grüber's appearance in Jerusalem could overcome the murmur in the world [saying]: Look at Eichmann, this is how the Germans are! But there is no doubt that this Protestant priest, who waged his life against the hatred of Jews (*Judenhaß*) curbed the hatred against Germans in the world in a more effective way than many other enterprises [of the West German state].⁷¹⁹

Look Back in Anger: Youth, Pop Culture, and the Nazi Past," in Philipp Gassert and Alan E. Steinweis, eds, *Coping with the Nazi Past: West German Debates on Nazism and Generational Conflict, 1955-1975* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 144-160.

⁷¹⁷ For example, „Wir sprachen mit Propst Heinrich Grüber," *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* (31.5.1961): 17. A radio program rejoiced over the fact that with Grüber's testimony, "the other Germany spoke for the first time" in the trial. Peter Herz, *Im Blickpunkt: Das andere Deutschland in Jerusalem* (broadcasted on May 21, 1961, RIAS I: 20.30 -21.00). Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 307. The West German TV show *Abendschau* invited Grüber to speak about the wide international attention he received, for example as a guest in a BBC TV and radio program that discussed the Eichmann Trial. The show also addressed Grüber's function as building bridges between Germany and the world. St. R. K., „Fernsehen: Abendschau (10.8.1961), 19:25. Bundesarchiv Berlin DO 4/70.

⁷¹⁸ That in addition to the personal greetings and thanks that he received, including a telegram from Adenauer. For the personal greetings and media reports see Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 55.

⁷¹⁹ Eugen Gerstenmaier, „Heinrich Grüber: Ein Mann mit heißen Zorn, aber ohne Haß, *Christ und Welt* (23.6.1961): 3. Also the Protestant bishop Otto Dibelius from Berlin hailed Grüber for publicly demonstrating the "superiority of Christian love" and thanked the priest's "service for all of Germany, and especially the Church." Bischof D. Dr. Otto Dibelius, „Propst Grüber zum 70. Geburtstag," *Der Tagesspiegel* (24.6.61). Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 55.

Grüber himself did not share these collectively exonerating intentions. He proclaimed that those who formerly hailed the Nazis or did not help the persecuted share Eichmann's guilt, and called upon the churches as well as states around the world to reflect upon their wartime actions.⁷²⁰ Other voices, as well, urged West Germans not to focus only on what the world thinks about Germans,⁷²¹ and to accept Grüber not as representing the behavior of the German majority under Hitler, but as an example for future conduct.⁷²²

Unlike the West German press, East German newspapers ignored Grüber's testimony almost completely. While at least one East German Protestant newspaper alluded to it positively,⁷²³ the report on the testimony in *Neues Deutschland*, the official newspaper of the regime, mentioned only in passing that the priest saved Jews.⁷²⁴ Since according to the GDR's antifascist myth, all antifascists opposed antisemitism, there was no need to give special attention to specific rescuers. Moreover, even if the SED wanted to celebrate a German rescuer during the Eichmann Trial, who could have been a suitable candidate? Grüber was problematic, because of his conflict with the SED in 1958-1959 that led to the termination of his position as representative of the Protestant Church in the GDR. And Georg Duckwitz, the other German rescuer mentioned in the trial, worked for the West German Foreign Office, that is, the same administration that the GDR deplored as full of fascists!

⁷²⁰ Krause *Der Eichmann-Prozeß in der deutschen Presse*, 121-123.

⁷²¹ Hermann Schreiber, „Wir sind allzumal Deutsche: Ein Lesebrief zum Eichmann-Prozeß und eine Antwort darauf,“ *Stuttgarter Zeitung* (16.6.1961). Reprinted in Lamm, ed., *Der Eichmann-Prozeß in der deutschen öffentlichen Meinung*, 39-41.

⁷²² B[ernd]. N[ellessen]., „Propst Grüber im Zeugenstand: ‚Eichmann war wie ein Eisblock‘ – Der Geistliche erhielt Schmähbriebe,“ *Die Welt* (17.5.1961): 5.

⁷²³ The newspaper is the *Evangelischer Nachrichtendienst*. See Ostermeyer, *Zwischen Schuld und Sühne*, 81. The antisemitic incidents in the FRG and the Eichmann Trial urged also the East German Protestant Church to renew its confrontation with the Jews and their persecution. See *ibid*, 137-138.

⁷²⁴ The article focused instead on rejecting unrelated claims that Globke assisted the persecuted. „Ring um Globke verengt sich: Adenauers Staatssekretär abermals im Eichmann-Prozeß genannt,“ von unserem nach Jerusalem entsandten Sonderkorrespondenten Max Kahane, *Neues Deutschland* (17.5.1961): 7. For the Trial from the East German perspective see Angelika Timm, „Der Eichmann-Prozeß – eine Zäsur für den Umgang mit der Shoah in der DDR,“ in Manfred Weißbecker et al., eds, *Rassismus, Fascismus, Antifaschismus: Forschungen und Betrachtungen, gewidmet Kurt Pätzold zum 70. Geburtstag* (Köln: PapyRossa Verlag, 2000), 340-356.

To conclude what we discussed so far, the Eichmann Trial contributed to challenging West Germans' widespread self-depiction as victims of the Nazis, and elicited a need for balancing accounts. The trial itself also offered the most significant representative of such a balance in the figure of Heinrich Grüber. The articles that celebrated the Protestant priest and other rescuers of Jews did not claim that all Germans were Grübers, but rather aimed to counter the assumption that all were Eichmanns. As part of that claim they also presented Grüber as a positive starting point for dialogues with Jews and Israelis, and as a hero for the youth.

Nevertheless, this exposure of German rescuers in the FRG was not continuous, since it was not sustained within an institutional framework. Instead, allusions to German rescuers after the Eichmann Trial had the short-term quality of press reports and appeared in relation to two main reference points. In the first, rescuers were mentioned in order to balance public preoccupations with German perpetrators. Thus during the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial (1963-1965), the West German press presented stories on Germans who helped Jews both as counter narratives to depictions of German brutality⁷²⁵ and as part of attempts to discover the humane behavior of some defendants.⁷²⁶ The second reference point after the Eichmann Trial was attached to the lives and accomplishments of the rescuers themselves. After the trial, the figure that received multiple honors and which the press and various publications followed in particular was Grüber.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁵ Wilke et al., *Holocaust und NS-Prozesse*, 114.

⁷²⁶ One defendant, Doctor Franz Lucas, introduced witnesses who testified to his humane and decent treatment of inmates in the death camp. When it was established that in spite of his initial statement Lucas did conduct selections on the Auschwitz ramp, the newspapers expressed their disappointment after hoping "that even among the concentration camp henchmen there were those who to an extent defended humanity." Quoted in Devin O. Pendas, *The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963-1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 262. See also Devin O. Pendas, "'I Didn't Know What Auschwitz Was': The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial and the German Press, 1963-1965," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 12 (2000): 397-446, here 439-440.

⁷²⁷ In addition to books that documented the trial and praised his testimony and his actions for the Jews, there were also publications dedicated to the priest that collected celebratory reactions by Jews and non-Jews and advanced the message of reconciliation. See, for example, Dov B. Schmorak, *Sieben sagen*

But Grüber did not settle for a life as a symbol, and continued expressing uncompromising critique and unpopular opinions. This was apparent especially in the controversy surrounding Rolf Hochhuth's documentary play *Der Stellvertreter* (The Deputy, 1963).⁷²⁸ The play reproached Pope Pius XII's wartime unwillingness to openly condemn the Holocaust and presented a close look at some of the Nazi perpetrators.⁷²⁹ Within the debate that erupted,⁷³⁰ some clergypersons mentioned Grüber's help to the persecuted in order to present Hochhuth's portrayal of the Churches' wartime indifference as either too grim or totally unfair.⁷³¹ Grüber, however, aroused antagonism when he accepted the play's general attitude, argued to the shared guilt of all Christians in nurturing anti-Jewish sentiments, and criticized the Churches' insufficient action for the Jews.⁷³²

Nevertheless, Grüber's critique did not diminish his authority as a public moral figure. In 1966, his 75th birthday produced personal greetings from the second CDU chancellor, Ludwig Erhard, as well as from Adenauer, Gerstenmaier, the SPD, the Israeli ambassador Asher Ben Natan, and many more, and yielded a whole series of laudatory press reports.⁷³³ A similar flood of articles appeared in 1971 when Grüber

aus: *Zeugen im Eichmann-Prozeß* (Berlin-Grunewald; Arani-Verlag, 1962), 92-93; Bernd Nellesen, *Der Prozeß von Jerusalem: Ein Dokument* (Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1964), 115; Freundeskreis Heinrich Grübers, *Heinrich Grüber: Zeuge pro Israel* (Berlin: Käthe Vogt, 1963).

⁷²⁸ Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter: Schauspiel* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1963).

⁷²⁹ The play also presented positive Christian figures that attempted to stop the mass murder, saved at least one Jew, and sacrificed their lives in trying to prevent the extermination, but the debate surrounding it focused on the negative rather than the positive. The play presents a mixture of fictional and real characters. His two main protagonists are Kurt Gerstein, an SS man who informed the Catholic Nuncio in Berlin and other diplomats on the mass murder of Jews, and a Jesuit priest, Ricardo Fontana, whose image was inspired by the Catholic priest Bernhard Lichtenberg, who protested against the deportation of the Jews and died on the way to a concentration camp.

⁷³⁰ On the debate see Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 217-227.

⁷³¹ See, for example, Bischof G. Jacobi, „Offener Brief an der Bischöflichen Offizial von Oldenburg,“ *Echo der Zeit* (14.4.1963). Reprinted in Fritz J. Raddatz, *Summa iniuria oder Durfte der Papst schweigen?: Hochhuths „Stellvertreter“ in der öffentlichen Kritik* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1963), 188-190.

⁷³² Grüber expressed this opinion in various occasions. For Grüber's speech and a few reactions to his statements see Raddatz, *Summa iniuria oder Durfte der Papst schweigen?*, 200-206.

⁷³³ Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 65.

turned 80.⁷³⁴ The press also reported on the various international awards and honors that Grüber received,⁷³⁵ and his public appearances expanded to the German-Israeli Society (established 1966) and to events of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation.⁷³⁶ When he died, on November 29, 1975, the West German press⁷³⁷ mourned the loss of this symbol of humanity and one of them remarked that “when he appeared as a witness in the Eichmann Trial, he proved to the entire world that there was also ‘another Germany’.”⁷³⁸

Collecting “Unsung Heroes”

We have seen by now that the Eichmann Trial triggered a (limited and situation-specific) public search for rescuers in West Germany. But there were also other attempts to gather the memory of German rescuers. In 1957, a book called *Die unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunklen Tagen* (The Unsung Heroes: Human Beings in Germany’s Dark Days) was published in West Berlin and presented, for the first time in the Germanys and internationally,⁷³⁹ an anthology of

⁷³⁴ Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 69, 1638, 1639. Furthermore, for this occasion, young admirers of the priest initiated the publication of a small book that included greetings by the FRG’s president, Gustav Heinemann, the mayor of Berlin, and Ernst Simon from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Peter Helbich and Günter Köhler, eds, *Heinrich Grüber (Eine kleine Festschrift aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Propst D. Dr. Heinrich Grüber)* (Berlin, 1971).

⁷³⁵ Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 65.

⁷³⁶ Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 669-670.

⁷³⁷ East German eulogies seem to have taken place only among his former colleagues in East Berlin, yet in 1987 an updated biography of the priest (that appeared first in 1956) was published in the GDR and presented a renewed interest in him. In it, there is no mention of Grüber’s conflicts with the SED, and his rescue activity and testimony in the Eichmann Trial are depicted positively. Nevertheless, the introduction employs the same old critical tone against the West Germans, who allegedly use Grüber in order to draw the attention away from the inhumanities that still take place in the FRG. See “Ansprache am 24. Juni 1976 in der Marienkirche Berlin zum Gedenken rüber, von Pfr. Schade.“ Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Heinrich Grüber. Akte 78; Günther Wirth, *Heinrich Grüber: Dona nobis pacem! Rettet das Leben!* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1987).

⁷³⁸ For example, W.-D. Zimmermann, „Heinrich Grüber: Der andere Deutsche,“ *Die allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* (7.12.1975).

⁷³⁹ The first non-German anthology of rescuers was published at the same year, 1957, in English: Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers’ Keepers* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1957). As Grossmann states in the book’s acknowledgments, he discussed his project with Friedman and gained his assistance in attaining information.

rescuers of Jews.⁷⁴⁰ The author was Kurt Grossmann (born 1897), a man of Jewish descent, a pacifist, and dedicated human rights' activist who fled Germany in February 1933, first to Prague, later to Paris, and eventually to New York where he stayed until his death in 1972.⁷⁴¹

Grossmann collected in the book 69 episodes that told of rescuers of Jews, more than half of whom Germans,⁷⁴² and the rest from mostly West European countries. The book is based on interviews Grossmann conducted with rescuers and survivors as well as on a large number of rescue episodes he gathered from books and newspaper articles that appeared in different languages and countries (West and East Germany, Austria, France, the U.S., etc.). As such, the book draws on many scattered accounts (reprinting, for example, excerpts from Ruth Andreas-Friedrich's diary, which we discussed in chapter two), while simultaneously breaking with the scattered character of references to rescuers of Jews. In the book's foreword, Grossmann defines *Unsung Heroes* as the few

who did not lose their mind when the mass hysteria raged foaming waves, set off fear, and bore organized sadism, and who despite of the dangers facing them helped jeopardized human-brothers [...]. [They are] the selfless (*die Selbstlosen*) who acted as the unorganized implementers of the eternal law of humanity.⁷⁴³

⁷⁴⁰ Kurt Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunklen Tagen* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani Verlag, 1957).

⁷⁴¹ Lothar Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte: Leben und Wirken von Kurt R. Grossmann* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1997).

⁷⁴² The book includes 29 episodes that focus on German rescuers, told by either survivors or rescuers. Most episodes focus on a single rescuer, while one chapter collects rescue stories in concentration camps and a 30-page-long section discusses "letters that reached me," in which many short stories on German rescuers receive attention. See Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden*, 135-163.

⁷⁴³ Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden*, 11-12.

As this paragraph makes clear, Grossmann viewed the rescuers as individuals acting out of altruism and humane convictions, and looked at them as absolute heroes.⁷⁴⁴ Explicitly identifying himself as a Jew, he points to his personal commitment to tell the story of the “brave non-Jewish men and women,”⁷⁴⁵ in them he sees the hope for a continuity of the “German-Jewish symbiosis” that the Nazi regime destroyed. Furthermore, Grossmann points out the usefulness of honoring these rescuers as moral heroes: In doing so, Germans can learn “to orient themselves anew and overcome the depth of national shame and disgrace” that emerged as a consequence of Nazism and WWII.⁷⁴⁶

Grossmann supported a German-Jewish reconciliation, but was nevertheless unwilling to accept it under all conditions, demanding that (West) Germany first solve the moral, legal, and material problems emanating from the Holocaust.⁷⁴⁷ He was very critical of Germans’ behavior and made up his mind early on not to return to his homeland, disappointed from what he sensed was the population’s continued adherence to Nazi ideas. Yet he nevertheless decided already in 1948 to show the world also the peace loving Germans (with some of which he worked before 1933),⁷⁴⁸ and expressed his belief in 1950 that it does not matter whether these “decent Germans” constitute the majority or the minority, one must join them in the struggle for a democratic Germany.⁷⁴⁹

Grossmann testified that he started thinking about rescuers when in 1946 or 1947, while he was employed at the New York Jewish World Congress department for

⁷⁴⁴ For a scholarly emphasis on the importance of individual characteristics as the causes for rescuers’ actions see Samuel & Pearl Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality*.

⁷⁴⁵ Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden*, 13.

⁷⁴⁶ Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden*, 24.

⁷⁴⁷ He also actively participated in the implementation of these steps, as is apparent in his work for the reparation agreement. See also Grossmann’s explicit references to his demands from the German society in the 1960s and early 1970s. Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 220, 226.

⁷⁴⁸ Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 86-98, 207-214.

⁷⁴⁹ Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 231.

the support of refugees, a group of Jewish women approached him and asked to send packages to a certain Oskar Schindler. Surprised to see Jewish survivors eager to help a German shortly after the end of atrocities, he listened to their report on this man who saved (together with his wife, Emilie) about 1,100 Jews, and decided to collect and publish similar rescue stories.⁷⁵⁰ Such humane action fitted well within his general humanitarian activity and as his other publications demonstrate, Grossmann advocated using biographical accounts as role models for the promotion of humanity and peace.⁷⁵¹

While Grossmann initially addressed the topic to Jews in order to convince them of their duty to publicly thank non-Jewish rescuers,⁷⁵² he gradually turned his attention to German audiences. Grossmann lobbied for the public acceptance of the reparation agreement, portrayed it as part of the moral basis of the FRG, and continued to accumulate material on rescuers.⁷⁵³ During a 1956 visit in West Germany, Arno Scholz, the owner of the Arani publishing house in West Berlin, who was very

⁷⁵⁰ Kurt R. Grossmann, „Die unbesungenen Helden,“ *Tribüne: Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 1: 4 (1962): 406-411; Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden*, 29. Schindler's story opens the book in its first edition.

⁷⁵¹ In 1951 Grossmann submitted American publishing houses with a manuscript that collected biographical sketches of Nobel Peace Prize laureates and aimed to advance peace in the present. The manuscript was rejected. Jewish Museum Berlin – Kurt Grossmann Collection. LBIJM MF 478, Reel 68 22/494 IV D.

⁷⁵² In August 1950 he offered the American magazine *Commentary* an article called “We Should Not Forget” that would “evaluate the question whether Jews should recognize the assistance of non-Jews, *regardless of nationality*, in their time of trial.” This article aimed to address Jewish audiences and did not focus on German rescuers alone, emphasizing “the duty to express our gratitude to those who risked their lives, their positions and their scarce material means in order to rescue our fellow Jews.”

Grossmann was well aware that such an enterprise, mere five years after the end of the war, was a “touchy” issue among Jews. Kurt R. Grossmann to Elliott E. Cohen, *Commentary* (August 30, 1950). Jewish Museum Berlin – Kurt Grossmann Collection. LBIJM MF 478, Reel 52 16/392 III B.

⁷⁵³ On January 10, 1956 Grossmann, who stayed in Frankfurt at the time, circulated a letter with documents that support the *Wiedergutmachung*, explain it, and oppose forgetting of the Holocaust. A part of these documents reprint Adenauer's 1951 speech in the *Bundestag* that included the chancellor's statement on Germans' assistance to the persecuted Jews. For Grossmann, this was a part of the moral factors for the new Germany. Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv, Nachlass Kurt R. Grossmann. Akz. 4435/70, Bestand ED 201/6.

interested in arousing a public confrontation with the Nazi past, promised to publish his book.⁷⁵⁴

A year later, when the book appeared, its content reflected the scattered origin of its sources. In spite of Grossmann's editorial interventions, the different authors (either rescuers telling about themselves, survivors about their benefactors, or third party reports) presented a diversity of style and tone and framed the acts of rescue in different ways. In some cases this made the rescuers into secondary figures. For example, the episode depicting the actions of a poor and eccentric German woman who housed and fed three young Jews until the end of the war, dedicates less than a third to the rescuer herself. The reason seems to lie in the origin of the text, which was taken from the 1949 book *We Survived: Fourteen Stories of the Hidden and Hunted of Nazi Germany* that appeared in the USA in English. The American book focuses on survival stories and not on rescue, but Grossmann, obviously touched by this fascinating account, reproduced it in its entirety.⁷⁵⁵

In spite of the positive reviews that *Die unbesungenen Helden* received,⁷⁵⁶ and the interest it aroused among German Jews⁷⁵⁷ as well as among non-Jews who asked to be acknowledged as rescuers,⁷⁵⁸ Grossmann was not successful in his enterprise to make the rescuers of Jews into more celebrated heroes than the members of the

⁷⁵⁴ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 38. Grossmann's project fitted well within other books of the Arani publishing house, which documented the Third Reich and the Holocaust, and sometimes also made references to rescuers of Jews. See Léon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani Verlag, 1955); Poliakov and Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Diener* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani Verlag, 1956).

⁷⁵⁵ Rolf Joseph, "Rags, Picklocks, and Pliers," in Eric H. Boehm, ed., *We Survived: Fourteen Histories of the Hidden and Hunted of Nazi Germany* (Denver, Colorado: Clio Press, 1985 [1949]), 151-162.

⁷⁵⁶ See the collection of reviews that the Arani publishing house printed. Jewish Museum Berlin – Kurt Grossmann Collection. LBIJM MF 478, Reel 52 16/392 III B.

⁷⁵⁷ The countless letters that he sent to Jewish institutions and figures in the FRG and in other countries in searching for information on rescuers led to a certain anticipation on their part and to a growing awareness regarding the topic. Jewish Museum Berlin – Kurt Grossmann Collection. LBIJM MF 478, Reel 52 16/392 III B.

⁷⁵⁸ In the West Berlin *Telegraf* and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in Munich. Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 269. See a few examples from the responses to Grossmann's letters in Jewish Museum Berlin – Kurt Grossmann Collection. LBIJM MF 478, Reel 52 16/392 III B.

resistance.⁷⁵⁹ The selling of *Die unbesungenen Helden* proceeded slowly and Grossmann turned to the West German Press and Information Office in order to publicize his book. The office promised to buy 1000 copies to be used for political education, agreed to invite Grossmann to an “information tour” through the FRG, and the cultural ministers of seven West German regions recommended the book as a teaching material.⁷⁶⁰ Grossmann also asked for the Federal Republic’s assistance in producing an American edition of the book and the funding of lectures he intended to give on his tour, in which he would enlighten “the youth and other groups” on “positive aspects from the time of the NS-regime.” Yet the office, which principally welcomed both initiatives, saw its participation in them as inappropriate, either in fear of arousing the suspicion of a propaganda campaign or simply in order to save money on a project that was not the government’s top priority.⁷⁶¹

Grossmann was disappointed from the modest audience attendance in his tours through West Germany⁷⁶² and it seems that only thanks to his efforts to distribute his book with the help of FRG officials, as well as among Jewish organizations in the United States,⁷⁶³ did the first edition with its humble 3,000 copies sell out.⁷⁶⁴ The second edition that appeared in 1961 included an updated foreword, six new episodes,

⁷⁵⁹ Grossmann declared this goal in the book’s foreword. Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden*, 12.

⁷⁶⁰ Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 271.

⁷⁶¹ Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B/145/719. During his West German tour in summer 1959, Grossmann was invited by *Arbeit und Leben*, an organization of political education that belonged to the trade union league (DGB), to come the next year as well. In the tour that took place in the fall of 1960, Grossmann gave 25 lectures on various issues concerning “the problems of the National Socialist period.” Five of the lectures (entitled “Humanity in Germany’s Darkest Days”) addressed the *Unsung Heroes* directly. Memorandum von Kurt R. Grossmann, Betrifft: Bericht ueber Deutschland-Reise (December 28, 1960). Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv, Nachlass Kurt R. Grossmann. Akz. 4435/70, Bestand ED 201/6.

⁷⁶² “Memorandum von Kurt R. Grossmann, Betrifft: Bericht ueber Deutschland-Reise (December 28, 1960).“ Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv, Nachlass Kurt R. Grossmann. Akz. 4435/70, Bestand ED 201/6.

⁷⁶³ See the correspondences with representatives of Jewish congregations and organizations in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Boston. Jewish Museum Berlin – Kurt Grossmann Collection. LBIJM MF 478, Reel 66 21/484 IV C.

⁷⁶⁴ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 39.

and a few changes in the arrangement of chapters.⁷⁶⁵ Grossmann's lectures and the incorporation of the book into libraries may have exposed more West Germans to the topic than before, but the book seems to have had only a limited influence on public debates. I found, for example, no direct mentioning of *Die unbesungenen Helden* in the press releases on the Eichmann Trial, although the article series on German rescuers that appeared in the magazine *Stern* in 1961 presents at least a structural similarity with Grossmann's book.

The existence of a further structural and thematic influence may be deduced when considering that after Grossmann's book there appeared four other anthologies of rescuers. The first anthology is the 1961 *Heimliche Hilfe: Erlebnisberichte aus der Zeit der Judenverfolgung* (Secret Help: Experiences from the Time of the Jewish Persecution).⁷⁶⁶ The editors of this thin book (47 pages) present it as a reply to the call of the Protestant synod in Germany, from February of that year, which urged believers to use the upcoming Eichmann Trial as an opportunity to confront the Nazi past. In reporting on cases of secret help, the editors argue against using these deeds to deny the responsibility of the German people to the suffering of the "Jewish brothers." Rather, they assert that the rescue stories should enable Christians to gaze at God's benevolence and share Christ's path of suffering and repentance.⁷⁶⁷ The book thus follows the logic of earlier Christian references that viewed rescue as an expression of compassion and a way to advance individuals' spiritual reflection, rather than a national one.

⁷⁶⁵ By the second edition, the attention that Grossmann received allowed him access to more sources. One can see that, for example, the connection to the Yad Vashem memorial in the incorporation of Anton Schmidt's story into the German section of the book. A report on this man, whom we have shortly encountered in the first chapter, appeared in the memorial's bulletin a few years before. Schmidt's actual name was Schmid and he was an Austrian *Wehrmacht* soldier, yet neither Grossmann nor the author of the Yad Vashem article knew that at the time. Kurt Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunklen Tagen* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani Verlag, 1961), 175-178.

⁷⁶⁶ Gerda Drewes and Eva Kochanski, *Heimliche Hilfe: Erlebnisberichte aus der Zeit der Judenverfolgung* (Lahr: Ernst Kaufmann, 1961).

⁷⁶⁷ Gerda Drewes, „Einführung,“ in Drewes and Kochanski, *Heimliche Hilfe*, 3-4. See also Maria Krueger, „Nachwort,“ in *ibid.*, 45-47.

The second anthology, Michael Horbach's *Wenige: Zeugnisse der Menschlichkeit, 1933-1945* (A Few: Testimonies of Humanity, 1933-1945), was published in 1964 in West Germany.⁷⁶⁸ Horbach, the author of popular novels, conducted interviews and collected 11 rescue stories, which he gave a dramatic treatment.⁷⁶⁹ *Wenige* has neither introduction nor epilog, yet its title indicates Horbach's lamentation of the small number of German rescuers. Thus also this anthology is not an attempt to claim to the righteousness of Germans as a whole, but functions both as a report on the Nazi atrocities against the Jews and as a testimony that not all subscribed to it. In 1979, in the book's third edition, Horbach added a short afterword that explains his preoccupation with the topic as emerging from being moved by what he heard during the Eichmann Trial. He felt "obliged to chronicle the story of the persecution, but also that of the silent helpers and heroes,"⁷⁷⁰ and this juxtaposition can be seen as a balancing maneuver similar to the one many Eichmann Trial commentators employed.⁷⁷¹

Horbach (1924-1986), who was drafted to the *Wehrmacht* in 1942, sketched in a series of war novels the soldier as neither Nazi nor deserter, but as a man who in doing what he was required shares some of the Nazis' guilt.⁷⁷² In his 1960 novel *Bevor die Nacht begann* (Before the Night Began) he examined the question of moral behavior by focusing on two men: a Nazi sympathizer, who left his Jewish girl thus facing disappointment and disillusion, and another who abandons his indifferent attitude and helped a persecuted friend, a Jehovah's Witness, to escape.⁷⁷³ Considering

⁷⁶⁸ Michael Horbach, *Wenige: Zeugnisse der Menschlichkeit 1933 1945* (München: Kindler, 1964).

⁷⁶⁹ In 1967 the book received a second German as well as an English printing. Michael Horbach, *Out of the Night* (London: Mitchell, 1967).

⁷⁷⁰ „Nachwort, in Michael Horbach, *So überlebten sie den Holocaust: Zeugnisse der Menschlichkeit 1933-1945* (München: Goldmann, 1979).

⁷⁷¹ We can see this juxtaposition also in the structure of the chapters, each of which opens with a quote from a speech or text of Nazi perpetrators, from Hitler's "prophecy" from January 30, 1939, to Himmler's speech in Posen, and to other SS men such as Odilo Globocnik, Rudolf Höß, etc.

⁷⁷² Peitsch, „Zur Geschichte von ‚Vergangenheitsbewältigung‘“, 100.

⁷⁷³ Michael Horbach, *Bevor die Nacht begann* (München: Kurt Desch, 1960).

Horbach's focus on moral questions and rescue, it seems probable that his decision to publish an anthology of rescue stories had nothing to do with Grossmann's book (which he does not mention), and more with his own thematic development that was enhanced by the Eichmann Trial and the balancing reports on rescuers that surrounded it. Nevertheless, it is still possible that Grossmann's precedent inspired Horbach to write his book.

The next rescuer anthology was published in West Germany in 1967. It was a German translation of Heinz David Leuner's *When Compassion Was a Crime: Germany's Silent Heroes, 1933-1945* that appeared a year earlier in London.⁷⁷⁴ In his "letter to the reader," Leuner states his opposition to generalization of all kind, both the one condemning all Jews as the murderers of Christ and the one denouncing all Germans as Nazi murderers.⁷⁷⁵ This message appears to be more relevant for non-German audiences, but in addressing young readers, it made sense also in the German translation.⁷⁷⁶

Leuner was born in 1906 to Jewish parents, escaped Germany in 1933, converted to Christianity, and settled in the U.K., where he was active in reconciliatory activities between Christians and Jews. His preoccupation with German rescuers of Jews started at the latest when he wrote an article honoring Heinrich Grüber in 1956, in the occasion of the priest's 65th birthday.⁷⁷⁷ I was unable to

⁷⁷⁴ Heinz David Leuner, *When Compassion Was a Crime: Germany's Silent Heroes, 1933-1945* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1966). The German book is called *Als Mitleid ein Verbrechen war: Deutschlands Stille Helden, 1933-1945* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1967). The book's title clearly expresses the struggle between two moral systems, i.e. the humanistic and the Nazi particular one.

⁷⁷⁵ Leuner, *When Compassion Was a Crime*, 11-12. See also the book's dedication "to the youth of today, lest they fall victim to hatred, prejudice, and generalization." Ibid, 5.

⁷⁷⁶ The book itself mentions more than a hundred names of Germans who assisted Jews or protested against the antisemitic measures and organizes them in chapters divided according to themes. Unlike Grossmann, Leuner did not reprint reports that appeared elsewhere, but narrated them anew, thus being able to condense, for example, the 1947 book of Max Krakauer into five pages. Leuner, *When Compassion Was a Crime*, 129-133.

⁷⁷⁷ H. D. Leuner, „Propst Grüber 65 Jahre,“ *Der Zeuge: Organ der Internationalen Judenchristlichen Allianz* (Juli 1956): 30-31. A decade later, when his book appeared, the German journal he edited celebrated Grüber's 75th birthday as a symbol of humanity, love, and faith. *Der Zeuge: Organ der*

ascertain whether Grossmann played any role in Leuner's project, apart from the fact that the latter quoted from *Die unbesungenen Helden*, as well as from Horbach, and a whole array of German and English sources.⁷⁷⁸ In any case, Leuner clearly did not think that his book was the first and only publication of its kind, but rather wished to add another layer to a cause that he deemed meaningful and important by including more rescue accounts and offering his own interpretation.

Grossmann's and Leuner's books, as well as *Heimliche Hilfe*, used a few sources published in East Germany, and this exchange of sources was not one-sided. In 1968 appeared the first (and only) East German anthology of rescuers under the title *Stärker als die Angst* (Stronger Than Fear).⁷⁷⁹ It included one new text by Leuner, and reprinted two articles from *Heimliche Hilfe*, two from West German newspapers, and one from Grossmann's book.⁷⁸⁰ The book, published in the occasion of the 30th anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, has 26 articles, most of them written by Christian clergypersons that criticize the Churches' indifference to the fate of the Jews and celebrate the individuals who helped. The book's subtitle acts as a dedication "to the six millions who did not find a rescuer," and its content demonstrates its basic similarity to the West German anthologies, which depicted the catastrophe of the Jews, stated the shared responsibility of many Germans in not fighting against it, while praising the humanity of the few.

Internationalen Judenchristlichen Allianz (Juni 1966): 5. A similar celebration of Grüber appears in the book: Leuner, *When Compassion Was a Crime*, 114-119.

⁷⁷⁸ Leuner states in the acknowledgments that the richest single source of information was the bulletin of the Wiener Library itself. As such he demonstrates the importance of works that Jews around the world published for the creation of these anthologies, as in the case of the American Jew Grossmann. In any case, Wiener and Leuner must have encountered the review of the rescue anthologies by Grossmann and by Philip Friedman: M. Boertien, "In Defiance of Tyranny: Comforting the Persecuted," *The Wiener Library Bulletin* 5-6: 12 (1958): 43.

⁷⁷⁹ Heinrich Fink, *Stärker als die Angst: Den sechs Millionen, die keinen Retter fanden* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1968).

⁷⁸⁰ Furthermore, Leuner's article mentions additional West German publications, such as Andreas-Friedrich's *Der Schattenmann*, Krakauer's *Lichter im Dunkel* and Horbach's *Wenige*. Fink, ed., *Stärker als die Angst*, 41-45. The authors come from East and West Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the U.K. and the U.S., thus presenting the transnational exchanges that were involved in this publication.

Although the book addresses many internally Christian issues, several articles take on the broader political perspective of the GDR and criticize the FRG. One author calls readers' attention to the possibility that SA men who pushed Jews into trains heading to their death may live today "as well-to-do citizens in Cologne, Hanover, Frankfurt or elsewhere, planning summer vacations in the Riviera."⁷⁸¹ A reviewer of the manuscript from October 17, 1967 praised this critique as well as the contributions' message of solidarity and peace that went beyond the help for Jews alone. He also welcomed the leftist orientation of Leuner, but recommended the inclusion of a stronger ideological interpretation.⁷⁸² The author chosen for this job, Emil Fuchs, a retired theology professor from Berlin, added a foreword to the book that articulated the antifascist interpretation of the GDR. It quoted Ulbricht's words on the continued imperialism of the West and Israel in 1967 and stated that racial questions cannot be discussed independently of class.⁷⁸³

To conclude this section we can say that, first, the different expressions of *scattered* memory were vital to bringing about the anthologies of rescue, which are manifestations of *gathered* memory. Thus the efforts of a group of Jewish women to help the person who saved their lives incited interest in Grossmann who as a result started collecting already published books and articles, which in turn led him to look for more, previously unknown, cases. Second, although we cannot be sure whether Grossmann's anthology directly inspired the creation of other such books, we were able to trace the existence of a certain exchange between different anthologies, at least in the case of quoting from each other, if not also in the idea of publishing an

⁷⁸¹ Renate Riembeck, „Als die Stunde schlug,“ in Fink, ed., *Stärker als die Angst*, 71-75, here 74-75.

⁷⁸² Walter Bredendiek, „Gutachten zu dem Manuskript ‚Christlich-jüdische Solidarität‘ (Arbeitstitel) (Objekt 1705 des Union Verlages, Berlin.“ Bundesarchiv Berlin, DR1/2426.

⁷⁸³ Emil Fuchs, „...daß sie nicht Herr über uns werden,“ in Fink, ed., *Stärker als die Angst*, 47-55; Emil Fuchs, „Zum Geleit,“ *ibid*, 7-10. The foreword carries the symbolic date of November 9, 1967, and was written after the review and in accordance with its recommendation. On the changes and additions see also Ruth Böhner, „Verlagsgutachten zu 1204 Stärker als die Angst (Herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Fink),“ Bundesarchiv Berlin, DR1/2426.

anthology of rescuers. Third, this exchange went across societies and was not restricted to the German states, yet it had a stronger echo and relevance in West Germany.⁷⁸⁴ This relevance corresponds with the patterns that emerged during the Eichmann Trial. Accordingly, the authors of two anthologies (*Wenige* and *Heimliche Hilfe*) referred explicitly to the Eichmann Trial as the event that compelled them to go through with the publication, and there is no doubt that the use of rescuers for a balance regarding the Nazi past, as in the trial itself and the press releases around it, contributed to the establishment of these and other anthologies, as well. Fourth, in spite of the books' different styles and orientations, all of them shared the same basic notion that warned against using the rescuers as a means to free all Germans from responsibility for the persecution of the Jews, and at the same time celebrated them as role models.

Finally, the significance of these anthologies did not only lie in the gathering of stories and names, although this did make them into essential sources of information for later commemorations of rescue. More importantly, these anthologies offered frameworks to the discussion of rescue. Grossmann was the first to introduce a new concept, *Unsung Heroes*, for a phenomenon that did not have a specific designation before. By coining this concept, he did not only propose a way to succinctly address the rescue of Jews, but also aimed to make it into a distinct topic, rather than approach rescue and rescuers within discussions on resistance, as a case of private gratitude or as part of the dramatic turns in a fictional plot, as it was common at the time. The other anthologies were less explicit at that, but also their titles provided short designations that characterized the rescuers as a heroic moral minority that acted secretly and silently.

⁷⁸⁴ This becomes clear when we consider that unlike most of its West German parallels, *Stärker als die Angst* received no second edition in the GDR.

The concept of *Unsung Heroes* demonstrates the transnational dynamics that Grossmann, a German-Jew who settled in the U.S. and published in West Berlin, embodied. Unfamiliar in German-language publications, this concept appeared in quite a number of American books during and before the 1950s and often addressed similar topics on human rights or non-combatant activity.⁷⁸⁵ As Reinhart Koselleck has argued, when introducing a concept, its meaning is constituted in relation to other, familiar, and related concepts, and its social relevance depends upon contemporary needs and common assumptions.⁷⁸⁶ In the case of *Unsung Heroes*, Grossmann's familiarity with the concept stems both from his immediate American environment and the German audience's notions of heroism. On the one hand, Grossmann's *Unsung Heroes* opposed the Nazi notion of chauvinistic and violent heroism. On the other hand, it drew on postwar attempts to construct an alternative hero type that prevents violence, while also reflecting pre-1933 socialist images of heroism that emphasized the daily sacrifice of men and women and their humanitarian message.⁷⁸⁷

Honoring “Unsung Heroes”

Unsung Heroes became the primary concept in addressing rescuers of Jews in the 1960s and 1970s⁷⁸⁸ and that is probably because it achieved institutional framework that anchored it and helped make it familiar.⁷⁸⁹ Dennis Riffel's 2007 study masterfully reconstructs the first part of this institutionalization, i.e. the honoring

⁷⁸⁵ My observation here is based on the WorldCat catalog and the catalogs of German libraries.

⁷⁸⁶ Reinhart Koselleck, “*Begriffsgeschichte and Social History*,” in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 75-92.

⁷⁸⁷ Ute Frevert, „Herren und Helden: Vom Aufstieg und Niedergang des Heroismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,“ in Richard von Dülmen, ed., *Erfindung des Menschen: Schöpfungsträume und Körperbilder 1500-2000* (Wien: Böhlau, 1998), 342-344.

⁷⁸⁸ This observation is shared by Steinbach, „Unbesungene Helden’.“ See also the discussion below and the following example in a publication from the mid 1960s: Hertha Zerna, „Ich bin eine unbesungene Heldin oder Ballade vom kleinen Widerstand,“ in Sender Freies Berlin, ed., *Darauf kam die Gestapo nicht: Beiträge zum Widerstand im Rundfunk* (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 9-17.

⁷⁸⁹ Another reason for the primacy of *Unsung Heroes* as a concept in these decades was undoubtedly connected to Grossmann's continued publications about it (using this concept) by the early 1970s. Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 270.

initiative in West Berlin, from 1958 to 1966, and the next few pages are greatly based on him.⁷⁹⁰ In December 1956, Rolf Loewenberg, who since 1949 represented the Berlin Jewish community in compensation claims, offered Grossmann his help in finding information on rescuers for his book. While by this time Grossmann's manuscript had already reached the publisher, this letter led to the community's decision to publicly honor rescuers of Jews. Loewenberg, who, in his position, encountered requests for compensation and acknowledgment of non-Jews who helped Jews to survive,⁷⁹¹ saw in Grossmann's project an opportunity to do something in this issue. On April 20, 1958, the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the Jewish community decided to use the grant money of the Heinrich-Stahl-Award (accorded since 1956) that honored persons who made important services for the community, to establish a fund for rescuers of Jews. Loewenberg was put in charge of this fund, and received Grossmann's permission to use the title of *Unsung Heroes*.⁷⁹²

Loewenberg bemoaned the insufficient funding raised, but the initiative did manage to materialize thanks to the efforts of Joachim Lipschitz, the Senator for Internal Affairs in West Berlin. Encouraged by his encounter with Grossmann in early 1958 and previous appeals for compensations from a German woman who asked for financial support due of her assistance to "Jewish friends,"⁷⁹³ Lipschitz decided that the honoring of German rescuers should be an official matter of the West Berlin administration.⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁹⁰ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*. Riffel's study was the first to deal extensively with any aspect of the commemoration of rescuers in West Germany.

⁷⁹¹ See, for example, the following request for compensation, whose structure resembles that of a denazification attest. „Max Böhme an das Entschädigungsamt, Berlin (15.11.1951),“ Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 078, Nr. 218.

⁷⁹² Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 43-47.

⁷⁹³ Riffel points out that due to the close connection between Lipschitz and the Jewish community, it is possible that the senator took an active part in deciding to establish the fund for the rescuers. See Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 59-60.

⁷⁹⁴ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 47-64. On the connections between Grossmann and Lipschitz see also Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 240-243.

Lipschitz's reasons for embracing this initiative seem to have been twofold. First, they corresponded with the senator's reparation policy. He believed that compensations would enable German Jews as well as countries worldwide to trust the new German state. Second, the commemoration of rescuers and the emphasis on mutual understanding between Jewish and non-Jewish Germans probably drew on Lipschitz's personal story. Born to a "mixed couple," he was drafted to the *Wehrmacht*, fought on different fronts between 1939 and 1942, and lost his left arm in battle. When in October 1944 "half Jews" were supposed to be deported to forced labor camps, he hid with the help of his non-Jewish love (and later wife).⁷⁹⁵ Lipschitz thus occupied a position that tied Jews and the Berlin Jewish community, with which he had good relations, with the city's non-Jewish population.

By April 1960, Lipschitz established a mechanism to honor rescuers of Jews in West Berlin.⁷⁹⁶ The administrative principles for awarding individual rescuers with certificates also included a possibility to grant them either a one-time or monthly allowance. Lipschitz gave the instruction not to be too harsh and nit-pick the applications for support, reminding his employees of the public benefits of this initiative.⁷⁹⁷ Nevertheless, because of legal and financial implications, applicants had to present reliable evidence that corroborated their claims. At that the initiative

⁷⁹⁵ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 47-57.

⁷⁹⁶ An irregular honoring and support of rescuers took place also in the West Berlin administration before Lipschitz established this mechanism. Thus at least one rescuer received a grant of 100 DM from the help fund of the mayor in the 1950s (the exact date is not mentioned). Der Senator für Inneres, Berlin, „Vorlage für die Sitzung der Personalkommission des Senats (7.10.1960),“ Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 004, Nr. 323.

⁷⁹⁷ Furthermore, he often went beyond the regulations in deciding in favor of applicants. In one case, an Israeli citizen who read in the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* about the extraordinary story of a German firefighter who donated blood to Jews during the Nazi years and requested if the Berlin Senate could fly the latter to Israel to tell his story. Lipschitz approved of the request and the city financed the flight of the retired firefighter and his wife for a visit in Israel. See Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 96-97.

differed from Grossmann, who was so thrilled about the existence of German rescuers that he often simply took their word.⁷⁹⁸

The official name of the initiative was “the honoring of Berlin citizens who unselfishly helped the persecuted in the Nazi period,” but in many internal documents, as well as in Lipschitz’s and others’ speeches in the ceremonies, the title was still *Unsung Heroes*. The same was true for newspaper reports, which must have found the official title to be much too long.⁷⁹⁹ West Berlin newspapers started reporting on the initiative once the city took over, and this, in turn, led to a flood of applications. The people who sent the applications were individuals who identified themselves as rescuers (or their acquaintances), organizations, such as the Society of Christian-Jewish Cooperation that did it for its members, and Jewish survivors who applied for their former benefactors.

As during the denazification procedures, Jewish survivors who wrote attestations for non-Jews or applied for them to be honored as *Unsung Heroes* could use this opportunity to repay their “debt of thanks” (*Dankesschuld*) or “debt of honor” (*Ehrenschild*), as some of the Jewish applicants phrased it.⁸⁰⁰ Those rescued Jews who, unlike Max Krakauer, did not dedicate a book to their benefactors, could rather easily express their gratitude using the offer of the West Berlin Senate. Yet only West Berliners were eligible to receive the title and applications that arrived from other parts of the FRG and from East Berlin were turned down.⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁸ On the honoring mechanism, regulations, and Lipschitz’s position in it see Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 65-98.

⁷⁹⁹ In German it was called: „Ehrung von Berliner Bürgern, die in der NS-Zeit Verfolgten uneigennützig Hilfe gewährt haben.“ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 89-90.

⁸⁰⁰ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 105. We may assume that in some cases it was not the Jews’ initiative and that they simply followed explicit requests by their rescuers, who needed the compensation money. In any case, unlike the miserable and isolated situation of Jewish survivors in the immediate postwar years, it seems probable that the social pressure on survivors to submit these attestations was milder and emanated mostly from within Jewish circles and not from extortion by former Nazis (on the latter see my discussion in chapter two).

⁸⁰¹ Nevertheless, *Allgemeine*, the newspaper of the West German Jewish communities, which regularly reported on the honoring of *Unsung Heroes*, gave its public an additional possibility to express Jews’

Personal gratitude played a role among the main actors of the West Berlin Senate's commemorative initiative, as well. Not only Lipschitz, but also Loewenberg survived in hiding thanks to non-Jews, and so did Dr. Adolf Steven, who was in charge of the actual evaluation of the applications and explicitly defined it as a way to redeem his "debt of thanks."⁸⁰² But given the administrative foundation that came out of this personal commitment, Lipschitz's unexpected death on December 11, 1961 did not end the *Unsung Heroes* initiative. His successors continued what he began although after the erection of the Berlin Wall in summer 1961, the circumstances allowed them less time to deal personally with the hundreds of applications that still awaited treatment. Their plan not to accept new applications after the end of December 1963 seem to have been motivated mainly by the accumulation of other concerns rather than by disinterest.⁸⁰³ On November 9, 1966, after the city finished handling the final applications, the initiative was officially closed. From the 1864 requests brought before it, the West Berlin Senate honored 760 people. The reasons for denying the title depended on whether the suggested individuals resided in West Berlin, the specificities of their actions, whether or not they had sufficient and convincing evidence, as well as on moral issues that did not necessarily have anything to do with rescue, but were considered unfitting for heroes.⁸⁰⁴

In order to understand what happened to the commemoration of rescuers after 1966, we must first examine the attempts to expand it beyond the boundaries of the West Berlin municipality. Already in 1960, after the principles of the West Berlin

gratitude to rescuers living outside of West Berlin. It dedicated its May 6 issue to articles thanking "the thousands of Germans (*deutschen Menschen*), who, regardless of the risks, helped Jews (*jüdischen Menschen*) and others who were persecuted by the Hitler state during the Nazi period." D. Red., „15 Jahre danach," *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (6.5.1960): 3.

⁸⁰² These are Steven's words, taken from a newspaper article on January 1964, after his retirement. See Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 101.

⁸⁰³ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 98-101. Nevertheless, after Lipschitz's death the honoring ceremonies were gradually detached from the Jewish community.

⁸⁰⁴ The title was given only to rescuers who were still alive, unlike the Yad Vashem title of "Righteous among the Nations" that is awarded also posthumously. For an elaborate discussion of the various reasons for denying the title from applicants see Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 129-225.

Senate initiative were approved, Loewenberg (in agreement with Lipschitz) turned to the premiers of the West German *Länder* (states) with the suggestion that they adopt the same honoring framework. The few replies that arrived by early 1961 agreed that the rescuers deserve appreciation, but feared a flood of applications, which might also raise requests for financial support.⁸⁰⁵ Those administrators clearly lacked the enthusiasm and commitment that Lipschitz and Loewenberg shared.

In April 1966, Loewenberg turned directly to the chancellor Ludwig Erhard. The reply letter he received in February 1967 gave the appearance that the problem of commemorating the rescuers did not exist, since the *Länder*'s governments anyway recommend these individuals for the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* (Federal Order of Merit), i.e. West Germany's highest decoration:⁸⁰⁶ "It can, therefore, be said that the *Unsung Heroes* [...] experience a public honoring and acknowledgment" and there is no need for any additional initiative.⁸⁰⁷ This clearly wasn't what Loewenberg had in mind, since decorating a few rescuers individually and separately meant that they were not commemorated as a specific group, and the memory of their motives and deeds would blend with the various reasons for which people received the award. In the concepts we are using here, this would mean that the memory of rescuers was not gathered but would appear only in a scattered form.

Furthermore, by the mid 1960s, the number of rescuers of Jews who received the FRG's decoration could not have exceeded two dozens.⁸⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the

⁸⁰⁵ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 98-101.

⁸⁰⁶ The official name of the decoration is *Verdienstorden der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, but its more common name is *Bundesverdienstkreuz*. Already in his letter to the *Länder*'s government, the head of the chancellor's office asked whether they recommended rescuers for the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*. See Der Chef des Bundeskanzleramtes an die Staatsministerien der Länder (23.9.66), Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802.

⁸⁰⁷ Der Chef der Bundeskanzleramt (Dr. Grundschtötel) an die Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Vertretungen politisch, rassisch und religiös Verfolgten, Rolf Loewenberg (16.2.1967). Centrum Judaicum Archiv, 5A1 – 1039.

⁸⁰⁸ This estimation takes into account the rise in the frequency of awarding the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* in the 1970s and the general number reached until today, which is about 250. The data is taken from *Der Verdienstorden der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* at the official website of the Federal President.

Länder's claim was not wholly false, since the honoring of at least one rescuer with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* was processed at the time,⁸⁰⁹ and a few years prior to this correspondence several rescuers of Jews received the decoration. In 1963, for example, it was awarded to Heinrich Grüber and in 1965 to Oskar Schindler. Grüber's honoring followed his publicized appearance in the Eichmann Trial. As for Schindler, after his account appeared in *Die unbesungenen Helden*, Grossmann helped draw attention to this rescuer by sending letters to acquaintances in German newspapers and introducing him to government officials.⁸¹⁰ After the Israeli memorial of Yad Vashem honored Schindler in 1962, West German journalists interviewed him and reported about the love that "his Jews" expressed toward this German.⁸¹¹ Furthermore, news on a film project about Schindler that the American producing company MGM planned in 1963-1964 raised the question on whether the FRG have done anything to honor this person who might soon become a celebrity, and pressured the government to take swift action.⁸¹² It seems, therefore, that by the mid 1960s, West German public officials were aware, more than before, of calls from various directions for the honoring of German rescuers and to the option of awarding them the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*.

An important impulse for honoring German rescuers arrived from Yad Vashem, Israel's national Holocaust memorial, which started in 1962-63 to award rescuers of Jews from around the world with the title of "Righteous among the

<http://www.bundespraesident.de/DE/Amt-und-Aufgaben/Orden-und-Ehrungen/Verdienstorden/verdienstorden-node.html> (accessed January 2013)

⁸⁰⁹ Bayrische Staatskanzlei an das Bundesministerium des Innern (24.5.1966). Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802.

⁸¹⁰ Bundesarchiv Koblenz, N1493/26. And see also Crowe, *Oskar Schindler*, 514.

⁸¹¹ At the time, Schindler did not yet receive the title of "Righteous among the Nations," which the memorial started awarding in 1963 and which Schindler and his wife received only in 1993. Yet West German newspapers reported about his visit to Israel, showed pictures of him surrounded by "his Jews," and reported on his planting of a tree in the "Alee of the Righteous" in Yad Vashem. For such a picture see *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* (4.5.1962).

⁸¹² Martin Gosch, the producer of the intended film, addressed the West German consulate in Los Angeles and asked for a public recognition and financial support for Schindler. Dr. Irene Weinrowsky, Pressereferentin (Generalkonsulat Los Angeles), „Aufzeichnung“ (19.1.1964). Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B145/4912.

Nations.”⁸¹³ Some of the rescuers were also invited to plant a tree on the Mount of Memory in Jerusalem (as was Schindler), and those who could not attend the ceremony in Israel were awarded the title in an Israeli or Jewish establishment in their country. The first public honoring of German “Righteous” in the FRG took place on March 25, 1966 in the Israeli embassy in Cologne. The Israeli ambassador, Asher Ben-Natan, gave Grüber, Luckner, Maas, and a fourth rescuer called Werner Krumme, certificates and medals and West German newspapers proudly presented photographs of the five together and quoted Ben-Natan’s words on the rescuers’ special friendship with the Jewish people.⁸¹⁴

The Israeli Foreign Office notified the West German and Israeli press about the honoring of these four rescuers, thus making it into a political event.⁸¹⁵ Such an expression of friendship between West Germans and Israelis was supposed to support the “special relationship” between the FRG and Israel, and overcome the continuous resentment of many Israeli Jews toward “the Germans” and appease those West Germans who objected the reparation agreements, while sometimes employing antisemitic arguments. In order to do so, already Ben Gurion defended his view of the FRG as “the other” (i.e., not Nazi) Germany before and after the Eichmann Trial,⁸¹⁶ as

⁸¹³ For the development of this initiative in Yad Vashem see Kabalek, “The Commemoration before the Commemoration.”

⁸¹⁴ One journalist even reinterpreted the ambassador’s words, when he said that perhaps there were more Germans who wished to help the Jews, and stated that “many wanted to help.” Jürgen Forster, „Medaille der Gerechten’ aus der Hand der israelischen Botschafter: Der Dank an die Nothelfer – Asher Ben-Nathan ehrte vier Freunde von damals – Prälat Maas dankte für alles,“ *Neue Rhein-Zeitung* (26.3.1966).

⁸¹⁵ Dr. M. Tavor, Press, Köln to Western Europe Dept. (31.3.1966). Israel State Archive, HT 3855/19.

⁸¹⁶ Ben Gurion maintained his attitude even after the 1959-60 antisemitic wave and against negative evaluations by the Israeli Foreign Office. See Roni Stauber, “Realpolitik and the Burden of the Past: Israeli Diplomacy and the ‘Other Germany’,” *Israel Studies* 8: 3 (2003): 100-122. It was probably Ben Gurion who instructed prosecutor Hausner not to mention Globke during the Eichmann Trial and who suggested to invite Grüber as a representative of the “other Germany.” Although there is no direct evidence, as far as I know, that Ben Gurion instructed or recommended to invite Grüber, his intervention in the contents of the trial in order to prevent harming the relations between the two states suggests that he may have. On Ben Gurion’s involvement in the trial and his intentions see Yechiam Weitz, “The Road to the ‘Other Germany’: David Ben-Gurion and his Relation to Germany, 1952-1960,” in Anita Shapira, ed., *Independence: The First 50 Years* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1998), 245-266. [in Hebrew]

did his successor, Levi Eshkol, in order not to risk secret shipments of arms from the FRG to Israel. When in late 1964 these shipments were revealed to the world, the blow to West Germany's relations with Egypt enabled Eshkol to pressure for the realization of full diplomatic relations with the FRG in 1965.⁸¹⁷ But when Rolf Pauls, the first West German ambassador and former dedicated *Wehrmacht* soldier, landed in Israel, he encountered fierce opposition. On this background, a public celebration of German rescuers contributed to fostering mutual understanding between the two populations.⁸¹⁸

Nevertheless, the instrumentalization of commemorative acts dedicated to German rescuers was far from consistent for either of the sides. A 1965 article in an Israeli newspaper touched the heart of the issue by asking why didn't Bonn choose one of "Germany's righteous" for the ambassador position, and why didn't the Israeli government suggest the same in order to prevent the negative reactions to Pauls?⁸¹⁹ The answers seem to lie especially in the lack of a clear and central policy regarding the rescuers. Thus while the West German Foreign Office was satisfied with the broad coverage that the Israeli press gave Grüber on his visit to Yad Vashem in February 1967, it did not initiate similar events.⁸²⁰ As for the Israeli Foreign Office, it left the treatment of the "Righteous" to the historians of Yad Vashem.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁷ George Lavy, *Germany and Israel: Moral Debt and National Interest* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 90-129.

⁸¹⁸ Neither chancellor Erhard nor prime minister Eshkol were as keen on having a warm relationship between the two states as Ben Gurion and Adenauer were. Furthermore, by the mid 1960s the FRG had less to gain from the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, and ambassador Pauls openly expressed his outrage over the continuation of anti-German sentiments in the Israeli public. Nevertheless, the creation of such a mutual popular acceptance of the diplomatic relations was still a goal of both governments. See more on the relationship between the FRG and Israel during the 1960s in Carola Fink, "Turning Away from the Past: West Germany and Israel, 1965-1967," in Gassert and Steinweis, eds, *Coping with the Nazi Past*, 276-293.

⁸¹⁹ I refer here to the German translation of this article from *Yedioth Achronot* (23.5.1965), entitled in German "Warum gerade Pauls?" that the West German Foreign Office collected in order to trace Israeli reactions to Pauls' nomination. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, B 36/191.

⁸²⁰ Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Tel Aviv an das Auswärtige Amt, Bonn (10.4.1967), Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, B 36/297. The West German Foreign Office was also

As before, where consistent political and institutionalized action was limited or lacking, short-term solutions expressed themselves. In February 1966, the mayor of Munich gave an honorary citizenship to Ludwig Wörl, a resident of the city and a former concentration camp prisoner, who assisted many of his Jewish fellow-inmates. In the same year Yad Vashem invited Wörl to plant a tree on the Memory Mount,⁸²² and these events (perhaps together with the ceremony for the “Righteous” in Cologne earlier that year)⁸²³ encouraged the umbrella organization of West German Jews, *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*, to grant Wörl the Leo-Baeck-Award in late 1966.⁸²⁴ We can see, therefore, that even when a national West German honoring for rescuers was not in sight, local and international initiatives nevertheless inspired public decorations of rescuers.⁸²⁵

These public commemorations took place within a growing tendency by the mid 1960s to search for rescuers in West Germany, which emanated from the convergence of several phenomena. First, the accumulation of rescuers’ anthologies, newspaper articles on the Eichmann Trial and the birthdays and anniversaries of prominent rescuers (such as Grüber) made the topic more familiar than ever, and encouraged additional publications as well as productions of TV programs on

satisfied with Israeli press reports that celebrated Duckwitz in 1968 as a rescuer. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, B 36/324.

⁸²¹ The Israeli Foreign Office accepted, for example, the advice of historian Leni Yahil not to honor Duckwitz as “Righteous” until he retired from his position in the FRG’s administration. See the discussions about Duckwitz around his expected visit in Israel in 1970-1971. Israel State Archive, HT 4464/14.

⁸²² Wörl received the “Righteous” title already in 1963, but it seems that his case became more well-known in the FRG following his appearance at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial.

⁸²³ *Allgemeine*, the newspaper of the Jewish communities in Germany, reported of this ceremony on its first page: “Yad-Vashem-Medaille verliehen: Botschafter Ben-Natan übergab vier Deutschen die hohe Auszeichnung,” *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (1.4.1966): 1.

⁸²⁴ H.Lm. (most probably Hans Lamm), „Ludwig Wörl (München) empfangt Leo-Baeck-Preis,“ *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (11.11.1966): 2.

⁸²⁵ Such an *honorary wave*, in which a public exposure and honoring drew several decorations, was not distinct to Wörl (who in 1966 also received the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*). We find this taking place especially since the 1960s in the cases of Grüber, Schindler, and later Duckwitz (who received the Heinrich-Stahl-Award in 1970 and the Yad Vashem medal in 1971). Grüber’s testimony in Jerusalem urged a personalized search for rescuers and whenever a “celebrity rescuer” received the validation of one institution (and the Israeli Yad Vashem held a special position here), others that felt connected to it embraced the rescuer and claimed that also they did not forget him or her.

rescuers.⁸²⁶ Second, following the gathered character of these publications, the concepts they employed, and the institutional framework they received in West Berlin and in Israel, the rescue of Jews became identifiable as a particular and worthy topic. And third, on the background of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial (1963-65) individual rescuers were sought for in order to show that “there were also other Germans” and serve both as a counter argument to collective guilt and as an example for the youth. Thus in February 1966, a journalist who reported about the Frankfurt Trial for the weekly *Die Zeit*,⁸²⁷ argued that facing the trials of German perpetrators, German rescuers constitute a “moral capital” for the FRG’s reputation and it is therefore surprising that German cities do not follow the example of West Berlin’s Senate.⁸²⁸

Yet not all publications about German rescuers in this period were meant to celebrate the people they were writing about. A 1965 article in the magazine *Der Spiegel* blamed Hermann Friedrich Gräbe, a German citizen who left to California after WWII and received Yad Vashem’s “Righteous” title the same year, of perjury, deceit, and cold calculation during his testimony against German perpetrators.⁸²⁹ Historian Wolfram Wette sees in this case a proof for Germans’ collective rejection of rescuers at the time.⁸³⁰ However, the article does not attack the honor given to a

⁸²⁶ The programs shown in the mid to late 1960s in the West German television focused mostly on Christian rescuers. See Kansteiner, “Entertaining Catastrophe,” 141-143.

⁸²⁷ As part of his reports on the trial, he also expressed his indignation at the discovery that the “humane” doctor from Auschwitz, Dr. Lucas, was not so humane after all. Dietrich Strothmann, „Der gute Mensch von Auschwitz“, *Die Zeit* (26.3.1965).

⁸²⁸ Dietrich Strothmann, „Suche nach den unbesungenen Helden: Auch das gab es in Deutschland: Hunderte von Judenrettern“, *Die Zeit* (25.2.66): 2. The trigger for this article was the pioneering research of Manfred Wolfson, an American political scientist, on the motives of rescuers of Jews.

⁸²⁹ „Affären: NS-Prozesse – Bewegtes Leben“, *Der Spiegel* (29.12.1965): 26-27. The reasons for these accusations, which Yad Vashem refuted, might have been the journalist’s intention to denounce Gräbe for his “betrayal” of Germany with his testimony in the Nuremberg Trials and later trials, or it was simply bad journalism driven by the search for a scoop. See Horst Sassin, „Ablehnung, Reserve, Stolz: Die Wahrnehmung Fritz Gräbes in seiner Heimatstadt Solingen 1945-2002“, in Huneke, *In Deutschland unerwünscht*, 277-304; Peter Meves, „Der Fall Hermann Fritz Gräbe“, in Volker Friedrich Drecktrah and Jürgen Bohmbach, eds, *Justiz im Nationalsozialismus im Landgerichtsbezirk Stade* (Stade, 2004): 130-140.

⁸³⁰ Wolfram Wette, „Verleugnete Helden.“

German rescuer of Jews, but rather argues that Gräbe does not deserve such an honor. As such, it actually enforces a *positive* image of German rescuers in general.

As we can see, in these years the conviction that German rescuers deserved recognition of some sort has spread and found its expression in public pleas and in isolated events of commemoration.⁸³¹ Although by 1967, when the reply of the *Länder* and the Chancellor's Office saw the issue as already solved with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*, there were a few bodies and individuals that took upon themselves to do more for a national honoring of the rescuers in the FRG. One of them was the *Koordinierungsrat* (Advisory Council) of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, whose interest in the rescuers of Jews as symbols of dialogue and reconciliation we have already encountered,⁸³² and which by the mid 1960s expanded their public activities and took on a consciously political and pedagogical orientation.⁸³³ The second was the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*, which promised Loewenberg in 1963 to work to advance an FRG-wide commemoration of rescuers.⁸³⁴ The two bodies cooperated in a ceremony that Kurt Grossmann initiated and which took place in Bonn on November 22, 1967, in which five rescuers, who stood for German rescuers in general, received honorary certificates. 900 guests came to this symbolic event, among them also the Israeli ambassador Ben Natan, and (for the first time) a representative of the West German government, minister Carlo Schmid of the SPD, who uttered words of thanks to the rescuers. In the same event,

⁸³¹ The calls for a commemoration of German rescuers arrived also from abroad. Thus the Germanist Bernhard Blume who left Nazi Germany in 1936 and settled in the U.S., wrote an article in which he expressed his hope that these people will receive the honor they deserve. "The day, in which I receive the report [that this takes place in Germany], would be one of the greatest in my life." Bernhard Blume, „Die tapferen Frauen von Königsberg,“ *Die Zeit* (6.1.1967): 10.

⁸³² In addition to what we discussed so far, see also the interest of the Berlin Society' interest in the names of the rescuers that Yad Vashem honored following publications on Schindler's 1962 honoring by the Israeli memorial. Dr. Käthe Reinholz, Gesellschaft für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit in Berlin an M.G. Hess, Israel Mission, Köln (21.8.1962). Israel State Archive, HT 1897/10.

⁸³³ Ulrike Zander, *Philosemitismus im deutschen Protestantismus nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Begriffliche Dilemmata und auszuhaltende Diskurse am Beispiel der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland und in Westfalen* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007), 265-266.

⁸³⁴ Grossmann attempted to involve the *Zentralrat* in the commemorative initiative already in 1959. Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 243-246.

H.D. van Dam, the general secretary of the *Zentralrat* appealed to the *Länder* to find a national framework for honoring the rescuers.⁸³⁵

The *Zentralrat* and the *Koordinierungsrat* were not the only ones who made efforts in this direction. Carl Gussone, a senior member of the West German Office of Internal Affairs, opposed the dismissive reaction of the *Länder* to Loewenberg's 1966 letter and looked for a way to take the FRG's honoring of German rescuers beyond its current situation. Gussone advanced his idea in correspondences with various state offices and drew the attention of the federal office that dealt with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* to Leuner's book as a source for decorating more rescuers.⁸³⁶ He then started to search for information on rescuers, by turning to the Federal Archive in Koblenz and the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich.⁸³⁷ When in November 1967 he heard of the upcoming event of the *Koordinierungsrat* in Bonn, Gussone, who was in charge of the FRG's religious communities and the protection of Jewish interests,⁸³⁸ addressed the *Koordinierungsrat* in an attempt to find an appropriate way to honor the rescuers.⁸³⁹

The contact between Gussone and the *Koordinierungsrat* on this issue resulted in January 1968 in the formulation of a general proposal for the honoring question:

⁸³⁵ Riffel, *Unbesungene Helden*, 247.

⁸³⁶ Dr. Gussone an das Bundespräsidialamt Ordenskanzlei (4.1.1967). Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802. At the time, Leuner's book appeared only in English, and Gussone refers in his letter to two reviews of the book from West German newspapers (*Allgemeine* and *Neue Schau*) from November and December. Already seven months earlier, Gussone addressed the office of the chancellor and asked for ideas in honoring the rescuers following the West Berlin example. See Dr. Gussone an den Chef des Bundeskanzleramtes (10.5.1966). Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802.

⁸³⁷ He sent the letters to the two institutes on July 7, 1967. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802.

⁸³⁸ See the short biographical note in the website of the *Bundesarchiv*. See http://www.bundesarchiv.de/cocoon/barch/1000/z/z1960a/kap1_7/para2_98.html (accessed December 2012)

⁸³⁹ Gussone asked the *Koordinierungsrat* about the form of the ceremony and whether it is meant to be the first of a series of such events. Dr. Gussone an den Deutschen Koordinierungsrat der Gesellschaften für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V. (7.11.1967). Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802. In the letter, Gussone states that the article of professor Blume (see footnote 831 above) earlier that year have aroused the discussion again and caused a few citizens to ask the Ministry of Internal Affairs about the honoring of rescuers. Nevertheless, Gussone's involvement in the topic started at least a year earlier, following Loewenberg's letter.

One should leave the initiative and implementation of such an action to a private organization, such as the *Ko'rat* [...]. This does not exclude the support of the federal authorities [*der Bund*] for such an action, in idea and perhaps also financially. In light of the recent developments it seems to me hardly possible that the federal authorities would take over such an honoring – apart from granting the BVK [*Bundesverdienstkreuz*]. And in what form could it take place?⁸⁴⁰

Gussone attempted to find a way to involve an official FRG support that would not be the state's responsibility and would complement the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*. He added that in future ceremonies it should be “emphasized that the honoring of the individual is also symbolic for other, unknown, helpers” thus taking into account that recognizing every single rescuer, as the West Berlin Senate intended to do, is impossible. Furthermore, such an attempt would require publicity that might arouse a flood of applications, many of which without much proof, thus leading to inconveniences as well as possible financial demands. He therefore suggested that instead of a public call, one should use Grossmann's book to locate the rescuers.

This problem remained unresolved as long as the institutional framework of the honoring was unclear. For the time being, Gussone focused on helping the *Koordinierungsrat* in collecting information on rescuers. The *Koordinierungsrat* received lists of rescuers from the files of the West Berlin Senate, Yad Vashem, the Israeli Union of Local Authorities, as well as regional and national authorities that gave rescuers awards of different kinds. The files it compiled up to the early 1970s register the various sources it consulted and include Weisenborn's book on the

⁸⁴⁰ “Vermerk“ (12.1.1968). Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802. , Gussone suggests there that this honoring could perhaps take place as part of the “Week of Brotherhood” (*Woche der Brüderlichkeit*). He was aware of the discussions of rescue, solidarity, and humanity in the annual events of *Woche der Brüderlichkeit* that the Societies of Christian-Jewish Cooperation under the *Koordinierungsrat* held. Furthermore, in the memo he also mentions that the Bavarian regional government intends to honor rescuers at the 1968 events in March.

resistance, the 1961 article series in *Stern*, the anthologies by Grossmann, Horbach, and Leuner, as well as autobiographic texts of survivors. As such, this project was a work of gathered memory that combined scattered references with earlier gathering attempts, and was largely based on the West Berlin initiative, whose official title (“the honoring of citizens who unselfishly helped the persecuted in the Nazi period”) and unofficial titles (Unsung Heroes) it adopted.

While the *Koordinierungsrat* and the FRG’s Office for Internal Affairs continued to collect information about German rescuers, the office reached no decision as to the form of honoring them. Van Dam addressed the office in 1970 and published newspaper articles that urged the government to take steps soon, since some of the rescuers are in bad health and need financial assistance.⁸⁴¹ In January 1971, the Minister for Internal Affairs himself, Hans-Dietrich Genscher (from the liberal party FDP), asked Loewenberg for the names of non-Jewish helpers.⁸⁴² In February Genscher gave the instruction to process an honoring project before it would become internationally known that the FRG is looking for rescuers, which might lead to a flood of applications.⁸⁴³

Genscher was hoping for an internal resolution of the honoring question that would then be submitted to the approval of the *Bundestag*. But before this could happen, the West German television channel ZDF aired a documentary about rescuers of Jews that demanded instant action from the government.⁸⁴⁴ The documentary, first broadcasted on March 22, 1972, collected the stories of eight rescuers (seven Germans

⁸⁴¹ See the letters and newspaper articles in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802.

⁸⁴² Genscher explained his motives as a response to Loewenberg’s question who wondered why the minister is interested in something that former ministers and chancellors were not. Hans Dietrich Genscher an Rolf Loewenberg (7.4.1971), in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802. Following the line that Gussone started, the minister emphasized the problem in addressing the rescuers publicly and advanced a quieter search and symbolic commemoration.

⁸⁴³ From an internal memorandum later that year „Vermerk (29.9.1971),“ in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70802.

⁸⁴⁴ „*Wer ein Menschenleben rettet...*“: *Judenhelfer – damals gefährdet, heute vergessen*. Ein Film von Dieter Schmedding und Arno Schmückler (ZDF, 1972). The film is 40 minutes long.

and one Swiss German).⁸⁴⁵ It criticized the West German government not for ignoring the rescuers, but for “remembering them only hesitantly.” The film shows the decorating of a rescuer with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*, but presents it as a matter of chance rather than an organized official initiative, e.g. in the case of a rescuer who was accidentally discovered thanks to a survivor’s memoirs and the private initiative of a regional minister of Jewish descent. Toward the end of the film, the camera follows the “Path of the Righteous” in Yad Vashem, and the narrator asks why there is no such commemoration in the FRG. The question is addressed to Genscher, who stated in front of the camera that his office is working on doing exactly that and promised to find a solution to the issue by the end of the coming legislature period.

Nearing the end of the parliament’s legislature period, the ZDF broadcasted the documentary again (on August 19, 1973), this time with a prologue in which the upcoming final report of the *Koordinierungsrat* was expected as the first step of the honoring initiative. Yet due to the amount of work it encountered, the final report was delayed, and the solution to the honoring was not yet found.⁸⁴⁶ Eventually, Gussone’s initial idea to leave the honoring separate from the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* and from a direct involvement of the Federal Republic did not materialize. Instead, by 1976, the offices for Internal Affairs, Finance, and the President’s Office cooperated in adjusting the existing decoration regulations to the specific case of the rescuers. Thus a joint committee of the offices decided whether a certain person should receive the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* and whether he or she are in acute need and should gain financial support. Rescuers who were not considered suitable to receive the FRG’s

⁸⁴⁵ The creator of the documentary, Dieter Schmedding, explained later that the impulse for the film came from a fellow journalist who wrote for the *Zentralrat*, which, as we saw, was dedicated to honoring the rescuers in these years. Dieter Schmedding, „Wer ein Menschenleben rettet...? Randbemerkungen zu einer Fernseh-Dokumentation,“ *Tribüne: Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 11: 42 (1972): 4687-4692.

⁸⁴⁶ See the internal correspondences of the Office of Internal Affairs after the documentary and the office’s contact to Schmedding. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 106/70803.

highest decoration were to be awarded with a letter of acknowledgment (*Anerkennungsschreiben*) from the president “in order to ease the treatment of borderline cases.”⁸⁴⁷

By November 2009 the number of German rescuers who received the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* was approximately 250,⁸⁴⁸ that is, about a third of the number of *Unsung Heroes* in the West Berlin initiative. Those who received a decoration from another official West German authority, such as the West Berlin Senate, were not eligible for a *Bundesverdienstkreuz* as rescuers,⁸⁴⁹ so that we can estimate that the number of Germans who received an official FRG decorations of whatever sort is between 900 and 1000. The number of Germans who received Yad Vashem’s Righteous title by January 2012 is only about half (510 men and women).⁸⁵⁰ Yet the aggregate number of rescuers awarded in the FRG should not be seen as very high,⁸⁵¹ especially when considering that the total number of *Bundesverdienstkreuz* laureates must be above 100,000.⁸⁵² The relatively small number of *Bundesverdienstkreuze* awarded to German rescuers seems also to derive from the decision not to encourage too many applications and concentrate on known cases.

The honoring of German rescuers with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* was a compromise on various levels. First of all, the decoration itself did not quite fit the rescuers’ deeds. In 1951, when the FRG’s first president, Theodor Heuss, inaugurated

⁸⁴⁷ See the internal discussion on this issue and the guidelines for honoring in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B B/122/41867.

⁸⁴⁸ See page 16 of <http://www.bundespraesident.de/DE/Amt-und-Aufgaben/Orden-und-Ehrungen/Verdienstorden/verdienstorden-node.html> (accessed January 2013)

⁸⁴⁹ Although some rescuers did receive several decorations, as we have seen in the case of Wörl and others.

⁸⁵⁰ <http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/statistics.asp> (accessed January 2013)

⁸⁵¹ It is important to note that Yad Vashem has harsher conditions in acknowledging a rescuer of Jews, including the requirement that helpers risked their own lives in assisting Jews. Considering that the German authorities do not demand that the number of rescuers honored is not so high.

⁸⁵² The FRG awarded the decoration about 240,000 times since 1951. Yet because in some cases people received a lower kind of the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* and later a higher one, we can estimate that at least 100,000 people received the decoration once or more. See *Der Verdienstorden der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* at the official website of the Federal President. Page 16 of <http://www.bundespraesident.de/DE/Amt-und-Aufgaben/Orden-und-Ehrungen/Verdienstorden/verdienstorden-node.html> (accessed January 2013)

the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* it was meant to bestow thanks to Germans (and in some cases also non-Germans) whose actions contributed to the peaceful advancement (*Aufstieg*) of the FRG in the fields of politics, economy and society, and in spiritual work.⁸⁵³ Although this guideline said nothing about actions that took place during the Nazi years, the administrators eventually agreed that the deeds of rescuers were “beneficial for the reputation of West Germany” and can thus be subsumed under “continuous services” to the state.⁸⁵⁴ The initiative was a compromise also in not trying to create a new commemorative and honorary framework, and choosing, instead, to incorporate it, with some adjustments, to the existing structure.

As a whole, the entire project took place in a rather inconspicuous manner, and not as an achievement that should be celebrated, apart from occasional newspaper articles that reported on the awarding of the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*. Even Genscher, who by 1974 was no longer the interior minister, wrote nothing about his contribution to honoring rescuers in his autobiography, and could not recall anything about it when I asked him in 2011.⁸⁵⁵ What did leave a mark on the former minister and probably shifted his attention away from other issues related to Jews and the Holocaust, was the 1972 Munich Olympics, in which terrorists massacred Israeli athletes and collapsed the FRG’s effort to present itself as a safe place for Jews.⁸⁵⁶

Rescue and Solidarity in East German Concentration Camp Memorials

In the GDR there was no parallel attempt to honor individual rescuers on a regional or state level. The reason for that was definitely not that the East German

⁸⁵³ Quote from page 5 of <http://www.bundespraesident.de/DE/Amt-und-Aufgaben/Orden-und-Ehrungen/Verdienstorden/verdienstorden-node.html> (accessed January 2013)

⁸⁵⁴ See the discussions in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B B/122/41867 as well as 135493 and B/106/70802.

⁸⁵⁵ I had an email correspondence with Genscher through his personal assistant, and received his reply on June 8, 2011.

⁸⁵⁶ Genscher gave much attention to these shocking events in his memoir and the same applies also to his biographers. Hans Dietrich Genscher, *Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Siedler, 1995); Werner Filmer and Heribert Schwan, *Hans-Dietrich Genscher* (Wien: Econ, 1988).

state did not believe in decorations. Quite on the contrary, it awarded its citizens (and in some cases also foreign citizens) a whole array of medals and awards, whose intention was to provide the population with moral and political role models, encourage active support of the regime, and improve output at work. State authorities created most decorations during the 1950s, and while some were part of ad-hoc campaigns, others continued to be awarded throughout the GDR's existence. Some awards, such as the "National Prize" and the decoration "Hero of Labor" (*Held der Arbeit*) acknowledged contemporary achievements in the working place and in the arts. Others rewarded special services to the fatherland, and some commemorated antifascist fighting in the past, from 1918 to WWII.⁸⁵⁷

None of these decorations referred explicitly to rescuers of Jews. But a few of them honored individuals as antifascists also because of their actions in support of Jews, although it was not always clear whether the decoration is granted for assisting Jews or non-Jews. The arguments for bestowing individuals with the "Medal for the Fighter against Fascism, 1933-1945,"⁸⁵⁸ for example, praised the assistance to fellow persecuted comrades, but only rarely stated whether they were persecuted as Jews. These details were clearly deemed less important for a decoration that emphasized the antifascist character of the actions, and favored class to religion or ethnicity as the main identity category. Nevertheless, some texts did acknowledge the laureates' opposition to antisemitism, for example in one's struggle "against the distinction

⁸⁵⁷ Klaus-Peter Marta, "Bedeutung und Stellenwert des Auszeichnungswesens in der Gesellschaft der DDR," in Dieter Vorsteher, ed., *Parteiauftrag: Ein neues Deutschland: Bilder, Rituale und Symbole der frühen DDR* (Deutsches Historisches Museum, 1996), 290-305.

⁸⁵⁸ The GDR awarded this decoration to about 14,900 of its citizens by September 1958 and continued to do so in the next years also to antifascists from other countries (including the FRG). See, respectively: Prof. Dr. Alfred Lemnitz, „Rede zur Verleihung der ‘Medaille für Kämpfer gegen den Faschismus von 1933-1945,’ in Berlin-Treptow am 5. September 1958,” Bundesarchiv Berlin, DR 2/2231; "Protokolauszug (Berlin, 3. September 1965)," Bundesarchiv Berlin DC/20-1/4/1186.

between ‘Aryan’ and ‘not Aryan’.”⁸⁵⁹ And in an example from 1960, the recipient of another award, the “Fatherland Order of Merit in Bronze,” was praised for her support of incarcerated Jewish comrades.⁸⁶⁰

The same basic pattern of subsuming the help to Jews under the antifascist struggle is found in various commemorative practices and representations in the GDR. As we have seen in the previous two chapters, the antifascist message of East Germany had a strong moral component, which portrayed the resisters as role models of humanism and justice. This depiction provided antifascists of various political convictions a common patriotic impulse and moral orientation. In the words of a 1970 collection that sketched short biographies of fallen resistance fighters, these people are “monuments of true humanity (*Monumente wahren Menschentums*),” who, in spite of their different backgrounds and beliefs, “fulfilled the commitment to humanism, love to the German *Volk*, and concern with the future of the nation.”⁸⁶¹ Some of these accounts also celebrated the assistance that German and non-German antifascists gave to Jews.⁸⁶²

The prisons and concentration camps, in which the Nazi regime incarcerated and executed the people it identified as its enemies, became the centers of antifascist commemoration. The final section of this chapter deals with the institutionalization of rescue in and around East German concentration camps memorials, from the late

⁸⁵⁹ See, in general, the applications and reasoning in Bundesarchiv Berlin DC/20/10423 and DC/20/20888. The quote is from a 1975 case, in which the medal was given to the Polish citizen Gondzik. Bundesarchiv Berlin DC/20/10423.

⁸⁶⁰ „Protokoll Nr. 36/60 der Sitzung des Sekretariats des Zentralkomitees vom 26. Sept. 1960.“ Bundesarchiv Berlin DY/30/J IV 2/3 704.

⁸⁶¹ Luise Kraushaar et al. (Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkomitees der SED), *Deutsche Widerstandskämpfer 1933-1945: Biographien und Briefe*, Band 1 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1970), 5, and 7, respectively.

⁸⁶² This is found also in a few of the biographies in the 1970 collection. See also Karl Heinz Jahnke, ed., *Niemals vergessen: Aus dem antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf der Studenten Europas* (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1959), 114-115, 118-120. For an example from the GDR’s final years, see Klaus Mammach, *Widerstand 1939-1945: Geschichte der deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandsbewegung im Inland und in der Emigration* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987), 99-107.

1950s to the 1970 and beyond.⁸⁶³ Although one can find allusions to rescue also in West German camp memorials, these references remained scattered and inconsistent.⁸⁶⁴

Ever since the establishment of the Nazi concentration camps, scholarly works as well as autobiographies of former inmates from around the world depicted the camps as places characterized by the suppression of humanism.⁸⁶⁵ Although former inmates stressed the inhumanity of the camps in order to make their experiences somewhat understandable, they emphasized, on the other hand, that the majority of inmates did not lose their humanity.⁸⁶⁶ Postwar accounts on morality in the camps took the form of stories on solidarity with and assistance to those in need. Narratives of solidarity allowed survivors to portray their time in the camps as continuing their struggle against the regime and to counter the Nazi portrayal of all inmates as criminals.

In the first postwar years, the leaders of the SED, many of which were in exile during WWII, did not necessarily assign the camps with any special meaning. Yet those communists who stayed in Germany had a personal interest in commemorating their own experiences in the camps and sustain the memory of their comrades who died there. In radio broadcasts and printed publications during the occupation period

⁸⁶³ The main changes to these memorials took place within the 1960s, and they remained more or less the same up to the unification, when the exhibitions and monuments of the memorials in both East and West Germany underwent a thorough evaluation.

⁸⁶⁴ All concentration camp memorials in the FRG emphasize solidarity and mutual assistance among the inmates, yet in some cases there are more specific references to assisting Jews. Thus a manual for the visits of schools in the Dachau memorial, for example, recommends two short films from 1962 and 1965 that tell of non-Jewish Germans helping their Jewish friends to be shown to pupils before visiting the memorial. Akademie für Lehrerfortbildung Dillingen. *KZ- Gedenkstätte Dachau. Unterrichtshilfen und Materialien zum Besuch mit Schulklassen* (Akademiebericht Nr. 62, 1983), 218.

⁸⁶⁵ Survivors of the camps often depicted them as parts of an “other planet” or a “concentrationary universe,” thus emphasizing that the moral laws within them differed significantly from the in the “outside world.” The former expression stems (also) from the writings of Yehiel Dinur (Ka-Tzetnik) and the latter from David Rousset, *The Other Kingdom* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947). The ontological separation between the world and life of the Jews and the Aryans in the Nazi worldview is discussed in Boaz Neumann, *Die Weltanschauung des Nazismus: Raum, Körper, Sprache* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010).

⁸⁶⁶ In the case of diaries, authors often stressed solidarity among the inmates in order to feel that not all humanity and hope were robbed from them. See, for example, Rost, *Goethe in Dachau*.

and in the early GDR, they presented the *KZ* (concentration camp) as a place in which one directly sees the regime's brutality that was kept hidden behind the Nazis' "glamorous propaganda mask."⁸⁶⁷ The camps also supported the socialist message of international solidarity, since in them there were not only Germans, but also citizens of various East and West European countries. Nevertheless, in spite of the importance of the camps in the East German media and the initial monuments placed in them, in the first postwar years the sites of the former camps themselves were partially or completely out of reach for commemorative activities. The reason for that was that in the area of the former concentration camp Ravensbrück the Soviet occupation authorities built a Red Army garrison and in Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald they erected "special camps" that detained Germans suspected as Nazis.⁸⁶⁸

Once the Soviets cleared these camps in the early 1950s, the East German state, which was urged by internal and external requests, started to plan the establishment of official memorials. In 1952, the East German press presented the proposed designs for the upcoming memorial in Buchenwald, and documented the political and aesthetic discussion about them.⁸⁶⁹ An article in the newspaper *Neues Deutschland* explicitly connected the erection of the memorial with the humanist legacy of Goethe, who used to wander on the Ettersberg mountain where the camp stood. The article's author criticized the lack of attention to the human aspect in the designs so far, and argued that it makes no sense to dwell solely on the suffering of the inmates; one should rather emphasize how they overcame the ordeals and in doing so proved spiritually superior to their tormentors.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁷ The quote is from: „Jeder Punkt ein KZ,“ *Berliner Illustrierte* 48/37 (1948): 4. For the radio broadcasts see Classen, *Faschismus und Antifaschismus*, 111-129.

⁸⁶⁸ The existence of these camps was to remain secret and their rediscovery in after the unification in 1990 led to a series of public debates on the "double past" of persecution. Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (London: Routledge, 2002), 39-59.

⁸⁶⁹ See the newspaper articles, speeches, and internal discussions in Buchenwald-Archiv, 06-2-14.

⁸⁷⁰ Wilhelm Girnus, „Die Entwürfe zum Buchenwald-Ehrenmal,“ *Neues Deutschland* (2.7.1952): 4.

The message of the inmates' moral example referred to those who were incarcerated for their political activity, with an emphasis on the communists. The connection of the moral with the political was a central feature of the discussions on the forms of commemoration during the mid to late 1950s,⁸⁷¹ and was clearly expressed in the three main concentration camp memorials of the GDR, constructed in Buchenwald, Ravensbrück, and Sachsenhausen, and inaugurated in 1958, 1959, and 1961, respectively.⁸⁷² In 1961 the state passed a special statute that articulated the goals of the three memorials and focused on their role in commemorating the antifascist struggle rather than passive suffering, in celebrating the international solidarity's place in this struggle, and the Soviet soldiers' heroism and sacrifice. The memorials also had to warn against the resurrection of fascism in the FRG and stress the historical role of the GDR in fighting contemporary "refascization."⁸⁷³

But the memorials differed in the form and extent in which they approached the antifascist message as well as the themes of morality and solidarity. The differences emerged primarily due to the specific history of each camp. Thus the Buchenwald memorial emphasized the activity of the political prisoners and the success of the inmates' solidarity in storming their guards in an act of "self-liberation."⁸⁷⁴ In Ravensbrück, a camp that incarcerated mostly women (and also children), the monuments scattered in the memorial portrayed bravery that was based less on physical strength and struggle (which are apparently "manly" features), and

⁸⁷¹ See, for example, „so war es in der Hölle der Frauen,“ *Junge Welt* (26.10.1956); „Entwurf einer Disposition über die Gestaltung des Lagermuseums Sachsenhausen“ (undated, probably mid 1958), MfDG, Abteilung Gedenkstätten, S1 (Box Sachsenhausen), Deutsches Historisches Museum Archiv.

⁸⁷² For an extensive history of East German memorials see Fox, *Stated Memory*, 39-68; Günter Morsch, ed., *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument: Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1996); Detlef Hoffmann, ed., *Das Gedächtnis der Dinge: KZ-Relikte und KZ-Denkmäler 1945-1995* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 1998); Peter Reichel, *Politik mit der Erinnerung: Gedächtnisorte im Streit um die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999), 99-122.

⁸⁷³ Fox, *Stated Memory*, 41.

⁸⁷⁴ The camp was actually liberated by American troops, yet a few hours before they arrived, the SS guards left the camp and the inmates took control of it.

instead on “women’s solidarity and motherly heroism.”⁸⁷⁵ The memorial in Sachsenhausen, a camp that the Red Army liberated, gave much attention to the role of the Soviet soldiers’ solidarity with the inmates. This memorial also differed from the two others in having, in addition to the main museum, an exhibition dedicated exclusively to Jewish inmates. The reason for the special exhibition was an explicit demand of an organization commemorating Jewish inmates, shortly before the memorial’s inauguration in 1961. That the GDR’s government conceded to the request has to do with the criticism of Jewish organizations on the minor attention to Jewish victims in the other two memorials and the East German attempt to present itself in support of Jews during its anti-FRG campaign and shortly before the Eichmann Trial.⁸⁷⁶

The exhibitions in the memorials’ main museums presented the persecution of the Jews as the fate of only one group among many (and especially East European countries) whom the Nazi regime persecuted and murdered in masses. As such, also references to German inmates helping Jews, both in the museums and in East German publications about the camps, appeared as part of depictions of solidarity with inmates of different backgrounds. In many cases, these exhibitions and publications quoted non-German inmates’ praise for German communists who helped their fellow inmates. Such quotes functioned as proofs that not all Germans were Nazis and presented the

⁸⁷⁵ This is the phrasing of an East German art historian in *Fritz Cremer, Denkmal Ravensbrück: Ausbildungsstudien*, Vorwort von Heinz Lüdecke (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1960), 2. The statue Group of Mothers (*Muttergruppe*), located at the entrance to the memorial, demonstrates this interpretation. In it, the artist Fritz Cremer depicts three women in prison garb, carrying a dead child on a stretcher. The poses of each woman embody a different response, of grief, emotional devastation, and maternal strength. Yet the woman standing at the front, facing the entering visitors, has a young child holding her garment, and her stature implies strong conviction. In this sense the statue celebrates the maternal heroism of the woman up front, while still leaving much room to expressions of suffering and pain. See Janet Jacobs, *Memorializing the Holocaust: Gender, Genocide, and Collective Memory* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 53-55.

⁸⁷⁶ Astrid Ley, “Remembering Nazi Crimes Ideologically: East and West German Exhibits at Sachsenhausen Memorial,” in John Alexander Williams, ed., *Berlin since the Wall’s End: Shaping Society and Memory in the German Metropolis since 1989* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 110-117.

German antifascists, and especially the communists, as moral.⁸⁷⁷ Testimonies on solidarity with and saving Jews constituted only a part of these accounts,⁸⁷⁸ and (as with the GDR's decorations) they did not always state that the persecuted were Jewish.⁸⁷⁹

Nevertheless, the story of saving the life of a Jew became an essential and popular narrative in the commemoration of the Buchenwald concentration camp. In August 1944, a train carrying Polish Jews reached the camp. Zacharias Zweig, one of the Jews, wished to hid his three-year-old son Stefan-Jerzy, but was unable to do so, and the child entered the camp with the knowledge of a few SS-men. Willi Bleicher, the head of the inmates' international illegal organization (that included mostly socialist and communist inmates), decided to help the child, and made sure that all of his needs were taken care of. When Stefan was supposed to board a train to a death camp, the inmates managed to keep him in the camp, and Zacharias and his son were able to stay in Buchenwald until the liberation.⁸⁸⁰

The above story follows Zacharias's account, whereas the version that became identified with "Juschu" (as the inmates kindly called Stefan) combined the fate of several children within a single dramatic narrative. This narrative found its most explicit articulation in the 1958 novel *Naked among Wolves* (*Nackt unter Wölfen*) by

⁸⁷⁷ One book, for example, reprints the words of a former inmate from Poland, who states that these German inmates show that one cannot equate the Nazis with the German population as a whole. Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von G. Zörner, *Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück* (Berlin: VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1973), 193. In some cases, East German publishers translated and printed survival accounts of former inmates from West and East European countries, in which the survivors testify that they found "many selfless helpers" in their Odyssey. The quote is from the following book's dust jacket. Eugenia Kochwa, *Flucht aus Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1973).

⁸⁷⁸ Komitee der antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, ed., *Sachsenhausen: Dokumente, Aussagen, Forschungsergebnisse und Erlebnisberichte über das ehemalige Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1977 [originally 1974]), 79-80, 99-102.

⁸⁷⁹ For example, when stating in Sachsenhausen's general exhibition that the Berliner priest Bernhard Lichtenberg publicly prayed "for the inmates," thus not mentioning that he was arrested for his prayers for Jews and against their persecution. „Entwurf – Drehbuch: Internationales Museum der antifaschistischen Widerstandsbewegung Sachsenhausen“ (undated, probably mid 1970s), page 57. MfDG, Abteilung Gedenkstätten (Box Sachsenhausen), Deutsches Historisches Museum Archiv.

⁸⁸⁰ The details of the story are reconstructed in Niven, *Das Buchenwaldkind*, 19-60.

Bruno Apitz,⁸⁸¹ a Buchenwald survivor, who did not know the child in the camp and used the stories that circulated among his fellow inmates.⁸⁸² According to the novel, which appeared in the same year as the memorial's inauguration (1958), the boy was hidden in a suitcase, his father was not with him, the inmates discovered the child and kept his existence secret, and the act of the camp's alleged self-liberation was an achievement of the international illegal organization and served also to save Juschu. Furthermore, while in Zacharias's account the father participated in protecting his son, the book makes the communist inmates into the child's sole rescuers. There can be little doubt that by deleting the father from the story the passivity of the Jewish inmate was stressed and thus emphasized the moral heroism of the inmates.⁸⁸³

In the memorial itself, the rescue of the child is implicit in two different parts of Buchenwald's massive monument. This monument is located on the side of the mountain close to where the former camp stood, in a site of mass graves. The visitor is supposed to enter the monument through a stone gate and walk down the stairs toward the first mass grave, while looking at the scenery. To the left one passes a series of engraved stone blocks that tell of various aspects from the inmates' life in the camp. One of the blocks portrays new arrivals to the camp and shows an inmate taking a child out of a bag. Upon reaching the end of the stairs, the visitor turns left to a fortified alley, whose stones carry the names of the countries from which Buchenwald's inmates originated. After passing by the second mass grave and reaching the third the visitor climbs the stairs toward the "tower of freedom" and Fritz Cremer's impressive statue. The statue depicts various attitudes and characteristics in the form of eleven inmates, one of which is a boy of about 10 years. While the boy's

⁸⁸¹ Bruno Apitz, *Nacht unter Wölfen* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1958).

⁸⁸² On Apitz's work on the novel and the different influences on it see Niven, *Das Buchenwaldkind*, 114-134.

⁸⁸³ Ruth Klüger argues that in this way the novel infantilizes the Jews in general and presents them as victims that are worth less than the men incarcerated for their ideology. Klüger, „Gibt es ein ‚Judenproblem‘ in der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur?“, 10-13.

age does not fit the story of Zweig, the fact that the arm of the inmate standing next to him is laid as if to protect him seems to recall the basic notion of helping the weak and defenseless. The monument, which symbolizes a passage from suffering and death to heroism and liberation as the foundational narrative of antifascists and the GDR in general,⁸⁸⁴ thus also includes a reference to solidarity and moral support.

The rescue of the child is more explicit in the museum's main exhibition. The section "Children in Buchenwald" included a picture of Stefan, standing in front of the camp's barracks and next to it hangs a page from Zacharias Zweig's account. The plaque mentioned the "heroic solidarity" of the political inmates and stated that "the inmates did everything to save the lives" of the children.⁸⁸⁵ Similarly, the 1958 brochure of the memorial contains one page with Stefan's picture and the following text:

Buchenwald conveys not only the murderous bestiality to which human beings sink under certain social conditions [...] Buchenwald testifies above all to the solidary strength of the fighters, who rose above the fascist cruelty. [...] Here the comrades saved the three-year-old Stefan Zweig from Krakow. [...] The comrades hid this child among old clothing articles and eluded the grip of the SS while risking their lives.⁸⁸⁶

Unlike Apitz's novel, neither the brochure nor the exhibitions' texts reveal that Stefan Zweig and his father were persecuted as Jews. Nevertheless, other depictions of this

⁸⁸⁴ The notion of coming out of the ruins is a recurring East German theme that is found also in the words of the East German anthem. Furthermore, already in the mid 1940s, Alexander Abusch depicted the legacy of the suffering and heroism of the communists as the key for German resurrection. Abusch, *Der Irrweg einer Nation*, 263-264.

⁸⁸⁵ This depiction relates to the 1961 exhibition, whereas in the exhibition's first version from 1957, it appeared in the section "Self-Help of the Political Inmates in the Camp." „Drehbuch für das Museum der Widerstandsbewegung Teil I und II in Buchenwald“ (1957); „Drehbuch für die Gestaltung des Buchenwald-Museums und der einzelnen Gedenkstätten“ (1961), both files are stored in Deutsches Historisches Museum Archiv.

⁸⁸⁶ Kuratorium für den Aufbau Nationaler Gedenkstätten in Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, *Buchenwald: Nationale Gedenkstätten für die Widerstandskämpfer gegen den Faschismus. Dokumentensammlung mit Skizzen und Lagerkarten* (Reichenbach: VEB Volkskunstverlag, 1958), 26.

story, for example the successful 1963 film adaptation of Apitz's novel (dir. Frank Beyer), do mention it and complement the details according to a basic fictional version. In this version, the suffering of the Jewish boy and of Jews in general are not silenced, yet they do not stand at the center of attention. As in other literary accounts in the Germanys from the mid 1940s up to the early 1960s, Jewish figures function here as instruments within a narrative that aimed to examine the behavior of non-Jewish Germans rather than to assign Jews with a genuine perspective on their own suffering (see chapter three). The focus on "good Germans" rather than on German perpetrators or on Jews' suffering may help to explain the popular success of the novel and film in the GDR.⁸⁸⁷

The political instrumentalization of "Buchenwald Child" in the GDR fulfilled a number of needs. Bill Niven, who studied the East German commemorations of the Buchenwald Child, shows that the emphasis on rescue in Buchenwald, which was not the only camp in which German inmates helped save the life of a Jewish child,⁸⁸⁸ had various reasons. First of all, it was rooted in the wish of former camp inmates to rebuff accusations raised in 1946-7 that they have cooperated with the SS. In order to do so, these men exaggerated their opposition, heroism, and morality, and the rescue of a three-year-old child from the SS helped support this image. Furthermore, Buchenwald became the main commemorative site of the GDR due to the inmates' narrative of active self-liberation and the fact that Ernst Thälmann, the leader of the KPD, was executed there. In this function, the combination of sacrifice, rescue, and liberation

⁸⁸⁷ In this conclusion I follow Niven. See, in particular, Niven, *Das Buchenwaldkind*, 5. Nevertheless, the novel became a worldwide bestseller, which means that its message and dramatic depiction played an important part in its appeal, and not only apologetic concerns.

⁸⁸⁸ A 1973 book on Ravensbrück tells of female inmates rescuing a Jewish girl from Holland. Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von G. Zörner, *Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück*, 170-171. Such a story of women saving a child may have fitted to well into what women were supposed to do – take care of children – and was, therefore, laudable but not so special.

presented the antifascists in the past and the GDR in present as the best representatives of socialist humanism.⁸⁸⁹

In order to have political legitimacy, however, the story told in the film and novel *Naked among Wolves* had to be commonly conceived as true. Niven thus shows how various bodies in the GDR declared the historical accuracy of both fictional accounts. Presenting these accounts as accurate influenced, for instance, the decision to shoot the film in the site of the camp itself, thus drawing on its “aura” of authenticity. Zacharias Zweig and his son were assigned an important role at that as well. The popular Berlin newspaper *BZ am Abend*, perhaps acting on its own initiative, searched for the two and managed to locate them in Israel. The newspaper initiated the visit of Stefan in the GDR, who in February 1964 met his rescuers in the memorial.⁸⁹⁰ A radio program that reported on the meeting called those who saved him “his many fathers,” and in stressing that the novel is based on a true story, quoted Zacharias Zweig, the actual father, who acknowledged the moral achievement of the German communists’:

There is one thing I must tell you, if you like it or not: The Buchenwald inmates saved the life of my son, [it was] the International Camp Committee, and the majority of them were German communists.⁸⁹¹

The visit of the “Buchenwald Child” aroused much interest among East German citizens, who wished to meet “Juschu” (a designation that preserved him in the form of a child). His picture and name appeared in the media and made Stefan to a kind of celebrity. When, on his third visit to the GDR in 1964, Stefan decided to settle in the land of “his many fathers,” the propagandistic potential of his story grew even more.

⁸⁸⁹ Niven, *Das Buchenwaldkind*.

⁸⁹⁰ Furthermore, although Apitz did not know the child during his time in Buchenwald, the newspapers included him in the group of rescuers in order to enhance the truth-value of the novel. For the details of this initiative and Stefan’s time in the GDR see Niven, *Das Buchenwaldkind*, 179-216.

⁸⁹¹ „Stefan-Jerzy Zweig – ein Kind überlebt Buchenwald,“ *Deutschlandsender*, Sendedatum: 11.4.1964, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv Potsdam (B012703051).

The newspapers occasionally reported on his studies or mentioned his name in relation to the annual commemorations in Buchenwald, until he left the GDR in 1972.⁸⁹² The emphasis on this “Child” offered especially young East Germans with a way to view the proof for “their own” heroic and moral accomplishment as part of a national collective based on the antifascist legacy.

There is no doubt that the emotional appeal that Stefan Zweig enjoyed in the GDR surpassed the interest that his East German rescuers received, although he was not celebrated for his own actions but more as a trophy for the heroism of the Buchenwald antifascists.⁸⁹³ Nevertheless, the newspaper articles that depicted Stefan’s meeting with his East German benefactors did indicate the names of the rescuers. The press mentioned especially Robert Siewert, who played a leading role in the Buchenwald resistance and thus in Stefan’s rescue and whom the radio broadcast (mentioned above) called Stefan’s “oldest father.” Siewert headed the Committee for Antifascist Resistance Fighters in the GDR and was also involved in political activity in East Germany. After Siewert’s death in 1973, commemorative brochures, newspaper articles, and ceremonies dedicated to him also referred to his activity to save Jews and Poles in Buchenwald.⁸⁹⁴

But Siewert was not awarded with an honorary title as a rescuer of Jews, not only because it did not exist in the GDR, but also since East German rescuers did not receive the Yad Vashem title of “Righteous among the Nations.” Yet in Siewert’s case

⁸⁹² See the collection of newspaper articles in the folder “Stefan-Jerzy-Zweig” in the Buchenwald-Archiv.

⁸⁹³ Thus, an East German representative who met with Dr. Zweig and his son while visiting in Israel in April 1964, wrote that in preparation for Juschu’s visit in the GDR in July, “It should and must be avoided that Juschu will be celebrated as the hero, and also his father does not want that [his] son will occupy such a role. The father, Dr. Zweig, had repeatedly emphasized, in roundtable discussion, personal conversations, and in the press conference, that the only heroes are those communists from the international camp committee who in their activity and willingness to make sacrifices, saved Juschu and other Jewish inmates.” Ernst Hansch, „Bericht über die Reise nach Israel,“ Bundesarchiv Berlin N Y30-IV2-9.02-43. Quote on pages 4-5.

⁸⁹⁴ Furthermore, in the 1970s also a local branch of the East German youth organization (FDJ) in Cottbus was named after Siewert. See the different items in the Siewert folder (30/1), Walter Bartel Nachlass, Buchenwald-Archiv.

this almost took place. This is apparent from a report of a GDR representative, who visited Israel in April 1964 with the purpose of screening the film *Naked among Wolves*, and met with Yad Vashem members. It seems that the Israeli memorial planned to honor Stefan's rescuers, and the persons that came in question were the East German Siewert and the West German socialist Willi Bleicher.⁸⁹⁵ Yet while Bleicher received the honorary title in 1965, Siewert never did. We can assume that the reason for that was the disconnect between the GDR and Israel following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the latter and West Germany, along with the parallel increase of anti-Zionist tendencies in the GDR. Therefore, the first real discussions on declaring East Germans as "Righteous among the Nations" were held only in the late 1980s and the official ceremony for the first six GDR citizens who received the title took place in January 1990, in the state's final year.⁸⁹⁶

In summarizing the finding of this final section, we can say that East German commemoration of rescuers in and around Buchenwald (and to a less extent also in other concentration camps memorials) had the following features: First, it utilized references to solidarity with and assistance to fellow-inmates as proofs for the moral superiority of the antifascist (and especially communist) struggle in and outside the camps, and as ways to oppose the thesis of a German collective guilt. Second, these references often did not distinguish between Jewish and non-Jewish inmates and presented solidarity based on the scheme of an international brotherhood (with a focus on the working classes, but with attention to other antifascists as well). Third, in spite of the general tendency not to distinguish between Jewish and non-Jewish inmates, in some occasions, as in Buchenwald, the depiction of Jewish victims as passive

⁸⁹⁵ Ernst Hansch, „Bericht über die Reise nach Israel,“ Bundesarchiv Berlin N Y30-IV2-9.02-43. Quote on page 14.

⁸⁹⁶ Amt für Kirchenfragen, Protokollbeauftragte (17.01.1990), „Würdigung von 6 DDR-Bürgern mit der israelischen Auszeichnung RECHTSSCHAFFENDE UNTER DEN NATIONEN,“ Bundesarchiv Berlin, DO/4/1352.

(embodied by the Buchenwald Child) enabled former inmates to exaggerate the extent of their actions for the victims and enhance their moral self-depiction. And fourth, since the moral acts of rescue and solidarity were subsumed under the umbrella notion of antifascist resistance and solidarity, East German rescuers did not receive special acknowledgment and honoring for their help for Jews. In an interpretive framework that viewed solidary and humane behavior as evolving from an antifascist and socialist convictions, rescue was depicted not as a personal but rather as a *collective* moral achievement, and as further evidence for the truthfulness of the ideology.

Conclusion

In this chapter we explored four diverse (and partially mutually constitutive) articulations of gathering memory that emerged in the late 1950s and continued into the 1970s and beyond. What characterizes all of these different initiatives was the acknowledgment of the people behind them that rescue should be treated as a distinct and important topic and that the benefits of according rescuers with public recognition extend beyond personal concerns into national and political ones. These initiatives collected individual stories and recollections and created places, publications, concepts, and institutional frameworks that concentrated and maintained the memory of rescue and rescuers. In this way, the expressions of gathered memory partially overcame the occasional and often hidden quality that characterized scattered memory, and (as we saw especially in the second and third sections of this chapter) also collected and reframed former accounts.

The growing receptiveness to rescue accounts was closely connected to the heightened public attention to the Nazi period and the persecution of the Jews.⁸⁹⁷ The

⁸⁹⁷ Two important examples for the media attention to Nazism since 1959-1961 are: The first West German TV channel broadcasted between October 1960 and May 1961 a 14 parts documentary called *The Third Reich*. It was aired on Fridays after the evening news program. See Classen, *Bilder der*

trials and antisemitic incidents in the late 1950s and 1960s both presented moral challenges to Germans in general and aroused a widespread assumption that young Germans need to be aware of the Nazi regime and its atrocities. These events urged a series of academic and popular publications as well as television and film productions about Nazism and the Holocaust in both Germanys.⁸⁹⁸ The Third Reich was integrated into schoolbooks in a greater extent than before (while still assigning the Holocaust only a minor role) and helped inform young Germans on the Nazi crimes.⁸⁹⁹ The rise of interest in the period and the moral issues it raised stirred awareness also to solidarity with and rescue of Jews. This took place, for example, in the depiction of friendships between Jews and non-Jews in children's literature.⁹⁰⁰ Furthermore,

Vergangenheit, 115-127, 136-146. While this series did not give much room to the persecution of the Jews, there were other TV productions that did. The first part (out of five) of the mini-series *Am grünen Strand der Spree* (On the Green Shore of the River Spree) was aired on March 1960, and caused shock reactions with its unprecedented depiction of mass shooting of Jews. See Kabalek, „Das Scheitern und die Erinnerung“; Peter Seibert, „Medienwechsel und Erinnerung in den späten 50er Jahren: Der Beginn der Visualisierung des Holocaust im westdeutschen Fernsehen,“ *Der Deutschunterricht* 5 (2001): 74-83.

⁸⁹⁸ In the GDR appeared first the 1960s documentation collection of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, later the documents and picture collection of the Jewish historian Helmut Eschwege, as well as books and booklets that approached the Holocaust while focusing on West German antisemitism. See, respectively: Jüdisches Historisches Institut Warschau, *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1960); Helmut Eschwege, *Kennzeichen J: Bilder, Dokumente, Berichte zur Geschichte der Verbrechen des Hitlerfaschismus an den deutschen Juden 1933-1945* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1966); Verband der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, *Antisemitismus in Westdeutschland: Judenfeinde und Judenmörder im Herrschaftsapparat der Bundesrepublik* (Verband der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der DDR, 1967). In the FRG, the critical commentator Gerhard Schonberner published in 1960 a photographic documentation on the Holocaust that received several printings, in the same year appeared also a short historical book about the persecution of the Jews by historian Wolfgang Scheffler, and during the 1960s the West German television dedicated several documentaries to the Third Reich that addressed also the Holocaust. See, respectively: Gerhard Schoenberner, *Der gelbe Stern: Judenverfolgung in Europa 1933-1945* (Hamburg, Rütten & Loening, 1960); Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich 1933-1945* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1960); Classen, *Bilder der Vergangenheit*, 115-146; Seibert, „Medienwechsel und Erinnerung in den späten 50er Jahren.“

⁸⁹⁹ For East and West German schoolbooks see Srefan Küchler, „DDR-Geschichtsbilder: Zur Interpretation des Nationalsozialismus, der jüdischen Geschichte und des Holocaust im Geschichtsunterricht der DDR,“ *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 22, 1 (2000): 33-48; Brian M. Puaca, „Teaching Trauma and Responsibility: World War II in West German History Textbooks,“ *New German Critique* 38: 1 (Winter 2011): 135-153.

⁹⁰⁰ From the early 1970s, the focus of many of West German children's books (some written abroad by Jewish authors and translated into German) was the autobiographical and close perspective of survival. These books, which often portrayed the Jewish friends of the protagonists, only rarely questioned the moral conduct of the non-Jewish figures. Zohar Shavit, *A Past Without a Shadow: The Construction of the Past Image in the "Story" for Children* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1999), 40-51. [in Hebrew]

publishers used this opportunity to reissue memoirs and diaries that originally appeared in the first postwar decade, and which mentioned German rescuers.⁹⁰¹

In spite of the growing interest in the Holocaust, in each German society there developed rather different forms of approaching this event and thus also the forms of rescue of Jews. Media scholar Christoph Classen convincingly argues that in the late 1950s and early 1960s the GDR's anti-FRG campaigns that attacked specific persons caused many West Germans to focus on individuals, thus leading to a "personalization of the discourse."⁹⁰² We saw this tendency in the *Stern* articles on rescuers, the duel-like depiction of Grüber vs. Eichmann, the rescuers anthologies, and the initiatives honoring individual West Germans. Although the names of individual rescuers played a part in the celebration of moral role models already since the late 1940s (as shown in chapter two), the public exposure and the honors they received were mostly local and only rarely did they receive recognition primarily as rescuers of Jews. With Grossmann's project, the West Berlin honoring initiative, and the Eichmann Trial, however, we find people publicly acting for the national recognition of rescuers *as rescuers* in West Germany.

While the commemoration of rescuers in the FRG came to emphasize the individual, the GDR emphasized collective action and solidarity and often blurred the specificities of particular rescue actions. Moreover, whereas the East German state distilled much of the memory of rescue to one main place, i.e. the Buchenwald memorial, the Federal Republic was reluctant to create a special and concentrated framework for West German rescuers and chose, instead, to treat individual cases within the existing structure of the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*.

⁹⁰¹ For example: Else Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Ich stand nicht allein: Erlebnisse einer Jüdin in Deutschland 1933-1944* (Köln: Europäische Verlanganstalt, 1962); Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, *Schauplatz Berlin* (München: Rheinsberg Verlag, 1962).

⁹⁰² Classen, *Bilder der Vergangenheit*, 64.

With the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*, the FRG created an institutional framework that still exists, and the East German myth of the Buchenwald Child lasted up to the final days of the regime, both in the memorial itself and in the material taught in schools.⁹⁰³ These stately sanctioned initiatives created fixed points that raised the topic during rituals and anniversaries (especially in the GDR) or following publications on honoring individual rescuers (in the FRG). But as we shall see in the final chapter, the memory of rescue was not confined to these forms, and these gatherings of rescue did not mean that in the eyes of many Germans the topic overcame its scattered character.

⁹⁰³ A 1980 East German guidebook for teachers praised the ideological message of Aplitz's novel and schoolbooks made various references to the Buchenwald myth. See, respectively, Wilfried Bütow et al., eds, *Unterrichtshilfen: Deutsch, Literatur. Klasse 9* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen. Volkseigener Verlag, 1980), 112; Wolfgang Bleyer et al., *Geschichte: Lehrbuch für Klasse 9* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen. Volkseigener Verlag, 1984).

Chapter Five:

“Silent Heroes” from the 1970s to the Present

On October 27, 2008 the mayor of Berlin and the federal minister in charge of culture and media in unified Germany inaugurated the national memorial for German rescuers of Jews.⁹⁰⁴ The memorial, *Stille Helden* (Silent Heroes), presents the stories and pictures of non-Jewish helpers together with the Jews they helped. It thus depicts the survival of Jews not as the result of a one-sided undertaking involving an active rescuer and a passive victim, but as a joint effort. By framing the memory of rescue in this way, the memorial dedicates much room to the persecution and humiliation that Jews underwent under the Nazis, and the inclusion of a few stories of failed rescue incorporates into the exhibition also the essence of the Holocaust, i.e. the mass death that awaited most persecuted Jews.

The memorial's emphasis on survival reflects international tendencies and specific German debates from the last three decades that position the personal narratives of Holocaust survivors at the center of references to the Nazi past. In this final chapter we shall trace the place of rescuing Jews in debates, practices, and depictions of the Nazi past in divided and then united Germany. The chapter will proceed chronologically from the 1970s to the inauguration of the Silent Heroes memorial, which will mark the end of our discussion. Since our main concern here will be to explain the focus on personal stories of Jewish survivors in the memory of rescue, the chapter itself will follow several stations in the life and public activity of one Jewish survivor, Inge Deutschkron, who participated in the advancement of the honoring of rescuers and whose actions and publications reflected the main commemorative tendencies in these years.

⁹⁰⁴ For the memorial's inauguration see <http://www.gedenkstaette-stille-helden.de/gedenkstaette/eroeffnung/> (accessed April 2013)

Narratives of Survival and Rescue since the 1970s

Inge Deutschkron was born in 1922 in Berlin to Jewish parents, and experienced firsthand the isolation of the Jews in the German society after 1933. Her parents wanted to emigrate, but had difficulties in finding a country that would accept the family. Eventually the father managed to leave to England in 1939, but due the outbreak of WWII Inge and her mother could not join him. The mother and daughter received help from the local Jewish community and also from a number of non-Jewish Germans. They lived in hiding and with false identities until the end of the war. In 1946 the two women reunited with the father in England. In 1955 Inge returned to (West) Germany and worked in Bonn, first as a freelance journalist, and from 1958 as a correspondent of the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*. In this position she also reported on the Frankfurt Trial in 1963. She became an Israeli citizen in 1966 and moved to Tel Aviv in 1972.⁹⁰⁵

In 1978 Inge Deutschkron published a book on her experiences during the Nazi years, called *Ich trug den gelben Stern* (I Wore the Yellow Badge). She wrote the book in German, her mother tongue, while living in Israel, which she described as her “safe haven.”⁹⁰⁶ Deutschkron was and remained very critical of West Germany, especially of the Adenauer period, where she saw former Nazi officials occupying government positions. In the final pages of her memoir she describes how many Germans could not or would not understand her “clinging” to the past and that only in Israel, surrounded by people who went through similar experiences, she was able to write her recollections of those years. Deutschkron’s book aimed to confront non-

⁹⁰⁵ The information on Deutschkron’s life is based on an interview I conducted with her in Berlin on August 14, 2007, as well as on her memoir mentioned in the next footnote.

⁹⁰⁶ Inge Deutschkron, *Outcast: A Jewish Girl in Wartime Berlin* (New York: Forum International Publishing Corporation, 1989), 262. The book appeared simultaneously in West Germany and Israel in 1978.

Jewish Germans with the persecution of the Jews and Nazi perpetrators, but also wanted to make Germans direct their gaze at the rescuers:

The few who had risked their lives and resisted or helped Jews in hiding were accorded a mixed reception [in West Germany]. The fact that they personified the survival of decency in a time of inhumanity was scarcely acknowledged.⁹⁰⁷

Deutschkron's main benefactor and the most extraordinary character she mentions in the memoir is Otto Weidt. Weidt owned a factory in Berlin that manufactured brushes and brooms and hired mostly blind and deaf individuals, who were traditionally employed in this profession. When the persecution of the Jews started, he hired about thirty Jews including Deutschkron. Weidt assisted her and other Jews in various ways and even succeeded in releasing a group of blind and deaf Jews from the Gestapo, with the argument that they were vital workers for the production of brooms for the German army. The image of a procession of blind people wearing yellow stars and led through Berlin by a man who was himself almost completely blind, is one of the remarkable descriptions in Deutschkron's memoir. Although the Nazis eventually deported most of Weidt's Jewish workers and discovered the Jews who hid in his factory, some did manage to escape and survive the war.

In the interview I conducted with her in 2007, Deutschkron regretted leaving Germany so soon after the war. She wondered whether the fact that she and the other survivors were not there in the first postwar years might have contributed to Weidt's lonely death in 1947. This feeling of regret coupled with gratitude probably encouraged her to spread the word about the actions of Weidt and other rescuers. And indeed, shortly after her return to Germany in 1955 she submitted a report to the Wiener Library in London on her experiences under the Nazi regime, in which she

⁹⁰⁷ Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 261.

describes Weidt in very positive terms.⁹⁰⁸ Later on, she told the writer Michael Horach about Weidt and her survival, and he included her account in his 1964 anthology of rescuers.⁹⁰⁹ Deutschkron also recommended four of her German rescuers to the Yad Vashem memorial, and all of them were awarded the title of “Righteous among the Nations” in 1971.⁹¹⁰

But Deutschkron’s 1978 memoir was not primarily a medium aimed to thank her benefactors, but was rather first and foremost supposed to acquaint readers with the experiences of a Jewish girl under the Nazi regime. As such, it should be positioned within a European and North American tendency of democratizing historical writing that professed a growing interest in life stories. Motivated by the discussions on human rights, feminism, and minorities in the 1960s and 1970s, the experiences and perspectives of “ordinary people” were increasingly considered valid and valuable. In the words of Annette Wieviorka: “The individual was thus placed at the heart of society and, retrospectively, of history. The individual and the individual alone became the public embodiment of history.”⁹¹¹

This was not a completely new phenomenon, since witnesses and survivors of the war and the Holocaust wrote their testimonies also in the first postwar decade. Yet since the late 1960s the personal account was assigned significance not solely as a source for reconstructing a history that is larger than the individual, but as part of individuals’ right to make their voices heard.⁹¹² We can detect this tendency in the

⁹⁰⁸ Inge Deutschkron „Bericht einer jungen juedischen Sozialistin ueber ihr illegales Leben in Berlin waehrend des Krieges,“ in Wiener Library Archive, *Testaments to the Holocaust*, Series One, Section Two (eyewitness accounts), reel 50, P. III. d, No. 192. The report is dated to January 1956.

⁹⁰⁹ Horbach, *Wenige*, 187-233.

⁹¹⁰ The four are Otto Weidt, Lisa Hollaender, Walter Riecke, and Käthe Schwartz.

⁹¹¹ Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 97.

⁹¹² In historical studies of the period this meant that the experience of everyday life and “ordinary people” should be acknowledged as meaningful and important for the reconstruction of society’s structures and processes. See Martin Jay, *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 241-245.

FRG and GDR⁹¹³ in a variety of media.⁹¹⁴ In both West and East German literature of the 1970s and 1980s there emerged an autobiographical focus that included, for example, non-Jewish Germans writing about the difficult Nazi legacy that their fathers left them.⁹¹⁵ Also in fictional depictions of Jewish characters one finds a turn away from one-dimensional stereotypes to more complex and multifaceted individuals.⁹¹⁶

The publication of Deutschkron's memoir probably drew its inspiration from the growing individualization of the literary gaze at Jews and non-Jews, as well as from the personalization of the discussions on Nazism and the Holocaust in West Germany since about 1960. Increased public exposure to testimonies in the Eichmann Trial and the Frankfurt Trial, as well as in the trials that the GDR conducted in the 1960s to denounce former Nazis living in the FRG, reinforced the process of personalization, which, however, was slower in East Germany than in its western neighbor.⁹¹⁷ As we saw in the previous chapter, these trials also contributed to a heightened public attention to the persecution of the Jews.

⁹¹³ Even the GDR, which in the first two decades of its existence openly distrusted the postwar discourse on human rights, was willing to accept it by the 1970s, yet within an interpretation that claimed that true human rights are accomplished only in socialist regimes: "Over and over East German publicists intoned that the rights of citizens under socialism were more genuine and far-reaching than their Western equivalents, to the extent that they were closely bound to practical political, economic, and even cultural rights—and not simply composed of dreamy, abstract civil rights." Paul Betts, "Socialism, Social Rights, and Human Rights: The Case of East Germany," *Humanity* 3: 3 (Winter 2012): 407-426, here 412.

⁹¹⁴ This started to take shape in the 1960s in the East German production of "old communists" memoirs. While these memoirs presented their authors' experiences as collective rather than personal, they nevertheless represented the notion of the individual as embodying history. Epstein, "The Production of 'Official Memory' in East Germany." Such a collective perspective on experience is typical of Marxist interpretations. See the example of British Marxists from the 1960s in Jay, *Songs of Experience*, 196-199, 210.

⁹¹⁵ Peitsch, *Nachkriegsliteratur 1945-1989*, 329-349. For the emphasis on the personal experiences of complex individuals in East German prose fiction of the 1970s, see Lothar Köhn, "Autonomie und Engagement: Erzählprosa der literarischen 'Moderne' aus der DDR," in Barner, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, 703-746.

⁹¹⁶ Schmelzkopf, *Zur Gestaltung jüdischer Figuren in der deutschsprachigen Literatur nach 1945*; Müller, *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa*; Feinberg, *Wiedergutmachung im Programm*; O'Doherty, *The Portrayal of Jews in GDR Prose Fiction*.

⁹¹⁷ On these trials and the 1965 Auschwitz Trial of the GDR against a former concentration camp doctor, see Christian Dirks, "Die Verbrechen der anderen": *Auschwitz und der Auschwitz-Prozess der DDR. Das Verfahren gegen den KZ-Arzt Dr. Horst Fischer* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006).

This public awareness of Jewish suffering in the Holocaust seems to have dwindled by the 1970s. In the context of the students' protests and the terrorism from the far left, West German politicians and journalists preferred to instrumentalize Nazism for immediate political purposes rather than pay attention to the survivors of the Holocaust. Thus right-wing public figures equated the students' movements with totalitarianism and Nazism and leftists criticized the right as fascist.⁹¹⁸ Nevertheless, the call of SPD chancellor Willy Brandt to "dare more democracy," which included openly addressing Nazi crimes, reinforced the incorporation of the Holocaust into West German politics.⁹¹⁹ Recent studies point to the lack of historical research on the Holocaust in the FRG in this period while in Poland, the U.S., U.K., and Israel historians made significant contributions to this field. They thus claim that in the 1970s "memories of the past were repressed a second time."⁹²⁰

However, there were a few important exceptions to this rule. In the FRG, Uwe Adam wrote the first comprehensive account of the Holocaust and H. G. Adler, a survivor himself, published an extensive study of the deportations from Germany.⁹²¹ In the GDR appeared two important studies about the Holocaust that interpreted it from a class perspective.⁹²² The Holocaust was also given room on West German television, where starting in 1977 viewers encountered Jews primarily within survival

⁹¹⁸ Dubiel, *Niemand ist frei von der Geschichte*, 139-160; Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 304-306; Belinda Davis, "New Leftists and West Germany: Fascism, Violence, and the Public Sphere, 1967-1974," in Gassert and Steinweis, eds, *Coping with the Nazi Past*, 210-237.

⁹¹⁹ Herf, *Divided Memory*, 344-348.

⁹²⁰ Ulrich Herbert, "Extermination Policy: New Answers and Questions about the History of the 'Holocaust' in German Historiography," in idem, ed., *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 1-52, here, 7-9. See also Nicolas Berg, *Der Holocaust und die westdeutschen Historiker: Erforschung und Erinnerung* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003), 323-370, 434-465.

⁹²¹ Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1972); Hans Günther Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch: Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974).

⁹²² Klaus Drobisch et al., *Juden unterm Hakenkreuz: Verfolgung und Ausrottung der deutschen Juden 1933-1945* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1973); Kurt Pätzold, *Faschismus, Rassenwahn, Judenverfolgung: Eine Studie zur politischen Strategie und Taktik der faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus (1933-1935)* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1975). For the East German historiography of the Holocaust see Fox, *Stated Memory*, 21-38.

stories,⁹²³ and we find a similar focus in East German productions from 1972 to the 1980s, although not in the same frequency as in the FRG.⁹²⁴ In some of the East German media in this period, tracing the fates of individual Jews even meant pushing the antifascist resistance to the background.⁹²⁵ The attention to Jewish victims appears also in film productions such as the East German *Jakob der Lügner* (Jacob the Liar, dir. Frank Beyer, 1975) and the West German *David* (dir. Peter Lilienthal, 1979).⁹²⁶

The rescue of Jews played a role in many of these accounts, especially in autobiographical writings and fictional depictions (such as the film *David*) that were based on the memoirs of survivors who also mentioned and thanked their helpers.⁹²⁷ The 40th anniversary of *Kristallnacht* in 1978, which received more public attention than before in both Germanys,⁹²⁸ provided a framework that concentrated the commemoration of the Holocaust and especially in West Germany urged the publication of new and the reissue of old survivors' autobiographies. Thus Max Krakauer's 1947 memoir, which depicts at length the help of many non-Jewish Germans to the author and his wife, received a second edition in 1975 and another in 1979. Also other memoirs and diaries that we discussed in chapter two received new editions in 1979.⁹²⁹ The proliferation of these personal accounts introduced a

⁹²³ Kansteiner, "Entertaining Catastrophe," 144-148.

⁹²⁴ Mark A. Wolfgram, "The Holocaust through the Prism of East German Television: Collective Memory and Audience Perceptions," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20: 1 (Spring 2006): 57-79.

⁹²⁵ See, for example, in the case of radio plays in the 1970s and 1980s: Gerlof, *Tonspuren*, 239-345.

⁹²⁶ Both films received various awards and the East German film was the first to be nominated for the Oscar.

⁹²⁷ *David* is based on the 1967 autobiography of a Jewish survivor that demonstrates the interconnections between fictional and non-fictional accounts. Ezra Ben Gerschom, *Den Netzen entronnen: Die Aufzeichnungen des Joel König* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967). The book received a second edition in 1979.

⁹²⁸ Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung*, 62-103. And see the reports on the commemorative events in the FRG in *Das Parlament* from November 1978.

⁹²⁹ Max Krakauer, *Lichter im Dunkel: Flucht und Rettung eines jüdischen Ehepaares im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: Quell Verlag, 1975/1979); Else Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Ich stand nicht allein: Erlebnisse einer Jüdin in Deutschland 1933-1944* (Köln: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1979); Lotte Paepcke, *Ich wurde vergessen: Bericht einer Jüdin, die das Dritte Reich überlebt* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1979). While this was mostly a West German phenomenon, we find a few earlier examples also in the GDR, as in the first East German edition of Ruth Andreas-Friedrich's diary, originally published in the west in 1947. Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, *Der Schattenmann: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1938-1945* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1972).

subjective and intimate perspective on human exchanges, friendships, and emotions and offered readers with ways to identify with the survivors. The rescuers' example of human kindness and solidarity presented a balanced account to the images of persecution and enabled the readers to find reassurance and optimism in them.⁹³⁰

The most well known example of such an account in West Germany was the 1980 autobiography of Hans Rosenthal.⁹³¹ Rosenthal (1925-1987) was a successful host of light entertainment programs on radio and television. His smiling face and energetic appearance were common knowledge, but only a minority knew about his experiences as a Jewish young man who lost his family in the Holocaust. Rosenthal's memoir surprised many of his programs' viewers and changed his public image that now openly addressed his Jewishness. The memoir narrates Rosenthal's "two lives in Germany" from the period of suffering and humiliation to his success in and embrace of the West German democracy. Rosenthal's survival due to the help of non-Jewish German women linked his two lives and provided a reconciliatory narrative with a happy ending, which moved from persecution by "bad Germans" to personal realization and public acceptance in West Germany, the land of the "good" ones.⁹³²

Recalling Rescue in Response to the American Mini-Series *Holocaust*

The positive and reconciliatory tone of Rosenthal's memoir was especially welcome when it was published, since around that time the media was full of heated discussions about an American mini-series that portrayed the Holocaust in a direct and

⁹³⁰ As one survivor remarked in the new afterword to her memoir (originally published in 1952), her motivation in republishing the book was to contribute to the memory of the Holocaust and was not guided by hatred and anger against Germans. Lotte Paepcke, „Nachwort,“ in *Ich wurde vergessen*, 125-128.

⁹³¹ Hans Rosenthal, *Zwei Leben in Deutschland* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Lübbe, 1980).

⁹³² Anne Giebel, „Alltagsbilder, Fernsehikone, Zeitzeuge: Der Spielmeister Hans Rosenthal in der deutschen Gesellschaft,“ in Heikaus, ed., *Das war spitze!*, 41-57.

emotional manner on West German television.⁹³³ The mini-series, *Holocaust: The Story of the Family Weiss*, was originally shown on NBC in 1978, had a tremendous impact on its American viewers (about 120 million), and became a famous and curious international media event. The mini-series has four parts of about 90 minutes each that address the persecution of the Jews through the stories of two German families. The members of the Jewish bourgeois Weiss family embody the fate of Jews in Nazi Germany, whereas the non-Jewish Erik Dorf (Michael Moriarty), who becomes an SS man out of careerism, plays a central role in the killing of the Jews. Erik's family demonstrates the benefits and power positions that Aryan Germans could achieve in the Third Reich, but also the atrocious deeds they accepted and implemented.

Such a close focus on the families and the scenes that depict the humiliation and murder of the Jews were never before seen on American television in such an extensive and intensive way. Also the nature of the medium, which brought a melodramatic visual version of the events to people's houses helped make a strong impact on the viewers. A few critics in the U.S. and elsewhere attacked the attempt to deal with such a traumatic event in a medium that turned the Holocaust into a kind of soap opera. Other commentators, however, pointed out that the reported shock reactions of viewers aroused a greater interest in the topic than any historical book could.⁹³⁴

Following the media echo surrounding the screening of the mini-series, also West German journalists reported about the American discussions and asked whether *Holocaust* should be shown in the FRG. The debate that ensued ended in a

⁹³³ Also a reviewer of Deutschkron's memoir in early 1979 emphasized that her book comes on time to present those Germans who helped Jews. Rolf W. Schloss, „Den unbesungenen Helden: Inge Deutschkrons ungewöhnliches Überleben in schrecklicher Zeit,“ *Die Zeit* (9.3.1979).

⁹³⁴ Jeffrey Shandler, *While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 155-178; Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 98-107. Scholars agree that the mini-series had a substantial influence on the emergence of the survivor as the visual embodiment of the Holocaust, and on projects that collected survivors' testimonies.

compromise, according to which the mini-series will be shown, but in the third programs of the West German television and rather late, at 9 pm. The West German television prepared the audience by showing documentaries about the “Final Solution” and antisemitism before screening the mini-series, thus complementing the melodrama’s historical inaccuracies. The four episodes were shown within one week between January 22 and 26, 1979. Each episode was followed by a roundtable discussion in which historians, survivors, and psychologists answered the questions of those few from the tens of thousands callers who managed to get on the air.⁹³⁵

Many of the callers expressed shame, helplessness, and dismay in response to the images they saw and asked whether these really corresponded with the actual events. While some disputed the accuracy of certain scenes, they generally agreed (as did the experts in the studio) that the mini-series truthfully reconstructed the basic features of the Holocaust. Supporters of the mini-series in the FRG spoke of it as an instrument that would “finally” confront the German public with the most difficult aspect of its past.

But how did the mini-series portray the German population’s behavior in the Holocaust, and with which figures did postwar Germans identify? A contemporary commentator remarked that *Holocaust*’s strategy of telling about the persecution as a family story caused strong emotional impact, because it “brings us to the side of the victims, allows us to suffer with them and fear the murderers, and thus frees us from the decades-long uncanny and paralyzing fear that we were in league with them [the murderers].” He then added that the mini-series “assigns the immediate guilt solely to

⁹³⁵ For a documentation of the West German responses see Peter Märthersheimer and Ivo Frenzel, eds, *Im Kreuzfeuer: Der Fernsehfilm Holocaust. Eine Nation ist betroffen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979). See also Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 249-263; Jens Müller-Bausenik, „Die US-Fernsehserie ‘Holocaust’ im Spiegel der deutschen Presse (Januar-März 1979). Eine Dokumentation,“ *Historical Social Research* 30: 4 (2005): 128-140.

[...] the men wearing SS uniforms.”⁹³⁶ According to this assessment, West German viewers were able to empathize with the Jewish victims because they did not have to face any accusations of collective guilt.

But this was only one possible interpretation of the mini-series, which included also images that countered common depictions of the Nazi past in the FRG and presented Germans as a whole in rather negative terms. *Holocaust* has only three positive German figures within a whole array of Nazi-sympathizers, and those three appear as exceptional persons that testify to the spread of antisemitism among the German population. The first of the three is priest Bernhard Lichtenberg, whom one sees only briefly in his prayer for the Jews – an act that causes several Christians to step out of the church. The second positive German is Dorf’s uncle Kurt, who has witnessed some of the atrocities against the Jews and is portrayed as an anti-Nazi. Kurt confronts Dorf’s wife and children at the very end of the mini-series, urging them to face what actually happened, and declaring the shared guilt (either passive or active) of all Germans to the Nazi atrocities. The third figure and one of the melodrama’s main protagonists is Inga (Meryl Strip), an Aryan woman whose marriage to Karl Weiss (James Woods) provides a romantic center to the plot. The viewers follow Inga’s restless efforts and sacrifice to help her husband, while she encounters antisemitism within her own family and exploitation by other Aryans. As a whole, in each of the episodes, whenever Jews ask German soldiers or civilians for help they are refused, shot at, and abused.⁹³⁷

The lack of reference to “good Germans” was reported as a fault in some of the reactions to the mini-series. In a discussion session in a West German school, for

⁹³⁶ Peter Märthersheimer, „Vorbemerkungen der Herausgeber,“ in idem and Frenzel, eds, *Im Kreuzfeuer*, 11-18, here 17.

⁹³⁷ Even Inga’s brother Hans, a soldier who first helped the Jewish family members in *Kristallnacht* and whose life Rudi (Karl’s brother) saves, betrays his Jewish relative. Hans’s act illustrates the collaboration of the soldiers with the fight against the Jews and differs substantially from earlier German depictions that showed most *Wehrmacht* soldiers as non-Nazi and not antisemitic.

example, teenagers in the tenth class said they missed more positive German figures.⁹³⁸ The same is found also in letters that West Germans of different ages sent to the offices of the television network. About 9,000 of these letters are found in the archive of the Center for the Study of Antisemitism at the Technical University in Berlin, and I went over about a thousand of them. The letters are very diverse. Some contain merely a few lines about the viewers' impressions on the mini-series, whereas others are long personal declarations in which people elaborate on their own experiences from WWII, their opinions regarding politics, the media, and miscellaneous affairs they deemed relevant.⁹³⁹

Many of the older authors of letters who supported using the mini-series to confront the German population with its past, nevertheless portrayed themselves as friends and rescuers of Jews and thus distinguished themselves from the perpetrators on the screen and in the past. As such, their accounts often resemble the assertions that we found in denazification proceedings on assisting Jews or buying from them. For example, a 62 years old former marine soldier commented randomly: "I am definitely no hater of Jews, then my brother had a Jewish woman [...] As a soldier I even helped my sister in law to avoid going to a concentration camp and had to atone for it."⁹⁴⁰

This sort of argument that acts as a personal acquittal was very common in the letters. Yet another recurring reference to friendships with and rescue of Jews sought to counter what some viewed as collective accusations against the Germans as a whole. The statements of expert commentators in the discussion after the screening of the mini-series contributed to these accusations when some of them asserted that the

⁹³⁸ Gerda Marie Schönfeld, „Nach ‘Holocaust’ in Klasse 10,“ in Märthersheimer and Frenzel, eds, *Im Kreuzfeuer*, 287-294, here 288.

⁹³⁹ Many of the people who were adults during the Nazi years gave their personal accounts on the war as a way to counter or add to the image presented in the mini-series, and thus aimed to incorporate their own voice into the "big history." As such they also demonstrated the "individual turn" in the understanding of history.

⁹⁴⁰ Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, *Holocaust* letter 3776/2.

majority of Germans stood behind Hitler in his antisemitic measures. As a response, the author of one letter argued that his personal experience contradicts this statement, since where he lived the residents did not only reject Hitler, they did so especially because of his attitude toward the Jews.⁹⁴¹ The criticism against the Churches' general lack of response to the persecution of the Jews, which the mini-series and the televised discussions raised, prompt strong reactions as well. Both older and younger Germans objected to what they saw as a one-sided portrayal that neglected to mention the cases in which priests, such as Grüber, helped the persecuted.⁹⁴² On a more general note, a 43-year-old woman found it unfortunate that *Holocaust* did not show "Germans who risked their lives trying to save Jews,"⁹⁴³ and one man enclosed two newspaper-clips reporting about Yad Vashem's honoring of Schindler in 1962 as a reaction to the mini-series' "hateful depiction of Germans."⁹⁴⁴

In all of the above references to friendship with and assistance to Jews, the authors of letters expressed the need for a *balance* in the depiction of the Nazi past. Then even in earlier German depictions of the persecution of the Jews there often were also references to the suffering of Germans, the atrocities committed by other nations (especially the Soviets), and to Germans who resisted Hitler and saved Jews, and not only to German perpetrators. And indeed, many letters complained about the lack of reference to these issues in the mini-series, which they deplored as one-sided.⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴¹ Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, *Holocaust* letter 520/01.

⁹⁴² See, for example, Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, *Holocaust* letter 14/2. A 37-year-old woman asked for a stronger focus on humanity and not only atrocities, in order to educate the youth not to be intolerant toward minorities. She mentioned in this context the case of an anonymous protestant priest who hid Jews and then helped them flee (letter 880/4).

⁹⁴³ Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, *Holocaust* letter 16/1.

⁹⁴⁴ Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, *Holocaust* letter 81/2. It is quite remarkable that this man held on to these articles for 17 years. Did he do so in order to prove a point to himself and others? Did he make similar use of the articles before?

⁹⁴⁵ For example, one letter rejected German collective guilt by referring to the suffering of German civilians during the bombardment of Dresden and the atrocities of the Soviets (42/2). Another used antisemitic language while describing the mini-series as a one-sided anti-German Jewish production that intentionally does not mention the German victims of the Nazis (208/4). Quite a few people argued that one should not only look at the Jewish catastrophe (and thus German perpetrators), but also at other genocides, in Cambodia and elsewhere (3779/3), or wished to draw the public attention to Gaza, where

Accustomed to accounts that depicted the moral with the immoral (as we saw in the previous chapter), many viewers must have felt disturbed by the absence of solace in the mini-series. A wish to reestablish this balance is apparent also in the public media. The popular women magazine *Bunte* published in March 1979, a month and a half after the screening of *Holocaust*, a series of articles dedicated to “the other Germans,” which resembled the 1961 article series in the weekly *Stern*.⁹⁴⁶ We can conclude, therefore, that this imported American perspective posed a renewed challenge to local West German memory conventions and enhanced the emotional charge and challenge of the melodrama.⁹⁴⁷

The reactions to the mini-series in the GDR were much milder. *Holocaust* was not shown on East German television and the decision to broadcast it on the third program of the West German TV network meant that only those close to the FRG’s border and the residents of Berlin could receive it. The official SED newspaper and the majority of media ignored the mini-series, but since at least some East German citizens could watch it a certain reaction was needed. A few newspaper articles addressed the West German debate about *Holocaust* and remarked on the problems of the FRG’s population to master the Nazi past – something that the East Germans have allegedly already done successfully. Furthermore, in a speech he held a few days after

Jews are perpetrators rather than victims (35/6). In addition, a revisionist book portrayed the mini-series as part of an ongoing campaign to extort the German people using the “six-million-legend” and ignoring the responsibility of the Jews all around the world to the actions against them, the shared guilt of the world, and the alleged fact that Hitler did not know about the murder of the Jews. The book makes these statements while not justifying the killing of the Jews (apparently only one to one and a half million), yet presenting it as something that evolved from the impossible conditions during the war and was not preconceived. Erich Kern, *Die Tragödie der Juden: Schicksal zwischen Propaganda und Wahrheit* (Preussisch Odlendorf: Verlag K.W. Schütz, 1979).

⁹⁴⁶ The articles’ series appeared in four issues of the magazine, the first was: Willi Tremper, „Die anderen Deutschen,“ *Bunte* (8.3.79): 44-53. I am grateful to Gabi Schulz-Gebauer from the Burda Information Services for sending me the *Bunte* article series.

⁹⁴⁷ Heidemarie Uhl makes this argument on the significance of the conflict between the global and local regarding the screening of the mini-series in Austria, but I believe that the letters demonstrate its validity also in the West German case. See Oliver Marchart, Vrääh Öhner, and Heidemarie Uhl, „*Holocaust* Revisited – Lesarten eines Medienereignisses zwischen globaler Erinnerungskultur und nationaler Vergangenheitsbewältigung,“ *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* XXXI (2003): 307-334.

the screening of *Holocaust*, Erich Honecker, the General Secretary of the SED, spoke of the various East German films and books that have made the Holocaust their main topic already years ago. Among the pieces Honecker mentioned were the film *Marriage in the Shadows* (1948), the novel and film *Naked among Wolves* (1958/1962), and an East German mini-series called *Die Bilder des Zeugen Schattmann* (The Pictures of the Witness Schattmann) that was originally broadcasted in 1972.⁹⁴⁸

Die Bilder des Zeugen Schattmann traced the persecution of the Jews in flashbacks of a Jewish man who testified in the East German trial that prosecuted Globke in absentia (1963). This mini-series showed very strong images of the suffering of Jews including scenes from within Auschwitz and caused viewers to report that they were emotionally disturbed by the protagonist's fate. It was broadcasted again on East German television in January 1979 (perhaps as a response to *Holocaust*) and once more in 1982.⁹⁴⁹ Therefore, while the SED regime did not allow for an open debate in the kind that took place in the FRG, the tendency to look at the Holocaust survivor and the emotional impact of Jewish suffering via television took place also in the GDR, although on a smaller scale.

But did the screening of *Holocaust* provoke references to German rescuers in the GDR? While this was not the main focus of East German official reactions, at least one public figure found the topic relevant in demonstrating that the GDR represents the moral Germany. Alexander Abusch, the former Minister of Culture, wrote an article in which he too mentioned the previous filmic depictions of the persecution of

⁹⁴⁸ Katrin Hammerstein, „Geteilte Erinnerung? Zum Umgang mit dem Nationalsozialismus in Bundesrepublik, DDR und Österreich in transnationaler Perspektive,“ in Birgit Hoffmann et al., eds, *Diktaturüberwindung in Europa: Neue nationale und transnationale Perspektiven* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), 103-116, here 105-107; Müller-Bauseneik, „Die US-Fernsehserie 'Holocaust' im Spiegel der deutschen Presse,“ 132-133.

⁹⁴⁹ Wolfgram, „The Holocaust through the Prism of East German Television,“ 66-71.

the Jews by the East German DEFA, and added that while West Germans only now start to approach the issue,

we opposed the inhuman actions of the fascists [...] in a resistance struggle over life or death already in the days of the 1938 “*Kristallnacht*.” This fact is and remains for all times a glorious page for the real humanism of German communists. Ten thousands of non-Jewish Germans risked their lives in distributing throughout Hitler’s empire the “special edition against Hitler’s Jewish pogrom” (1938/ no. 7) of the illegal “Red Flag” – the only newspaper [...] whose first page cried “against the disgrace of the Jewish pogrom!”⁹⁵⁰

As we saw in the last two sections, by the end of the 1970s Holocaust victims and survivors received an ever-growing attention in both German societies. The name of the American mini-series *Holocaust* became a common designation for the persecution and murder of the Jews in the Germanys, thus helping to cement a concentrated discussion on the topic. The greater attention to the Holocaust in general meant that also the rescue of Jews frequently found its place in private and public discussions. Germans referred to the rescue of Jews as part of their call for balance in the depiction of Nazism and WWII that would counter a one-sided and collective image of Germans as perpetrators.

The screening of *Holocaust* and the increasing individualization of the Holocaust as expressed in survivors’ memoirs and fictional representations enabled Germans to empathize with the fate of the Jews and sometimes also offered solace when survivors told about their non-Jewish helpers. Especially in West Germany, this

⁹⁵⁰ Alexander Abusch, „‘Holocaust’ – und die Zusammenhänge,“ Bundesarchiv Berlin, DY 30/IV 2/2.037/014. I was unable to ascertain whether this text, which addresses the American mini-series directly, was published, but it seemed to have been a part of the discussion in the SED as to how to react to the screening of *Holocaust*.

led after 1979 to the reissuing of rescuer anthologies by Horbach (1979),⁹⁵¹ Leuner (1979, 1989),⁹⁵² and Grossmann (1984)⁹⁵³ that originally appeared in the late 1950s and during the 1960s, and encouraged the publications of a few new anthologies.⁹⁵⁴ In the 1980s, West German books⁹⁵⁵ as well as television and radio programs gave room to German and non-German rescuers of Jews.⁹⁵⁶ German filmic and televised depictions of the Holocaust preferred a familial or individual perspective at the victims as in *Holocaust*, but unlike the American mini-series, they only rarely examined Germans' complicity in the crimes from a close perspective. The majority of Germans depicted were passive bystanders and in a few productions from the 1980s also showed minor instances of opposition, including depictions of Aryans buying in Jewish businesses and helping Jews escape.⁹⁵⁷

We shall see in the next two sections that the growing prominence of the Holocaust in the Germanys led in East Germany to the emergence of concentrated attention to rescue of Jews by the end of that decade. At the same time, in West Germany a change of focus in academic and popular histories of the Third Reich introduced the rescue of Jews as a distinct and valuable topic of study.

⁹⁵¹ Michael Horbach, *So überlebten sie den Holocaust: Zeugnisse der Menschlichkeit, 1933-1945* (München: W. Goldmann, 1979).

⁹⁵² Heinz David Leuner, *Gerettet vor dem Holocaust: Menschen, die halfen* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1979/1989).

⁹⁵³ Kurt Grossmann, *Die unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunklen Tagen* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1984).

⁹⁵⁴ See, for example, Anton Maria Keim, *Die Judenretter aus Deutschland* (Mainz: Grünewald, 1983); Leonard Gross, *Versteckt: Wie Juden in Berlin die Nazi-Zeit überlebten* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1983/1986/1988); Andreas Biss, *Wir hielten die Vernichtung an: Der Kampf gegen die 'Endlösung' 1944* (Herbstein: März, 1985); Milton Meltzer, *Zivilcourage: Die Geschichte tapferer Menschen, die Juden vor der Vernichtung bewahrten* (Recklinghausen: Bitter, 1990).

⁹⁵⁵ For example, Heiner Lichtenstein, *Raoul Wallenberg: Retter von hunderttausend Juden: Ein Opfer Himmlers und Stalins* (Köln: Bunde-Verlag, 1982); Anne-Marie im Hof-Piguet, *Fluchtweg durch die Hintertür: Eine Rotkreuz-Helferin im besetzten Frankreich, 1942-1944* (Frauenfeld: Im Waldgut, 1987).

⁹⁵⁶ Kansteiner, "Entertaining Catastrophe," 148; Kresing-Wulf et al., ed., *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft*, vol. 2.

⁹⁵⁷ Frank Bösch, "Film, NS-Vergangenheit und Geschichtswissenschaft: Von 'Holocaust' zu 'Der Untergang'," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 55: 1 (2007): 1-32, here 3-12.

Rescue as History and Resistance in West Germany during the 1980s

On March 11, 1980 Inge Deutschkron gave a talk at the central West German memorial for the resistance against Hitler, located at the Stauffenberg Street in West Berlin. In her talk, Deutschkron summarized her survival story as it appeared in her 1978 memoir, and mentioned also the many non-Jewish friends (including Weidt) that helped her and her mother survive.⁹⁵⁸ The inclusion of this survival account in a memorial dedicated primarily to the military opposition testifies to the new orientation in the study and commemoration of the resistance in West Germany.

Up to the late 1960s, professional historians in West Germany examined the resistance against Hitler in groups that belonged to the elites (especially the military and the bourgeoisie). But following international trends of social history and the change in the political climate with the Social Democrats coming to power in 1969, historians started to look also at popular resistance, especially among workers. In the 1970s and 1980s, the increasing democratization of the historical perspective led to the incorporation of new methods (especially oral history), topics, and fields of study that included the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*), social history from below, and the history of experience (*Erfahrungsgeschichte*).⁹⁵⁹ Historians such as Martin Broszat who advocated this direction conceptualized a broader notion of resistance (which Broszat called *Resistenz*) that registered the effects of Germans' everyday actions in blocking or partially restricting Nazism's societal penetration. While this expansion of the concept encountered criticism on historiographical and

⁹⁵⁸ Inge Deutschkron, *Berliner Juden im Untergrund* (Beiträge zum Thema Widerstand, Nr. 15) (Informationszentrum Berlin: Gedenk- und Bildungsstätte Stauffenbergstrasse).

⁹⁵⁹ For a discussion of these historical trends in Germany see Winfried Schulze, ed., *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie: Eine Diskussion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); Alf Lüdke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

political levels, it nevertheless demonstrated the tendency toward examining the behavior of the populace as a whole and opened up new areas of investigation.⁹⁶⁰

The late 1970s and the 1980s introduced an upsurge of studies on the everyday life of local communities during the Third Reich not only by professional historians (such as Broszat, Detlev Peukert, and Lutz Niethammer), but also in non-academic frameworks. History workshops collected and debated stories and documents on the Nazi past and brought to attention the existence of former concentration camps in one's locality. An additional impulse came from a competition that the federal president Gustav Heinemann initiated in 1973 in which schoolchildren were encouraged to investigate their local histories. The topic of the competitions from 1980 to 1983 was the everyday history of National Socialism. The competitions' findings demonstrate the teenagers' interest in the persecution of Jews and their inquiries into whether Germans of the war generation accepted or opposed it.⁹⁶¹

The local perspective and social history "from below" were used to support two opposite interpretations on the behavior of the German population in the Third Reich, the one accusing and the other exonerating. On the one hand, inquiry "into the history of everyday life points up the extent to which most 'average people' actually clung to the Nazi regime in their concern to survive."⁹⁶² As such, it made the statements on not being involved in the regime's war and exploitation appear unconvincing. The threat of the public discovery on their personal involvement in Nazism made many older West Germans hide the truth about their past, whereas for the younger generations, examining local histories held a potential for personal and

⁹⁶⁰ Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (London: Arnold, 2000), 183-197; Peter Steinbach, „Der Widerstand als Thema der politischen Zeitgeschichte“, in *Widerstand im Widerstreit*, 39-102.

⁹⁶¹ Dieter Galinski, Ulrich Herbert and Ulla Lachauer, eds, *Nazis und Nachbarn: Schüler erforschen den Alltag im Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982); Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 425-429. See also <http://www.koerber-stiftung.de/bildung/geschichtswettbewerb/portraet.html> (accessed April 2013)

⁹⁶² Alf Lüdke, "Introduction: What is the History of Everyday Life and Who are Its Practitioners?" in idem, ed., *The History of Everyday Life*, 3-40, here 4.

social criticism, reflection, and enlightenment.⁹⁶³ On the other hand, the close perspective on everyday life concentrated on Germans' hardships and suffering in the war years and in some cases ignored the persecution of Jews and other groups, presented "ordinary Germans" as victims of the regime and as survivors in their own right,⁹⁶⁴ or described mundane actions of individuals as acts of resistance worthy of celebration.⁹⁶⁵

Thus the close examination of everyday life under the Nazis both enabled previously unacknowledged deeds to appear as resistance, but also casted doubts on the long-lived argument that "simple folk" could not oppose the regime. The most remarkable example of an individual's resistance was the case of Georg Elser, who was not a member of the elites but rather a simple carpenter who almost succeeded in assassinating Hitler on November 8, 1939. Elser's interrogation protocol was discovered and published in 1970 and his story received renewed attention in historical publications and exhibitions in the 1980s and was filmed in 1989.⁹⁶⁶ The case of Elser as well as the expansion of the resistance concept made the question of what individual Germans could have done against the regime and for their Jewish

⁹⁶³ We find both elements in the story of Anna Rosmus (born 1960), who participated in the 1980-81 presidential competition and faced fierce objection from residents of her Bavarian town Passau. Her story became familiar in the film *The Terrible Girl* (*Das schreckliche Mädchen*, dir. Michael Verhoeven, 1990).

⁹⁶⁴ A famous example for such a narrative is Edgar Reitz's 1984 mini-series *Heimat* that acted as a kind of reply to the mini-series *Holocaust*, but from the perspective of the non-Jewish Germans in one village. In *Heimat*, WWII and Nazism are only episodes in the lives of the village's residence and the fate of Jews appears only indirectly and shortly in this 15 and a half hours (in 11 parts) production on a "German chronicle" from 1919 to 1982.

⁹⁶⁵ Wulf Kansteiner thus argued that while *Alltagsgeschichte* thoroughly transformed West Germany's historical culture, it is difficult to assess its exact impact, since "it produced self-congratulatory celebrations of local resistance groups, as well as self-critical probings into the half-forgotten histories of local concentration camps." Wulf Kansteiner, "Between Politics and Memory: The Historians' Debate and West German Historical Culture of the 1980s," in *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television, and Politics after Auschwitz* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006), 54-85, here 67.

⁹⁶⁶ The film is called *Georg Elser – One from Germany* (*Georg Elser – Einer aus Deutschland*, dir. Klaus Maria Brandauer, 1989). The publications include: Johann Georg Elser, *Autobiographie eines Attentäters* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970); Peter-Paul Zahl, *Johann Georg Elser: Ein deutsches Drama* (Berlin: Rotbuch-Verlag, 1982); Ulrike Albrecht, *Das Attentat: Über Johann Elser und das Attentat auf Hitler im Bürgerbräukeller am 8. November 1939* [exhibition publication] (München: Heidhauser Dokumentationsverlag, 1987); Helmut Ortner, *Der Einzelgänger: Georg Elser – der Mann, der Hitler töten wollte* (Rastatt: Moewig, 1989).

neighbors a valid historical one. As such, helping Jews was gradually incorporated into the commemoration of anti-Nazi opposition and was conceived as one of “the few spheres of resistance [...] that have received hardly any attention in public” and is worthy of notice.⁹⁶⁷

Deutschkron’s talk at the resistance memorial in the Stauffenberg Street was a part of this trend. Already in 1975 the memorial invited a Jewish survivor to tell about “Berliners who helped us survive the Hitler dictatorship,⁹⁶⁸ and also the first historical studies on what was later called “rescue resistance” (*Rettungswiderstand*) started to appear.⁹⁶⁹ Some of the scholarly publications on assistance to Jews in the 1980s evolved as part of the democratization of the historical perspective that investigated previously unacknowledged victim groups (such as homosexuals, “a-socials,” gypsies, forced laborers, etc.),⁹⁷⁰ as well as the experiences of women and other “minorities.” Since a few of these groups, such as homosexuals, were still fighting for equal rights in the FRG, reconstructing their histories served to legitimize their causes in the present and strengthen “the formation of a self-understanding that is grounded on historical persecution, which, for instance in women’s history, materializes in an attempt to plausibly present resistance in public as an identity.”⁹⁷¹ Because the lives of women under the Nazis embodied everyday labor and they were largely detached from

⁹⁶⁷ „Unbesungene Helden: Tribüne-Interview mit Frau Gertrud Staewen,“ *Tribüne* 22: 87 (1983): 12-18.

⁹⁶⁸ Ilse Rewald, *Berliner, die uns halfen, die Hitlerdiktatur zu überleben*, (Beiträge zum Thema Widerstand, Nr. 6) (Informationszentrum Berlin: Gedenk- und Bildungsstätte Stauffenbergstrasse, 1975).

⁹⁶⁹ In fact, the pioneering study of the American political scientist, Manfred Wolfson, took place already in the mid 1960s and at least one article he wrote appeared in West Germany in 1971. On Wolfson and his work see Emil Walter-Busch, „Entstehungszusammenhang und Ergebnisse von Manfred Wolfsons Retterstudie (1945–1975),“ in Kosmala and Claudia, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 335-361.

⁹⁷⁰ This took place, for example, in historical studies dedicated to these groups and in their gradual incorporation into concentration camp memorials. See Herbert, “Extermination Policy,” 10-11, and the example of the Dachau memorial near Munich: Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 349-355.

⁹⁷¹ Peter Steinbach, „Widerstandsdiskussion und Widerstandsforschung im Spannungsfeld politischer Entwicklungen“, in *Widerstand im Widerstreit*, 103-123, here 117.

the military and political scenes in which men's resistance took place,⁹⁷² a 1983 study emphasized their "humanitarian resistance." The book thus includes 15 chapters documenting the stories of Jewish and non-Jewish German women, the majority of which tell of the help to the persecuted Jews in various situations. The book's editor explains the motivation to resist as coming from a struggle "against the total incapacitation of the woman" by the Nazis, a standpoint that caused them to help those who suffered more than any other, i.e. the Jews.⁹⁷³

An academic article from 1985 made the first attempt to survey rescue as resistance. It drew on works from the early 1980s as well as on the non-historian Kurt Grossmann and tried to examine the conditions and possibilities of rescue, which (in accordance with Grossmann) it conceived as moral heroism that was comparable to and even superseded the military resistance. The article also claims that apart from Grossmann's book the topic existed only in "scattered articles" (*verstreute Aufsätze*) and received no institutional attention in West Germany. The author was probably not informed on the honoring of rescuers by the Berlin Senate in the 1960s and the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* since the mid 1970s.⁹⁷⁴ But other historical projects were very aware of these two honoring initiatives, which they used as central sources of information.

In 1983-84, when West Berlin newspapers and the Jewish community reported on the honoring of local city residents with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* and Yad

⁹⁷² As one study put it, women are the real representatives of "little people" and should stand at the center of the history of everyday life. Rainer Horbelt and Sonja Spindler, eds, „*Oma, erzähl mal was vom Krieg*“: *Zehn Frauen erinnern sich. Erlebnisse und Dokumente* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1986 [originally 1983]), 2.

⁹⁷³ At the end of her foreword, the editor adds that the women's movement in the present could learn from the deeds of these women under the Nazi regime. Gerda Szepensky, *Frauen leisten Widerstand, 1933-1945: Lebensgeschichten nach Interviews und Dokumenten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983).

⁹⁷⁴ Uwe Grünheid, „Wir wollen doch überleben!‘: Über die ‘Unbesungenen Helden’ des Widerstandes gegen das NS-Regime,“ in Otto R. Romberg et al, eds, *Widerstand und Exil 1933-1945* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1986 [first edition 1985]), 145-158. This article includes bibliographical references to publications on the rescue of Jews from the early 1980s. See especially footnote 18.

Vashem's medals,⁹⁷⁵ the newly founded Center for the Study of Antisemitism (*Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung*) at the Technical University in West Berlin initiated a project to “document the fate of the Berlin Jewish community and its relationship with its [non-Jewish] surroundings in good and bad.”⁹⁷⁶ The center's oral history project focused on rescue activities and interviewed members of three groups:

1. People who survived due to the help of the Berlin underground; 2. people who were active as helpers in the Berlin underground, i.e. provided help for persecuted Jews either alone or as part of groups; 3 so-called “Mischlinge” or “non-Aryan-Christians,” who often occupied an intermediary role between helpers and the persecuted.⁹⁷⁷

The center began looking for interview partners through personal connections and ads on the radio and in newspapers and later turned to the help of organizations and institutions such as the Jeannette-Wolff home for Jewish elderly. The center received much of the information from the Berlin Senate, which afforded it with files from the *Unsung Heroes* initiative and from rescuers' applications toward the *Bundesverdienstkreuz*. The project gathered publications of different kinds and genres that told about the rescue of Jews and followed the social science guidelines of the recently established oral history method.⁹⁷⁸ The center did “not understand the interviews primarily as the investigation of new historical facts, but rather as a collection of individual reports and opinions that could serve to complement such

⁹⁷⁵ Gt, „Berliner hatte Jüdin jahrelang vor Gestapo versteckt: ‘Unbesungener Held’ für mutige Tat geehrt,“ *Berliner Morgenpost* (23.7.1983); Jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin, *Vorstandskalender und Programmorschau* (Februar 1984). Centrum Judaicum Archiv, CJA, 5A1 -1315.

⁹⁷⁶ This quote comes from a letter that the center sent to the Berlin Senate, asking for its help in contacting rescuers of Jews. „I.A an den Senator für Inneres, Berlin [West] (23.12.1983).“ Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, TU Berlin. Retterprojekt, Ordner 1.

⁹⁷⁷ „Oral History Project: Bericht über die bisher geleistete Arbeit und die zukünftigen Vorhaben, Juni 1984.“ Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, TU Berlin. Retterprojekt, Ordner 3, page 2.

⁹⁷⁸ See Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, TU Berlin. Retterprojekt, Ordner 1, 2, 3, 7, 8.

research.”⁹⁷⁹ Its work was continued from the mid 1990s to early 2000s under its second director, Wolfgang Benz, and appeared in a series of books on various aspects of rescue in Germany and Europe.⁹⁸⁰ Yet it was the center’s first director, Herbert A. Strauss, who created the project, probably also for personal reasons. Strauss was an American historian born in Germany who survived the Holocaust thanks to the help of non-Jewish Germans. He must have also contemplated working on the topic as part of the work he did with Kurt Grossmann.⁹⁸¹

There were two additional projects that conducted interviews with rescuers of Jews. The first was held as part of the *Landesbildstelle Berlin*, a city archive that starting in 1959 collected interviews with prominent people who had some connection to Berlin. In the 1980s the archive began interviewing also “ordinary Berliners” including Jewish survivors such as Inge Deutschkron who spoke of her life under the Nazi regime and non-Jews who reported on everyday actions of resistance. The archive contains also five interviews with men and women who helped Jews.⁹⁸² The other project was initiated in 1988 by Günther B. Ginzel, a Jewish author and journalist from Cologne and member of the Society for Christian and Jewish Cooperation, together with local politicians in the Rhineland. This project initially took the name *Unsung Heroes*, and published calls for assistance in finding suitable co-workers and information.⁹⁸³

⁹⁷⁹ „Oral History Project: Bericht über die bisher geleistete Arbeit und die zukünftigen Vorhaben, Juni 1984.“ Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, TU Berlin. Retterprojekt, Ordner 3, page 2.

⁹⁸⁰ The series is called *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit*. Its first volume appeared in 1996 and the last in 2004.

⁹⁸¹ For a short biographical sketch of Strauss’s life see <http://www.nysun.com/obituaries/herbert-a-strauss-86-historian-scholar-of-refugee/10592/> (accessed April 2013) On his work with Grossmann see Mertens, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte*, 223-224.

⁹⁸² Mark A. Wolfgram, “Rediscovering Narratives of German Resistance: Opposing the Nazi ‘Terror-State’,” *Rethinking History* 10: 2 (June 2006): 201-219.

⁹⁸³ Günther B. Ginzel, „Unbesungene Helden’: Ein Forschungsprojekt zum Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus,“ *Tribüne* 27: 107 (1988): 40-42. Unfortunately, the files of this initiative were lost with the destruction of the city archive of Cologne, a few years ago.

An additional locus in the commemoration of rescue as resistance was the resistance memorial in the Stauffenberg Street in West Berlin. In 1983 it began undergoing a series of changes, modified its name to Memorial of German Resistance (*Gedenkstätte deutscher Widerstand*), and became more active in informing the population about various forms of opposition to the Nazi regime. The memorial published a series of studies on resistance in the different districts of Berlin, and since 1983 each study included a chapter on assistance to Jews.⁹⁸⁴ On July 20th, 1989 the memorial inaugurated a new and extensive exhibition that integrated a section about Jewish resistance and on rescue of Jews.⁹⁸⁵ As we shall see later in this chapter, the Memorial of German Resistance will play a part in the eventual establishment of the memorial Silent Heroes, as well.

Identity Politics, Holocaust Memory, and Rescue in Divided Germany of the 1980s

On February 9, 1989 the play *Ab heute heisst du Sara: 33 Bilder aus dem Leben einer Berliner* (From Now on Your Name is Sara: 33 Scenes from the Life of a Berliner Woman) premiered in the West Berlin Grips Theater for children and the youth. The play is based on Inge Deutschkron's 1978 memoir and depicts her survival in Berlin thanks to the help of non-Jewish Germans.⁹⁸⁶ In the interview I conducted with her in 2007, Deutschkron recalled how in 1988 the staff of the theater asked her for permission to adapt her memoirs to the stage. After she gave her consent, they accompanied her to the building where Weidt's factory stood. The house, on Rosenthaler Street number 39, was located in the eastern part of the city. By that time,

⁹⁸⁴ The first book in the series is Hans-Rainer Sandvoß, *Widerstand in einem Arbeiterbezirk (Wedding)* (Berlin: Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand, 1983).

⁹⁸⁵ For information on the memorial see <http://www.gdw-berlin.de/> (accessed April 2013)

⁹⁸⁶ See the website of the theater group: <http://www.grips-theater.de/reroute?page=repertoire.sara> (accessed April 2013).

the diplomatic relations between the two German states were warmer than ever and the group encountered no problems in the visit. It was the first time Deutschkron saw it since the end of the war.

In the interview, Deutschkron said that after the visit she wrote to the East Berlin municipality with the request to put a memorial plaque on the building in order to inform people on the actions of Otto Weidt, but received no reply. She saw that as an indication for the GDR's indifference toward the memory of the Holocaust and of rescue in particular, adding that once the Berlin Wall opened she turned to the newly elected mayor of Berlin and he fulfilled her wish within a short time.⁹⁸⁷ In contrast, her portrayal of West Germans of that time is much favorable. Especially the Grips Theater is applauded, as well as the play, which became a part of the theater's permanent repertoire and still runs today.

But are Deutschkron's impressions about the difference between East and West Germans' attitude to rescue correct? In this section we shall examine the main tendencies in Holocaust memory in both German states up to the unification of 1989-1990. Our focus will be on the public debates concerning German identity and the Holocaust and on whether references to rescue found their place within the political arena.

Was it true that the East German authorities during the late 1980s were not interested in commemorating German rescuers of Jews? So far we have seen that the topic was not absent in the GDR, but usually subsumed under or associated with other narratives, and in particular the memory of the antifascist resistance. We have, however, also remarked on the growing individualization in East German depictions of the Nazi regime since the 1970s that allotted more room to depictions on the

⁹⁸⁷ This was not her impression alone. Deutschkron says that shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall she gave a lecture in East Berlin and an East German woman declared that the communists would have preferred to destroy the house than to place a plaque there.

suffering and survival of Jews in the Holocaust. But did the growing attention to the Holocaust in the GDR incorporate new references to helping Jews?

Since 1978, the SED government became more involved in the annual commemorations of *Kristallnacht*, which by that time the local Jewish communities organized. The SED's interest evolved out of various reasons, including the growing international attention to the Holocaust and to Jewish topics since the mid 1970s and also in response to the upcoming stately commemorations of *Kristallnacht* in West Germany. Much of the initiative came from the East German Protestant Church, which in March 1978 reached an agreement with the SED that gained it improved independence within the GDR.⁹⁸⁸ The Protestant Church coordinated most of the 1978 events as part of its intensified confrontation with theological questions of guilt since the mid 1970s, and asked for the assistance and participation of the state. Its ceremonies of the 40th anniversary of *Kristallnacht* stood in the sign of reconciliation that was expressed through organized meetings between Christians and Jews, the maintenance of Jewish cemeteries, the putting of plaques on destroyed synagogues, etc.

After the 1978 precedence, the Protestant Church continued with these activities and organized (together with the state and local Jewish communities) annual commemorative events around November 9th in various East German cities. In addition, the state encouraged publications on Jewish topics and the Holocaust, as well as local exhibitions, and nurtured and renovated Jewish sites such as synagogues and cemeteries.⁹⁸⁹ There were, however, a few differences in the contents of the various

⁹⁸⁸ While the SED did not intend this agreement as a liberalization measure, many Churchpersons used it to present opinions and initiatives that did not necessarily fit the party's official line. Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR: 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 109-115.

⁹⁸⁹ Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung*, 62-107; Ostermeyer, *Zwischen Schuld und Sühne*; Illichmann, *Die DDR und die Juden*, 239-260. See also the local study on the city of Dresden: Thomas Fache, „DDR-Antifaschismus und das Gedenken an die Novemberpogrome 1938. Eine Lokalstudie,“

rituals and representations according to the respective speakers and organizers. Thus East German Jews were rather suspicious at first about the increasing attention that they suddenly received, and Churchpersons were not always so critical toward Israel as the regime wanted.⁹⁹⁰

In order to overcome the GDR's deteriorating economic situation in the 1980s, the SED was interested in finding new partners abroad, and the party's assumption was that this could be achieved also through the East German Jewish communities that, so it was assumed, "enjoy high esteem internationally." In the name of political gain, the GDR was to show international audiences that "trust and cooperation exist between the socialist state and the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR (*Verband der jüdischen Gemeinden in der DDR*)" and that "citizens of Jewish conviction have found here their true home (*Heimstatt*), [as well as] safety, and social security."⁹⁹¹ The state's efforts in this direction reached their peak in 1988, in the occasion of the 50th anniversary of *Kristallnacht*. It was especially in this context that also references to rescue found their place.

The public presence of the upcoming anniversary started already before November 1988. Historian Kurt Pätzold and the East German Jewish journalist Irene Runge published a first extensive book on *Kristallnacht* that appeared on time for the anniversary,⁹⁹² and other publications prepared their audiences for the event. Such preparation also meant presenting the familiar political interpretation, according to

Medaon 2 (2008). www.medaon.de In the mid 1980s there was also a wave of articles that reported on the maintaining of Jewish cemeteries. See the articles collected in Bundesarchiv Berlin, DO/4/1351.

⁹⁹⁰ Ostermeyer, *Zwischen Schuld und Sühne*, 66-75, 81. For instance, clerics seemed to prefer advancing reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians to choosing a side in the conflict.

⁹⁹¹ The quotes are taken from an internal report on the commemorative events of *Kristallnacht* in 1985, but are representative also of other, and especially later, such commemorations. „Information über den Verlauf der Gedenkveranstaltung des Verbandes der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der DDR (Berlin 18.11.1985),“ Bundesarchiv Berlin, DO/4/1341.

⁹⁹² Kurt Pätzold and Irene Runge, *Kristallnacht: Zum Pogrom 1938* (Berlin: Dietz, 1988). The book came out simultaneously also in a West German publishing house in Cologne.

which the fascists from before are still active in West Germany.⁹⁹³ In spite of the fact that Erich Honecker paid an official and friendly visit to the FRG in September 1987, the ruling party was still interested in presenting East Germany as the better, moral Germany to its citizens and the world. The Christian-Jewish encounters, common annual commemoration of *Kristallnacht*, and the tightening of relations between the state and the Jewish communities were to demonstrate the GDR's image as morally superior.

In early June 1988, Honecker met with the heads of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR. In the meeting, about which the press reported, he promised to advance the needs of the communities and repeated the common slogans that depicted the GDR as the "real home" of its Jewish citizens. He did not forget to mention the KPD's 1938 leaflet "Against the Disgrace of the Jewish Pogroms" from 1938 that supposedly showed that the communists have always fought against antisemitism.⁹⁹⁴ This leaflet became already in the 1950s a central text that East German public figures and historians mentioned whenever they spoke of the Holocaust (as shown in chapter two and in Abusch's 1979 statement, above).

The basic reference to the communists as opponents of Nazi antisemitism and supporters of the Jews in the past, as well as to the GDR as the safest place for its

⁹⁹³ Thus the East German magazine *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* included an article portraying the FRG as "the same old" fascist state along with the first part of an article series on "the roots and effects of the hatred of Jews in the German history." „Alles beim alten," *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* 43 (1988): 10-11, 49; Rudolf Hirsch and Rosemarie Schuder, „Der gelbe Fleck: Wurzeln und Wirkungen des Judenhasses in der deutschen Geschichte – Teil 1," *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* 43 (1988): 41-43. „Rosemarie Schuder, Rudolf Hirsch: Der gelbe Fleck. Wurzeln und Wirkungen des Judenhasses in der deutschen Geschichte. Essays; Druck-Nr. 415/1/87; 1987; Gutachten: Margit Stragies, Kurt Pätzold." Bundesarchiv Berlin, DR 1/2238.

⁹⁹⁴ Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung*, 109-110. See also the declarations of other GDR officials that supported the commemoration of the Holocaust and the communities in general in Illichmann, *Die DDR und die Juden*, 260-287. A month prior to the meeting Honecker received recommendations on what to say and these spoke of the communist resistance fighters, who in spite of being persecuted themselves, "condemned the murderous excesses of the brown pests, called for solidarity with the Jewish citizens, and stood by their side." „Empfehlungen für ein Gespräch des Generalsekretärs des ZK der SED und Vorsitzenden des Staatsrates der DDR, Genossen Erich Honecker, mit dem Präsidium des Verbandes der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der DDR (30.5.1988)," Bundesarchiv Berlin, DO 4/1346.

Jewish citizens in the present, appeared in various occasions and media during the anniversary. On November 9th, 1988, the East German parliament, the *Volkskammer*, held a special session dedicated to the *Kristallnacht*, in which East German politicians, international guests, and members of the local Jewish communities participated. In his speech, Honecker asserted that since its establishment, the GDR has embraced the teachings of the revolutionary German working class and its opposition against racism, antisemitism, and discrimination, and praised the brave struggle of all antifascists who “acted against the fascist racial hatred [...], helped protect the lives of their Jewish comrades, and in so doing defended the honor of the German people.”⁹⁹⁵ A similar statement appeared in the speech of Horst Sindermann, the president of the *Volkskammer*, who spoke of how the “German working class, which recognized [the Nazis’ use] of antisemitism as a way to defend the interests of the ruling class, stood on the side of the Jews.”⁹⁹⁶ Siegmund Rotstein, the recently appointed president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, followed suit and echoed the assertions of the GDR’s heads in his own speech:

We [the Jews] did not stand alone in these difficult years of our history. It is my noble duty to remind that communists and social democrats, Christians, liberals, and sometimes also our neighbors helped us, and not only on the night of the pogrom. They acted in a truly humane way (*wahrhaft menschlich*) from the first hours of the fascist reign of horror, knowing that they risked their own lives for us. It remains unforgotten that even in illegality the oppressed KPD was the first to [...] stir the international public against the disgrace of the

⁹⁹⁵ Schmid, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung*, 118.

⁹⁹⁶ „Es ist unsere Pflicht, daran zu erinnern. Gedenkrede von Horst Sindermann,“ *Berliner Zeitung* (9.11.1988): 3.

Jewish pogroms and exposed the backgrounds for the crimes and the criminals, while others kept silent...⁹⁹⁷

Rotstein's final sentence makes a direct reference to the 1938 leaflet of the KPD "Against the Disgrace of the Jewish Pogroms" that appeared also in the meeting with Honecker a few months before.

East German daily newspapers reprinted the speeches, and several magazines dedicated special issues to the event. Also there one could find the mentioning of the communists' struggle for the persecuted Jews. Thus the special issue of a magazine that included many full-page pictures of the persecution of the Jews, from its inception to the mass murder, showed also one photograph of a leaflet that communists distributed in the city of Rostock in 1939, in which they called to oppose the violence against Jews.⁹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the page that opened the special issue clearly put the memory of the Holocaust at the center, and made the antifascist resistance subordinate to it, rather than the other way around:

And teach them: memory (*Und lehrt sie: Gedächtnis!*)!⁹⁹⁹ In these days, our land's citizens commemorate the fascist pogrom night of fifty years ago, which gave the sign for the extermination of the Jews. The burning synagogues were followed by the transports to Auschwitz, Maidanek, Treblinka... State and society of the German Democratic Republic honor the victims of the mass murder [and] dignify the dead in order to admonish the living to never again allow barbarism and inhumanity, fascism and war.¹⁰⁰⁰

While this formulation and others on that day corresponded with the GDR's antifascist myth, never before did the Holocaust gain so much official and public attention in

⁹⁹⁷ Emphasis added. „Die Menschenwürde ist unantastbar. Gedenkrede von Siegmund Rotstein,“ *Berliner Zeitung* (9.11.1988): 3.

⁹⁹⁸ *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* 46 (1988): 4.

⁹⁹⁹ This was also the name of an exhibition that opened in Berlin and portrayed the persecution of the Jews.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* 46 (1988): 2.

East Germany as in November 1988. It was this spotlight on the Holocaust that required clarification as to who the “bad Germans” in this story were (capitalists/fascists – now in the FRG) and portrayed the SED-state as carrying the legacy of those who opposed antisemitism and helped the Jews.

After the events of November 9, 1988 the GDR’s heads continued their efforts to attract international partners (and especially the United States) by showing East Germany’s close relations with its Jewish communities. In order to contribute to this foreign policy agenda, the SED started already a few years earlier to consider improving its relations with Israel, which was an ally of the U.S. After the rise of Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, a few East European countries began downplaying their anti-Zionism and although the GDR was slow and inconsistent at that, after 1988 a few opportunities opened up and East German politicians made official visits to Israel.¹⁰⁰¹ One of the first instances of cooperation between the GDR and Israel involved the exchange of material between East German archives and Yad Vashem, as well as a first honoring of East German citizens as “Righteous among the Nations.” The discussions took place on the level of foreign ministers and with the involvement of Rotstein and the head of the West German *Zentralrat*, Heinz Galinski.¹⁰⁰² The public honoring of rescuers was supposed to help reach rapprochement with East Germany in a similar way to what some politicians and citizens wanted to do upon the establishment of diplomatic relations between the FRG and Israel in 1965 (see chapter four).

But the commemoration of East German rescuers in 1988 and later did not only include official speeches and political measures. The growing legitimacy of Holocaust memory encouraged also (Jewish and non-Jewish) authors and artists to

¹⁰⁰¹ Angelika Timm, *Hammer, Zirkel, Davidstern: Das gestörte Verhältnis der DDR zu Zionismus und Staat Israel* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1997), 293-332.

¹⁰⁰² „Bericht über den Besuch von Dr. Reuven Dafni (24.8.1989),“ Bundesarchiv Berlin, DO/4/1352. And see also the documents in DO 4/1103.

address the topic. Heinz Knobloch, a well-known journalist and writer in the GDR, published in September 1988 an article in the bulletin of the East German Jewish communities that celebrated the deeds of policeman Wilhelm Krützfeld, who in November 1938 prevented the complete destruction of the synagogue in the Rosenthaler Street in Berlin.¹⁰⁰³ In 1990, the last year of the GDR, Knobloch published an extended version of the story in a book that received several editions.¹⁰⁰⁴ On September 19, 1989 East German television broadcasted the documentary film *Betrifft Fabrikaktion* of the Jewish filmmaker Roza Berger-Fiedler,¹⁰⁰⁵ which depicted the public protest of Aryan women in Berlin Rosenstrasse in 1943, who demanded the release of their Jewish husbands.¹⁰⁰⁶ In 1989, the GDR also mandated the creation of a stone monument to this event, which, however, was presented to the public only in 1995, when the authority that ordered it already ceased to exist.¹⁰⁰⁷

In assessing Deutschkron's impressions, we can say that at least on the official level, the 1988 commemoration of *Kristallnacht* in the GDR paid much more attention to Germans' help to Jews than did the FRG. While the SED argued that German communists' care for the Jews in the past and present freed East Germany from any responsibility for the Holocaust, West Germans were struggling with the question of how to incorporate the event into their own history. The difference between the two states becomes clear when we examine the 1988 speech that Philipp Jenninger (DCU), chairman of the *Bundestag*, gave on this first official ceremony commemorating

¹⁰⁰³ Heinz Knobloch, „Der beherzte Reviervorsteher,“ *Nachrichtenblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde von Groß-Berlin und des Verbandes der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (September 1988): 19-22.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Heinz Knobloch, *Der beherzte Reviervorsteher: Ungewöhnliche Zivilcourage am Hackeschen Markt* (Morgenbuch Verlag, 1990).

¹⁰⁰⁵ The information on the film is taken from <http://www.cine-holocaust.de/cgi-bin/gdq?efw00fbw002661.gd> (accessed April 2013)

¹⁰⁰⁶ The question on whether the women's protest actually affected the release of the men is discussed in Wolf Gruner, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße: Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Verfolgung der 'Mischehen' 1943* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2005). More on the public discussion regarding this topic in the 2000s see below.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Gruner, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße*, 14-15.

Kristallnacht in the West German parliament.¹⁰⁰⁸ Jenninger's speech followed a Jewish survivor who read Paul Celan's poem *Todesfuge*, a powerful symbolic depiction of Jewish suffering that describes death as "a master from Germany." Already such a poem would probably be unacceptable in an official East German ceremony. The same applies also to the opening words of Jenninger who asserted that

not the victims, but we, in whose midst the crimes took place, must remember and account [for the past], because we Germans want to understand our past and its lessons of our past for the political design of our present and future.¹⁰⁰⁹

The self-examination of Germans' deeds under the Nazis predominated Jenninger's speech. He was not interested in the helpers, but rather in the bystanders and perpetrators, whose actions against the Jews he attempted to understand. Jenninger's attitude of self-examination returns to the influential speech that president Richard von Weizsäcker held in 1985 in the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of WWII, in which the president urged Germans "to have the strength to look truth straight in the eye."¹⁰¹⁰ While von Weizsäcker's speech was internationally acclaimed, Jenninger was forced to resign a few days after giving his, because many politicians and public figures criticized it for its inappropriate dry style, insufficient distance from the perpetrators, and thus in delivering a poor performance according to the unwritten rules that such an occasion requires.¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰⁰⁸ It is important to note that the decision to hold a special commemorative event in the *Bundestag* was influenced by the upcoming parallel ceremony in the *Volkskammer* and not all parties supported it. In this sense it would be mistaken to assume that the East German ceremony was more politically motivated than the West German one.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For a recording of the speech see http://www.mediaculture-online.de/fileadmin/mp3s/jenninger_rede.mp3 (accessed April 2013).

¹⁰¹⁰ http://www.mediaculture-online.de/fileadmin/bibliothek/weizsaecker_speech_may85/weizsaecker_speech_may85.pdf (accessed April 2013).

¹⁰¹¹ Elisabeth Domansky, "'Kristallnacht,' the Holocaust, and German Unity: The Meaning of November 9 as an Anniversary in Germany," *History and Memory* 4: 1 (Spring-Summer 1992): 60-94; Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit*, 163-166; Dubiel, *Niemand ist frei von der Geschichte*, 215-218.

Jenninger's case demonstrates the public involvement and political sensitivity to the question on the "suitable" representation of the Holocaust in West Germany at the time. Paradoxically, the person who contributed more than others to the heated debates on how to represent the Holocaust was the one who wanted to relieve West Germany from the burden of the Nazi past. In 1982, Helmut Kohl became chancellor and returned the CDU to power after 14 years in the opposition. Kohl wanted to create a "spiritual-moral change" (*geistig-moralische Wende*) in the FRG that would break the hegemony of the left and liberal-left in the media, universities, and museums after years of SPD rule and the critique of the 1968 movements.¹⁰¹² He wished to make the FRG a "normal" state in the eyes of the world and provide its citizens with a positive national identity free of the stain of Nazism. His plan of normalization was grounded in debates that started in the mid 1970s, especially among conservative right-wing intellectuals, who wanted to establish a national historical consciousness that the institutional framework of the republic seemed not to provide.¹⁰¹³

In order to normalize West Germany, Kohl initiated projects that would create a cohesive historical narrative of the nation, such as the Museum for German History in Bonn. He also began a series of international visits and meetings that were to attain reconciliation with historical enemies of the German state. Yet many of Kohl's gestures and speeches triggered internal and international debates and scandals that seemed to strengthen the opinion that saw German history as anything but normal and refused to allow a discussion of German identity without mentioning WWII and Auschwitz. For example, Kohl's speech in the Israeli *Knesset* on January 1984 ended in a controversy over his statement on the "grace of a belated birth" (*Gnade der späten*

¹⁰¹² Moses, *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past*, 219-220.

¹⁰¹³ Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 303-345. A part of this tendency was to look for unproblematic German historical legacy before 1933 and even before the German state's establishment in 1871, for example to Prussia. A similar turn to the "Prussian roots" took place also in the GDR since the 1970s.

Geburt), which implied that Germans would eventually be freed from the burden of the past. In September of that year, his meeting with the French president Francois Mitterrand in the WWI cemetery in Verdun was a remarkable step toward the appeasement of past conflicts, and seemed to advance in the path the chancellor intended. Yet Kohl's attempt in 1985 to repeat this gesture with the American president Ronald Reagan in the military cemetery in Bitburg erupted a vehement international scandal, when it was discovered that also SS men were buried there.¹⁰¹⁴ Eventually, the question on whether non-Jewish German victims can be treated on an equal level as Jewish Holocaust victims became the center of the Historians' Dispute (*Historikerstreit*) in 1986-7, which debated the Holocaust's uniqueness and asked whether it allows for a German national narrative.¹⁰¹⁵

West German public debates in the 1980s concentrated on the responsibility of Germans, in the past and present, to the crimes of the Nazi regime and thus made references to rescue and solidarity appear out of place on the official level. At the same time, however, these debates and the opposing opinions presented in them also "licensed, so to speak, a broader public or political relativization of responsibility" for the Holocaust.¹⁰¹⁶ The opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and Kohl's decisiveness in the unification of Germany in 1990 aroused national sentiments in the "new right" as well as among liberals and leftists and gave new credentials and energy to the normalization project.¹⁰¹⁷ As we shall see in the final sections of this chapter, it was on

¹⁰¹⁴ Geoffrey H. Hartman, ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University press, 1986).

¹⁰¹⁵ See Peter Baldwin, *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust and the Historians' Debate* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990); Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

¹⁰¹⁶ Maier, *The Unmasterable Past*, xii.

¹⁰¹⁷ Moses, *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past*, 219-228; Gerd Gemünden, "Nostalgia for the Nation: Intellectuals and National Identity in Unified Germany," in Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, eds, *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 120-133.

this background that new challenges to German identity emerged, which, together with an American film production, made the rescue of Jews more relevant than ever.

“Good Germans” in the New Germany

By 1988 Kohl made an effort to rid himself from the image of a *Schlußstrich*-chancellor who wishes to draw a line under the Nazi past and the Holocaust in particular.¹⁰¹⁸ Yet he did not abandon the normalization project, but rather adjusted its form and focus. After 1990 Kohl aimed less for an acknowledgment from abroad, which the Allies’ support for a unified Germany seemed to anyway imply, and addressed much more the German population on the way to creating a cohesive and unifying national identity. Furthermore, the chancellor and his government carefully followed the ritualized rules of behavior that were established up to and after Jenninger’s performance, by immediately and decisively rejecting any attempt to question the uniqueness of the Holocaust and its importance in German history. At the same time, however, Kohl advanced initiatives that introduced alternative and complementary narratives that would relativize this very standpoint.¹⁰¹⁹

Kohl helped establish a historical interpretation that combined the victims of the war with victims of Nazi persecution. Yet his government was not the sole initiator of such depictions, which appeared in films, television documentaries, and various publications that continued portraying the familiar image of soldiers as apolitical victims of the war and German civilians as victims of Allied bombings and expulsions.¹⁰²⁰ A few historians have observed the “return” of these narratives that

¹⁰¹⁸ For example in meetings with the Jewish survivor Simon Wiesenthal in New York and the speeches he gave in the Jewish museum and in a synagogue in Frankfurt in November 1988. See Gunter Hofman, „Der Alleingang ins Abseits,“ *Die Zeit* (18.11.1988).

¹⁰¹⁹ Jeffrey K. Olick, “What Does It Mean to Normalize the past? Official Memory in German Politics since 1989,” *Social Science History* 22:4 (Winter 1998): 547-571.

¹⁰²⁰ See, for example, the successful 1992 film *Stalingrad* (dir. Josef Vilsmair) and the television documentary and accompanying book of TV historian Guido Knopp from the same year: Guido Knopp, *Der verdamnte Krieg: Entscheidung Stalingrad – Eine fünfteilige Dokumentation* (Mainz: ZDF, 1992).

were so typical in the FRG's 1950s, but never quite disappeared in the decades since.¹⁰²¹ Another common depiction that gained much room in historical and popular accounts especially after unification followed a totalitarian narrative that drew parallels between the Nazi dictatorship and communist dictatorships in order to blur the uniqueness of the German case.¹⁰²² Already in the early 1990s, historian Saul Friedländer wrote that after the fall of the GDR, the Third Reich no longer represents the recent significant past for many Germans, since between it and the present stands another German dictatorship.¹⁰²³ Furthermore, after 1990 the reckoning with the Nazi past often went hand in hand with a condemnation of the GDR. This took place with the discovery of traces and graves from the Soviet postwar "special camps" that incarcerated people suspected as Nazis in or close to the Nazi concentration camps. In recovering this "double past," the new, updated, memorials made sure to present a clear hierarchy that placed the Nazi crimes first, but nevertheless complemented the crimes of the Nazis by images of Germans as victims.¹⁰²⁴

As in the 1980s, also in the subsequent decade a few of Kohl's steps provoked public debates that acted against his intentions. This was the case, for example, in his 1993 inauguration of the *Neue Wache* monument in Berlin that commemorated "all of the innocent people who lost their lives in the war" and placed soldiers who died in combat next to people who were murdered for their alleged race. As a result of the criticism that this monument produced, Kohl authorized the construction of a separate

¹⁰²¹ Moeller, *War Stories*, 180-198; Eric Langenbacher, "The Return of Memory: New Discussions about German Suffering in World War II," *German Politics and Society* 21: 3 (Fall 2003): 74-88.

¹⁰²² Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 53-60.

¹⁰²³ Friedländer feared already then that this would lead to a historicization of Nazism, a development that he opposed in his famous dispute with Martin Broszat in the mid 1980s. Saul Friedländer, *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 89-90. As a support of his claim, a study of documentaries in the year 2001 that marked 40 years to the erection of the Berlin Wall shows how the paralleling the GDR with the Nazi state is used to neutralize the memories of both. Hilde Hoffmann, „Der Zeitzeuge als Fernsehfigur: Zeitzeugeneinsatz in Dokumentationen zum 40. Jahrestag des Mauerbaus,“ *Jahrbuch für Pädagogik* (2003): 207-220.

¹⁰²⁴ Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 41-61.

memorial for the murdered Jews, which opened to the public in May 2005 and became more familiar than the *Neue Wache* due to its central location and to years of public discussions over its form.¹⁰²⁵ These developments led historian Bill Niven to speak of an increasingly “inclusive” memory that allows for a coexistence of diverse victim groups and various narratives about the Nazi past in post-unification Germany.¹⁰²⁶ Considering that Germans from the right and left would very much like to get rid of the opposite side’s depictions of the Nazi past, the word inclusive seems rather unsuitable. Yet there is no doubt as to the coexistence of apparently contradicting interpretations about this past and the frequent attention that the conflicts surrounding it received in the media.

In accordance with the media attention to the Third Reich, in the early 1990s we find publications on rescuers of Jews, some in the context of the resistance, which continue projects that started in the late 1980s in either East or West Germany.¹⁰²⁷ These publications are embedded in the growing interest in the Holocaust and provide positive role models for readers as well as a way to avoid focusing solely on the bleak aspects of this past.¹⁰²⁸

In 1994 the screening of an American film helped change the German discussions about the rescue of Jews. On March 3, 1994 Steven Spielberg’s *Schindler’s List* premiered in Germany. The first German screening took place two

¹⁰²⁵ Reichel, *Politik mit der Erinnerung*, 201-202. For the debate around the monument see Michael S. Cullen, ed., *Das Holocaust-Mahnmal: Dokumentation einer Debatte* (Zürich: Pendo Verlag, 1999); Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2005).

¹⁰²⁶ Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 41-61.

¹⁰²⁷ Christine-Ruth Müller, *Dietrich Bonhoeffers Kampf gegen die NS-Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden* (München: Kaiser, 1990); Bernd Schmalhausen, *Bertold Beitz im Dritten Reich: Mensch in unmenschlicher Zeit* (Essen: P. Pomp, 1991); Irene Runge and Stephan Neuss, *Onkel Max ist jüdisch: Neun Gespräche mit Deutschen, die Juden halfen* (Berlin: Dietz, 1991); Günther B. Ginzel, ed., *Mut zur Menschlichkeit: Hilfe für Verfolgte während der NS-Zeit* (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1993).

¹⁰²⁸ This explanation is more explicit in some books than in others and some were translations of books whose authors published them in other countries and for various reasons. For examples of this tendency see Jonathan Steinberg, *Deutsche, Italiener und Juden: Der italienische Widerstand gegen den Holocaust* (Göttingen: Steidl, 1993); Christoph Gann, *Lichter in der Finsternis: Raoul Wallenberg und die Rettung der Budapester Juden 1944/45 – Begleitheft zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung* (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdische Gemeindezentrum, 1994).

days earlier in Frankfurt in the presence of the film's director as well as a number of local dignitaries and politicians, including president von Weizsäcker. The screening of a commercial American movie became a state ceremony and according to some journalists, it was the absence of Kohl from it rather than the presence of the president that demanded explanation.¹⁰²⁹ This three hours film tells the story of a German industrialist, Oskar Schindler (Liam Neeson), a womanizer, drunk, and opportunist, who decides to save "his Jews" (the Jewish forced laborers in his factory) and manages to do so by sacrificing his wealth. Although the film does not put the story of the Holocaust at the center of the plot, the film presents the persecution and murder of the Jews in powerful images: Probably no viewer would forget the girl in the red coat that one sees briefly early in the film and later as a body in the death camp. Furthermore, the scene in which Jewish women from Schindler's factory are sent to Auschwitz, shaven, and pushed naked to the showers is as close as it gets to an inside perspective on gassing. Such a dramatic individualization of the victims and close look at the extermination were not seen in Germany since the mini-series *Holocaust*, whose emotional impact appeared to be recreated among the viewers of Spielberg's film.¹⁰³⁰

The film's reviews discussed various matters, from the choice of cast to theoretical considerations on the representability and visualization of the Holocaust. In the foreground stood, on the one hand, the depiction of the film as exploring the industrialized murder of the Jews (although this is not the focus of *Schindler's List*),

¹⁰²⁹ Liliane Weissberg, "The Tale of a Good German: Reflections on the German Reception of Schindler's List," in Yosefa Loshitzky, Hg., *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 171-192, here 171-174.

¹⁰³⁰ Liliane Weissberg notes that many reviewers used the word *Betroffen* that means being deeply affected by something. Weissberg, "The Tale of a Good German," 174-175. This word appeared also in many of the reviews of the *Holocaust* mini-series. See, for example, the title of the following collection of reviews from 1979: Märthersheimer and Frenzel, eds., *Im Kreuzfeuer: Der Fernsehfilm Holocaust. Eine Nation ist betroffen*.

while on the other hand was the image of a “good German.”¹⁰³¹ The reviewers were divided, however, in their evaluation of Schindler’s figure. Some expressed their relief that this film discusses the Holocaust through the story of a German rescuer. Thus an article in a popular magazine introduced the film a few days before its German premiere and asked: “Was Schindler the only German who saved Jews? – No, there were very many (*Es waren sehr viele*).”¹⁰³² Yet the authors of other articles stressed that Schindler was a part of a minority and his actions cannot collectively absolve Germans from their responsibility.¹⁰³³

Since 3,400,000 viewers saw the film in Germany within two months of the premiere,¹⁰³⁴ scholars and journalists attempted to explain the film’s success. Some commentators claimed that the millions of Germans, who went to see a “good German” in an American film by a Jewish director, demonstrated the acceptance of an offer of exculpation from shared guilt or national responsibility. Other commentators, however, resisted this reasoning and argued that the film rather compels the viewers to ask whether what Oskar Schindler accomplished was not also possible by many other Germans, thus raising the question of individual responsibility.¹⁰³⁵

The attempt to give a single explanation to the success of the film in Germany is, of course, misguided and depends on each viewer’s expectations and orientations before entering the cinema. Moreover, the success of the film in the United States and elsewhere implies that it offered its viewers something more than either exculpation or

¹⁰³¹ The cover of the magazine *Der Spiegel* about two weeks after the premiere showed the face (in black and white) of Liam Neeson, and images of a list, and children inmates behind a camp’s barbed wire. The headline stated: The Good German – Spielberg’s Holocaust Drama: Jew-Rescuer Schindler.” *Der Spiegel* (21.2.1994).

¹⁰³² „Schindlers Liste: Der Film. Die Fragen. Die Antworten,“ *Super Illu* (28.2.1994).

¹⁰³³ Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 309-314.

¹⁰³⁴ Martina Thiele, *Publizistische Kontroversen über den Holocaust im Film* (Münster: LIT, 2001), 431.

¹⁰³⁵ Thiele, *Publizistische Kontroversen über den Holocaust im Film*, 439-443; Reichel, *Erfundene Erinnerung*, 308-318. See also Jan Philipp Reemtsma, “Turning Away from Denial: Hitler’s Willing Executioners as a counterforce to ‘Historical Explanation’,” in Robert Shandley, ed., *Unwilling Germans? The Goldhagen Debate* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 255-262, here 255.

self-criticism. The plot follows a common story of a protagonist's transformation into a hero and uses Christian symbols and gestures that appealed not only to Germans.¹⁰³⁶ Nevertheless, the division that commentators presented between two main reactions, i.e. one promoting at least a momentary relief from a perceived collective guilt and another emphasizing Germans' moral commitment to never allow such a relief, reflects two main approaches to the Holocaust in unified Germany in general.

Schindler's List contributed to a wide acknowledgement of the topic of rescue. German newspapers started to explore the life of Schindler by publishing articles on his deeds and interviewing some of the Jews he saved and his wife Emilie.¹⁰³⁷ But the newspapers did not give their attention to this rescuer alone and looked also for "the other Schindlers." A long article carrying this name appeared in the newspaper *Die Zeit* a month after the premiere. The article opens with the following:

Tree number 14 in the Alley of the Righteous in Yad Vashem receives many visits currently. The ground around it has been leveled by the feet [of visitors]. With tree number 14 the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem remembers Oskar Schindler. Not far from there stands tree number 208, planted for Eberhard Helmrich. The ground around it is neat and tidy, shows no sign of a footstep. No one is interested also in tree number 821. Then who knows Loni and Anton Harder? And who [knows] Elisabeth Abegg, Otto Busse, Max Liedtke, Otto Weidt?¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³⁶ I follow here the conclusion of cultural analyst Manuel Köppen, quoted in Thiele, *Publizistische Kontroversen über den Holocaust im Film*, 427. For a discussion of the Christian symbolism in the film see Alvin H. Rosenfeld, "The Americanization of the Holocaust," in idem, ed., *Thinking about the Holocaust After Half a Century* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 119-150.

¹⁰³⁷ Spielberg gave his film an aura of authenticity by using black and white footage and in presenting the film as based on true events. See Gulie Ne'eman Arad, „Berichte zur Geschichte der Erinnerung: USA,“ in Volkhard Knigge and Norbert Frei, *Verbrechen erinnern: Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord* (München: C.H. Beck, 2002), 199-219, esp. 213-214.

¹⁰³⁸ Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff and Dirk Kurbjuweit, „Die anderen Schindlers,“ *Die Zeit* (1.4.1994): 13-15, here 13.

The article's authors state that while Israel has already honored 276 Germans and thousands of other rescuers, in Germany they are forgotten. This long article presents various cases of German rescuers, along with their pictures, and gives a few patterns of their actions. Yet its main point is to ask why did the rescuers receive no attention in Germany so far. In doing so it actually shows that much has been done in this direction. For example, the authors interviewed Inge Deutschkron, whose helper Otto Weidt they mentioned. The article also announces the upcoming publication of two studies that the Center for the Study of Antisemitism in Berlin is preparing about the rescuers, and recommends its readers to look at an anthology of rescuers that was just translated into German.¹⁰³⁹ The article refers also to the honoring of about 700 rescuers by the Berlin Senate in the 1960s and the honoring of more with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* since 1976, but states that "such honors interrupt the general forgetting only for a short time."

The claim of forgetting in this article and in others that speak about "forgotten heroes"¹⁰⁴⁰ is used, first, to urge Germans to commemorate these rescuers, and second as a way to criticize disregarding them in the past. Such forgetting is depicted as a moral failure, because these rescuers were the ones who under the Nazis "lived the idea of humanity," and should have been celebrated as heroes.¹⁰⁴¹ With the exaggerated claim of former forgetting, these authors distanced themselves not only from Nazi Germany and its antisemitism, but also from the memory politics of the two German states and aimed to make a fresh start for united Germany. With this in mind we can start to understand the relevance of the film and the topic of rescue to the early-mid 1990s.

¹⁰³⁹ Eric Silver, *Sie waren stille Helden: Frauen und Männer, die Juden vor den Nazis retteten* (München: Hanser Verlag, 1994). The book appeared originally two years earlier in English.

¹⁰⁴⁰ „Vergessener Held," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (2.3.1944): 41.

¹⁰⁴¹ The quote is from the final sentence of the article. Kleine-Brockhoff and Kurbjuweit, „Die anderen Schindlers," *Die Zeit* (1.4.1994): 15.

Schindler's List contributed to a major change in the public relation to rescuers in Germany. The power of the medium film and Spielberg's dramatic skills played a role at that. Moreover, unlike the mini-series *Holocaust* that portrayed a rather negative image of Germans and caused some viewers to assert that "there were also other Germans," Spielberg's movie placed a "good German" at the center of the plot. The broad acceptance of this movie was probably also influenced by a generational change. While Germans who were adults during the Nazi years might have perceived the actions of a rescuer as questioning their own deeds during the Holocaust, by 1994 they no longer constituted a majority in the population. Younger viewers could more easily identify with Schindler and imagine themselves in his place, especially since this hero had weaknesses that made him human and thus easy to relate. Furthermore, the film introduced a familiar designation to rescuers in general ("Schindlers") that enabled one to address the topic of rescue in a way that a large audience could immediately recognize.¹⁰⁴²

Yet *Schindler's List* was not solely responsible for this change. Former depictions of rescuers in various media and in historical studies undoubtedly created an atmosphere that was receptive for a story about the Holocaust through the perspective of a German rescuer. Furthermore, when the film came out, the rescue of Jews had socio-political relevance. In the years 1991-94 a series of racist and antisemitic incidents took place in united Germany. Right-wing extremists caused the death of several asylum seekers and desecrated Jewish institutions as a response to the growing public attention to the Holocaust.¹⁰⁴³ Already in June 1993, when two German women received Yad Vashem's medal of "Righteous among the Nations" in Berlin, at least one article explicitly stated that rescuers of Jews should serve as role

¹⁰⁴² Schindler's name retained this function also years later. See, for example, Barbara Hans, „Ehrung mit 97 Jahren: Schindlers unbekante Schwester,“ *Der Spiegel* (18.3.2007).

¹⁰⁴³ Hermann Kurthen, Werner Bergmann, and Rainer Erb, eds, *Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Germany after Unification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

models in this time of xenophobia and intolerance.¹⁰⁴⁴ On this background, German politicians and educators encouraged entire school classes to watch the film and discuss its message of morality and civil courage (*Zivilcourage*), and the Federal Center for Political Education distributed appropriate material for teachers.¹⁰⁴⁵ The educational importance of the film was enhanced when on March 25, 1994, a few weeks after the premiere of *Schindler's List*, a bomb was thrown into the synagogue in Lübeck.¹⁰⁴⁶

“Ordinary Germans” and Rescuers in the 1990s and 2000s

While the message of civil courage and the discussion around *Schindler's List* focused on what Germans in the Third Reich could have done to help the Jews and thus also on the passive responsibility of those who didn't help, in the second half of the 1990s two public debates raised the issue of the *active* participation of many Germans in the Holocaust. In the 1980s, those public addresses in the FRG that were considered to be very self-critical (such as president von Weizsäcker's 1985 speech) focused on the moral failure of German bystanders and not on German perpetrators. In 1996, however, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, an American political scientist, published a book that seriously challenged this depiction. The book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, argued that Hitler and the Nazis did not have to lure the German public into cooperating in persecuting the Jews, but rather implemented “eliminationist antisemitism” that was already prevalent among

¹⁰⁴⁴ Bi, „Namen und Neuigkeiten,“ *Der Tagesspiegel* (6.6.1993). The two women were Edith Hirschfeldt-Berlow and Frieda Adam.

¹⁰⁴⁵ William J. Niven, “The Reception of Steven Spielberg's ‘Schindler's List’ in the German Media,” *Journal of European Studies* 25 (June 1995): 165-189; Weissberg, “The Tale of a Good German,” 177.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The significance of the time and medium become clear when we consider that the German translation of Thomas Keneally's 1982 novel on which Spielberg's film is based, sold mere 5000 copies from 1983 to 1994, but following the movie's success it sold 90,000 copies in hardback and a million in paperback. Thiele, *Publizistische Kontroversen über den Holocaust im Film*, 431.

Germans.¹⁰⁴⁷ This argument that most historians dismissed as simplistic if not completely false, gained the book and author wide attention in the German press. The book was quickly translated into German, sold about 200,000 copies within six months, and reawakened the discussion on Germans' collective guilt. Goldhagen's use of the term "ordinary Germans" threatened to annul the distinction between "Germans" and "Nazis" that was so central for postwar depictions of the Nazi past.¹⁰⁴⁸

Although "old" historians (such as Hans Mommsen) publicly attacked Goldhagen's book, many younger Germans embraced it. The reason for that may be that it provided a simple explanation to what caused the Holocaust and presented a clear moral standpoint.¹⁰⁴⁹ Moreover, in his book and in his tours through Germany, Goldhagen stated that the antisemitism that led to the Holocaust dissolved in the postwar years and thus offered a way for many younger Germans to redeem themselves by condemning the entire adult generation of the Nazi years.¹⁰⁵⁰

The Goldhagen debate intensified another public depiction that portrayed the participation of "ordinary soldiers" in the killing of civilians during WWII. The Hamburg Institute for Social Study inaugurated in March 1995 an exhibition called "War of Extermination: Crimes of the *Wehrmacht* 1941 to 1944."¹⁰⁵¹ While the findings it presented were not new to historians, the large number of photographs showing the destruction that German bombers left in European cities, the army's role in implementing the racial laws and recruiting forced laborers in the occupied territories, as well as German soldiers executing civilians, were meant to counter the

¹⁰⁴⁷ Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996).

¹⁰⁴⁸ On the debate in Germany see Julius H. Schoeps, ed., *Ein Volk von Mördern? Die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen-Kontroverse um die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1996); Shandley, ed., *Unwilling Germans?*; Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 119-142.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Michael Schneider, *Die „Goldhagen-Debatte“: Ein Historikerstreit in der Mediengesellschaft* (Bonn, 1997). <http://www.fes.de/fulltext/historiker/00144.htm> (accessed April 2013).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 130-135.

¹⁰⁵¹ See the exhibition's catalogue: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944: Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996).

myth of the “clean” *Wehrmacht* among the general population. The exhibition wandered between cities and reached a record number of 90,000 visitors in Munich in 1997. By the end of 1999 about 900,000 people saw it in different locations in Germany (and also in Austria).¹⁰⁵²

The exhibition drew much critique especially from soldiers’ associations and right wing organizations, such as the far right party NPD, that separated Hitler’s aims from the soldiers, in the search for a positive past to identify with. Also individual protestors opposed what they saw as false accusations against their fathers that built Germany after the war.¹⁰⁵³ A few historians criticized the exhibition’s unprofessional use of photographs, which led to mistakes and some incorrect descriptions. As a result, the exhibition was withdrawn for inspection in 1999 and a revised version of it opened in early 2002. By the time it was closed in March 2004 additional 400,000 people visited it.¹⁰⁵⁴

The reactions to the two exhibitions demonstrate the growing acceptance of rescuers of Jews as moral role models. The second *Wehrmacht* exhibition added a section on anti-Nazi soldiers and included the figure of Anton Schmid, a sergeant who helped save more than 300 Jews in the Vilna Ghetto and was executed for it.¹⁰⁵⁵ The inclusion of this section is clearly meant as a balancing measure and a reply to criticism against the first exhibition for its overwhelming condemnation of the

¹⁰⁵² Johannes Klotz, „Die Ausstellung ‚Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941-1944‘ zwischen Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtspolitik“ in Bald et al., eds, *Mythos Wehrmacht*, 116-176.

¹⁰⁵³ Roger Woods, “On Forgetting and Remembering: The New Right since German Unification,” in Anne Fuchs, ed., *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film, and Discourse since 1990* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006), 271-286, here. 279-281; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941-1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), 703-710; Burkhard Asmuss, ed., *Holocaust: Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord und die Motive seiner Erinnerung* (Berlin: Deutsches Historische Museum, 2002), 294-295.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Volker Ulrich, „Es ist nie zu Ende. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Die spektakuläre Ausstellung wird jetzt in Hamburg zum letzten Mal gezeigt. Ein ZEIT-Gespräch zieht Bilanz“ (Gespräch mit Jan Phillip Reemtsma, Ulrike Jureit und Norbert Frei), *Die Zeit* (22.1.2004): 39.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941-1944*, 623-627.

German soldiers. Schmid was “recruited” to improve the standing of German soldiers also outside the exhibition itself, when in 2000 a camp of the *Bundeswehr* (the German army) was named after him.¹⁰⁵⁶ Interestingly, while Schmid served in the *Wehrmacht* he was born and lived in Vienna, which makes him a somewhat peculiar role model for the unified German military.¹⁰⁵⁷

The topic appeared also in two books published in 2002 and 2003 that collected the findings of a research project on rescuers of Jews that served in the German army and also police and SS.¹⁰⁵⁸ While these books can certainly be used to balance the image of “ordinary soldiers” by portraying them not only as perpetrators of atrocities, the book’s editor, historian Wolfram Wette, explicitly stated that this is not the purpose of the study. Instead, he stressed that these soldiers were definitely not “ordinary.”¹⁰⁵⁹ In an article from 2006 (which we discussed in the introduction’s first page), Wette goes farther by presenting Wilm Hosenfeld, the German officer described in Roman Polanski’s film *The Pianist*, as part of the “tiny minority” within the *Wehrmacht* who “swam against the stream.” Wette emphasized repeatedly how in rescuing Jews, this “humanly thinking” officer was completely different from the majority of the soldiers who served on the eastern front and cites some of the most critical entries from Hosenfeld’s diary, published in 2004,¹⁰⁶⁰ including the following: “We deserve no mercy, we all share the guilt (*wir sind alle mitschuldig*).”¹⁰⁶¹ This is a sweeping condemnation of the great majority of German soldiers in WWII that

¹⁰⁵⁶ Wolfram Wette, „Die Bundeswehr im Bahne des Vorbildes Wehrmacht,“ in Bald et al., eds, *Mythos Wehrmacht*, 17-115, here 104-5.

¹⁰⁵⁷ The reason for choosing Schmid as a “rescuer in uniform” may have something to do with the fact that at the time he was one of the only soldiers known for their help for Jews (appearing, for instance, in the 1961 edition of Grossmann’s *Die Unbesungenen Helden*) and one of the few soldiers executed for helping Jews. On Schmid see Arno Lustiger, „Feldwebel Anton Schmid: Judenretter in Wilna 1941-1942,“ in Wette, ed., *Retter in Uniform*, 45-67.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Wette, ed., *Retter in Uniform*; Wette, ed., *Zivilcourage*.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Wolfram Wette, „Helfer und Retter in der Wehrmacht als Problem der historischen Forschung,“ in Wette, *Retter in Uniform*, 11-31. See especially pages 11 and 27.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Wilm Hosenfeld, „*Ich versuche jeden zu retten*“, ed. by Thomas Vogel (München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2004).

¹⁰⁶¹ Wette, „Ein ‚Mensch‘ in deutscher Uniform.“

according to Wette resolved the moral conflict between duty and conscience not in favor of humanity. It is the case of Hosenfeld, being so untypical but nevertheless showing what was possible, that helps to prove them guilty.

Wette's depiction of German rescuers, however, does not represent the attitude of all Germans at the time. While he used these figures in order to condemn the German population in the past and create role models for the new Germany after unification, others employed rescuers in order to save the generation of the Third Reich from the general condemnation by Goldhagen and the *Wehrmacht* exhibitions. Konrad Löw, an emeritus politics professor (from the Bayreuth University) published in 2002 a book that aimed to counter the collective guilt thesis by claiming that most Germans under Hitler opposed Nazi antisemitism.¹⁰⁶² In 2006 he published another book that gathered excerpts from diaries and memoirs of Jewish survivors who report on the help they received from non-Jewish Germans, claim that the number of rescuers must have been much higher than previously assumed, and use the example of Schindler to argue that also many members of the Nazi party helped Jews.¹⁰⁶³ His work drew fire from historians that criticized his selective use of sources and his challenge to the Holocaust's uniqueness.¹⁰⁶⁴

Löw's arguments are embedded in a renewed wave of narratives that emerged since the late 1990s that aim to free Germans from the burden of an assumed collective guilt and enable a positive national identification. Within this tendency we find the call of writer Martin Walser in 1998 for normalization of the Nazi past and

¹⁰⁶² Konrad Löw, *Die Schuld: Christen und Juden im nationalsozialistischen und heutigen Urteil* (Gräfeling: Resch Verlag, 2002). I would like to thank Dr. Nicolas Berg for drawing my attention to the work of Löw.

¹⁰⁶³ Konrad Löw, „*Das Volk ist ein Trost*“: *Deutsche und Juden 1933-1945 im Urteil der jüdischen Zeitzeugen* (München: Olzog Verlag, 2006). He quotes, for example, from the diaries of Klemperer, Krakaur, Littner, Deutschkron, and Behrend-Rosenfeld.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Thomas Forstner, „Review of Löw, *Konrad: Die Schuld. Christen und Juden im nationalsozialistischen und heutigen Urteil. Gräfeling 2002*,“ in *H-Soz-u-Kult*, 23.04.2003, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2003-2-047> (accessed April 2013); Sven Felix Kellerhoff, „Der Historiker Wolfgang Benz über die These seines Kollegen Konrad Löw, die Deutschen hätten die NS-Politik abgelehnt: ‚Willkürlich zusammengeklaut‘,“ *Die Welt* (14.4.2007).

against a constant reference to the shame of Auschwitz,¹⁰⁶⁵ as well as new publications and debates on German suffering during WWII,¹⁰⁶⁶ and the initiative to erect a center against expulsions.¹⁰⁶⁷ These initiatives and statements seem to also be involved in the emergence of a “new antisemitism” that may have reached greater dimensions also as a result of the constant confrontation of Germans with guilt and the Holocaust.¹⁰⁶⁸

Especially after *Schindler's List*, public depictions of German rescuers raised the question of which interpretation of the Nazi past should these figures serve. Should they support national normalization by stating that the existence of rescuers shows that not all Germans were perpetrators? Or should the portrayal of rescuers urge national self-criticism on what most Germans could have done but did not want to do to help Jews? Since references to German rescuers could support such contradicting political agendas, the treatment of the topic became very delicate. Therefore, most reviewers of Polanski's 2002 film *The Pianist* preferred to downplay the image of a German officer who saves the Jewish protagonist's life,¹⁰⁶⁹ and leftist historians cast doubts on the historical accuracy and attacked the “too heroic” depiction of Margarethe von Trotta's 2003 film *Rosenstrasse* about non-Jewish women that protested the arrest of their Jewish husbands and managed to save them.¹⁰⁷⁰

In spite of the question of the rescuers' “appropriate” interpretation, these figures became desired positive figures in the 2000s. In this decade appeared an

¹⁰⁶⁵ Martin Walser, „Erfahrungen beim Verfassen einer Sonntagsrede,“ in Frank Schierrmacher, ed., *Die Walser-Bubis Debatte: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999), 11-12.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Robert G. Moeller, “Sinking Ships, the Lost *Heimat*, and Broken Taboos: Günter Grass and the Politics of Memory in Contemporary Germany,” *Contemporary European History* 12: 2 (2003): 147-181; Niven, ed., *Germans as Victims*.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Samuel Salzborn, “Geschichtspolitik in den Medien: Die Kontroverse über ein ‘Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen’,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51: 12 (2003): 1120-1130.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Michael Naumann, ed., „*Es muss doch in diesem Lande wieder möglich sein... ‘: Der neue Antisemitismus-Streit* (München: Ullstein, 2002).

¹⁰⁶⁹ Kobi Kabalek, “Unheroic Heroes: Re-Viewing Roman Polanski's ‘The Pianist’ in Germany and Israel,” in Vera Apfelthaler and Julia Köhne, eds, *Gendered Memories: Transgressions in German and Israeli Film and Theater* (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2007), 61-82.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Gruner, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße*; Beate Meyer, „Geschichte im Film: Judenverfolgung, Mischehen und der Protest in der Rosenstraße 1943,“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 52: 1 (2004): 23-36.

unprecedented number of rescuers' biographies, many of which were initiatives of local communities or Churches that celebrated them as their heroes.¹⁰⁷¹ Also television productions and films for the big screen dedicated entire plots or isolated sequences to this topic.¹⁰⁷² Nevertheless, the state itself was only indirectly involved in these efforts, and the support of academic projects on rescue arrived mostly from associations that advanced peace work and remembrance.¹⁰⁷³ Also the stately memorial for the rescuers did not begin in the corridors of the *Bundestag*, but rather as an initiative of a few young students.

It all started when in 1998 six students came across the house in the Rosenthaler Street number 39, Berlin, in which Otto Weidt had his factory. Probably intrigued by the plaque in his memory that Inge Deutschkron helped put there a few years earlier, the six who studied museology, decided to construct an exhibition in the building as part of their studies. They turned to Deutschkron, who since 1988 came regularly to Berlin to speak to visitors of the theater play based on her life, and asked for her help. In March 1999, after months of laboring, the students opened the exhibition "Blind Trust" (*Blindes Vertrauen*) in three rooms of the building, and aroused interest among journalists. Thoughts about turning this temporary exhibition into a memorial started to circulate. Deutschkron invited the Minister of Culture, Michael Naumann, along with Israeli ambassador Avi Primor to the exhibition and in

¹⁰⁷¹ Joachim Castan and Thomas F. Schneider, eds, *Hans Calmeyer und die Judenrettung in den Niederlanden; Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress 2003); Peter Niebaum, *Ein Gerechter unter den Völkern: Hans Calmeyer in seiner Zeit (1903-1972)* (Bramsche: Rasch Verlag 2003); Marlis Flesch-Thebesius, *Zu den Außenseitern gestellt: Die Geschichte der Gertrud Staewen 1894-1987* (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 2004); Manfred Galius, ed., *Elisabeth Schmitz und ihre Denkschrift gegen die Judenverfolgung: Konturen einer vergessenen Biografie (1893-1977)* (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 2004); Hans-Josef Wollasch, *Gertrud Luckner, „Botschafterin der Menschlichkeit“* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 2005).

¹⁰⁷² For a recent example see the French-German film production *Unter Bauern* (Among Peasants, dir. Ludi Boeken, 2009) that is based on the memoir: Margot Schmidt, *Durchgestanden: Menschliches und Unmenschliches. Meine Erlebnisse unter den Rassengesetzen* (Gräfelfing: Resch Verlag, 2003). See also the TV documentation *Die Schindlers – Retter mit Diplomatenpass* (ZDF, dir. Dietmar Schulz, 2007).

¹⁰⁷³ For example, the Bremen foundation *Die Schwelle – Beiträge zur Friedensarbeit* initiated and funded much of the research project that Wette headed. See Wette, *Retter in Uniform*, 9.

2000 founded an association to manage and fund the exhibition (*Förderverein Blindes Vertrauen e.V.*). With Naumann's mediation, the place was put in 2001 under the responsibility of Berlin's Jewish Museum in order to keep it open and before a more suitable solution could be found. A year later, the German president Johannes Rau, who already before expressed his interest in commemorating German rescuers, visited the exhibition and supported the erection of a central memorial for rescuers.¹⁰⁷⁴ In 2004 the state bought the entire building in the Rosenthaler Street in order to allow for a permanent exhibition, and a year later the Memorial of German Resistance took responsibility over the house and started preparing for a national memorial for the rescuers. The new, extended, exhibition in Weidt's factory opened in December 2006, and the memorial Silent Heroes was officially inaugurated in October 2008.¹⁰⁷⁵

The brochure of the exhibition states that "the example set by these helpers shows that it was, in fact, possible to save people in Nazi Germany."¹⁰⁷⁶ As such, it advances a critical perspective on what Germans could have done to help Jews, but most of them did not, thus assigning Germans with responsibility to the death of about six million Jews. The exhibition adopts the findings of recent studies, and especially the research of the Berlin Center for the Study of Antisemitism, in which also many of the memorial's experts participated, and concentrates on rescue as part of a unique relationship between rescuer and rescued.¹⁰⁷⁷ According to the memorial's exhibition's catalogue, the Jews who "went 'underground' or 'into hiding' were resisting the dictatorship." It was, therefore, *their* act of resistance, and the non-Jewish

¹⁰⁷⁴ In reconstructing the history of the initiative I consulted the interview I conducted in 2007 with Inge Deutschkron, as well as information from: <http://www.museum-blindenwerkstatt.de/de/ausstellung/geschichte/> (accessed April 2013); Klaus Hartung, „Ein Hasardeur der Menschlichkeit: Otto Weidt und das Schicksal der blinden Juden,“ *Die Zeit* (31.3.1999); Frank Peter Jäger, „Ein Uni-Projekt macht Geschichte,“ *Der Tagesspiegel* (24.7.1999), as well as the articles in <http://www.museum-blindenwerkstatt.de/de/ausstellung/presse/> (accessed April 2013).

¹⁰⁷⁵ See the previous footnote as well as <http://www.gedenkstaette-stille-helden.de/gedenkstaette/> (accessed April 2013).

¹⁰⁷⁶ English brochure: "Silent Heroes – Memorial Center. Resistance to Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1945."

¹⁰⁷⁷ These include, for example, Beate Kosmala, Claudia Schoppmann, and Dennis Riffel.

helpers were only a part of the picture. With such statements, the exhibition reflects about thirty years in which the individual fate of the survivor stood and still stands at the center of references to the Holocaust. Therefore, as the exhibition's catalogue informs the visitors, "In Germany, the Silent Heroes Memorial Center is dedicated to commemorating those who escaped the mortal threat *and* those who helped them."¹⁰⁷⁸

Conclusion

In this chapter we explored the renewed relevance of rescuers of Jews since the late 1970s in East, West, and then unified Germany. These figures' relevance presented a few continuities from earlier periods in the patterns and motivations to address the topic. Thus the official articulations of rescue in the GDR continued to stress the same basic notion of communist heroism in combatting Nazi antisemitism and helping Jews. In the FRG, the screening of the mini-series *Holocaust* and the debates on the guilt of "ordinary Germans" triggered the mentioning of rescuers in order to prove that "there were also other Germans," i.e. the balancing strategy that we have encountered already in West German reactions to the Eichmann Trial, and even before.

Nevertheless, in both German societies, the 1970s and 1980s also presented a change in the extent and concentration on the topic, in particular because of the growing international attention to the Holocaust. In the GDR, the government enhanced its involvement in commemorations of the Holocaust and in 1988 integrated the memory of rescue into the *Kristallnacht* anniversary, thus giving it an unprecedented weight in the political arena. That, in turn, legitimized similar commemorative initiatives in other social fields of the East German media and society

¹⁰⁷⁸ Emphasis added. The quote is from the exhibition's first English catalogue, based on the second German one from 2010: *Silent Heroes – Memorial Center. Resistance to Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1945* (Berlin, 2010), 1-2.

in general. In contrast, in the FRG at the time, politicians were careful not to focus on rescuers of Jews in order not to be accused of applying apologetic tricks that might violate the rules of political discourse on the Nazi period. Yet while the West German authorities preferred to avoid this topic, developments in the approach to history and historical writing as well as initiatives “from below” greatly advanced the commemoration of rescue.

Finally, the search for identity after unification created a context that was receptive to role models that combined an acknowledgment of the Holocaust along with a positive orientation. The screening of *Schindler's List* provided a locus and a name around which to concentrate this search and the xenophobic and antisemitic incidents in the early 1990s delivered the sense of urgency and political relevance for the mentioning of rescuers as embodiments of civil courage. *Schindler's List* and the debates over the involvement of “ordinary Germans” in the murder of the Jews also articulated the two main tendencies in approaching the rescue of Jews in post-unification Germany. The first emphasized the small number of rescuers (and sometimes underplayed or doubted their help or impact) in order to condemn the war generation and the second presented rescuers as a proof that that “first generation” was not antisemitic and rejected an updated version of the collective guilt thesis.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I traced the various cultural patterns that Germans in the postwar years employed and engaged when referring to the rescue of Jews during the Third Reich. My focus on a long-term cultural perspective urged me to start the investigation not in 1945, but rather look at the roots of postwar memory in the years of the Third Reich itself and in Nazism's own past. In this way, the first chapter allowed me, first of all, to explore how the Nazis approached solidarity with and assistance to Jews. We saw that the Nazi regime's public comments on the topic paralleled its allusions to the persecution of the Jews. Just as prior to *Kristallnacht* the regime openly announced its antisemitic measures but after 1939 used a technique of "imposed guesswork" in speaking about the mass murder of Jews, so did it do in relation to the population's attitude toward the persecuted Jews.

Second, the first chapter laid out the rejection of universal-humanistic ethics as the Nazis' primary moral guideline, which placed a racist-national version of particular morality above any other moral consideration. We were thus able to see that what the Nazis described as a moral struggle against Christian ethics and the Enlightenment (in chapter one) was reformulated as an opposite moral struggle during and after WWII by anti-Nazi forces within and outside of the Reich (in the beginning of chapter two).

And third, the turn from chapter one to the chapters that follow portrayed the specific forms and patterns of the multifaceted dialogue between postwar and Nazi references to rescue. While after the war Germans tried to publicly establish their morality by dissociating themselves from the Nazi values and atrocities, they nevertheless applied some of the central features of the Nazis' project of separating "the Jews" from "the Aryans." After WWII, non-Jewish Germans used the forms of this Nazi project in order to demonstrate their intimacy with rather than separation

from Jews. These forms included the concepts compassion, decency, and human being, as well as practices such as buying from Jews, going to Jewish doctors, romantic and sexual relationships of mixed couples, and friendship with Jews.

Scattered Memory

Chapter two and three illustrated the different settings in which Germans mentioned the rescue of Jews and the functions that the topic had in the first two postwar decades. In chapter two we saw the references to rescue in various trials of Nazi officials and in the denazification procedures in the immediate postwar years as a strategy of self-exoneration. While most of these courtroom settings took place during the immediate postwar years, we traced similar self-depictions in autobiographical writings from the 1940s up the 1980s and beyond, especially in West Germany. We can conclude, therefore, that while references to rescuing Jews played an important role for some defendants in specific courtroom settings in the first years after the war, the example presented in them maintained its exculpatory function and moral self-identification also after these specific settings were dismantled and the Allied occupation ended.

But not all public allusions to rescue followed a personal drive and even those that did often advanced a collective message as well. Thus autobiographers and even some trial defendants claimed that in addition to their personal case, the rescue of Jews proves that the German people as a whole was not collectively guilty in the Nazi crimes. Jewish survivors and sometimes also non-Jewish resistance fighters described help and solidarity with the victims as evidence for the continuation of German humanism in the Third Reich but combined it with a critique of the population's general indifference to the fate of the persecuted. Unlike these accounts, German politicians occasionally argued that a large segment of the population supported and

helped the Jews. Up to the late 1950s, such statements (as in the case of Adenauer's 1951 reparation speech or in the SED's designations of all communists as opponents of Nazi antisemitism) appeared especially in addresses aimed at Jewish audiences or in the rare occasions in which these politicians spoke of the Holocaust. As such, when German politicians mentioned rescuers using a collective argument they preferred to do so without naming any specific individuals or giving actual numbers thus not putting their statement to the test. Neither of the German states was interested in examining Germans' behavior toward the persecuted and chose, instead, to focus on presenting Germans as victims of the war.

While politicians on the national level spoke about rescue in (safe) abstract terms, on the local level the situation was often different. Men and women that helped Jews escape Nazi persecution received communal acknowledgment and honors also (although usually not only) for their actions for the Jews. These figures were mostly Christian clergypersons whose deeds were known within their own congregations or, in a few cases (such as Grüber, Mass, Lichtenberg, and Luckner), also in wider Christian circles. In addition, Germans who wanted to establish certain individuals as role models for the postwar Germanys occasionally added short episodes or assertions to these persons' biographical depictions that presented them as rescuers of Jews. Such an added attribute gave resisters moral alibis, portrayed them as motivated by universal-humanistic convictions, helped reject allegations that they betrayed their fatherland and acted out of narrow political interests, and introduced role models whose moral principles they wanted the population to embrace.

Using depictions of rescue, postwar German authors also confronted German publics with difficult moral questions. This kind of confrontation took place especially in works of fiction from 1945 up to the mid 1960s. In chapter three we examined fictional works in this period that portrayed successful or unsuccessful rescue of Jews

using dramatic techniques that aimed to involve viewers and readers in the fate of the persecuted Jews. While these works only rarely touched on Germans' direct perpetration of crimes, they confronted audiences with what Germans did during the Holocaust, what they could and should have done, and commented on how (especially younger) Germans should behave in the future.

Depictions of rescue also opened new ways to speak about the Holocaust. The persecution of the Jews was not a popular topic during the 1950s in the German societies, and it appears that non-Jewish Germans were generally reluctant to address even the topic of rescue, since it could have implied that they knew enough about the mass murder of the Jews and could have done something to stop it. Yet especially those German authors of fiction who portrayed failed rescue stories seem to have believed that by tackling the Holocaust from the positive standpoint of rescue they would enable Germans to publicly acknowledge the Jewish tragedy without alienating their audiences with accusations of collective guilt.

Attempts to both arouse a moral debate and avoid directly speaking about Germans' guilt might appear irreconcilable from today's perspective, but many contemporaries of the 1950s and later did not see them this way. In making short references to the rescue of Jews, postwar accounts were able to combine various messages and topics regarding the Nazi past. It is the attention to allegedly "invisible" references that allows historians to explore the complexity of the memory of Nazism in this decade beyond the focus on the victimhood of non-Jewish Germans. Then exactly *because* these references to rescue were scattered among texts that only rarely dedicated more than a few lines (if at all) to the Holocaust that they could fulfill these different functions (both exculpatory and critical) and also play a part in the moral transformation of the German population.

I subsume these different forms, settings, and functions of mentioning the rescue of Jews under *scattered memory* due to, first, the way in which they appeared. References to rescue were “scattered” in and among depictions and practices of memory that concentrated on other topics or constituted isolated accounts that mentioned rescue as part of a personal commemorative intention and not as a separate topic that deserves a wide public. Another reason lies in the efforts of those who, in their attempts to *gather* the topic included some direct references to the “scattered news and documents” on the rescuers that made it difficult to gain access to these accounts.¹⁰⁷⁹

“Forgetting” and Gathering Memory

Gathering memory encompasses the collection of rescue accounts, their institutionalization in some cases, and media depictions that define rescue as a distinct and worthy topic within the history of Nazism and view rescuers as people in need of particular attention. Chapters four and five make clear that such gathering attempts were greatly based on scattered accounts that both served as important sources of information and drew individuals to invest in the commemoration of rescue. For example, a private concern of Jewish survivors to their benefactor Schindler introduced Kurt Grossmann to the topic of rescue as a whole, and personal experiences and encounters urged individuals such as Leuner, Lipschitz, and Strauss to commit to finding a common framework for rescuers from the late 1950s to the 1980s.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The quote is taken from a letter of the *Koordinierungsrat* from November 1968: “Die Taten dieser Helfer sind im Gegensatz zu denen der politischen Widerstandskämpfer nach unserer Ansicht bisher noch nicht genug bekannt geworden, und vor allem die Jugend, die davon wissen müßte, um die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus richtig zu verstehen, hatte bisher keinen Zugang zu den *verstreuten* Nachrichten und Dokumenten.” Emphasis added. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B/106/38869.

The public attention to rescue that might seem in retrospect to emerge from the 1994 screening of *Schindler's List* (that is, “from the outside”) was actually “prepared” by the accumulation of numerous local and national initiatives in the decades that preceded it. Therefore, without understanding the history of scattered accounts in the 1940s and 1950s and subsequent attempts to gather them, one cannot comprehend the German reactions to this American film production and to the depictions of rescue in unified Germany in general.

But how can we understand the continuous complaints of those Germans dedicated to gathering rescue that the topic and the rescuers did not receive enough attention in public and that they were so far “forgotten”? These complaints were voiced from the late 1950s to the 1990s and projected an image of “forgetting” while at the same time reporting on the existence of earlier publications, official honors, and other public representations of rescue. In trying to comprehend what appears to be a contradiction we must consider the different meanings and intentions of these claims and complaints.

1) First of all, claims on public “forgetting” are often based on personal impressions and a superficial look at sources. Moreover, the persons involved may intentionally exaggerate the extent of social or public “amnesia” and thus “forget” to mention the references to rescue that they are acquainted with. Exaggeration and one-sided descriptions are common rhetorical strategies that are used to advance a certain agenda, support a specific version of the past, and provoke reactions from one’s audience.

2) The tendency for dichotomous descriptions often draws on moral interpretations that conceive of remembering as positive and virtuous and forgetting as negative and wrong. This applies in particular to the memory of the Holocaust, which in the last few decades serves as a moral standard and a model for traumatic

experiences worldwide¹⁰⁸⁰ and has been established as an official duty for German governments since the 1980s. Both German governments and individuals engage in public commemorations of the Holocaust also in order to rid themselves (and by extension also their national or political community) of the feeling of guilt and the externally attached stigma as members of a community collectively held responsible for the Nazi atrocities.¹⁰⁸¹ In this sense, Germans (such as Wette) can portray their own achievements as more impressive by stressing the failure of former postwar generations to “appropriately” commemorate the Holocaust and honor the rescuers, whom they conceive as the carriers of morality under the Nazis.

3) Furthermore, claims on “forgetting” are often rather vague as to what is actually being “forgotten.” Thus the authors of various gathering initiatives (from Grossmann to Wette) do not clearly distinguish between the memory of rescue and the honoring of individual rescuers. Their depictions exclude all postwar references to rescuing Jews that did not involve the honoring of individual helpers (for example, the mentioning of rescue in the service of personal apology or gratitude), while we examined the commemoration and honoring of individual rescuers as part of the memory of rescue in the German societies as a whole.¹⁰⁸²

4) But is “forgetting” merely a rhetorical instrument in the service of political and moral goals or does it also have analytical value? This dissertation showed that the rescue and rescuers of Jews were not absent in the German societies before the 1990s. Nevertheless, the claims on “forgetting” are not completely false, although they need to be rendered more precisely.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*.

¹⁰⁸¹ Moses, *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past*, 30-31.

¹⁰⁸² Implied in the message of a commitment to remember and the moral transformation of society is also the care for the individual. As Avishai Margalit shows, forgetting people’s names is commonly perceived as an indication for *not caring* about these persons. In the (West) German case this might imply a failure to subscribe to democratic and humanistic values in postwar Germany. Avishai Margalit, *The Ethics of Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 26-30.

Recent studies of forgetting point to the multiple meanings of the term, some of which are negatively connoted and other positively, some are involved in the destruction of identities and others in their construction, some apply to the erasure of traces of the past and others to archiving and preserving them, etc.¹⁰⁸³ In the context of this dissertation, there appears to have been an “archiving” of information about the rescue of Jews among Germans of different generations, as is evident in the ad-hoc emergence of arguments on rescuing Jews in countering or balancing accounts on German perpetrators (in response to the Eichmann Trial, Frankfurt Trial, screening of *Holocaust*, etc.).¹⁰⁸⁴ These occasional references to rescue mean that at least for some people the topic was not completely forgotten, but rather accessed only when deemed necessary.

Furthermore, so far we spoke of forgetting as a conscious and *voluntary* phenomenon that applies more to the rejection of a certain past narrative than to an involuntary lapse of the mind.¹⁰⁸⁵ If we consider remembering and forgetting also from an *involuntary* perspective we need to turn our attention to the role of media in triggering references to rescue and to the function of media in helping to maintain, articulate, and enrich the information about the topic. We saw these functions of media in the use of concepts (such as *Unsung Heroes*), presentation of dramatic stories (as in the case of *Schindler's List* or the *Buchenwald Child*), and in alluding to documents (such as the KPD's brochure “Against the Disgrace of the Jewish Pogroms”) that were recalled, quoted, and applied later. What also influenced

¹⁰⁸³ Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 412-456; Paul Connerton, “Seven Types of Forgetting,” *Memory Studies* 1: 1 (2008): 59-71; Jefferson A. Singer and Martin A. Conway, “Should We Forget Forgetting?,” *Memory Studies* 1: 3 (2008): 279-285.

¹⁰⁸⁴ For a discussion of the relationship between archived and functionalized memory see Aleida Assmann, “Canon and Archive,” in Erll and Nünning, eds, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, 97-107.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Since remembering and forgetting constitute and combine each other, what people often mean when they speak of “forgetting” is a conscious choice to reject a certain narrative regarding the past. See Allan D. Megill, *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 73.

remembrance is the extent of personal engagement in the topic and its relation to one's actual experiences, since for some Germans (both Jewish and non-Jewish), references to rescue involved personal recollections, while for others the topic entailed the acquisition of information one received vicariously. Since depictions of rescue in the media and in social interactions informed Germans' access to the topic, the question on whether rescue as a whole and the names of individual rescuers eluded the minds of Germans is closely tied (although cannot be reduced) to the nature of the media discussions, publications, and social practices that addressed it.

We thus find support for a certain level of involuntary forgetting first in the scattered references that provided Germans with no clear reference points, concepts, or anniversaries to anchor the memory of individual rescuers and no institutional frameworks to ensure the recurrence of rescue as a theme. Moreover, even the gathering initiatives we explored up to the 1990s offered inconsistent anchors based on short-term reactions to moral challenges, publications, or the birthdays and awards of specific rescuers that continued only rarely after their death. Also the institutionalized honoring of rescuers as *Unsung Heroes* was short-lived and confined to West Berlin and the later national honoring with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* did more to award specific individuals than to give rescue a distinct public manifestation. As for the East German commemoration of the Buchenwald Child, it remained subordinate to an already existing interpretation on the antifascists. Thus while rescue was integrated into various commemorative initiatives and appeared in a variety of media and practices, people could still see it as having a fleeting rather than a stable presence, and this includes even the circles that did more than others to seek for the topic, such as the Jewish communities and the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation.

The passing of time, the distance from the event, and the relevance of a topic to one's own life at any given instance have an impact on what a person remembers and what not. Also a continuous "overload" of other memories and different kinds of information influences what we notice in each moment and remember thereafter.¹⁰⁸⁶ In this sense, there is little doubt that many Germans, for whom the rescue of Jews was not an immediate concern and who encountered an upsurge of other issues regarding their present as well as their past, did not even perceive of the occasional references to rescue in the media or forgot about them shortly after.

The steadily growing attention to the Holocaust with its penetrating and unceasing presence and the gradual shattering of older, more comforting depictions, of the Nazi past, helped inspire academic and popular interest in rescue. While in the 1950s references to rescue enabled Germans to partially acknowledge Jewish suffering, in the 1960s and 1970s this relationship was gradually reversed when Germans in East, West, and unified Germany increasingly spoke of rescue either to counter and balance the burden of the Holocaust on an imagined German collective or as a way to expose the extensive scale of this moral load. The German screening of *Schindler's List* brought this tendency to a high point by reducing much of the discussion on rescue to Schindler's name,¹⁰⁸⁷ but also by encouraging the study of other rescuers.

To conclude, we have reconstructed the simultaneous existence of both remembering and forgetting the rescue of Jews in the postwar Germanys. On the one hand, there were those people whose incidental references or long-lived dedication

¹⁰⁸⁶ Sergio Della Sala, ed., *Forgetting* (Hove, East Sussex: Psychology Press, 2010); Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Media reports as well as social conventions and cognitive capabilities restrict the number of people and stories that humans are able and required to recall. People thus often remember one specific case or person and reduce a topic to that person or case while ignoring others. Barry Schwartz, "Collective Forgetting and the Symbolic Power of Oneness: The Strange Apotheosis of Rosa Parks," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72: 2 (2009): 123-142.

contributed to the creation of mnemonic products and practices that served in later years as essential building blocks for the gathering of and eventually national attention to rescue and rescuers. On the other hand, the fruits of these efforts have eluded a great number of people in Germany or left no noteworthy mark on them for many years, and possibly still today. Yet as in other cases, also here remembering and forgetting are mutually constitutive. On the most basic level, too much knowledge on the past prevents effective and elaborate recall whereas the “erasure” or absence of information helps one distinguish between the traces and matters of the past.¹⁰⁸⁸ In our case it was probably the irritation that some Germans felt when facing what they saw as forgetting, which aroused their interest and encouraged their efforts to commemorate the rescue of Jews. Only time will tell whether such irritation and sense of forgetting will further serve to foster the memory of rescue in Germany and what its future forms might be.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Marc Augé, *Oblivion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Della Sala, ed., *Forgetting*. Barbara Misztal makes a related argument on the importance of both remembering and forgetting for the establishment and maintaining of plurality, democracy, and collaboration in a global context. Barbara A Misztal, “Collective Memory in a Global Age: Learning How and What to Remember,” *Current Sociology* 58: 1 (2010): 24-44.

Bibliography

Archives:

Akademie der Künste Archiv, Berlin

Archiv des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, Berlin

Archiv Gedenkstätte Stille Helden, Berlin

Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München

Buchenwald Archiv

Bundesarchiv Berlin

Bundesarchiv Koblenz

Centrum Judaicum Archiv, Berlin

Deutsches Historisches Museum Archiv, Berlin

Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Potsdam

Geheimes Archiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv, München

Israel State Archive, Jerusalem

Jewish Museum Berlin, Archive

Landesarchiv Berlin

Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz

Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin

Sachsenhausen Archiv

Stadtarchiv Hannover

Stadtarchiv Heidelberg

Stadtarchiv München

Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem

Yad Vashem, Righteous among the Nations Archive, Jerusalem

Wiener Library Archive

Zeitungsarchiv der Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen, Potsdam

Main Newspapers and Magazines:

Nazi Germany:

Völkischer Beobachter

Der Angriff

Völkischer Illustrierter

Kladderadatsch

FRG:

Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Frankfurter Rundschau

Freiburger Rundbrief

Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die britische Zone

Das Parlament

Der Spiegel

Stern

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Der Tagesspiegel

Die Wandlung

Die Welt

Die Zeit

GDR:

BZ am Abend

Berliner Zeitung

Eulenspiegel

Nachrichtenblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinden von Groß-Berlin und des Verbandes der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik

Neue Berliner Illustrierte

Neues Deutschland

Unterwegs

Die Weltbühne

Books and Articles

Abusch, Alexander, *Der Irrweg einer Nation: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis deutscher Geschichte* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1946).

Adam, Uwe Dietrich, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1972).

Adler, Hans Günther, *Der verwaltete Mensch: Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974).

Adenauer, Konrad, *Memoirs 1945-53* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).

Adorno, Theodor W., "The Meaning of Working Through the Past," *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 89-104.

Ahlheim, Hannah, "Establishing Antisemitic Stereotypes: Social and Economic Segregation of Jews by Means of Political Boycott in Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 55 (2010): 149-173.

Akademie für Lehrerfortbildung Dillingen. *KZ- Gedenkstätte Dachau. Unterrichtshilfen und Materialien zum Besuch mit Schulklassen* (Akademiebericht Nr. 62, 1983).

Albrecht, Ulrike, *Das Attentat: Über Johann Elser und das Attentat auf Hitler im Bürgerbräukeller am 8. November 1939* (München: Heidhauser Dokumentationsverlag, 1987).

Andersch, Alfred, *Kirschen der Freiheit* (Hamburg: Claassen Verlag, 1952).

Andersch, Alfred, „Notwendige Aussage zum Nürnberger Prozeß,“ Hans Schwab-Felisch, ed., *Der Ruf: Eine deutsche Nachkriegszeitung* (München: DTV, 1962), 26-29.

- Andersch, Alfred, *Sansibar oder der letzte Grund* (Zürich: Diogenes, 1972).
- Andreas-Friedrich, Ruth, *Berlin Underground 1938-1945*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947).
- Andreas-Friedrich, Ruth, *Der Schattenmann: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1938-1945* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1947).
- Andreas-Friedrich, Ruth, „Vorwort,“ *Schauplatz Berlin: Ein Tagebuch, aufgezeichnet 1938-1945* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964).
- Apitz, Bruno, *Nackt unter Wölfen* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1958).
- Arendt, Hannah, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Penguin, 1963).
- Arendt, Hannah, *Rede am 28. September 1959 bei der Entgegennahme des Lessing-Preises der Freien und Hansastadt Hamburg* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt/Rotbuch Verlag, 1999).
- Arnold, Sabine R. and Ueberschär, Gerd R., eds, *Das Nationalkomitee ‚Freies Deutschland‘ und der Bund Deutscher Offiziere* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995).
- Aschheim, Steven E., *Culture and Catastrophe: German and Jewish Confrontations with National Socialism and Other Crises* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
- Assmann, Aleida, „Canon and Archive,“ in Erll and Nünning, eds, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, 97-107.
- Assmann, Aleida, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: C.H. Beck, 1999).
- Assmann, Aleida, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik* (München: C.H. Beck, 2006).
- Assmann, Aleida and Frevert, Ute, *Geschichtsvergessenheit, Geschichtsversessenheit: Vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999).
- Assmann, Jan, „Communicative and Cultural Memory,“ in Erll and Nünning, eds, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, 109-118.
- Assmann, Jan, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: C.H. Beck, 1992).
- Assmann, Jan, „Was ist das ‚kulturelle Gedächtnis‘?,“ in *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (München: C.H. Beck, 2000), 11-44.

Asmuss, Burkhard, ed., *Holocaust: Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord und die Motive seiner Erinnerung* (Berlin: Deutsches Historische Museum, 2002).

Augé, Marc, *Oblivion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

Bach, Janina, *Erinnerungsspuren an den Holocaust in der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur* (Wrocław – Dresden: Neisse Verlag, 2007).

Baird, Jay W., *To Die for Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

Bald, Detlef, *Die Bundeswehr: Eine kritische Geschichte, 1955-2005* (München: C.H. Beck, 2005).

Bald, Detlef, Klotz, Johannes and Wette, Wolfram, *Mythos Wehrmacht: Nachkriegsdebatten und Traditionspflege* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001).

Baldwin, Peter, *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust and the Historians' Debate* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990).

Balfour, Michael, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany* (London: Routledge & Kegan Hall, 1979).

Bamm, Peter, *Die unsichtbare Flagge: Ein Bericht* (München: Fischer, 1957).

Bankier, David, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion under Nazism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

Bankier, David, ed., *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1941* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2000).

Bankier, David, "Signaling the Final Solution to the German People," in idem and Israel Gutman, eds, *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), 15-39.

Barkai, Avraham, „*Wehr Dich!*“: *Der Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, 1893-1938* (München: C.H. Beck, 2002).

Barry, Robert L., *Breaking the Thread of Life: On Rational Suicide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1994).

Bartov, Omer, "Savage War," in Michael Burleigh, ed., *Confronting the Nazi Past: New Debates on Modern German History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 125-139.

Bartov, Omer, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Barzel, Neima, *Choice of the Good: Rescue Activities in Poland and in the Netherlands during World War Two* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2004). [in Hebrew]

- Battenberg, J. Friedrich, *Die Juden in Deutschland vom 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (München: Oldenbourg, 2001).
- Bauman, Zygmunt, "Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern," in Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus, eds, *Modernity, Culture, and 'the Jew'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 143-156.
- Becker, Wolfgang and Schöll, Norbert, *In jenen Tagen... Wie der deutsche Nachkriegsfilm die Vergangenheit bewältigte* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1995).
- Behrend-Rosenfeld, Else, *Ich stand nicht allein: Erlebnisse einer Jüdin in Deutschland, 1933-1944* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1949).
- Ben Gerschom, Ezra, *Den Netzen entronnen: Die Aufzeichnungen des Joel König* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).
- Benz, Wolfgang, *Auftrag Demokratie: Die Gründungsgeschichte der Bundesrepublik und die Entstehung der DDR 1945-1949* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2010).
- Benz, Wolfgang "Mythos Anne Frank", in *Bilder vom Juden: Studien zum alltäglichen Antisemitismus* (München: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2001), 86-95.
- Benz, Wolfgang, „Prolog: Juden im Untergrund und ihre Helfer,“ in idem, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich*, 11-48.
- Benz, Wolfgang, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich: Juden im Untergrund und ihre Helfer* (München: C.H. Beck, 2003).
- Berg, Nicolas, "Hidden Memory and Unspoken History: Hans Rothfels and the Postwar Restoration of Contemporary German History," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 49 (2004): 195-220.
- Berg, Nicolas, *Der Holocaust und die westdeutschen Historiker: Erforschung und Erinnerung* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003).
- Bergen, Doris L., *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
- Berger, Gabriel, *Ich protestiere also bin ich: Erinnerungen eines Unangepassten* (Berlin: Trafo, 2008).
- Berghahn, Klaus L., *Grenzen der Toleranz: Juden und Christen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Köln: Böhlau, 2001).
- Berghahn, Klaus L., "On Friendship: The Beginnings of a Christian-Jewish Dialogue in the 18th Century," in idem, ed., *The German-Jewish Dialogue Reconsidered* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 5-24.

- Bergmann, Werner, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten: Kollektives Lernen in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik 1949-1989* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997).
- Bergmann, Werner and Erb, Rainer, *Anti-Semitism in Germany: The Post-Nazi Epoch since 1945* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997).
- Bessel, Richard, *Germany 1945: From War to Peace* (London: Pocket Books, 2010).
- Betts, Paul, "Socialism, Social Rights, and Human Rights: The Case of East Germany," *Humanity* 3: 3 (Winter 2012): 407-426.
- Biess, Frank, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- Biss, Andreas, *Wir hielten die Vernichtung an: Der Kampf gegen die 'Endlösung' 1944* (Herbstein: März, 1985).
- [Blach, Friedrich], *Die Juden in Deutschland. Von einem jüdischen Deutschen* (Berlin: Verlag von Karl Curtius, 1911).
- Bleyer, Wolfgang et al., *Geschichte: Lehrbuch für Klasse 9* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen. Volkseigener Verlag, 1984).
- Bloxham, Donald, *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Bloom, Lothar, *Das Tagebuch zum Dritten Reich: Zeugnisse der Inneren Emigration von Jochen Keppler bis Ernst Jünger* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1991).
- Bodemann, Y. Michal, "Eclipse of Memory: German Representations of Auschwitz in the Early Postwar Period," *New German Critique* 75 (Autumn 1998): 57-89.
- Bodemann, Y. Michal, *In den Wogen der Erinnerung: Jüdische Existenz in Deutschland* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002).
- Boehlich, Walter, ed., *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1965).
- Boertien, M., "In Defiance of Tyranny: Comforting the Persecuted," *The Wiener Library Bulletin* 5-6: 12 (1958): 43.
- Böhm, Boris and Scharnetzky, Julius, "„Wir fordern schwerste Bestrafung': Der Dresdner ‚Euthanasie'-Prozess 1947 und die Öffentlichkeit," in Osterloh and Vollnhals, eds, *NS-Prozesse und deutsche Öffentlichkeit*, 189-206.
- Bohnen, Klaus, ed., *Lessings ‚Nathan der Weise'* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984).
- Bömer, Karl, *Das Dritte Reich im Spiegel der Weltpresse: Historische Dokumente über den Kampf des Nationalsozialismus gegen die ausländische Lügenhetze* (Leipzig:

Armanen- Verlag, 1934).

Borchert, Wolfgang, *Draußen vor der Tür: Ein Stück, das kein Theater spielen und kein Publikum sehen will* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1947).

Bösch, Frank, „Film, NS-Vergangenheit und Geschichtswissenschaft: Von ‚Holocaust‘ zu ‚Der Untergang‘“, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 55: 1 (2007): 1-32.

Bothe, Bernd, „Judenrettung im Kloster der Herz-Jesu-Priester in Stegen bei Freiburg: Pater Heinrich Middendorf SCJ, Gerechter unter den Völkern,“ in Wette, ed., *Stille Helden*, 87-106.

Brandt, Willy, *Deutschland, Israel und die Juden: Rede des Regierenden Bürgermeisters von Berlin vor dem Herzl-Institut in New York* (Berlin-Schöneberg: Presse- und Informationsamt des Landes Berlin, 1961).

Brandt, Willy, *Verbrecher und andere Deutsche: Ein Bericht aus Deutschland 1946*, bearbeitet von Einhart Lorenz (Bonn: Dietz, 2007).

Braunwarth, Esther, *Der christlich-jüdische Dialog in Deutschland am Beispiel der Gesellschaften für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit (GcjZ)*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doktor der Philosophie der Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 2009.

Bredel, Willi, *Das schweigende Dorf und andere Erzählungen* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1948).

Brenner, Michael, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Brink, Cornelia, *Ikonen der Vernichtung: Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998).

Brinker, Menachem, *Aesthetics as the Theory of Criticism* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1982). [in Hebrew]

Brockmann, Stephen, *A Critical History of German Film* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010).

Brockmann, Stephen, *German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004).

Brockmann, Stephen, „Heroes of the Zero Hour,“ in idem and James Steakley, eds, *Heroes and Heroism in German Culture: Essays in Honor of Jost Hermand* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 103-122.

Brubaker, Rogers, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

- Brubaker, Rogers, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Bryant, Michael S., "Punishing the Excess: Sadism, Bureaucratized Atrocity, and the U.S. Army Concentration Camp Trials, 1945-1947," in Nathan Stoltzfus and Henry Friedlander, eds, *Nazi Crimes and the Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 73-85.
- Buchbender, Ortwin and Sterz, Reinhold, eds, *Das andere Gesicht des Krieges: Deutsche Feldpostbriefe 1939-1945* (München: C.H. Beck, 1983).
- Buchloh, Ingrid, *Veit Harlan: Goebbels' Starregisseur* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010).
- Burleigh, Michael, *Death and Deliverance: "Euthanasia" in Germany, c. 1900-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Burleigh, Michael, *The Third Reich: A New History* (London: Macmillan, 2000).
- Burnett, Stephen G., "Philosemitism and Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1620)," in Diekmann and Kotowski, eds, *Geliebter Feind – Gehasster Freund*, 135-146.
- Buschke, Heiko, *Deutsche Presse, Rechtsextremismus und nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit in der Ära Adenauer* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003).
- Bütow, Wilfried et al., eds, *Unterrichtshilfen: Deutsch, Literatur. Klasse 9* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen. Volkseigener Verlag, 1980).
- Carrier, Peter, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2005).
- Carrier, Peter and Kabalek, Kobi, "Cultural Memory and Transcultural Memory – A Conceptual Analysis," in Lucy Bond and Jessica Rapson, eds, *The Transcultural Turn: Interrogating Memory between and Beyond Borders* (forthcoming).
- Castan, Joachim and Schneider, Thomas F., eds, *Hans Calmeyer und die Judenrettung in den Niederlanden; Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress 2003).
- Cerutti, Simona, "Microhistory: Social Relations Versus Cultural Models?," in Anna-Maija Castrén et al., eds, *Between Sociology and History: Essays on Microhistory, Collective Action, and Nation-Building* (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 17-40.
- Classen, Christoph, *Bilder der Vergangenheit: Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus im Fernsehen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1955-1966* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999).
- Classen, Christoph, *Faschismus und Antifaschismus: Die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit im ostdeutschen Hörfunk (1945-1953)* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004).

Cobet, Christoph, *Der Wortschatz des Antisemitismus in der Bismarckzeit* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1973).

Cohen, Stanley, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).

Confino, Alon, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review* 102: 5 (December 1997): 1386-1403.

Confino, Alon, "Dissonance, Normality and the Historical Method: Why did some Germans Think of Tourism after May 8, 1945?," in Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann, eds, *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 323-347.

Confino, Alon, "Fantasies about the Jews: Cultural Reflections on the Holocaust," *History & Memory* 17,1/2 (Spring/Summer 2005): 296-322.

Confino, Alon, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

Confino, Alon, "Traveling as a Culture of Remembrance: Traces of National Socialism in West Germany, 1945-1960," *History and Memory* 12: 2 (Fall/Winter 2000): 92-121.

Connerton, Paul, "Seven Types of Forgetting," *Memory Studies* 1: 1 (2008): 59-71.

Conze, Eckart, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit: Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart* (München: Siedler Verlag, 2009).

Cooke, Paul and Silberman, Marc, eds, *Screening War: Perspectives on German Suffering* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010).

Coulson, Anthony S., "Paths of Discovery: The Films of Konrad Wolf," in Sean Allan and John Sandford, eds, *DEFA: East German Cinema, 1946-1992* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), 164-182.

Crowe, David M., *Oskar Schindler: The Untold Account of His Life, Wartime Activities, and the True Story Behind the List* (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2004).

Cullen, Michael S., ed., *Das Holocaust-Mahnmal: Dokumentation einer Debatte* (Zürich: Pendo Verlag, 1999).

Culler, Jonathan, *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Danyel, Jürgen, „Bilder vom ‚anderen Deutschland‘: Frühe Widerstandsrezeption nach 1945,“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 42: 7 (1994): 611-621.

- Davis, Belinda, "New Leftists and West Germany: Fascism, Violence, and the Public Sphere, 1967-1974," in Gassert and Steinweis, eds, *Coping with the Nazi Past*, 210-237.
- De Baets, Antoon, "A Successful Utopia: The Doctrine of Human Dignity," *Historein: A Review of the Past and Other Stories* 7 (2007): 71-85.
- De Bruyn, Günter, „Königin Luise,“ in François and Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 2, 286-298.
- Deissler, Dirk, *Die entnazifizierte Sprache: Sprachpolitik und Sprachregelung in der Besatzungszeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006).
- Della Sala, Sergio, ed., *Forgetting* (Hove, East Sussex: Psychology Press, 2010).
- Diekmann, Irene A. and Kotowski, Elke-Vera, eds, *Geliebter Feind – Gehasster Freund: Antisemitismus und Philosemitismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Julius Schoeps* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2009).
- Denman, Mariatte C., "Nostalgia for a Better Germany: Carl Zuckmayer's *Des Teufels General*," *The German Quarterly* 76: 4 (Fall 2003): 369-380.
- Deußen, Christine, *Erinnerung als Rechtfertigung: Autobiographien nach 1945. Gottfried Benn – Hans Carossa – Arnolt Bronnen* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag, 1987).
- Deutsche Informationsstelle, *Dokumente britisch-französischer Grausamkeit: Die britische und die französische Kriegsführung in den Niederlanden, Belgien und Nordfrankreich im Mai 1940* (Im Auftrage des Auswärtigen Amtes auf Grund urkundlichen Beweismaterials) (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1940).
- Deutschkron, Inge, *Berliner Juden im Untergrund* (Beiträge zum Thema Widerstand, Nr. 15) (Informationszentrum Berlin: Gedenk- und Bildungsstätte Stauffenbergstrasse [1980]).
- Deutschkron, Inge, *Outcast: A Jewish Girl in Wartime Berlin* (New York: Forum International Publishing Corporation, 1989).
- Dietrich, Dr. Werner, *Erziehung zum Judengegner: Hinweise zur Behandlung der Judenfrage im rassenpolitischen Unterricht* (München: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1937).
- Diner, Dan, „Über Schuldiskurse und andere Narrative: Epistemologisches zum Holocaust,“ in Gertrud Koch, ed., *Bruchlinien: Tendenzen der Holocaustforschung* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999), 61-84.
- Dipper, Christof, „Der Widerstand und die Juden,“ *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 9 (1983): 349-380.

Dirks, Christian, „*Die Verbrechen der anderen*“: *Auschwitz und der Auschwitz-Prozess der DDR. Das Verfahren gegen den KZ-Arzt Dr. Horst Fischer* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006).

Dodd, William J., *Jedes Wort wandelt die Welt: Dolf Sternbergers politische Sprachkritik* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007).

Doebel, Günter, „*So etwas wie Weltuntergang*“: *Kriegstagebücher eines Polizeioffiziers 1939-1945*. Edited by Peter Doebel (Mainz: C.P. Verlag, 2005).

Doerry, Martin, *My Wounded Heart: The Life of Lilli Jahn, 1900-1944* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).

Domansky, Elisabeth, “‘Kristallnacht,’ the Holocaust, and German Unity: The Meaning of November 9 as an Anniversary in Germany,” *History and Memory* 4: 1 (Spring-Summer 1992): 60-94.

Domarus, Max, ed., *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932-1945*, vol. 1 (London: Tauris, 1990).

Drewes, Gerda and Eva Kochanski, *Heimliche Hilfe: Erlebnisberichte aus der Zeit der Judenverfolgung* (Lahr: Ernst Kaufmann, 1961).

Drobashenko, Sergei and Kenez, Peter, “Film Propaganda in the Soviet Union, 1941-1945: Two Views,” in K.R.M. Short, ed., *Film & Radio Propaganda in World War II* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 94-124.

Drobisch, Klaus et al., *Juden unterm Hakenkreuz: Verfolgung und Ausrottung der deutschen Juden 1933-1945* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1973).

Dubiel, Helmut, *Niemand ist frei von der Geschichte: Der nationalsozialistische Herrschaft in den Debatten des Deutschen Bundestages* (München: Carl Hanser, 1999).

Dühring, Eugen, *Die Judenfrage als Racen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage* (Karlsruhe und Leipzig: Verlag von H. Reutner, 1881).

Durzak, Manfred, „Die zweite Phase des westdeutschen Nachkriegsromans,“ in Wilfried Barner, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C.H. Beck, 2006), 368-434.

Düsterberg, Rolf, *Soldat und Kriegserlebnis: Deutsche militärische Erinnerungsliteratur (1945-1961) zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Motive, Begriffe, Wertungen* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).

Eagleton, Terry, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

Earl, Hilary, *The Nuremberg SS-Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1945-1958* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Eberan, Barbro, *Luther? Friedrich „Der Große“? Wagner? Nietzsche? ...? ...? Wer war an Hitler Schuld? Die Debatte um die Schuldfrage, 1945-1949* (München: Minerva, 1983).

Echternkamp, Jörg, *Kriegsschauplatz Deutschland 1945: Leben im Angst – Hoffnung auf Frieden. Feldpost aus der Heimat und von der Front* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006).

Efron, John M., *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Eich, Günter, *Die Mädchen aus Viterbo* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1961).

Eichenberg, Ariane, *Zwischen Erfahrung und Erfindung: Jüdische Lebensentwürfe nach der Shoah* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004).

Eichmann: Henker, Handlanger, Hintermänner. Eine Dokumentation (Berlin: Ausschuss für Deutsche Einheit, 1961).

Elon, Amos, *The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the German-Jewish Epoch, 1743-1933* (London: Picador, 2003).

Elsaesser, Thomas, „Vergebliche Rettung: Geschichte als Palimpsest in STERNE,“ in Michael Wedel und Elke Schieber, eds, *Konrad Wolf – Werk und Wirkung* (Berlin: Vistas, 2009), 73-92.

Elser, Johann Georg, *Autobiographie eines Attentäters* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970).

Enzenbach, Isabel, „Zur Problematik des Begriffes ‚Retter‘,“ in Kosmala and Schoppmann, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 241-256.

Epstein, Catherine, “The Production of ‘Official Memory’ in East Germany: Old Communists and the Dilemmas of Memoir-Writing,” *Central European History* 32: 2 (1999): 181-201.

Erb, Alfons, *Bernhard Lichtenberg: Domprobst von St. Hedwig zu Berlin* (Berlin: Morus-Verlag, 1946).

Erl, Astrid and Nünning, Ansgar, eds, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

Eschwege, Helmut, *Kennzeichen J: Bilder, Dokumente, Berichte zur Geschichte der Verbrechen des Hitlerfaschismus an den deutschen Juden 1933-1945* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1966).

Evans, Richard J., “Social Outsiders in German History: From the Sixteenth Century to 1933,” in Gellately and Stoltzfus, eds, *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, 20-44.

Ewald, Johann Ludwig, *Projüdische Schriften aus den Jahren 1817 bis 1821*, ed. by Johann Anselm Steiger (Heidelberg: Manutius Verlag, 2000).

- Faber, Richard, *Abendland: Ein politischer Kampfbegriff* (Berlin: Philo, 2002).
- Fache, Thomas, „DDR-Antifaschismus und das Gedenken an die Novemberpogrome 1938. Eine Lokalstudie,“ *Medaon 2* (2008). www.medaon.de
- Fallada, Hans, *Alone in Berlin* (London: Penguin, 2009).
- Fallada, Hans, *Jeder stirbt für sich allein* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2011).
- Feder, Gottfried, *Die Juden* (Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, Heft 45, ed. Gottfried Feder) (München: Eher Verlag, 1933).
- Fehrenbach, Heide, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler* (Chapell Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
- Feinberg, Anat, „The Janus-Faced Jew: Nathan and Shylock on the Postwar German Stage,“ in Leslie Morris and Jack Zipes, eds, *Unlikely History: The Changing German-Jewish Symbiosis, 1945-2000* (Basingstoke: Plagrove, 2002), 233-250.
- Feinberg, Anat, *Wiedergutmachung im Programm: Jüdisches Schicksal im deutschen Nachkriegsdrama* (Köln: Prometh Verlag, 1988).
- Feldhay Brenner, Rachel, „Writing Herself Against History: Anne Frank’s Self-Portrait As a Young Artist,“ *Modern Judaism* 16 (1996): 105-134.
- Filmer, Werner and Schwan, Heribert, *Hans-Dietrich Genscher* (Wien: Econ, 1988).
- Fink, Carola, „Turning Away from the Past: West Germany and Israel, 1965-1967,“ in Gassert and Steinweis, eds, *Coping with the Nazi Past*, 276-293.
- Fink, Heinrich, *Stärker als die Angst: Den sechs Millionen, die keinen Retter fanden* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1968).
- Finker, Kurt, „Die Stellung der Sowjetunion und der sowjetischen Geschichtsschreibung zum 20. Juli 1944,“ in Ueberschär, ed., *Der 20. Juli*, 47-67.
- Fischer, Barbara, „Lösungsansatz ‚Raum‘ versus ‚Zeit‘: Jüdische Reaktionen auf Lessings *Nathan der Weise* im Vor-Shoah-Deutschland,“ *Lessing Yearbook XXXII* (2000): 325-339.
- Fischer, Lars, *The Socialist Response to Antisemitism in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Flesch-Thebesius, Marlis, *Zu den Außenseitern gestellt: Die Geschichte der Gertrud Staewen 1894-1987* (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 2004).
- Foschepoth, Josef, *Im Schatten der Vergangenheit: Die Anfänge der Gesellschaften für Christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

Fox, Thomas C., *Stated Memory: East Germany and the Holocaust* (Rochester: Camden House, 1999).

Franck, Dieter, "Youth Protest in Nazi Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book XLVII* (2002): 247-267.

François, Etienne and Schulze, Hagen, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (München: C. H. Beck, 2001), 3 vols.

Frank, Anne, *Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1955).

Freeden, Herbert, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964).

Frei, Norbert, *1945 und wir: Das Dritte Reich im Bewußtsein der Deutschen* (München: C.H. Beck, 2005).

Frei, Norbert, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (München: C.H. Beck, 1996).

Freundeskreis Heinrich Grübers, *Heinrich Grüber: Zeuge pro Israel* (Berlin: Käthe Vogt, 1963).

Frevert, Ute, „Herren und Helden: Vom Aufstieg und Niedergang des Heroismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,“ in Richard von Dülmen, ed., *Erfindung des Menschen: Schöpfungsträume und Körperbilder 1500-2000* (Wien: Böhlau, 1998), 342-344.

Frevert, Ute, „Weibliche Ehre – Männliche Ehre,“ in *"Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann": Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne* (München: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995), 166-222.

Friedlander, Saul, *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993).

Friedländer, Saul, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997).

Friedman, Philip, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1957).

Friedrich, Jörg, *The Fire: The Bombing of Germany, 1940-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Friedrich, Karin, „Es ist gemein zu unseren Freunden...?': Das Retternetz der Gruppe ‚Onkel Emil'“ in Benz, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich*, 97-108.

Fritsch, Theodor, *Handbuch der Judenfrage: Die wichtigsten Tatsachen zur Beurteilung des jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig: Hammer Verlag, 1944).

Fritz Cremer, Denkmal Ravensbrück: Ausbildungsstudien, Vorwort von Heinz Lüdecke (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1960).

Fritzsche, Peter, "The Holocaust and the Knowledge of Murder," *The Journal of Modern History* 80 (September 2008): 594-613.

Fritzsche, Peter, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Fröhlich, Claudia, „Rückkehr zur Demokratie – Wandel der politischen Kultur in der Bundesrepublik,“ in Peter Reichel, Harald Schmid, and Peter Steinbach, eds, *Der Nationalsozialismus – Die zweite Geschichte: Überwindung – Deutung – Erinnerung* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2009), 105-126.

Fulbrook, Mary, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR: 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Galinski, Dieter, Herbert, Ulrich and Lachauer, Ulla, eds, *Nazis und Nachbarn: Schüler erforschen den Alltag im Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982).

Galius, Manfred, ed., *Elisabeth Schmitz und ihre Denkschrift gegen die Judenverfolgung: Konturen einer vergessenen Biografie (1893-1977)* (Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 2004).

Gann, Christoph, *Lichter in der Finsternis: Raoul Wallenberg und die Rettung der Budapester Juden 1944/45 – Begleitheft zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung* (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdische Gemeindezentrum, 1994).

Gantet, Claire, „Der westfälische Frieden,“ in François and Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1, 86-104.

Gassert, Philipp and Steinweis, Alan E., eds, *Coping with the Nazi Past: West German Debates on Nazism and Generational Conflict, 1955-1975* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006).

Gellately, Robert, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Gellately, Robert, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus, eds, *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Geller, Jay Howard, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany, 1945-1953* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Gemünden, Gerd, "Nostalgia for the Nation: Intellectuals and National Identity in Unified Germany," in Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, eds, *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 120-133.

- Genscher, Hans Dietrich, *Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Siedler, 1995).
- Gerlof, Manuela, *Tonspuren: Erinnerungen an den Holocaust im Hörspiel der DDR (1945-1989)* (Berlin: de Gruyter 2010).
- Geyer, Michael, „Der Kalte Krieg, die Deutschen und die Angst: Die westdeutsche Opposition gegen die Wiederbewaffnung und Kernwaffen,“ in Neumann, ed., *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*, 267-318.
- Giebel, Anne, „Alltagsbilder, Fernsehikone, Zeitzeuge: Der Spielmeister Hans Rosenthal in der deutschen Gesellschaft,“ in Heikaus, ed., *Das war spitze!*, 41-57.
- Gilbert, G. M., *Nuremberg Diary* (New York: New American Library, 1947).
- Gildea, Robert, *Marianne in Chains: Daily Life in the Heart of France during the German Occupation* (New York: Picador, 2004).
- Gillis, John R., ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Gillis, John R., „Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,“ in idem, ed., *Commemorations*, 3-24.
- Giloi, Eva, *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Ginzburg, Carlo, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).
- Ginzburg, Carlo, „Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm,“ in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 96-125.
- Ginzel, Günther B., ed., *Mut zur Menschlichkeit: Hilfe für Verfolgte während der NS-Zeit* (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1993).
- Ginzel, Günther B., „„Unbesungene Helden‘: Ein Forschungsprojekt zum Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus,“ *Tribüne* 27: 107 (1988): 40-42.
- Glaser, Hermann, *Deutsche Kultur: Ein historischer Überblick von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000).
- Glaser, Hermann, *Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Zwischen Kapitulation und Währungsreform 1945-1948* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1985).
- Goebbels, Joseph, *Der Angriff: Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit* (München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1935).
- Goebbels, Joseph, *Das eiserne Herz: Reden und Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1941/42* (München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943).

- Goebbels, Joseph, *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel: Reden und Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1939/40/41* (München: Eherr Nachf. Verlag, 1941).
- Goes, Albrecht, *Das Brandopfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1954).
- Goes, Albrecht, *The Burnt Offering* (New York: Pantheon, 1956).
- Goeschel, Christian, "Suicides of German Jews in the Third Reich," *German History* 25: 1 (2007): 22-45.
- Goetschel, Willi, "Lessing, Mendelssohn, Nathan: German-Jewish Myth-Building as an Act of Emancipation," *Lessing Yearbook* XXXII (2000): 341-360.
- Goldberg, Ann, *Honor, Politics, and the Law in Imperial Germany, 1871-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Goldensohn, Leon, *The Nuremberg Interviews* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004).
- Goldstein, Cora Sol, *Capturing the German Eye: American Visual Propaganda in Occupied Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- Gollwitzer, Helmut, Kuhn, Käthe and Schneider, Reinhold, eds, *Du hast mich heimgesucht bei Nacht: Abschiedsbriefe und Aufzeichnungen des Widerstandes 1933-1945* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1954).
- Goltermann, Svenja, "The Imagination of Disaster: Death and Survival in Postwar West Germany," in Alon Confino et al., eds, *Between Mass Death and Individual Loss: The Place of the Dead in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 261-274.
- Gordon, Sarah, *Hitler, Germans and the "Jewish Question"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Gracht, Hans, *Hier spricht der Feind! London und Paris „enthüllen“ ...* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft GmbH, 1940).
- Graml, Hermann, „Massenmord und Militäropposition: Zur jüngsten Diskussion über den Widerstand im Stab der Heeresgruppe Mitte,“ *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54: 1 (2006): 1-24.
- Granata, Cora, „„Das hat in der DDR keine Rolle gespielt, was man war’ – ‚Ostalgie’ und Erinnerungen an Antisemitismus in der DDR, 1945-1960,“ in Moshe Zuckermann, ed., *Zwischen Politik und Kultur: Juden in der DDR* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002), 82-100.
- Granieri, Ronald J., *The Ambivalent Alliance: Konrad Adenauer, the CDU/CSU, and the West, 1949-1966* (New York: Berghahn, 2004).
- Graver, Lawrence, *An Obsession with Anne Frank: Meyer Levin and the Diary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Grayling, A. C., *Thinking of Answers: Questions in the Philosophy of Everyday Life* (New York: Walker, 2010).

Grobbe, Karl, *Bernhard Lichtenberg* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1967).

Groehler, Olaf and Herbert, Ulrich, *Zweierlei Bewältigung: Vier Beiträge über den Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse Verlag, 1992).

Gross, Leonard, *Versteckt: Wie Juden in Berlin die Nazi-Zeit überlebten* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1983).

Gross, Raphael, *Anständig geblieben: Nationalsozialistische Moral* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2010).

Gross, Raphael, "Relegating Nazism to the Past: Expressions of German Guilt in 1945 and Beyond," *German History* 25: 2 (2007): 219-238.

Große, Christina, *Der Eichmann-Prozess zwischen Recht und Politik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995).

Grossmann, Atina, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," in Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 33-52.

Grossmann, Atina, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in occupied Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Grossmann, Kurt R., *Die unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunklen Tagen* (Berlin-Grünwald: Arani Verlag, 1957).

Grossmann, Kurt R., *Die unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunklen Tagen* (Berlin-Grünwald: Arani Verlag, 1961).

Grossmann, Kurt R., „Die unbesungenen Helden,“ *Tribüne: Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 1: 4 (1962): 406-411.

Grüber, Heinrich, *Dona nobis pacem! Predigten und Aufsätze aus 20 Jahren*, ed. by Günter Wirth and Gottfried Kretschmar (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1956).

Gruner, Wolf, *Widerstand in der Rosenstraße: Die Fabrik-Aktion und die Verfolgung der 'Mischehen' 1943* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2005).

Grünheid, Uwe, „‘Wir wollen doch überleben!’: Über die ‘Unbesungenen Helden’ des Widerstandes gegen das NS-Regime,“ in Otto R. Romberg et al, eds, *Widerstand und Exil 1933-1945* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1986), 145-158.

Guddat, Rolf, *Für jeden kommt der Tag* (Neunhagen bei Berlin: Verlag Sport und Technik, 1958).

Haas, Peter J., *Morality after Auschwitz: The Radical Challenge of the Nazi Ethic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988).

Hagen, Joshua, *Preservation, Tourism, and Nationalism: The Jewel of the German Past* (Adlershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Hahn, Fred, *Lieber Stürmer: Leserbriefe an das NS-Kampfblatt 1924 bis 1945* (Stuttgart-Degerloch: Seewald Verlag, 1978).

Hake, Sabine, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001).

Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Halder, Winfried, *Exilrufe nach Deutschland: Die Rundfunkreden von Thomas Mann, Paul Tillich und Johannes R. Becher 1940-1945. Analyse, Wirkung, Bedeutung* (Münster: LIT, 2002).

Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944: Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996).

Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941-1944: Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002).

Hammerstein, Katrin, „Geteilte Erinnerung? Zum Umgang mit dem Nationalsozialismus in Bundesrepublik, DDR und Österreich in transnationaler Perspektive,“ in Birgit Hoffmann et al., eds, *Diktaturüberwindung in Europa: Neue nationale und transnationale Perspektiven* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), 103-116.

Handler, Richard, “Is ‘Identity’ a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?” in Gillis, ed., *Commemorations*, 27-40.

Handley, Michael L., *Count Not the Dead: The Popular Image of the German Submarine* (Montreal: McGill-Queens’s University Press, 1995).

Harlan, Veit, *Im Schatten meiner Filme: Selbstbiographie* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1966).

Harris, Jeremy D., “Broadcasting the Massacres: An Analysis of the BBC’s Contemporary Coverage of the Holocaust,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 25 (1996): 65-98.

Hartig, Christine, “‘Conversations about Taking Our Own Lives – Oh a Poor Expression for a Forced Deed in Hopeless Circumstances!’: Suicide among German Jews 1933-1943,” *Leo Baeck Year Book* 52 (2007): 247-265.

Hartman, Geoffrey H., ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University press, 1986).

- Hausner, Gideon, *The Jerusalem Trial* (Bet Lochame Hagetaot and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1980), vol. 1, 299-300. [in Hebrew]
- Heiber, Beatrice and Helmut, eds, *Die Rückseite des Hakenkreuzes: Absonderliches aus den Akten des Dritten Reiches* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993).
- Heikaus, Ulrike, ed., *Das war spitze! Jüdisches in der deutschen Fernsehunterhaltung* (München: Klartext, 2011).
- Heil, Johannes, „Gottesfeinde“ – „Menschenfeinde“: *Die Vorstellung von jüdischer Weltverschwörung (13. Bis 16. Jahrhundert)* (Essen: Klartext, 2006).
- Helbich, Peter and Köhler, Günter, eds, *Heinrich Grüber (Eine kleine Festschrift aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Propst D. Dr. Heinrich Grüber)* (Berlin, 1971).
- Hellwig, Joachim et al., *Ein Tagebuch für Anne Frank* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1959).
- Hensle, Michael P., *Rundfunkverbrechen: Das Hören von „Feindsendern“ im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2003).
- Herbert, Ulrich, „Extermination Policy: New Answers and Questions about the History of the ‘Holocaust’ in German Historiography,” in idem, ed., *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 1-52.
- Herf, Jeffrey, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 1997).
- Herf, Jeffrey, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- Herf, Jeffrey, (Review of Robert Moeller’s *War Stories*), *Central European History* 36: 2 (June 2003): 318-322.
- Hermant, Jost, „Documenta amicitiae: Literarische Freundschaftsbünde im 18. Jahrhundert,“ in *Freundschaft: Zur Geschichte einer sozialen Bindung* (Köln: Böhlau, 2006), 10-27.
- Herzog, Dagmar, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2005).
- Hesse, Hans, *Konstruktionen der Unschuld: Die Entnazifizierung am Beispiel von Bremen und Bremerhaven 1945-1953* (Bremen: Selbstverlag des Staatsarchiv Bremen, 2005).
- Heyen, Franz-Josef, ed., *Parole der Woche: Eine Wandzeitung im Dritten Reich 1936-1943* (München: DTV, 1983).
- Hikel, Christine, „Erinnerung als Partizipation: Inge Scholl und die ‚Weiße Rose‘ in der Bundesrepublik,“ in idem, Nicole Kramer, and Elisabeth Zellmer, eds, *Lieschen*

- Müller wird politisch: *Geschlecht, Staat und Partizipation im 20. Jahrhundert* (München: Oldenbourg, 2009), 105-114.
- Hilberg, Raul, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961).
- Hildebrandt, Jörg, *Bevollmächtigt zum Brückenbau: Heinrich Grüner, Judenfreund und Trümmerpropst – Erinnerungen, Predigten, Berichte* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 1991).
- Hirsch, Marianne, „Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory,” *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14: 1 (2001): 5-37.
- Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf: Zwei Bände in einem Band* (Verlag Franz Eher Nachf., München, 1943).
- Hochhäuser, Abraham, *Unter dem gelben Stern: Ein Tatsachenbericht aus der Zeit von 1933 bis 1945* (Koblenz: Humanitas Verlag, 1948).
- Hochhuth, Rolf, *Der Stellvertreter: Schauspiel* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1963).
- Hockenos, Matthew D., *A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004).
- Hofer, Walther, ed., *Der Nationalsozialismus: Dokumente 1933-1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1957).
- Hoffmann, Christhard et al., eds, *Exclusionary Violence: Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).
- Hoffmann, Detlef, ed., *Das Gedächtnis der Dinge: KZ-Relikte und KZ-Denkmäler 1945-1995* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 1998).
- Hoffmann, Hilde, „Der Zeitzeuge als Fernsehfigur: Zeitzeugeneinsatz in Dokumentationen zum 40. Jahrestag des Mauerbaus,“ *Jahrbuch für Pädagogik* (2003): 207-220.
- Hoffmann, Peter, *Carl Goerdeler and the Jewish Question, 1933-1942* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Hoffschulte, Martina, „Deutsche Hörer!“: *Thomas Manns Rundfunkreden (1940 bis 1945) im Werkkontext* (Münster: Telos Verlag, 2003).
- Horbach, Michael, *Bevor die Nacht begann* (München: Kurt Desch, 1960).
- Horbach, Michael, *Out of the Night* (London: Mitchell, 1967).
- Horbach, Michael, *So überlebten sie den Holocaust: Zeugnisse der Menschlichkeit 1933-1945* (München: Goldmann, 1979).

Horbach, Michael, *Wenige: Zeugnisse der Menschlichkeit 1933 1945* (München: Kindler, 1964).

Horbelt, Rainer and Spindler, Sonja, eds, „*Oma, erzähl mal was vom Krieg*“: *Zehn Frauen erinnern sich. Erlebnisse und Dokumente* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1986).

Horne, John and Kramer, Alan, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Hortzitz, Nicoline, ‚*Früh-Antisemitismus*‘ in *Deutschland (1789-1871/72): Strukturelle Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Text und Argumentation* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988).

Hortzitz, Nicoline, *Der „Judenarzt“: Historische und sprachliche Untersuchungen zur Diskriminierung eines Berufsstandes in der frühen Neuzeit* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994).

Hosenfeld, Wilm, ‚*Ich versuche jeden zu retten*‘, ed. by Thomas Vogel (München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2004).

Hsia, R. Po-Chia and Lehmann, Hartmut, eds, *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Huneke, Douglas K., *In Deutschland unerwünscht: Biographie eines Judenretters* (Lüneburg: Zu Klampen, 2002).

Hürter, Johannes, ‚Alte und neue Geschichtsbilder vom Widerstand und Ostkrieg: Zu Hermann Gramls Beitrag ‚Massenmord und Militäropposition‘,‘ *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54: 2 (2006): 301-322.

Illichmann, Jutta, *Die DDR und die Juden: Die deutschlandpolitische Instrumentalisierung von Juden und Judentum durch die Partei- und Staatsführung der SBZ/DDR von 1945 bis 1990* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997).

Im Hof-Piguet Anne-Marie, *Fluchtweg durch die Hintertür: Eine Rotkreuz-Helferin im besetzten Frankreich, 1942-1944* (Frauenfeld: Im Waldgut, 1987).

Jäckel, Eberhard, *Hitlers Weltanschauung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983).

Jäckel, Eberhard and Kuhn, Axel, eds, *Hitler: Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905-1924* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1980).

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus, *Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

Jacobs, Janet, *Memorializing the Holocaust: Gender, Genocide, and Collective Memory* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

- Jacobsen, Wolfgang and Aurich, Rolf, *Der Sonnensucher Konrad Wolf: Biographie* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2005).
- Jahnke, Karl Heinz, ed., *Niemals vergessen: Aus dem antifaschistischen Widerstandskampf der Studenten Europas* (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1959).
- Jarausch, Konrad H., *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1935-1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Jäschke, Kurt-Ulrich, "Judenschutz - Eine mittelalterliche Königstugend?," in Reinhard Schneider, ed., *Juden in Deutschland: Lebenswelten und Einzelschicksale* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 1994), 35-149.
- Jašík, Rudolf, *Die Liebenden vom St.-Elisabeth-Platz* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1961).
- Jaspers, Karl, *The Question of German Guilt* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2001).
- Jay, Martin, *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- Jersch-Wenzel, Stefi, "Jewish Economic Activity in Early Modern Times," in Hsia and Lehmann, eds, *In and Out of the Ghetto*, 91-101.
- Johnson, Eric A., *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
- Rolf Joseph, "Rags, Picklocks, and Pliers," in Eric H. Boehm, ed., *We Survived: Fourteen Histories of the Hidden and Hunted of Nazi Germany* (Denver, Colorado: Clio Press, 1985 [1949],) 151-162.
- Joshi, Vandana, *Gender and Power in the Third Reich: Female Denouncers and the Gestapo, 1933-45* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- Jüdisches Historisches Institut Warschau, *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1960).
- Jung, Fernand, „Das Thema Antisemitismus am Beispiel des DEFA-Films ‚Ehe im Schatten‘,“ in Rainer Waterkamp, ed., *Nationalsozialismus und Judenverfolgung in DDR-Medien* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1996), 45-52.
- Jung, Thomas, „Nicht-Darstellung und Selbst-Darstellung: Der Umgang mit der ‚Judenfrage‘ in der SBZ und der frühen DDR und dessen Niederschlag in Literatur und Film,“ *Monatshefte* 90: 1 (1998): 49-70.
- Jürgensen, Kurt, "The Concept and Practice of 'Re-Education' in Germany 1945-50," in Nicholas Pronay and Keith Wilson, eds, *The Political Re-Education of Germany & Her Allies after World War II* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 83-96.

Jütte, Robert, "Contacts at the Bedside: Jewish Physicians and Their Christian Patients," in Hsia and Lehmann, eds, *In and Out of the Ghetto*, 137-150.

Kaack, Günther, ed., *Wenn ein Wort zur Waffe wird. Aus den Reden Adolf Hitlers in den Kriegsjahren 1939-1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2004).

Kabalek, Kobi, "The Commemoration before the Commemoration: Yad Vashem and the Righteous Among the Nations, 1945-1963," *Yad Vashem Studies* 39: 1 (2011): 169-211.

Kabalek, Kobi, "Immediate Memories: Written Experiences of the Nazi Past in Occupied Germany, 1945-1949," in Withold Bonner and Arja Rosenholm, eds, *Re-Calling the Past – (Re)constructing the Past: Collective and Individual Memory of World War II in Russia and Germany* (Helsinki: Aleksanteri Institute, 2008), 137-146.

Kabalek, Kobi, „Das Scheitern und die Erinnerung: Über das Nicht-Retten von Juden in zwei deutschen Nachkriegsfilmen,“ in Lisa Bolyos and Katharina Morawek, eds, *Diktatorpuppe zerstört, Schaden gering: Kunst und Geschichtspolitik im Postnazismus* (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2012), 92-103.

Kabalek, Kobi, „Spuren vergangener Geschichte/n: Die ‚NS-Zeit‘ in Interviews mit jungen Deutschen aus der ehemaligen DDR,“ in Julia Obertreis and Anke Stephan, eds, *Erinnerungen nach der Wende: Oral History und (post)sozialistische Gesellschaften* (Essen: Klartext, 2009), 121-132.

Kabalek, Kobi, "Unheroic Heroes: Re-Viewing Roman Polanski's 'The Pianist' in Germany and Israel," in Vera Apfelthaler and Julia Köhne, eds, *Gendered Memories: Transgressions in German and Israeli Film and Theater* (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2007), 61-82.

Kahn, Siegbert, „Dokumente des Kampfes der revolutionären deutschen Arbeiterbewegung gegen Antisemitismus und Judenverfolgung,“ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* 2: 3 (1960): 552-564.

Kansteiner, Wulf, "Between Politics and Memory: The Historians' Debate and West German Historical Culture of the 1980s," in *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television, and Politics after Auschwitz* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006), 54-85.

Kansteiner, Wulf, "Entertaining Catastrophe: The Reinvention of the Holocaust in the Television of the Federal Republic of Germany," *New German Critique* 90 (Autumn, 2003): 135-162.

Kansteiner, Wulf, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 41 (May 2002): 179-197.

Kansteiner, Wulf, „What is the Opposite of Genocide?: Philosemitic Television in Germany, 1963-1995,“ in Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe, eds, *Philosemitism in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 289-313.

- Kapczynski, Jennifer M., *The German Patient: Crisis and Recovery in Postwar Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008).
- Kapczynski, Jennifer M., "Armchair Warriors: Heroic Postures in the West German War Film," in Cooke and Silberman, eds, *Screening War*, 17-35.
- Kaplan, Marion A., "As Germans and as Jews in Imperial Germany," in idem, ed., *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, 173-269.
- Kaplan, Marion A., *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Marion A. Kaplan, ed., *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Käppner, Joachim, *Berthold Beitz: Die Biographie* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2010).
- Karstedt, Susanne, "The Nuremberg Tribunal and German Society: International Justice and Local Judgment in Post-Conflict Reconstruction," in David A. Blumenthal and Timothy L. H. McCormack, eds, *The Legacy of Nuremberg: Civilising Influence or Institutionalised Vengeance?* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), 13-35.
- Kater, Michael H., *Doctors under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
- Kater, Michael H., "Everyday Anti-Semitism in Pre-War Nazi Germany: The Popular Bases," *Yad Vashem Studies XVI* (1984): 129-159.
- Kauders, Anthony D., "History as Censure: 'Repression' and 'Philo-Semitism' in Postwar Germany," *History and Memory* 15: 1 (Spring/Summer 2003): 97-122.
- Keim, Anton Maria, *Die Judenretter aus Deutschland* (Mainz: Grünewald, 1983).
- Kern, Erich, *Die Tragödie der Juden: Schicksal zwischen Propaganda und Wahrheit* (Preussisch Odlendorf: Verlag K.W. Schütz, 1979).
- Kershaw, Ian, *The End: The Defiance and Destruction of Hitler's Germany, 1944-1945* (New York: Penguin, 2011).
- Kershaw, Ian, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (London: Arnold, 2000).
- Kershaw, Ian, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich, Bavaria 1933-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Kersten, Heinz, „Entwicklungslinien,“ in Heiko R. Blum and Hans C. Blumenberg, eds, *Film in der DDR* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1977), 7-56.
- Keßler, Mario, *Die SED und die Juden – zwischen Repression und Toleranz: Politische Entwicklungen bis 1967* (Berlin, 1995).

- Kettenacker, Lothar, „Die Haltung der Westalliierten gegenüber Hitlerattentat und Widerstand nach dem 20. Juli 1944,“ in Ueberschär, ed., *Der 20. Juli*, 22-46.
- Kettenacker, Lothar, ed., *Ein Volk von Opfern? Die neue Debatte um den Bombenkrieg 1940-1945* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2003).
- Kiefer, Sascha, *Die deutsche Novelle im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Gattungsgeschichte* (Köln: Böhlau, 2010).
- Kieser-Reinke, Angelika, *Techniken der Leserlenkung bei Hans Fallada: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsforschung mit einer empirischen Untersuchung des Romans ‚Jeder stirbt für sich allein‘ (1946)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979).
- Kirchner, Klaus, ed., *Flugblätter aus England 1939/1940/1941 (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 1). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1978).
- Kirchner, Klaus, ed., *Flugblätter aus England G-1942 (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 4). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1974).
- Kirchner, Klaus, ed., *Flugblätter aus England: G-1943, G-1944 (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 5). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1979).
- Kirchner, Klaus, ed., *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR: Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland (Flugblattpropaganda im 2. Weltkrieg, Europa. Band 15). Bibliographie Katalog* (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1996).
- Kirschnik, Sylke, *Anne Frank und die DDR: Politische Deutungen und persönliche Lesarten des berühmten Tagebuchs* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2009).
- Kittsteiner, Heinz Dieter, „Vom Nutzen und Nachteil des Vergessens für die Geschichte“, in Gary Smith und Hinderk M. Emrich, eds, *Vom Nutzen des Vergessens* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 133-174
- Klein, Kerwin Lee, „On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse,“ *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000): 127-150.
- Klemperer, Victor, *Tagebücher 1933-1945*, Walter Nowojski and Hadwig Klemperer, ed. (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999).
- Kleßmann, Christoph, *Die doppelte Staatsgründung: Deutsche Geschichte 1945-1955* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1991).
- Klotz, Johannes, „Die Ausstellung ‚Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941-1944‘ zwischen Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtspolitik“ in Bald et al., eds, *Mythos Wehrmacht*, 116-176.
- Klüger, Ruth, „Gibt es ein ‚Judenproblem‘ in der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur?“, in *Katastrophen: Über deutsche Literatur* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), 9-37.

Knobloch, Heinz, *Der beherzte Reviervorsteher: Ungewöhnliche Zivilcourage am Hackeschen Markt* (Morgenbuch Verlag, 1990).

Knoch, Habbo, *Die Tat als Bild: Fotografien des Holocaust in der deutschen Erinnerungskultur* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001).

Knopp, Guido, *Der verdammte Krieg: Entscheidung Stalingrad – Eine fünfteilige Dokumentation* (Mainz: ZDF, 1992).

Koch, Magnus, *Fahnenfluchten: Deserteure der Wehrmacht im Zweiten Weltkrieg – Lebenswege und Entscheidungen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008).

Kochwa, Eugenia, *Flucht aus Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1973).

Kohlstruck, Michael, „Das zweite Ende der Nachkriegszeit: Zur Veränderung der politischen Kultur um 1960,“ in Gary S. Schaal and Andreas Wöll, eds, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung: Modelle der politischen und sozialen Integration in der bundesdeutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), 113-127.

Köhn, Lothar, „Autonomie und Engagement: Erzählprosa der literarischen ‘Moderne’ aus der DDR,“ in Barner, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, 703-746.

Kohut, Dr. Adolph, *Gekrönte und ungekrönte Judenfreunde* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Basch & Co., 1913).

Koleva, Daniela, „Die Erinnerung an die kommunistische Machtübernahme in Bulgarien am 9. September 1944,“ *BIOS* 14: 1 (2001): 101-115.

Komitee der antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, ed., *Sachsenhausen: Dokumente, Aussagen, Forschungsergebnisse und Erlebnisberichte über das ehemalige Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1977).

Königseder, Angelika and Wetzel, Juliane, *Waiting for Hope: Jewish Displaced Persons in Post-World War II Germany* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001).

Konitzer, Werner, „Antisemitismus und Moral: Einige Überlegungen,“ *Mittelweg* 36 14: 2 (2005): 24-35.

Konitzer, Werner and Gross, Raphael, eds, *Moralität des Bösen: Ethik und nationalsozialistische Verbrechen* (Fritz Bauer Instituts Jahrbuch) (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009).

Konsalik, Heinz G., *Der Arzt von Stalingrad* (München: Kindler, 1956).

Koonz, Claudia, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Köppen, Manuel, "The Rhetoric of Victim Narratives in West German Films of the 1950s," in Cooke and Silberman, eds, *Screening War*, 56-79.

Koselleck, Reinhart, "Begriffsgeschichte and Social History," in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985).

Kosmala, Beate and Schoppmann, Claudia, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund: Hilfe für Juden in Deutschland 1941-1945* (Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit. Band 5) (Berlin: Metropol, 2002).

Kracauer, Siegfried, „Der anständige Deutsche: Ein Filmportrait,“ *Film und Fernsehen* 1 (1999), 6-8.

Krakauer, Max, *Lichter im Dunkel: Flucht und Rettung eines jüdischen Ehepaars im Dritten Reich* (Stuttgart: Behrendt, 1947).

Krakauer, Max, *Lichter im Dunkel: Flucht und Rettung eines jüdischen Ehepaars im Dritten Reich*, ed. by Gerda Riehm and Jörg Thierfelder (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 2007).

Krause, Peter, *Der Eichmann-Prozeß in der deutschen Presse* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002).

Krause, Werner H., *Der Fall Adolf Eichmann u. a.* (Berlin: Verlag des Ministeriums für Nationale Verteidigung, 1960).

Kraushaar, Luise et al. (Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkomitees der SED), *Deutsche Widerstandskämpfer 1933-1945: Biographien und Briefe*, Band 1 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1970).

Kresing-Wuld, Felix and Mühlmann, Eva-Maria, ed., *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft, vol. 2: Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen 1947-1990* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1997).

Kroll, Frank-Lothar, „Friedrich der Große,“ in François and Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 3, 620-635.

Küchler, Srefan, "DDR-Geschichtsbilder: Zur Interpretation des Nationalsozialismus, der jüdischen Geschichte und des Holocaust im Geschichtsunterricht der DDR," *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 22, 1 (2000): 33-48.

Kuhnke, Manfred, „...daß ihr Tod nicht umsonst war! – Beziehungen zwischen Realität und künstlerischer Fiktion, dargestellt am Entstehungsprozeß von Falladas letztem Roman *Jeder stirbt für sich allein*,“ in Gunnar Müller-Waldeck and Roland Ulrich, eds, *Hans Fallada: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1995), 285-298.

Kulka, Otto Dov and Jäckel, Eberhard, eds, *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten 1933-1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004).

Kuratorium für den Aufbau Nationaler Gedenkstätten in Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, *Buchenwald: Nationale Gedenkstätten für die Widerstandskämpfer gegen den Faschismus. Dokumentensammlung mit Skizzen und Lagerkarten* (Reichenbach: VEB Volkskunstverlag, 1958).

Kurthen, Hermann, Bergmann, Werner and Erb, Rainer, eds, *Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Germany after Unification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Kushner, Tony and Valman, Nadia, eds, *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and the Jews: Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Lamm, Hans, ed., *Der Eichmann-Prozeß in der deutschen öffentlichen Meinung* (Frankfurt am Main: Ner-Tamid-Verlag, 1961).

Langenbacher, Eric, "The Return of Memory: New Discussions about German Suffering in World War II," *German Politics and Society* 21: 3 (Fall 2003): 74-88.

Lassner, Phyllis and Trubowitz, Tara, eds, *Antisemitism and Philosemitism in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries: Representing Jews, Jewishness, and Modern Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

Lauckner, Nancy A., "The Jew in Post-War German Novels," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* XX (1975): 275-291.

Laurie, Clayton D., *The Propaganda Warriors: America's Crusade against Nazi Germany* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1996).

Lavsky, Hagit, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945-1950* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002).

Lavy, George, *Germany and Israel: Moral Debt and National Interest* (London: Frank Cass, 1996).

Lea, Charlene A., "'The Noble Jew' on the German and Austrian Stage (1750-1805)," *The German Quarterly* 64: 2 (Spring 1991): 166-177.

Leggewie, Claus, „Der Mythos des Neuanfangs – Gründungsetappen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: 1949-1968-1989,“ in Helmut Berding, ed., *Mythos und Nation* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), 275-302.

Lemke, Michael, „Instrumentalisierter Antifaschismus und SED-Kampagnenpolitik im deutschen Sonderkonflikt 1960-68, in Jürgen Danyel, ed., *Die geteilte Vergangenheit: Zum Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Widerstand in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 60-86.

Lemke, Michael, „Kampagnen gegen Bonn: Die Systemkrise der DDR und die West-Propaganda der SED 1960-1963,“ *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 14: 2 (April 1993): 153-174.

- Lemmons, Russel, *Goebbels and Der Angriff* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994).
- Lepper, Herbert, *Von der Emanzipation zum Holocaust: Die Israelitische Synagogengemeinde zu Aachen 1801-1942* (Aachen: Verlag der Mayer'schen Buchhandlung, 1994), 2 vols.
- Leuner, Heinz David, *Als Mitleid ein Verbrechen war: Deutschlands Stille Helden, 1933-1945* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1967).
- Leuner, Heinz David, *When Compassion Was a Crime: Germany's Silent Heroes, 1933-1945* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1966).
- Levenson, Alan T., *Between Philosemitism and Antisemitism: Defenses of Jews and Judaism in Germany, 1871-1932* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).
- Levy, Daniel and Sznajder, Natan, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).
- Ley, Astrid, "Remembering Nazi Crimes Ideologically: East and West German Exhibits at Sachsenhausen Memorial," in John Alexander Williams, ed., *Berlin since the Wall's End: Shaping Society and Memory in the German Metropolis since 1989* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 110-117.
- Ley, Michael and Schoeps, Julius, eds, *Der Nationalsozialismus als politische Religion* (Bodenheim bei Mainz: Philo-Verlag, 1997).
- Liberles, Robert, "On the Threshold of Modernity: 1618-1780," in Kaplan, ed., *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, 70-92.
- Lichtenstein, Heiner, *Raoul Wallenberg: Retter von hunderttausend Juden: Ein Opfer Himmlers und Stalins* (Köln: Bunde-Verlag, 1982).
- Lindenberger, Thomas, "Home Sweet Home: Desperately Seeking Heimat in Early DEFA films," *Film History* 18: 1 (2006): 46-58
- Littner, Jakob, *Aufzeichnungen aus einem Erdloch* (München: Verlag Herbert Kluger, 1948).
- Littner, Jakob, *Mein Weg durch die Nacht: Mit Anmerkungen zu Wolfgang Koeppens Textadaptation*, ed. by Roland Ulrich (Berlin: Metropol, 2002).
- Longerich, Peter, „*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*“: *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933-1945* (München: Siedler, 2006).
- Loose, Ingo, „Die Ambivalenz des Authentischen: Juden, Holocaust und Antisemitismus im deutschen Film nach 1945,“ in *Medaon: Magazin für jüdisches Leben in Forschung und Bildung* 4 (2009). www.medaon.de
- Low, Alfred D., *Jews in the Eyes of the Germans: From the Enlightenment to Imperial Germany* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979).

Löw, Konrad, *Die Schuld: Christen und Juden im nationalsozialistischen und heutigen Urteil* (Gräfeling: Resch Verlag, 2002).

Löw, Konrad, „*Das Volk ist ein Trost*“: *Deutsche und Juden 1933-1945 im Urteil der jüdischen Zeitzeugen* (München: Olzog Verlag, 2006).

Lüdke, Alf, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

Ludewig, Anna-Dorothea, „,Schönste Heldin, süßeste Jüdin!': Die ‚Schöne Jüdin' in der europäischen Literatur zwischen den 17. Und 19. Jahrhundert – ein Querschnitt,“ *Medaon: Magazin für jüdisches Leben in Forschung und Bildung* 3 (2008).
www.medaon.de

Machtan, Lothar, „Bismarck,“ in François and Schulze, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 2, 86-104.

Madigan, Kevin, „Judensau,“ in Richard S. Levy, ed., *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2005), 387-388.

Maetzig, Kurt, *Filmarbeit: Gespräche, Reden, Schriften* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1987).

Mählert, Ulrich, *Kleine Geschichte der DDR* (München: C.H. Beck, 2009).

Maier, Charles S., *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Mammach, Klaus, *Widerstand 1939-1945: Geschichte der deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandsbewegung im Inland und in der Emigration* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987).

Mandelkow, Karl Robert, „Der ‚restaurierte' Goethe: Klassikerrezeption in Westdeutschland nach 1945 und ihre Vorgeschichte seit 1870,“ in Schildt and Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 541-550.

Mankowitz, Zeev W., *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Marchart, Oliver, Öhner, Vrääth, and Uhl, Heidemarie, „Holocaust Revisited – Lesarten eines Medienereignisses zwischen globaler Erinnerungskultur und nationaler Vergangenheitsbewältigung,“ *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte XXXI* (2003): 307-334.

Marcuse, Harold, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Margalit, Avishai, *The Ethics of Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

- Margalit, Gilad, "The Consciousness of German Guilt and Its Repercussions after 1945," in idem and Yfaat Weiss, eds, *Memory and Amnesia: The Holocaust in Germany* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2005), 228-266. [in Hebrew]
- Margalit, Gilad, *Guilt, Suffering, and Memory: Germany Remembers Its Dead of World War II* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).
- Marta, Klaus-Peter, "Bedeutung und Stellenwert des Auszeichnungswesens in der Gesellschaft der DDR," in Dieter Vorsteher, ed., *Parteiauftrag: Ein neues Deutschland: Bilder, Rituale und Symbole der frühen DDR* (Deutsches Historisches Museum, 1996), 290-305.
- Märthersheimer, Peter and Frenzel, Ivo, eds, *Im Kreuzfeuer: Der Fernsehfilm Holocaust. Eine Nation ist betroffen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979).
- Martin, Ellen, *Die deutschen Schriften des Johannes Pfefferkorn: Zum Problem des Judenhasses und der Intoleranz in der Zeit der Vorreformation* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1994).
- März, Peter, *Mythen, Bilder, Fakten: Auf der Suche nach der deutschen Vergangenheit* (München: Olzog, 2010).
- Massey, Irving, *Philo-Semitism in Nineteenth-Century German Literature* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000).
- Matar, Nabil, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
- Megill, Allan D., *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
- Megill, Allan D., "History-Writing and Moral Judgment: A Note on Chapter Seven of Agnes Heller's *A Theory of History* (1982)," in Janos Boros and Mihaly Vajda, eds, *Ethics and Heritage: Essays on the Philosophy of Agnes Heller* (Pecs: Brambauer, 2007), 87-104.
- Meier, Kurt, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz: Die evangelische Kirche im Dritten Reich* (München: DTV, 1992).
- Meinecke, Friedrich, *The German Catastrophe: Reflections and Recollections* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).
- Meiring, Kerstin, *Die Christlich-Jüdische Mischehe in Deutschland 1840-1933* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz Verlag, 1998).
- Melnick, Ralph, *The Stolen Legacy of Anne Frank: Meyer Levin, Lillian Hellman, and the Staging of the Diary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

- Meltzer, Milton, *Zivilcourage: Die Geschichte tapferer Menschen, die Juden vor der Vernichtung bewahrten* (Recklinghausen: Bitter, 1990).
- Merritt, Anna J. and Merritt, Richard L., eds, *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany: The OMGUS Surveys, 1945-1949* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970).
- Mertens, Lothar, *Unermüdlicher Kämpfer für Frieden und Menschenrechte: Leben und Wirken von Kurt R. Grossmann* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1997).
- Meves, Peter, „Der Fall Hermann Fritz Gräbe,“ in Volker Friedrich Drecktrah and Jürgen Bohmbach, eds, *Justiz im Nationalsozialismus im Landgerichtsbezirk Stade* (Stade, 2004): 130-140.
- Meyer, Beate, „Geschichte im Film: Judenverfolgung, Mischehen und der Protest in der Rosenstraße 1943,“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 52: 1 (2004): 23-36.
- Meyer, Beate, „The Mixed Marriage: A Guarantee of Survival or a Reflection of German Society during the Nazi Regime?“ in Bankier, ed., *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism*, 54-77.
- Meyer, Michael et al., *German Jewish History in Modern Times, Vol. 1: Tradition and Enlightenment 1600-1780* (NY: Columbia UP, 1996).
- Meyer, Michael et al., *German-Jewish History in Modern Times, vol. 2: Emancipation and Acculturation, 1780-1871* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1997).
- Misztal, Barbara A, „Collective Memory in a Global Age: Learning How and What to Remember,“ *Current Sociology* 58: 1 (2010): 24-44.
- Mitscherlich, Alexander and Mielke, Fred, *Wissenschaft ohne Menschlichkeit: Medizinische und eugenische Irrwege unter Diktatur, Bürokratie und Krieg* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1949).
- Moeller, Robert G., *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
- Moeller, Robert G., „Sinking Ships, the Lost *Heimat*, and Broken Taboos: Günter Grass and the Politics of Memory in Contemporary Germany,“ *Contemporary European History* 12: 2 (2003): 147-181.
- Moeller, Robert G., *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- Möhler, Rainer, *Entnazifizierung in Rheinland-Pfalz und im Saarland unter französischer Besatzung von 1945 bis 1952* (Mainz: Hase & Koehler, 1992).
- Mommsen, Hans, „Von Weimar nach Bonn: Zum Demokratieverständnis der Deutschen,“ in Schildt and Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 745-758.
- Mommsen, Wolfgang J., *Anfang und Ende des bürgerlichen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2004).

Morgenthaler, Sibylle, "Countering the Pre-1933 Nazi Boycott against Jews," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 36 (1991): 127-149.

Morina, Christina, *Legacies of Stalingrad: Remembering the Eastern Front in Germany since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Morina, Christina, „Vernichtungskrieg, Kalter Krieg und politisches Gedächtnis: Zum Umgang mit dem Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion im geteilten Deutschland,“ *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34 (2008): 252-291.

Morsch, Günter, ed., *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument: Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1996).

Moses, Dirk A., *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Mosse, George L., *Toward the Final Solution* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

Müller, Christine-Ruth, *Dietrich Bonhoeffers Kampf gegen die NS-Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden* (München: Kaiser, 1990).

Müller, Heidi M., *Die Judendarstellung in der deutschsprachigen Erzählprosa (1945-1981)* (Königstein: Anton Hain, 1986).

Müller, Laurenz, "Revolutionary Moment: Interpreting the Peasants' War in the Third Reich and in the German Democratic Republic," *Central European History* 40 (2007): 193-218.

Müller-Bauseneik, Jens, „Die US-Fernsehserie ‘Holocaust’ im Spiegel der deutschen Presse (Januar-März 1979). Eine Dokumentation,“ *Historical Social Research* 30: 4 (2005): 128-140.

Münkler, Herfried, *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2009).

Münkler, Herfried and Hacke, Jens, „Politische Mythisierungsprozesse in der Bundesrepublik: Entwicklungen und Tendenzen,“ in idem, eds, *Wege in die neue Bundesrepublik: Politische Mythen und kollektive Selbstbilder nach 1989* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2009), 15-31.

Naimark, Norman, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Naumann, Michael, ed., „Es muss doch in diesem Lande wieder möglich sein...“: *Der neue Antisemitismus-Streit* (München: Ullstein, 2002).

Ne’eman Arad, Gulie, „Berichte zur Geschichte der Erinnerung: USA,“ in Volkhard Knigge and Norbert Frei, *Verbrechen erinnern: Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord* (München: C.H. Beck, 2002), 199-219.

- Neiss, Marion, „Berlin Wieldandstrasse 18 – Ein ehrenwertes Haus,“ in Benz, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich*, 51-66.
- Neitzel, Sönke and Welzer, Harald, *Soldaten: Protokolle vom Kämpfen, Töten und Sterben* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2011).
- Nellessen, Bernd, *Der Prozeß von Jerusalem: Ein Dokument* (Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1964).
- Neumann, Boaz, *Die Weltanschauung des Nazismus: Raum, Körper, Sprache* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010).
- Neumann, Klaus, ed., *Nachkrieg in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001).
- Niebaum, Peter, *Ein Gerechter unter den Völkern: Hans Calmeyer in seiner Zeit (1903-1972)* (Bramsche: Rasch Verlag 2003).
- Nipperdey, Thomas and Rurüp, Reinhard, „Antisemitismus,“ in Otto Brunner et al., eds., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), vol. 1, 129-153.
- Noelle, Annemarie, „Die individuelle Ausprägung des Helden: Gedanken zur Gestaltung der Zeiterfahrung im neueren DEFA-Film,“ *Filmwissenschaftliche Mitteilungen* 8: 1 (1967): 202-225.
- Nothnagle, Alan L., *Building the East German Myth: Historical Mythology and Youth Propaganda in the German Democratic Republic, 1945-1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).
- Niven, Bill, *Das Buchenwaldkind: Wahrheit, Fiktion und Propaganda* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2009).
- Niven, Bill, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Niven, Bill, ed., *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2006).
- Niven, William J., „The Reception of Steven Spielberg’s ‘Schindler’s List’ in the German Media,“ *Journal of European Studies* 25 (June 1995): 165-189.
- Obenaus, Herbert „The Germans: ‘An Antisemitic People’. The Press Campaign After 9 November 1938,“ in Bankier, ed., *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism*, 147-180.
- O’Brien, Mary-Elizabeth, *Nazi Cinema as Enchantment: The Politics of Entertainment in the Third Reich* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006).
- Ofstad, Harald, *Our Contempt for Weakness: Nazi Norms and Values – and Our Own* (Gothenburg: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989).

Olick, Jeffrey K., "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures," *Sociological Theory* 17: 3 (1999): 333-348.

Olick, Jeffrey K., "The Collective Memory of Memory Studies: Time for Revision?" a paper presented at the conference *Forms and Functions of Social Memories* (Erlangen, Germany, December 10-12, 2010).

Olick, Jeffrey K., "Figurations of Memory: A Process-Relational Methodology, Illustrated on the German Case," in *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 85-118.

Olick, Jeffrey K., "From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products," in Erll and Nünning, eds, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, 151-161.

Olick, Jeffrey K., "Genre Memories and Memory Genres: A Dialogical Analysis of May 8, 1945 Commemorations in the Federal Republic of Germany," *American Sociological Review* 64: 3 (June 1999): 381-402.

Olick, Jeffrey K., *In the House of the Hangman: The Agonies of German Defeat, 1943-1949* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Olick, Jeffrey K., "What Does It Mean to Normalize the past? Official Memory in German Politics since 1989," *Social Science History* 22:4 (Winter 1998): 547-571.

Oliner, Samuel & Pearl, *The Altruistic Personality* (New York: Free Press, 1988).
Eva Fogelman, *Conscience & Courage* (New York: Anchor Books, 1994).

Oppenheimer, Max, *Eichmann und die Eichmänner: Dokumentarische Hinweise auf den Personenkreis der Helfer und Helfershelfer bei der „Endlösung“* (Ludwigsburg: Schromm, 1961).

Ortner, Helmut, *Der Einzelgänger: Georg Elser – der Mann, der Hitler töten wollte* (Rastatt: Moewig, 1989).

Osterloh, Jörg and Vollnhals, Clemens, eds, *NS-Prozesse und deutsche Öffentlichkeit: Besatzungszeit, frühe Bundesrepublik und DDR* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

Ostermeyer, Irena, *Zwischen Schuld und Sühne: Evangelische Kirche und Juden in SBZ und DDR 1945-1990* (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 2002).

Ostow, Robin, "The Shaping of Jewish Identity in the German Democratic Republic, 1949-1989," *Critical Sociology* 17: 3 (Fall 1990): 47-59.

Otčenášek, Jan, *Romeo und Julia und die Finsternis* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1960).

Overy, Richard, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton & Company, 1997).

- Paepcke, Lotte, *Ich wurde vergessen: Bericht einer Jüdin, die das Dritte Reich überlebt* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1979).
- Paepcke, Lotte, *Unter einem fremden Stern* (Frankfurter am Main: Verlag der Frankfurter Hefte, 1952).
- Paldiel, Mordecai, *Saving the Jews: Amazing Stories of Men and Women Who Defied the "Final Solution"* (Rockville, MD: Schreiber, 2000).
- Palmowski, Jan, "Building an East German Nation: The Construction of a Socialist Heimat, 1945-1961," *Central European History* 37: 3 (2004): 365-399.
- Pätzold, Kurt, *Faschismus, Rassenwahn, Judenverfolgung: Eine Studie zur politischen Strategie und Taktik der faschistischen deutschen Imperialismus (1933-1935)* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1975).
- Pätzold, Kurt and Runge, Irene, *Kristallnacht: Zum Pogrom 1938* (Berlin: Dietz, 1988).
- Paucker, Arnold, *Deutsche Juden im Kampf um Recht und Freiheit: Studien zu Abwehr, Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand der deutschen Juden seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, bearbeitet von Barbara Suchy (Tetz: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2004).
- Paul, Gerhard, *Aufstand der Bilder: Die NS-Propaganda vor 1933* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1990).
- Peitsch, Helmut, „Deutschlands Gedächtnis an seine dunkelste Zeit“: *Zur Funktion der Autobiographik in den Westzonen Deutschlands und den Westsektoren von Berlin 1945 bis 1949* (Berlin, Edition Sigma, 1990).
- Peitsch, Helmut, *Nachkriegsliteratur 1945-1989* (Osnabrück: V&R Unipress, 2009).
- Peitsch, Helmut, „Zur Geschichte von ‚Vergangenheitsbewältigung‘: BRD- und DDR-Kriegsromane in den fünfziger Jahren,“ in Gerhard P. Knapp et al., eds, *1945-1995: Fünfzig Jahre deutschsprachige Literatur in Aspekten* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 89-117.
- Peltonen, Matti, "Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research," *History and Theory* 40 (October 2001): 347-359.
- Pendas, Devin O., *The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963-1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Pendas, Devin O., "‘I Didn’t Know What Auschwitz Was’: The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial and the German Press, 1963-1965," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 12 (2000): 397-446.
- Phayer, Michael, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1964* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

- Piel, Ingo, *Die Judenverfolgung in autobiographischer Literatur: Erinnerungstexte nichtjüdischer Deutscher nach 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001).
- Pinkert, Anke, *Film and Memory in East Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).
- Poelchau, Harald, *Die letzten Stunden: Erinnerungen eines Gefängnispfarrers* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt, 1949).
- Poiger, Uta G., *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
- Poliakov, Léon and Wulf, Josef, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani Verlag, 1955).
- Poliakov, Léon and Wulf, Josef, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Diener* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani Verlag, 1956).
- Pollock, Friedrich, ed., *Gruppenexperiment: Ein Studienbericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1955).
- Pottier, Joël, „Erlebte und gedeutete Geschichte: Gertrud von le Forts ‚Weg durch die Nacht‘ im Dritten Reich,“ in Frank-Lothar Kroll, ed., *Die totalitäre Erfahrung: Deutsche Literatur und Drittes Reich* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003), 153-169.
- Przyrembel, Alexandra, „*Rassenschande*“: *Reinheitsmythos und Vernichtungslegitimation im Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).
- Puaca, Brian M., „Teaching Trauma and Responsibility: World War II in West German History Textbooks,“ *New German Critique* 38: 1 (Winter 2011): 135-153.
- Pulzer, Peter, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority, 1848-1933* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).
- Raddatz, Fritz J., *Summa iniuria oder Durfte der Papst schweigen?: Hochhuths „Stellvertreter“ in der öffentlichen Kritik* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1963).
- Radstone, Susannah, „Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory,“ *History Workshop Journal* 59 (2005): 134-150.
- Rapaport, Lynn, *Jews in Germany after the Holocaust: Memory, Identity, and Jewish-German Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Rass, Christoph, „*Menschenmaterial*“: *Deutsche Soldaten an der Ostfront. Innenansichten einer Infanteriedivision 1939-1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003).
- Redles, David, *Hitler's Millennial Reich: Apocalyptic Belief and the Search for Salvation* (New York: NYU Press, 2005).

- Reemtsma, Jan Philipp, "Turning Away from Denial: Hitler's Willing Executioners as a counterforce to 'Historical Explanation'," in Robert Shandley, ed., *Unwilling Germans? The Goldhagen Debate* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 255-262.
- Reich, Ines, „Das Bild vom deutschen Widerstand in der Öffentlichkeit und Wissenschaft der DDR,“ in Steinbach and Tuchel, eds, *Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, 557-571.
- Reich, Ines, „Geteilter Widerstand: Die Tradierung des deutschen Widerstandes in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR,“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 42: 7 (1994): 635-644.
- Reichel, Peter, *Erfundene Erinnerung: Weltkrieg und Judenmord im Film und Theater* (München: Carl Hanser, 2004).
- Reichel, Peter, *Politik mit der Erinnerung: Gedächtnisorte im Streit um die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999).
- Reichel, Peter, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland: Die Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Diktatur von 1945 bis heute* (München: C.H. Beck, 2001).
- Reinhold, Ursula, „Beiträge zur Humanität': Der Verleger Peter Suhrkamp,“ in Ursula Heuerkamp, ed., *Unterm Notdach: Nachkriegsliteratur in Berlin 1945-1949* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1996), 175-196.
- Reuveni, Gideon, "'Productivist' and 'Consumerist' Narratives of Jews in German History," in Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman, eds, *German History from the Margins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).
- Revel, Jacques, "Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social," in Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds, *Histories: French Constructions of the Past* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 492-502.
- Rewald, Ilse, *Berliner, die uns halfen, die Hitlerdiktatur zu überleben*, (Beiträge zum Thema Widerstand, Nr. 6) (Informationszentrum Berlin: Gedenk- und Bildungsstätte Stauffenbergstrasse, 1975).
- Ricoeur, Paul, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
- Riefenstahl, Leni, *A Memoir* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1993).
- Riesenburger, Martin, *Das Licht verlöschte nicht: Dokumente aus der Nacht des Nazismus* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1960).
- Riffel, Dennis, „'Unbesungene Helden': Der Umgang mit ‚Rettung‘ im Nachkriegsdeutschland,“ in Kosmala and Schoppmann, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 317-334.

- Riffel, Dennis, *Unbesungene Helden: Die Ehrungsinitiative des Berliner Senats 1958 bis 1966* (Berlin: Metropol, 2007).
- Rinser, Luise, *Jan Lobel aus Warschau* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1956).
- Ripley, Ted, Sundell, Melissa and Townley, Suzanne, “‘Ein wunderbares Heute’: The Evolution and Functionalization of ‘Heimat’ in West German *Heimat* Films of the 1950s,” in Jost Hermand and James Steakley, eds, *Heimat, Nation, Fatherland: The German Sense of Belonging* (New York: Lang, 1995), 137-160.
- Ritter, Alexander, „Eine Skandalinszenierung ohne Skandalfolge: Zur Kontroverse um Alfred Andersch in den neunziger Jahren,“ in Stefan Neuhaus and Johann Holzner, eds, *Literatur als Skandal: Fälle – Funktionen – Folgen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 469-479.
- Ritter, Alexander, *Erläuterungen und Dokumente: Alfred Andersch, Sansibar oder der letzte Grund* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2003).
- Robertson, Ritchie, *The ‘Jewish Question’ in German Literature 1749-1939: Emancipation and its Discontents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Rohrbacher, Stefan, *Gewalt im Biedermeier: Antijüdische Ausschreitungen in Vormärz* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1993).
- Roller, Walter and Höschel, Susanne, eds, *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft, vol. 1: Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen 1930-1946* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1996).
- Roseman, Mark, “The Rescue of Memory: Reconstructing the Wartime Activities of an Anti-Nazi Group.” A lecture held in Oxford on February 22, 2011.
- Roseman, Mark, “Surviving Undetected: The ‘Bund,’ Rescue and Memory in Germany,” in Semelin et al., eds, *Resisting Genocide*, 465-479.
- Rosenberg, Alfred, *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* (München: Deutscher Volks-Verlag, 1920).
- Rosenfeld, Alvin H., “The Americanization of the Holocaust,” in idem, ed., *Thinking about the Holocaust After Half a Century* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 119-150.
- Rosenthal, Hans, *Zwei Leben in Deutschland* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Lübbe, 1980).
- Rosin, Heinrich, *Die Juden in der Medizin: Vortrag gehalten im Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur in Berlin* (Berlin: Philo Verlag, 1926).
- Rossow, Änne and Wiegmann, Ulrich, „Die Instrumentalisierung identitätsloser Opfer: Zum Platz jüdischer Geschichte und des Genozids an den deutschen und europäischen Juden in den Geschichtslehrplänen und –büchern der SBZ und der DDR 1946-1990,“ in Thomas Lange, ed., *Judentum und jüdische Geschichte im Schulunterricht nach 1945: Bestandsaufnahmen, Erfahrungen und Analysen aus*

- Deutschland, Österreich, Frankreich und Israel* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), 113-124.
- Rost, Nico, *Goethe in Dachau: Literatur und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt, 1948).
- Rothfels, Hans, *Die deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler: Eine Würdigung* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1958).
- Rothfels, Hans, *The German Opposition to Hitler: An Appraisal* (Hinsdale, Ill: H. Regnery, 1948).
- Rousset, David, *The Other Kingdom* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947).
- Rubin, Miri, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- Rudolf, Dr., *Nationalsozialismus und Rasse* (München: Verlag Franz Eher Nachf., 1932).
- Rühle, Günther, *Zeit und Theater: Von der Republik zur Diktatur, vol 2, 1925-1933* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1972).
- Runge, Irene and Neuss, Stephan, *Onkel Max ist jüdisch: Neun Gespräche mit Deutschen, die Juden halfen* (Berlin: Dietz, 1991).
- Sagi, Nana, *Wiedergutmachung für Israel: Die deutschen Zahlungen und Leistungen* (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1981).
- Salzborn, Samuel, "Geschichtspolitik in den Medien: Die Kontroverse über ein 'Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen'," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51: 12 (2003): 1120-1130.
- Sandvoß, Hans-Rainer, *Widerstand in einem Arbeiterbezirk (Wedding)* (Berlin: Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand, 1983).
- Sassin, Horst, „Ablehnung, Reserve, Stolz: Die Wahrnehmung Fritz Gräbes in seiner Heimatstadt Solingen 1945-2002,“ in Huneke, *In Deutschland unerwünscht*, 277-304.
- Schacter, Daniel L., *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).
- Schaser, Angelika, ed., *Erinnerungskartelle: Zur Konstruktion von Autobiographien nach 1945* (Bochum: Winkler Verlag, 2003).
- Scheffler, Wolfgang, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich 1933-1945* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1960).
- Schiewe, Jürgen, *Die Macht der Sprache: Eine Geschichte der Sprachkritik von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C. H. Beck, 1998).

Schildt, Axel, „Die Eltern auf der Anklagebank?: Zur Thematisierung der NS-Vergangenheit im Generationenkonflikt der bundesrepublikanischen 60er Jahre,“ in Christoph Cornelißen et al., eds, *Erinnerungskulturen: Deutschland, Italien und Japan seit 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), 317-332.

Schildt, Axel, „Ende der Ideologien? Politisch-ideologische Strömungen in den 50er Jahren,“ in Schildt and Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 625-635.

Schildt, Axel, „Von der Not der Jugend zur Teenage-Kultur: Aufwachsen in den 50er Jahren,“ in Schildt and Sywottek, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 335-348.

Schildt, Axel, *Zwischen Abendland und Amerika: Studien zur westdeutschen Ideenlandschaft der 50er Jahre* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999).

Schildt, Axel and Siegfried, Detlef, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte: Die Bundesrepublik – 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2009).

Schildt, Axel and Sywottek, Arnold, eds, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre* (Bonn: Dietz, 1998).

Schlant, Ernestine, *The Language of Silence: West German Literature and the Holocaust* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

Schleiermacher, Sabine, „Humanistisch, dem Menschen dienend, ist deshalb das Ethos des Arztberufes’: Die Beschreibung des Nationalsozialismus in ärztlichen Autobiographien in der DDR,“ in Schaser, ed., *Erinnerungskartelle*, 141-166.

Schlicher, Markus, „Ich stehe bei Ihnen, nicht ‚trotzdem’ Sie Jude sind, sondern ‚weil’ Sie es sind’: Der evangelische Pfarrer Dr. Hermann Maas,“ in Wette, ed., *Stille Helden*, 125-141.

Schlosser, Horst Dieter, *Es wird zwei Deutschlands geben: Zeitgeschichte und Sprache in Nachkriegsdeutschland, 1945-1949* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005).

Schmädke, Jürgen and Steinbach, Peter, eds, *Der Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus: Die deutsche Gesellschaft und der Widerstand gegen Hitler* (München: Piper, 1986).

Schmedding, Dieter, „‘Wer ein Menschenleben rettet...’: Randbemerkungen zu einer Fernseh-Dokumentation,“ *Tribüne: Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 11: 42 (1972): 4687-4692.

Schmalhausen, Bernd, *Bertold Beitz im Dritten Reich: Mensch in unmenschlicher Zeit* (Essen: P. Pomp, 1991).

Schmelzkopf, Christiane, *Zur Gestaltung jüdischer Figuren in der deutschsprachigen Literatur nach 1945* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1983).

Schmid, Harald, *Antifaschismus und Judenverfolgung: Die "Reichskristallnacht" als politischer Gedenktag in der DDR* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2004).

- Schmidt, Erich, *Lessing: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923).
- Schmiesing, Ann, "Lessing and the Third Reich," in Barbara Fischer and Thomas C. Fox, eds, *A Companion to the Works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing* (New York: Camden, 2005), 261-282.
- Schmitz, Helmut, ed., *A Nation of Victims? Representations of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007).
- Schmorak, Dov B., *Sieben sagen aus: Zeugen im Eichmann-Prozeß* (Berlin-Grunewald; Arani-Verlag, 1962).
- Schneider, Christof, *Nationalsozialismus als Thema im Programm des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks (1945-1948)* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999).
- Schneider, Michael, *Die „Goldhagen-Debatte“: Ein Historikerstreit in der Mediengesellschaft* (Bonn, 1997). <http://www.fes.de/fulltext/historiker/00144.htm>
- Schoenberner, Gerhard, *Der gelbe Stern: Judenverfolgung in Europa 1933-1945* (Hamburg, Rütten & Loening, 1960).
- Schoeps, Julius H., „Das Doppelgesicht der Aufklärung: Der Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn-Streit in der jüdischen Historiographie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts,“ in *Deutsch-jüdische Symbiose oder Die Mißglückte Emanzipation* (Berlin: Phlio, 1996), 253-269.
- Schoeps, Julius H., ed., *Ein Volk von Mördern? Die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen-Kontroverse um die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1996).
- Scholz, Hans, *Am grünen Strand der Spree* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1955).
- Schoß, Lisa, „Politik, Unterhaltung und Romantisierung: Juden und ‘Juden’ im DDR-Fernsehen,“ in Heikaus, ed., *Das war spitze!*, 115-125.
- Schulze, Winfried, ed., *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie: Eine Diskussion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).
- Schwartz, Barry, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- Schwartz, Barry, "Collective Forgetting and the Symbolic Power of Oneness: The Strange Apotheosis of Rosa Parks," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72: 2 (2009): 123-142.
- Schudt, Johann Jacob, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1714), vol 2.

Schuster, Armin, *Die Entnazifizierung in Hessen 1945-1954: Vergangenheitspolitik in der Nachkriegszeit* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 1999).

Scott, Joan W., "Experience," in Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, eds, *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 22-40.

Seibert, Peter, „Medienwechsel und Erinnerung in den späten 50er Jahren: Der Beginn der Visualisierung des Holocaust im westdeutschen Fernsehen,“ *Der Deutschunterricht* 5 (2001): 74-83.

Seidl, J., *Der Jude des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, oder Warum sind wir Antisemiten?* (München: Verlag von Rudolf Abt, 1900).

Semelin, Jacques et al., eds, *Resisting Genocide: The Multiple Forms of Rescue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

Sewell, William H., Jr., "The Concept(s) of Culture," *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 152-174.

Shandler, Jeffrey, *While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Shandley, Robert R., *Rubble Films: German Cinema in the Shadow of the Third Reich* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

Shavit, Zohar, *A Past Without a Shadow: The Construction of the Past Image in the "Story" for Children* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1999). [in Hebrew]

Siegfried, Detlef, "Don't Look Back in Anger: Youth, Pop Culture, and the Nazi Past," in Gassert and Steinweis, eds, *Coping with the Nazi Past*, 144-160.

Siegfried, Detlef, „Zwischen Aufarbeitung und Schlussstrich: Der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten 1958 bis 1969,“ in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds, *Dynamische Zeiten: Die 60er Jahre in den beiden deutschen Gesellschaften* (Hamburg: Christians, 2000), 77-113.

Silver, Eric, *Sie waren stille Helden: Frauen und Männer, die Juden vor den Nazis retteten* (München: Hanser Verlag, 1994).

Simsohn, Werner, ed., *Juden in Gera, III: Judenfeindschaft in der Zeitung. Leben, Leiden im NS-Staat, Folgen 1933-1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2000).

Singer, Jefferson A. and Conway, Martin A., "Should We Forget Forgetting?," *Memory Studies* 1: 3 (2008): 279-285.

Smith, Helmut Walser, "Anti-Semitic Violence as Reenactment: An Essay in Cultural History," *Rethinking History* 11: 3 (2007): 335-351.

Smith, Helmut Walser, "From Play to Act: Anti-Jewish Violence in German and European History during the Long Nineteenth-Century, in *The Continuities of German*

History: Nation, Religion, and Race Across the Long Nineteenth-Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 115-166.

Sofsky, Wolfgang, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1997).

Speer, Albert, *Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs* (London: Sphere Books, 1971).

„Unbesungene Helden: Tribüne-Interview mit Frau Gertrud Staewen,“ *Tribüne* 22: 87 (1983): 12-18.

Stauber, Roni, “Realpolitik and the Burden of the Past: Israeli Diplomacy and the ‘Other Germany’,” *Israel Studies* 8: 3 (2003): 100-122.

Stephenson, Jill, *Women in Nazi Germany* (Harlow, Pearson Education, 2001).

Steinbach, Peter, *Widerstand im Widerstreit: Der Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus in der Erinnerung der Deutschen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001).

Steinbach, Peter and Tuchel, Johannes, eds, *Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1994).

Steinberg, Jonathan, *Deutsche, Italiener und Juden: Der italienische Widerstand gegen den Holocaust* (Göttingen: Steidl, 1993).

Steinweis, Alan E., *Kristallnacht 1938* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

Stern, Frank, “Antagonistic Memories: The Post-War Survival and Alienation of Jews and Germans,” in Luisa Passerini, ed., *Memory and Totalitarianism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 21-43.

Stern, Frank, “German-Jewish Relations in the Postwar Period: The Ambiguities of Antisemitic and Philosemitic Discourse,” in Y. Michal Bodemann, ed., *Jews, Germans, Memory: Reconstructions of Jewish Life in Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 77-98.

Stern, Frank, “The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans, and Jews in Post-war Germany,” *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 19 (1990): 47-76.

Stern, Frank, “Real existierende Juden im DEFA-Film: Ein Kino der subversiven Widersprüche”, in Moshe Zuckermann, ed., *Zwischen Politik und Kultur: Juden in der DDR* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002), 141-156.

Stern, Frank, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992).

Stern, Frank, „Wolfschanze versus Auschwitz: Widerstand als deutsches Alibi?“, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 42: 7 (1994): 645-650.

Stern, Guy, "German-Jewish and German-Christian Writers: Cooperation in Exile," in Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg, eds, *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985), 150-163.

Stoltzfus, Nathan, "The Limits of Policy: Social Protection of Intermarried German Jews in Nazi Germany," in Gellately and Stoltzfus, eds, *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, 117-144.

Stötzel, Georg and Wengeler, Martin, eds, *Kontroverse Begriffe: Geschichte des öffentlichen Sprachgebrauchs in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995).

Szepensky, Gerda, *Frauen leisten Widerstand, 1933-1945: Lebensgeschichten nach Interviews und Dokumenten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983).

Tal, Uriel, *Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Third Reich: Selected Essays* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Thiele, Martina, *Publizistische Kontroversen über den Holocaust im Film* (Münster: LIT, 2001).

Tilly, Charles, "Do Unto Others," in *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), 45-67.

Timm, Angelika, „Der Eichmann-Prozeß – eine Zäsur für den Umgang mit der Schoah in der DDR,“ in Manfred Weißbecker et al., eds, *Rassismus, Fascismus, Antifaschismus: Forschungen und Betrachtungen, gewidmet Kurt Pätzold zum 70. Geburtstag* (Köln: PapyRossa Verlag, 2000), 340-356.

Timm, Angelika, *Hammer, Zirkel, Davidstern: Das gestörte Verhältnis der DDR zu Zionismus und Staat Israel* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1997).

Toch, Michael, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich* (München: Oldenbourg, 2003).

Trial of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1947-1952), vols. 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17.

Trimborn, Jürgen, *Riefenstahl: Eine deutsche Karriere* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2002).

Ueberschär, Gerd R., ed., *Der 20. Juli: Das „andere Deutschland“ in der Vergangenheitspolitik* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1998).

Ueberschär, Gerd R., ed., *Der Nationalsozialismus vor Gericht: Die alliierten Prozesse gegen Kriegsverbrecher und Soldaten, 1943-1952* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000).

Ueberschär, Gerd R., "Vorwort," in idem, ed., *Der 20. Juli*, 12-19.

- Ullrich, Christina, „*Ich fühl' mich nicht als Mörder*“: *Die Integration von NS-Tätern in die Nachkriegsgesellschaft* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2011).
- Van Alphen, Ernst, “Symptoms of Discursivity: Experience, Memory, and Trauma,” in Mieke Bal et al., eds, *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999), 24-38.
- Van Rahden, Till, “Clumsy Democrats: Moral Passions in the Federal Republic,” *German History* 29:3 (2011): 485-504.
- Van Roon, Ger, *Neuordnung im Widerstand: Der Kreisauer Kreis innerhalb der deutschen Widerstandsbewegung* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1967).
- Vaughan, Megan, “Culture,” in Ulinka Rublack, ed., *A Concise Companion to History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 227-245.
- Verband der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, *Antisemitismus in Westdeutschland: Judenfeinde und Judenmörder im Herrschaftsapparat der Bundesrepublik* (Verband der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der DDR, 1967).
- Virgili, Fabrice, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford: Berg, 2002).
- Volkman, Hans-Erich, ed., *Das Russlandbild im Dritten Reich* (Köln: Böhlau, 1994).
- Volkov, Shulamit, *Between Uniqueness and Assimilation: The German Jews 1780-1933* (Tel Aviv: The Open University, 2003). [in Hebrew]
- Volkov, Shulamit, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Vollnhals, Clemens and Schlemmer, Thomas, eds, *Entnazifizierung: Politische Säuberung und Rehabilitierung in den vier Besatzungszonen 1945-1949* (München: DTV, 1991).
- Von Brück, Karlheinz, *Im Namen der Menschlichkeit: Bürger gegen Hitler* (Berlin: Buchverlag Der Morgen, 1963).
- Von Kardorff, Ursula, *Berliner Aufzeichnungen 1942-1945*, Unter Verwendung der Original-Tagebücher neu herausgegeben und kommentiert von Peter Hartl (München: C.H. Beck, 1992).
- Von Le Fort, Gertrud, *Das fremde Kind: Erzählung* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1961).
- Von Miquel, Marc, *Ahnden oder amnestieren? Westdeutsche Justiz und Vergangenheitspolitik in den sechziger Jahren* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004).
- Von Salomon, Ernst, *Der Fragebogen* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1951).

- Von Schlabrendorff, Fabian, *Offiziere gegen Hitler* (Zürich: Europa, 1946).
- Von Schlabrendorff, Fabian, *Offiziere gegen Hitler* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1959).
- Von Wiese, Benno, *Lessing: Dichtung, Aesthetik, Philosophie* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1931).
- Walser, Martin, „Erfahrungen beim Verfassen einer Sonntagsrede,“ in Frank Schierrmacher, ed., *Die Walser-Bubis Debatte: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999), 11-12.
- Walter, Dirk, *Antisemitische Kriminalität und Gewalt: Judenfeindschaft in der Weimarer Republik* (Bonn: Dietz, 1999).
- Walter-Busch, Emil, „Entstehungszusammenhang und Ergebnisse von Manfred Wolfsons Retterstudie (1945–1975),“ in Kosmala and Claudia, eds, *Überleben im Untergrund*, 335-361.
- Wantzen, Paulheinz, *Das Leben im Krieg: Ein Tagebuch. Aufgezeichnet in der damaligen Gegenwart von Paulheinz Wantzen* (Bad Homburg: Das Dokument, 2000).
- Warner, Michael, „Publics and Counterpublics,“ *Public Culture* 14: 1 (2002): 49-90.
- Wassermann, Henry and Franz, Eckhart G., „„Kauft nicht beim Juden’: Der politische Antisemitismus des späten 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland,“ in Eckhart G. Franz, ed., *Juden als Darmstädter Bürger* (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1984), 123-136.
- Die Wehrmachtsberichte 1939-1945. Band 1* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1985).
- Weikart, Richard, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- Weikart, Richard, *Hitler's Ethic: The Nazi Pursuit of Evolutionary Progress* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Weingran, Karin, „Des Teufels General“ in der Diskussion: Zur Rezeption von Carl Zuckmayers Theaterstücks nach 1945 (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2004).
- Weisenborn, Günther, ed., *Der lautlose Aufstand: Bericht über die Widerstandsbewegung des deutschen Volkes 1933-1945* (Hamburg: Deutsche Hausbücherei, 1954).
- Weiss, Yfaat, „Projektionen vom ‚Weltjudentum‘ – Die Boykottbewegung der 1930er Jahre,“ in Dan Diner, ed., *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 26 (Tel Aviv: Universität Tel Aviv, 1997), 151-179.
- Weissberg, Liliane, „The Tale of a Good German: Reflections on the German Reception of Schindler's List,“ in Yosefa Loshitzky, Hg., *Spielberg's Holocaust*:

Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 171-192.

Weitz, Yechiam, "The Road to the 'Other Germany': David Ben-Gurion and his Relation to Germany, 1952-1960," in Anita Shapira, ed., *Independence: The First 50 Years* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1998), 245-266. [in Hebrew]

Welzer, Harald, „Krieg der Generationen: Zur Tradierung von NS-Vergangenheit und Krieg in deutschen Familien,“ in Neumann, ed., *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*, 552-571.

Welzer, Harald, *Täter: Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2005).

Wertsch, James V., *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Wette, Wolfram, „Die Bundeswehr im Bahne des Vorbildes Wehrmacht,“ in Bald et al., eds, *Mythos Wehrmacht*, 17-115.

Wette, Wolfram, „Ein ‚Mensch‘ in deutscher Uniform: Wilm Hosenfeld und ‚der Pianist‘,“ *Freiburger Rundbrief* 13: 1 (2006): 37-42.

Wette, Wolfram, ed., *Retter in Uniform: Handlungsspielräume im Vernichtungskrieg der Wehrmacht* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002).

Wette, Wolfram, ed., *Stille Helden: Judenretter im Dreiländereck während des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Freiburg: Herder, 2005).

Wette, Wolfram, ed., *Zivilcourage: Empörte, Helfer und Retter aus Wehrmacht, Polizei und SS* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003).

Wette, Wolfram et al., *Das letzte Tabu: NS-Militärjustiz und „Kriegsverrat“* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2007).

Wetzel, Juliana, „Anne Frank-Tagebuch,“ in Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Legenden, Lügen, Vorurteile: Ein Wörterbuch zur Zeitgeschichte* (München: DTV, 1992), 24-25.

Wiedemeyer, Rudolf, *Die entlarvten Judenfreunde: Geistiges Exerzierreglement für völkische Redner und kritische Hörer* (München: Deutscher Volksverlag, 1923).

Wieviorka, Annette, *The Era of the Witness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

Wildt, Michael, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung: Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919 bis 1939* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2007).

Wilke, Jürgen et al., *Holocaust und NS-Prozesse: Die Presseberichterstattung in Israel und Deutschland zwischen Aneignung und Abwehr* (Köln: Böhlau, 1995).

Williams, Jenny, *Mehr Leben als eins: Hans Fallada. Biographie* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2002).

Williams, Raymond, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

Wineburg, Sam, „Sinn machen: Wie Erinnerung zwischen den Generationen gebildet wird,“ in Harald Welzer, ed., *Das soziale Gedächtnis: Geschichte, Erinnerung, Tradierung* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition: 2001), 179-204.

Wirth, Günther, *Heinrich Grüber: Dona nobis pacem! Rettet das Leben!* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1987).

Witte, Karsten, „Film im Nationalsozialismus: Blendung und Überblendung,“ in Wolfgang Jacobsen et al., eds, *Geschichte des deutschen Films* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2004), 117-166.

Witte, Karsten, „Im Prinzip Hoffnung: Helmut Käutners Filme,“ in Wolfgang Jacobsen und Hans Helmut Prinzler, eds, *Käutner* (Berlin: Spiess, 1992), 62-109.

Wolfgram, Mark A., „The Holocaust through the Prism of East German Television: Collective Memory and Audience Perceptions,“ *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20: 1 (Spring 2006): 57-79.

Wolfgram, Mark A., „Rediscovering Narratives of German Resistance: Opposing the Nazi ‘Terror-State’,“ *Rethinking History* 10: 2 (June 2006): 201-219.

Wolfrum, Edgar, „Frankreich und der deutsche Widerstand gegen Hitler 1944-1964: Von der Aberkennung zur Anerkennung,“ in Ueberschär, ed., *Der 20. Juli*, 68-81.

Wolfrum, Edgar, *Die geglückte Demokratie: Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2006).

Wolfrum, Edgar, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Der Weg zur bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung, 1948-1990* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999).

Wolgast, Eike, *Die Wahrnehmung des Dritten Reiches in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit (1945/46)* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2001).

Wollasch, Hans-Josef, *Gertrud Luckner, „Botschafterin der Menschlichkeit“* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 2005).

Woods, Roger, „On Forgetting and Remembering: The New Right since German Unification,“ in Anne Fuchs, ed., *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film, and Discourse since 1990* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006), 271-286.

Wucher, Albert, *Eichmanns gab es viele: Ein Dokumentarbericht über die Endlösung der Judenfrage* (München: Droemersch Verlag, 1961).

Young, James E., *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).

Zahl, Peter-Paul, *Johann Georg Elser: Ein deutsches Drama* (Berlin: Rotbuch-Verlag, 1982).

Zander, Ulrike, „Christlicher Philosemitismus in Deutschland nach der Schoa,“ in Diekmann and Kotowski, eds, *Geliebter Feind – Gehasster Freund*, 487-507.

Zeiß-Horbach, Auguste, *Der Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus: Zum Verhältnis von Protestantismus und Judentum im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2008).

Zeller, Bernhard, ed., „*Als der Krieg zu Ende war*“: *Literarisch-politische Publizistik 1945-1950* (Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum Marbach a. N.) (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1973).

Zerna, Hertha, „Ich bin eine unbesungene Heldin oder Ballade vom kleinen Widerstand,“ in Sender Freies Berlin, ed., *Darauf kam die Gestapo nicht: Beiträge zum Widerstand im Rundfunk* (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 9-17.

Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von G. Zörner, *Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück* (Berlin: VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1973).

Moshe Zuckermann, ed., *Zwischen Politik und Kultur: Juden in der DDR* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002).

Zuckmayer, Carl, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir. Horen der Freundschaft* (Wien: S. Fischer Verlag, 1966).

Zuckmayer, Carl, *Des Teufels General: Drama in drei Akten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982).

Zur Geschichte der deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandsbewegung, 1933-1945: Ein Auswahl von Materialien, Berichten und Dokumenten (Berlin: Verlag des Ministeriums für Nationale Verteidigung, 1957).

Zur Nieden, Susanne, *Alltag im Ausnahmezustand: Frauentagebücher im zerstörten Deutschland 1943 bis 1945* (Berlin, Orlana Frauenverlag, 1993).

Zur Nieden, Susanne, *Unwürdige Opfer: Die Aberkennung von NS-Verfolgten in Berlin 1945-1949* (Berlin: Metropol, 2003).