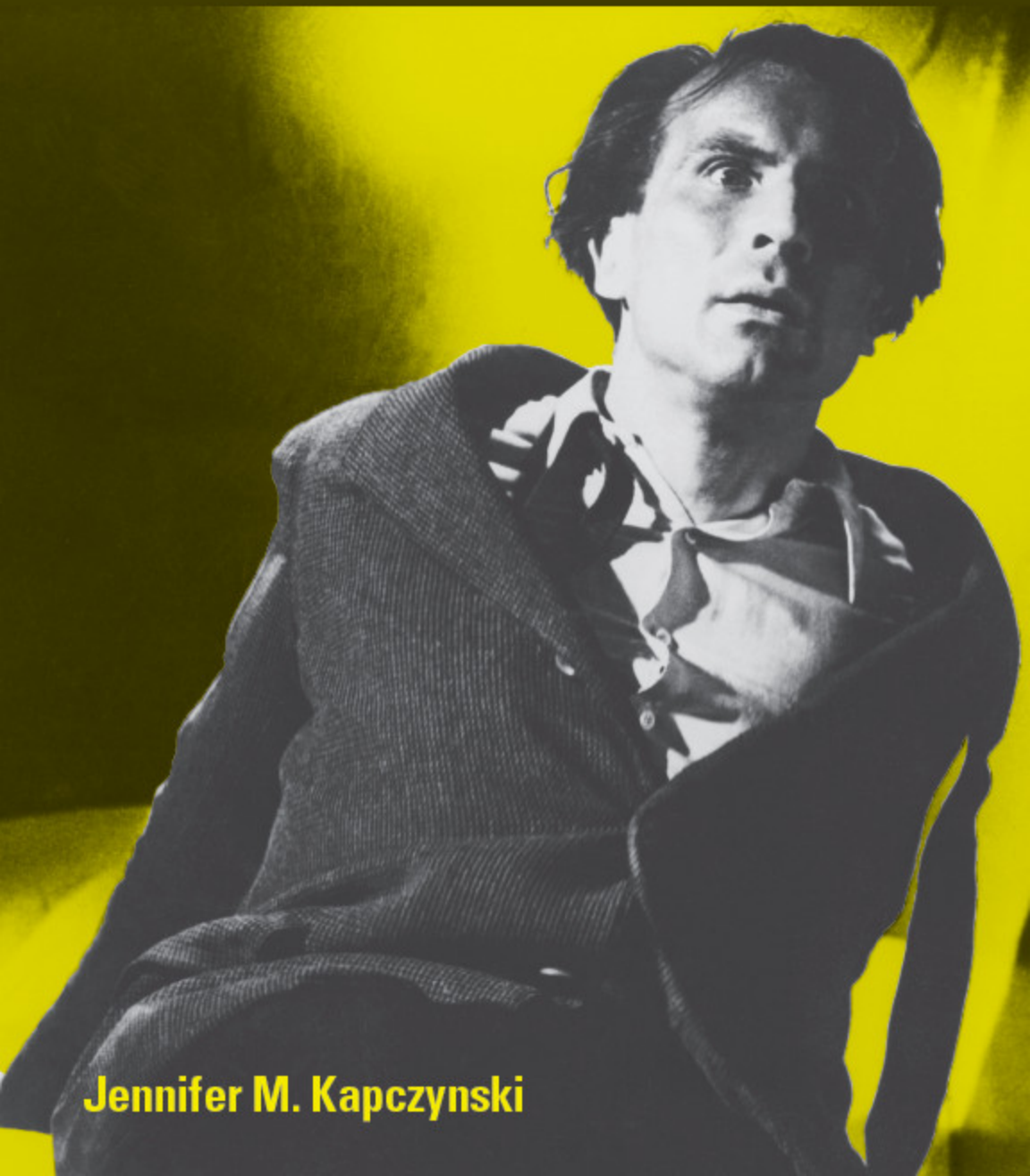
THE GERMAN PATIENT

Crisis and Recovery in Postwar Culture



Jennifer M. Kapczynski

The German Patient

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Jennifer M. Kapczynski

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For Daniel

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Contents

Introduction: Healing Postwar Germany

HE: . . . Think of an illness. A person has had typhoid fever, for eight weeks. He's survived. Now he is just lying there. The typhoid is gone. But he has neuritis, cold abscesses, he feels sick as a dog. He feels weaker than before. He can't eat, he can't sit up, he has bedsores, and he hurts all over. He cries. He's unrecognizable. But—he no longer has typhoid.

SHE: When I had typhoid, my hair fell out, and even some of my teeth.

HE: You see. You call that the post-illness phase, and a state of weakness. But it's just the same with the war. It began with flags and parades. It ended with gunshots and cannons, with drums and trumpets. The fever sank. And now comes the worst of it. It lingers on afterward.

—Alfred Döblin, "Sie hätten Chancen gehabt"

When the European theater of World War II came to a close on 8 May 1945, Germany faced the central question of how to recover from twelve years of physical, moral, and spiritual devastation. If the occupied nation had effectively ceased to exist as a political entity, its population was nevertheless almost immediately engaged in the process of rebuilding the country—reestablishing some semblance of a normalized, peacetime existence, restoring its bombed-out cities, and renewing cultural and intellectual life. Inevitably, artists and thinkers played a prominent role in these efforts. Seizing opportunities unavailable under the repressive censorship of National Socialist rule, German authors, journalists, filmmakers, and other intellectuals took up the challenge to produce a postwar art that could contribute to the process of collective rejuvenation. The result was a flourishing cultural life amid the ruins, with myriad newspapers, theater productions, public lectures, art exhibitions, and film screenings.

These postwar writers and artists were responding to an overwhelming sense of crisis, brought on by the ruin of German cities, the death of millions of civilians and soldiers, and the collapse of the Nazi state, as well as the horrific revelations of German atrocities—the blame for which the Allies squarely directed at the nation's citizens, with posters declaring "This is your fault." Historians, trying to trace the roots of the nation's current condition, referred to the National Socialist period as a "disaster" (*Unheil*) that had led to "catastrophe."[1] And as one cultural critic warned, if Germany did not find a way out of its present state of "spiritual agony" then "the cleverest attempts at saving and reviving" the country would come to naught: "[Germany] will be dead, will remain dead."[2] The discourse of crisis was so prevalent as to become fodder for satire: as one writer noted with some sarcasm, Germany's constant confrontation with death in recent years had given rise to an atmosphere of "general delight in crisis" (*allgemeine Krisenfreudigkeit*).[3] Postwar Germans shared a sense that the nation's very existence hung in the balance, and the texts that emerged from this period were marked by an intense preoccupation with the well-being of the nation and the possibilities for spiritual and physical renewal.

As this book explores, one of the key discourses circulating in post-1945 cultural production was that of the nation as a critically wounded body, a German Patient. Looking to address and ameliorate the country's condition after the fall of Hitler's regime, German thinkers claimed that the nation was suffering from the extended effects of fascism. Postwar writers and artists characterized Germany as ill and Nazism as a disease, formulating a diagnosis of the recent past and its roots, and prescribing various methods to achieve collective recuperation. In so doing, they drew upon a substantial national tradition of biopolitical metaphor. While the use of illness imagery has a long history within the broader Western tradition, from classical Greek ruminations on the "body politic" to Hobbes's *Leviathan,* post-1945 writers worked within a narrower field of reference. They took recourse to a long history of German confrontation with questions of national well-being—from fin de siècle accounts of Modernity as a contagious malaise to Weimar confrontations with the devastating psychological and physical, as well as economic, costs of world war. More important still, they were informed by National Socialist notions of a healthy *Volk* and its perceived enemies. Thus although the discourse of national health was not always fascist, after fascism it would forever bear the imprint of National Socialism's murderous pursuit of German well-being.

The corporeal metaphors promulgated during the twelve years of Hitler's regime provided the dominant framework for postwar German intellectuals discussing the health of the nation. The epigraph by Alfred Döblin, from a piece he wrote during a brief return from exile in the United States, affords just one such example of this medicalized discourse. Reversing a fascist understanding of health and illness, Döblin depicts the Nazi years as a time of infection and the postwar years as a recuperation phase. The nation, according to his analogy, now suffers from the aftereffects of a serious disease, albeit with some hope of recovery in sight, now that the "fever" of war has subsided.

This medico-national discourse arose at the same moment that intellectuals were debating the matter of responsibility for Nazi crimes, and it provided an alternative framework for understanding the German postwar condition: instead of collective guilt, it offered a model of collective illness. Countering the prevalent postwar language of shared culpability, introduced most famously by philosopher Karl Jaspers in his 1946 tract *The Question of Guilt,* the discourse of the German Patient proposed that Germany suffered from a severe "case" of fascism. Jaspers's work proved formative for West German official accounts of the past, and his concept of multiple-yet-collective responsibilities continues even today to set the tone for public discussions of the National Socialist period.[4] But it is the development of a parallel discourse—of German *illness,* rather than German guilt—that this project uncovers. Although scholarship has paid virtually no attention to this discussion of collective illness, the discourse of the German Patient served and continues to serve as an important model for understanding the origins and effects of fascism. Not least, it underpins the dominant psychological models still employed to explain Hitler's regime and its excesses, beginning in the 1930s with Wilhelm Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism,* continuing through Horkheimer and Adorno's investigations into the authoritarian personality, Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlichs' foundational 1960s study of postwar Germany's "inability to mourn," and Klaus Theweleit's seminal work on the libidinal investments of fascism in *Male Fantasies.* As such, an examination of the discussion of a diseased Germany affords a deepened understanding of conceptions of the nation after 1945 and through the present. This discourse bears with it a number of complex implications and proved, in the hands of intellectuals of the postwar period, highly mutable and often highly problematic.[5]

The title of this book plays deliberately upon Michael Ondaatje's 1992

novel *The English Patient,* inspired by their shared concern with the cataclysmic events and aftereffects of World War II. "'It is a strange time, the end of a war.' 'Yes. A period of adjustment.'"[6] Scarred figuratively and literally by years of violence, Hana, a war-weary nurse, and Caravaggio, a onetime thief and spy who has lost his thumbs in punishment for plying his trade, ponder the peculiar liminality that accompanies the conclusion of such a global conflict. The setting is an abandoned villa in a small Italian village during the waning days of the war. Hana has remained behind to tend to the "English Patient"—an anonymous figure whose badly burned body serves as the narrative center of Ondaatje's novel. Tracing the relationship between Hana and the three men who share the makeshift hospital—the English Patient, Caravaggio, and Hana's eventual lover, the sapper Kip—Ondaatje's novel explores the intricate intersections of personal longing and national conflagration, of the wounds inflicted upon individual bodies and the wholesale slaughter of civilian populations. Hana, who comforts the English Patient by reading to him, not only represents the nursemaid dedicated to restoring a devastated masculinity but also evokes the powerful palliative effects of art. The English Patient, who hovers between life and death in a morphine-induced cloud, embodies both the terrible costs of war and the larger moment of cultural crisis that accompanied World War II, with its massive military and civilian casualties and unparalleled atrocities.

This book focuses on a different "period of adjustment"—the tumultuous years in Germany following the collapse of National Socialism and the emergence of two new states—and traces the rise of another, figurative patient in that nation's postwar discourse. But the parallels to Ondaatje's work are close. Here, as in his work, the reader will find discussions of the wounded male body, the healing woman, and the potential power of art to cure collective ills, as well as the difficult terrain between guilt and suffering—all figured through the metaphor of a German Patient whose injuries and illnesses, according to postwar thinkers, might serve to map the etiology of National Socialism and point the way toward postwar recovery.

Health Crisis

An illustration from 1947, published in the journal *Der Ruf,* captures the complex interweaving of German suffering, loss of sovereignty, and the overarching sense of collective trauma that characterized the postwar

Fig. 1. The gravely wounded nation struggles for survival. (Caricature by Henri Meyer-Brockmann. Reprinted from *Der Ruf*.)

years[7] (fig. 1). The image is startlingly brutal. Germany appears as a mutilated man, all but one limb severed, who struggles to master the art of writing with his remaining foot. The caption reads: "Germany's signature: will I learn it in time?" Published in the spring of 1947, the piece probably comments on the conference of Allied and Soviet authorities concerning the future of Germany, which took place in Moscow in March and April of that year. Negotiations failed after the governments could not reach an accord about ending the occupation or reunifying the nation. The disagreement solidified the decision to establish two German republics, and shortly thereafter, West Germany was founded.[8] The illustrator for *Der Ruf* renders the division as butchery, suggesting that the Allies are carving the nation apart. The truncated torso invokes Germans' inability to decide their political fate: having lost both arms, the country has also lost the power of inscription and so is quite literally unable to represent itself.

The drawing shows a nation poised on the brink of disaster, even death. Germany appears as a body in crisis, in the truest medical sense of the word. Deriving from the Greek word κρίσις, meaning discrimination or decision, *crisis* has long signified a real or figurative tipping point in the health of a subject:

1. *Pathol.* The point in the progress of a disease when an important development or change takes place which is decisive of recovery or death; the turning-point of a disease for better or worse; also applied to any marked or sudden variation occurring in the progress of a disease and to the phenomena accompanying it.
2. *Astrol.* Said of a conjunction of the planets which determines the issue of a disease or critical point in the course of events. (Cf. CRITICAL 4.)
3. *transf.* and *fig.* A vitally important or decisive stage in the progress of anything; a turning-point; also, a state of affairs in which a decisive change for better or worse is imminent; now applied *esp.* to times of difficulty, insecurity, and suspense in politics or commerce.[9]

Pathological, astrological—to speak of crisis is to speak of illness and to search for signs of a coming cure or decline. It annunciates a determining moment, when life hangs in the balance between "recovery or death." When applied to a state, crisis becomes a biopolitical metaphor, presuming a collective social body that is sick and in need of care. In the words of Reinhart Koselleck, "the medical usage of crisis stands above all others as godfather to further applications. In advancing the concept 'crisis,' the medical usage advanced as well the concept of the nation-state as a metaphorical corpus, . . . diagnosing [its] sickness or health, by pronouncing upon its prospects for life or death."[10]

The multivalence of corporeal metaphor renders it a particularly powerful tool for articulating the relative health or illness of a nation. As historian Antoine de Baecque has commented with regard to the use of such imagery in revolutionary France, "The 'body' is truly a pivotal word: it can deal with the political, social, and cultural organization of the ancient régime while telling of itself anew and fashioning a narrative of its own origins, of its 'coming into the world.'"[11] Joining together both the old regime and the new one emerging in its place, representations of the national body have the capacity to express dual states, describing simultaneously the death and regeneration of a political entity.[12] Like the concept of crisis, it captures a moment of being and becoming, presenting a "national body" that may live, fall ill, recover, or die. Considered in this light, the full complexity of the *Ruf* image reveals itself—as a sign of the simultaneous death and survival of the nation. The caricature suggests that it is too soon to tell how this story will end, whether Deutschland will survive

the blows. Germany's wounds appear to be fresh: the dark lines along the right side of the image imply that blood continues to flow from the site of amputation, and the absence of scars or any covering bandage hint that the limbs were recently severed. Yet despite its grave injuries, the political body lives on. The artist gives symbolic shape both to the shared national trauma of the war, which has left Germany literally "in pieces," and to the collective struggle to recover and reestablish a healthy state. In a similar fashion, the *Volkskörper* invoked in postwar cultural production finds itself both at death's door and beginning to regenerate, as though to say Germany is dead! Long live Germany! The discourse of the German Patient not only articulates the decline of the nation but also marks the moment of its rebirth.

Etiology

Disease metaphors have enjoyed widespread appeal in a variety of contexts. In her classic study *Purity and Danger,* anthropologist Mary Douglas argues that, in cultural "dialogue(s) of claims and counter-claims to status,"[13] all cultures share "pollution beliefs" and "reflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness, life to death."[14] She identifies a universal tendency to define filth—the clean and the unclean, the healthy and the sick—as a means to establish the cultural rules of inclusion and exclusion, belonging and otherness. Along similar lines, historian of medicine Georges Canguillehem notes that notions of health and illness have long been contingent upon their cultural and historical contexts.[15] Or as fellow medical historian Roy Porter frames it, "the boundaries [of the realms of the mind and body] are subject to negotiation via particular systems of values, judgements, and duties," and "what might facilely be taken as fixed biological facts about the body are in fact historically and culturally constructed."[16]

In *Illness as Metaphor,* Susan Sontag asserts that the application of disease metaphors to political states has a venerable history in philosophical circles reaching back to Plato: "The classical formulations . . . presuppose the classical medical (and political) idea of balance. Illness comes from imbalance. Treatment is aimed at restoring the right balance—in political terms, the right hierarchy."[17] These loaded tropes develop as follows, according to Sontag:

> The subjects of deepest dread (corruption, decay, pollution, anomie, weakness) are identified with the disease. The disease itself becomes a metaphor. Then, in the name of the disease (that is, using it as a metaphor), that horror is imposed on other things. The disease becomes adjectival. . . . Feelings of evil are projected onto a disease. And the disease (so enriched with meanings) is projected onto the world.[18]

These metaphors are no less popular today, as when commentators talk about cutting out the cancer of terrorism (sometimes by means of so-called surgical strikes), or refer to the Italian economy as the "sick man" of Europe.[19]

But this work does not aim to trace the arc of illness metaphors in the Western political tradition. Rather, it makes the case for understanding the postwar German discourse of national illness within its specific historical and cultural framework. For despite insights by Sontag, Douglas, and others about the almost universal application of ideas of health and purity in discussions of social order, an analysis of illness metaphors in postwar culture demands an attention to the particularities of German discourses of social hygiene and the national body. Following on the heels of a fascist movement that, more than any other, defined itself in terms of collective health and illness, post-1945 cultural arbiters were not simply alluding to the larger intellectual tradition of corporeal metaphor but rather working within the tighter circle of reference provided by the period of National Socialist rule and the intellectual traditions that had preceded it. Thus while it is clear that postwar writers may be understood within a much larger, international and panhistorical intellectual tradition, this book takes the position that they were influenced far more by explicitly local, contemporary sources.

German conceptions of the nation as an organic entity go back at least as far as the Enlightenment period,[20] as "notions of a homology between the functioning of the human and the political body shaped the phantasm" of the *Volkskörper* or national body.[21] They gained new meaning following German unification in 1871, as the imperatives of national integration found ready expression in the concept of the healthy social organism.[22] By the turn of the twentieth century, corporeal metaphors had achieved new heights of social and political importance, as modernization brought with it a new body politics. From the fin de siècle onward, German intellectuals began to question what now constituted the "social body"—in an age widely recognized for having brought with it increasing alienation

and fragmentation. In 1892, philosopher and physician Max Nordau, seeking to express the decline of civilization brought on by, as he perceived it, the fracturing effects of contemporary culture, coined the term *Entartung,* or "degeneracy."[23] Thomas Mann seized upon this notion of societal decay and penned a series of works focusing on enfeebled modern characters, from the eponymous hero of *Little Herr Friedemann* (1898), deformed by a fall he suffered as a child, to the ailing clan immortalized in his novel *Buddenbrooks: Decline of a Family* (1901), destroyed in the end by a single bad tooth. A few years later, in 1913, Mann would begin writing his novel *The Magic Mountain* (published in 1924), detailing the tubercular life of Hans Castorp but telling a larger story about the malaise of modern existence.

Nordau, Mann, and other cultural pessimists were responding to real and deep changes in German social, cultural, political, and economic relations. Rapid industrialization, explosive population growth, and increased mobility gave rise to the modern metropolis, creating cityscapes in which people lived and worked together more closely and yet more anonymously than ever before. Technologies of transportation and communication, including train travel and the development of the telegraph and telephone, resulted in an increasingly networked society that allowed individuals to move and interact at previously unknown speeds and distances. These new systems gave rise to a startling degree of interconnectivity but also induced disorientation and dislocation, reshaping experiences of space and distance. The modern media, particularly the cinema and illustrated magazines, gave visual expression to these emergent cultural changes, presenting their audiences with a perceptible evolution of the modern world.

Efforts to identify the root causes of Germany's varied modern ailments frequently fed into exclusive notions of the national body, as "unhealthy" elements were singled out while the "well" were privileged. As Konrad Jarausch and Michael Geyer have argued, "with the rise of biopolitics after the turn of the century [the] emphasis on state, power, and authority increasingly identified Germanness with the male gender and the Aryan race, thereby justifying the expulsion from the national community of all those who did not fit these preconceptions."[24] The case of German anti-Semitism makes this particularly clear. Political anti-Semitism, while long a feature of German culture, had risen markedly following the stock market crash of 1873 and soon thereafter entered the sphere of scientific inquiry—particularly as the fascination with Darwinism brought increased attention to questions of race and heredity. Anti-Semitic attitudes served a formative role not only in certain branches of the emergent field

of eugenics[25] but also in such fields as psychology, informing anxieties about modern nervousness[26] and later seeping into the debates over war trauma.[27]

The rise of industrialization further brought with it a host of very real medical concerns. Germany had alarmingly high rates of mortality, particularly among infants, that were often attributable to poverty and industrial working conditions.[28] Medicine took the forefront in the ensuing campaigns to improve national health. In the 1880s, Bismarck's government had introduced various forms of health insurance, including accident insurance and pension benefits, which profoundly shaped the public understanding of state responsibility for social welfare and inaugurated the elevation of the medical practitioner to the status of national physician. At the same time, developments in Darwinian science aroused increased interest in the idea of controlled reproduction and helped foster the modern eugenics movement,[29] while modern criminologists increasingly sought the biological basis for criminal behavior, thereby linking the intimate sphere of the body with the interests of national administration and control.[30] Perhaps most important, in 1882 Robert Koch discovered the tuberculosis bacillus, provoking a new awareness of hidden biological threats, prompting changes in attitudes toward social hygiene, and inaugurating the "aetiological period."[31] These changes had important implications not only for health policy but also for foreign policy. Laura Otis has shown that German medical research historically has often matched national political aims, so that "imperialism and bacteriology coincide[d] to a remarkable degree."[32] As she writes: "In the microbial age, scientists assumed the heroic role of soldiers, the creators and the defenders of empires."[33] The fight against invasive disease merged with the struggle to define, and even expand, the borders of the nation. This confluence took a very public form in the era's numerous hygiene exhibits, which introduced large bourgeois audiences to the latest developments in social and racial hygiene, often alongside exhibits promoting German colonialist aims.[34]

No less significant were the developments in theories of the psyche. In 1881, U.S. physician and neurologist George Beard published *American Nervousness,* and although Beard claimed a special national proclivity to nervousness, his notion of neurasthenia soon caught on in Europe, where scientists began identifying a "modern epidemic of nervous disorders" that required "collective therapeutic measure[s]."[35] This "culture of nervousness" prompted medical specialists as well as cultural critics to seek new ways to train the will and overcome the psychic passivity seen to underlie

it,[36] giving rise, in the words of Michael Cowan, to a "new 'motivational' paradigm of mental training specific to the modern life . . . designed to . . . overcome a particularly modern fear and succeed in an insecure world."[37] As Hans-Georg Hofer has argued, while debates over the root causes of neurasthenia raged, the discourse of neurasthenia was from its inception a form of cultural analysis, concentrating on the social and economic sources of modern psychic disturbances.[38] This sense of a collective cultural crisis in mental health also prompted interventions in the field of literature, providing the impetus in Germany for the Vitalist and Expressionist movements, which proffered aesthetic means to "cure" the abulic state of modern culture.[39]

While the discourse of modern nervousness was not an exclusively German phenomenon, it nevertheless became bound up with questions of German national well-being. It may be traced as far back as the "pension hysteria" debates that followed the introduction of Bismarck's accident insurance plan in 1884. The program classified posttraumatic neuroses as conditions meriting compensation, prompting widespread concern over the economic impact of the program and fueling a discourse about the purportedly destructive impact of "pension addiction" on German economic and military power.[40] As Paul Lerner has shown, this led some in the medical community to privilege the alternative, nonactionable diagnosis of pension "hysteria" (vs. trauma)—a distinction that would come to dominate the discussions of shell shock during World War I and was important for the manner in which it located the source of the psychic disturbance in the patient's body rather than the traumatic event.[41] Further, the general sense that Germany suffered from a collective inadequacy of will led numerous artists, intellectuals, and physicians to embrace the coming war as a force that might herald an era of renewed vigor—as a form of national psychic therapy.[42] Joachim Radkau has even argued that the discourse of neurasthenia formed the precondition for World War I, as the marshaling of a hardened militarized masculinity came to seem the ideal antidote to Germany's weak will.[43]

Initially framed as a "war of nerves" that Germany and Austria were assured to win, World War I soon transformed into a war of *nervousness,* and as the conflict became mired in the ugly realities of trench combat, optimistic predictions that the war would have a therapeutic effect were soon quieted.[44] The advent of industrialized warfare not only caused an unprecedented number of deaths and devastating physical injuries, but also new levels of psychic trauma, as thousands of mobilized men succumbed

to the mental toll of the war—most infamously, through a grotesque loss of muscle control that earned the group the moniker *Kriegszitterer* or "war tremblers." No longer seen as an antidote to hysteria, the war now prompted a "war on hysteria," as Paul Lerner has written, with the medical community intervening to cure these suffering soldiers and restore their productivity for the nation.[45]

Concerns about the psychological impact of war gave rise to reflections about the impact of psychology *on* war. Wolfgang Schivelbusch has demonstrated that psychological contagion was perceived as a threat to the war effort. Thus General Wilhelm Groener, fearing the spread of defeatism, proposed cordoning off the front line and home front, and recommended using "'inoculators' ('loyal and skilled officers to immunize the troops against the spirit of revolution')" to sustain morale.[46] Schivelbusch links this fear of contagion to contemporary bacteriological discourses, which he argues provided an appropriately modern framework with which to understand the nation's systemic weaknesses.[47] During the Weimar period, this logic of psychological threat would feed directly into the propagation of the *Dolchstoß* or "stab in the back" myth. Taking Siegfried's murder in the Nibelungen saga as a parable for the German defeat, conservative defenders of the German military argued that disloyal forces back at the home front had betrayed the nation by literally and psychically sabotaging the war effort. The medieval hero's broken body served as a potent symbol for the dangers of present-day antimilitarism while feeding further fears about the nation's physical vulnerability.

When hostilities finally concluded, Germans faced an unprecedented confrontation with real corporeal frailty, in the form of returning soldiers whose bodies bore the mutilating scars of gas attacks and mechanized weapons of war. At the same time, critics of the Treaty of Versailles cast the terms of the German surrender as a grave national wound.[48] Far from allaying the sense of cultural catastrophe that preceded it, the war served only to confirm the suspicion that Germany's health was threatened by a collective malady. *Crisis* became the word of the hour. Indeed, Peter Fritsche has remarked that the words *Weimar* and *crisis* have become all but synonymous.[49] Between 1919 and 1933, German presses published no fewer than 370 texts with titles featuring the word *Krise.* The term's prevalence even prompted a few satirical riffs. So, for example, the Berlin newspaper *B.Z. am Mittag* proposed a new form of urban tourism that would visit the sites of the "Metropolis in Crisis," including social service offices, bankrupted businesses, and political gatherings.[50] This pessimism was per-

haps best captured by Oswald Spengler, whose two-volume study *The Decline of the West,* published between 1918 and 1922, foretold the death of Western civilization.

This is not to say that the Weimar discourse of crisis was devoid of hope: in fact, numerous intellectuals saw Germany's postwar dilemmas as a watershed moment, in which the nation, while hovering on the brink of disaster, faced a crucial opportunity to enact far-reaching change.[51] As Moritz Föllmer, Rüdiger Graf, and Per Leo point out, Weimar thinkers expressed "not only a pessimism regarding the threat to the old order, but also, optimistically, a chance for renewal."[52] If the interwar years were fraught with anxieties about the state of the nation's political, social, and moral health, they were also marked by a sense of expectation in which recovery seemed possible and thinkers actively sought cures. This was true on both ends of the German political spectrum, as the Left and Right contested fiercely for the right to heal the nation's civic ills.[53] It was a mood that would reappear after 1945, when writers and artists grappled with competing feelings of hope and despair as they faced the task of healing the nation.

The interwar emphasis on crisis—cultural, legal, governmental, and scientific—brought with it an increased interest in notions of national health. Prognostications varied, and the period was remarkable for the variety of "cures" proffered. The biological sciences, and eugenics in particular, appeared particularly well primed to treat an ailing nation. In the words of Paul Weindling, "At a time when Spengler's categories of organic destiny gripped the imagination of the scientific community, biologists offered creeds of national regeneration, combining the scientific with resonating categories of nature, life, and the race."[54] Taking on Germany's postwar economic ills, meanwhile, the business community bemoaned the nation's weakened state but also predicted that appropriate interventions would bring about regeneration and the return of health to the national body or *Volkskörper.*[55] German civil servants were more pessimistic, giving dire warnings about the "life crisis" threatening the German people but suggesting little by way of remedy.[56] Ultraconservative political forces, most notably members of the protofascist militant Freicorps, fueled their aggressive nationalist campaign to "protect" Germany with a host of racist and sexist fantasies about threats of venereal disease, hereditary degeneration, and sexual dissolution.[57] Later National Socialist writers embraced the state of crisis, proclaiming the necessity of a period of upheaval but promising that a German "rebirth" would follow—led, of course, by the

movement's followers.[58] This was coupled with darker messages about "parasites" weakening the *Volk* that suggested the restorative powers of fascism alone were inadequate to effect national healing and that paved the way for the regime's repressive and racist policies.

The German preoccupation with national health reached its peak in the 1930s with the rise of National Socialism. Perhaps more than any other political system, the Nazi state emphasized biological purity as a national value, transforming "natural heredity into a political task."[59] Hitler rose to power on claims that German culture was in a state of decline, promising a program of political, spiritual, and physical renewal. This was not a new notion in and of itself, but rather the darkest iteration of a larger cultural impulse to view the nation as an entity requiring biopolitical intervention. Paul Weindling describes the long history of "organicist values" in German culture, which cut through such diverse fields as industry (in discourses on rationalization) and the medical sciences, particularly eugenics.[60] As Weindling demonstrates, eugenics, although today frequently associated exclusively with conservative and nationalist politics, represented a highly international field in the 1920s that appealed to scholars and researchers across the political spectrum.[61] The result was a field divided into two camps, between liberals who supported the Weimar system of social reform and conservative opponents of the welfare state, who favored measures such as sterilization as a means to improve the nation's genetic makeup.[62] Just as "crisis" proved a fruitful conceptual framework for both the Left and the Right, notions of collective health remained strikingly malleable—available for use by both progressive and conservative causes alike. Only after the National Socialist rise to dominance in the 1930s did eugenics become closely aligned with racial ideology, as scientists opportunistically looked to the regime to support their work, and the regime itself began promoting its radical program for "public health."[63]

If Hitler's emphasis upon national health was not novel, the means by which he proposed to cure the nation were. To wit, the regime promoted a shared "will to health." As Robert Proctor has remarked, Nazism came to be viewed by a great many Germans as "a great and radical surgery or cleansing,"[64] "a vast hygienic experiment designed to bring about an exclusionist sanitary utopia."[65] On the one hand, National Socialism aimed to instill in the population a sense that health—understood as physical, mental, and racial—constituted a civic responsibility. As one antitobacco campaigner proclaimed, "We have the duty, if necessary to die for the Fatherland; why should we not also have the duty to be healthy? Has the Führer

not explicitly demanded this?"[66] Numerous public health campaigns encouraged Germans to engage in self-preservation and cultivation, whether through early cancer screening, participation in sports, adherence to a healthy diet, or abstention from smoking, as well as through the selection of an appropriate mate (which was to serve the dual aims of combatting population decline and improving the nation's genetics).[67] This represented one strand of the larger Nazi emphasis on hierarchical collectivism, in which each individual citizen attained meaning through absorption into the larger body of the nation and subjection to the will of its leader. Through the work of the individual to attain and maintain health, the logic went, the nation would prosper.

On the other hand, the National Socialist program insisted that the nation could only return to health if these restorative measures were coupled with the systematic extirpation of all "degenerate" elements—whether construed as political opposition, Jews, homosexuals, the mentally ill, or other "deviant" groups. Throughout, the regime attempted to exercise absolute control over the body and the bodies of the nation, through the brutal administration of the population and through a medical rhetoric (characterized by Klaus Theweleit as a form of oratorical therapy designed to close around "open wounds") that reduced the world to two factions, the healthy and the sick.[68]

Through the Nazi policy of *Gleichschaltung* the regime worked to coordinate all aspects of cultural, political, and scientific production by purging political dissenters from the ranks of Germany's major institutions and promoting loyalists who would further a National Socialist agenda. At the same time, the Nuremberg race laws institutionalized anti-Semitism, claiming to "protect German blood" by outlawing both intermarriage and extramarital sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. Hitler's *Mein Kampf,* which redounds with odious fantasies about the Jewish plot to "poison" and "bastardize" the "white race," and the Aryan destiny to "conquer" and "subjugate" "lower beings," illustrates with ghastly clarity the regime's complementary mission to elevate Germany through conquest and elimination of its enemies. While this discourse paved the way for Germany aggression, squarely placing the blame for the war on the "international Jewish conspiracy," as Jeffrey Herf has pointed out, the rhetoric of poison and infestation also prepared the groundwork for genocide, labeling the nation's enemies, and particularly the Jews, as insidious, inhuman foes that must be annihilated if Germany was to be saved.[69] All of this was orchestrated in the name of promoting a folk movement that, as Konrad H. Jarausch and

Michael Geyer note, could not properly be termed a national revolution, since it "covered up an unparalleled destruction of diversity."[70]

Under National Socialism, metaphors of national health and illness achieved the level of myth. Taken to the extreme, these turns of speech no longer served the purpose of analogy but became the very things to which they referred. As Linda Schulte-Sasse explains, abstract threats to the National Socialist body politic (e.g., money, or the "international," including Jews and other foreign "infiltrators") were identified and then fixed onto a specific figure or body, and in the process rendered legible.[71] The *Volkskörper* was understood to be just that: a national body that required the same sorts of care and supervision as a living entity. Jews and Communists, according to the same dangerous logic, were not *like* parasites, they *were* parasites. The Soviets *were* an Asiatic horde threatening to overrun the country from the east. Americans *were* corpulent capitalists, ruled by an international Jewish conspiracy. And the Aryan body *was* the pure source of the German race. In order to protect the health of that body—and the national body for which the Aryan body itself stood in—National Socialism demanded a campaign to root out any and all elements endangering its well-being.[72]

German propaganda played a central role in disseminating the regime's message regarding the supposed Jewish threat and the need for renewed German vigor. Headed by Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Propaganda Ministry produced an array of materials designed to sway the opinions of the German population and engage the populace in the pursuit of national health. Reich press chief Otto Dietrich played a particularly important role as the central administrator for the German print media, promoting official positions through thousands of secret "Word of the Day" press directives.[73] More broadly, the propaganda ministry worked to construct an "orchestral" iteration of National Socialist policy, with each element of the vast array of government-controlled outlets—whether print media, newsreels, propaganda, or entertainment cinema—contributing.[74] Hitler's opponents were quick to recognize the importance of propaganda in the broader Nazi campaign of aggression. Thus exiled Communist publisher Willi Münzenberg argued in 1937 that "in order to confront the pressing threat of war, it is not enough to confront Hitler's rearmament with a similarly great arms program, rather we must meet the warmongers in the arena in which they have already begun to wage war—on the battlefield of propaganda."[75]

Some National Socialist propaganda made implicit appeals encourag-

ing development of the *Volkskörper,* foregrounding the robust features of select Germans, like Hitler Youth tracts filled with ruddy-cheeked boys touting the athletic activities of the organization,[76] or Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia* (1938), a two-part cinematic paean to the beauties of the national body. Other works of propaganda directly addressed national health, like the putatively "informational" materials contrasting "pure" Aryan features with the "degenerate" countenances of criminals and the insane,[77] or those sloganeering posters that characterized the Jew as "parasite" or the Slav as subhuman *Untermensch.* Robert Proctor has detailed the processes by which "medical imagery was commonly used to dehumanize raciopolitical undesirables," by means of a host of disease metaphors, for example, in rhetoric that represented the Jews as tumors, bacilli, fungoid growths, and even cancer attacking the National Socialist body politic.[78] The film industry, closely controlled by the Propaganda Ministry, furthered the notion of the collective struggle against disease by producing a series of biographical works celebrating German physicians, among them *Paracelsus* (G. W. Pabst, 1943) and *Robert Koch: Der Bekämpfer des Todes* (Robert Koch: Combatter of Death, directed by Hans Steinhoff in 1939, and starring legendary stage and screen actor Emil Jannings).[79] National Socialist propaganda also made direct demands on physicians, urging them to view their role as "doctor of the nation,"[80] while hailing Hitler as a sort of "head physician" overseeing the biological and political health of the *Volk.*[81] As a result, the language of medicine under the Third Reich became, in Proctor's words, "saturated with political ideology—sometimes consciously and deliberately, sometimes not."[82] It was characterized by a rhetoric of "solution" that, like the infamous "Final Solution," suggested that aggressive biopolitical intervention could solve the nation's health problems—whether real, as with cancer, or imagined, as with the "Jewish Problem."[83]

In practice, the Nazi program to purify the *Volkskörper* had devastating consequences. In the course of the war against the nation's internal and external enemies, millions of German and European citizens were deprived of their liberty and lives, forced into ghettos, labor camps, and concentration camps. Millions of Jews, along with thousands of Gypsies, Communists, homosexuals, and religious opponents to the regime, perished in the death camps, some in the course of notorious medical experiments that made clear the extent to which the regime had reduced their bodies to pure material. Thousands of German citizens deemed "unfit" were sterilized or murdered through the medically administered "euthanasia" program for

the physically or mentally "degenerate." Throughout, the German industrial, academic, scientific, and medical communities played an integral role in supporting, justifying, and carrying out the Nazi genocide.

Thus the spirit of *allgemeine Krisenfreudigkeit* characterizing post-1945 culture was born not simply out of the immediate crisis brought about by the collapse of German civil society. Rather, it represented the continuation of a longer sense of national emergency and its attendant discourse of national illness—carried over from the Weimar years but made even more poignant with the destruction wrought by the war and Nazism. Not only did it lead to the near-total devastation of German cities, with millions of civilian and military dead, but the "national master narrative lost much of its intellectual credibility as well as its moral authority."[84] In a culture consumed by a sense of collective catastrophe and guilt, the figure of the doctor assumed a paramount and paradoxical symbolic importance—for while the physician came to represent some of the Nazi regime's most egregious crimes, he also appeared as a prospective healer.[85] In postwar Germany, it was the physician, rather than the statesman, who appeared poised to repair the damage caused by Hitler's regime. Just who might serve as a "doctor" to the nation, of course, remained open for debate: predictably, those same intellectuals who attempted to diagnose the nation's ills also positioned themselves as purveyors of a likely cure. Framing fascism as the disease that had brought about Germany's ruin, they offered "antidotes" by way of art, philosophy, and literature.

Recovery

Despite its dire overtones, the postwar discourse of collective crisis functioned as more than simply a means to bemoan the country's weakened state. For although many of the texts analyzed in these pages detailed the woeful condition of German culture after Nazi rule, they also promised hope for recovery. Even the most pessimistic voices suggested that Germany could rise from the "dead," while more optimistic accounts projected full recuperation. These diagnoses may have been skeptical about the prognosis for survival, but the moment of their utterance also marked the beginning of medical intervention—that point at which the disease was recognized, and treatment and recovery could commence. In this spirit, postwar intellectuals cast the National Socialist years as part of Germany's medical *history* and proposed a variety of cures for the future state.

First and foremost in their analyses, the cultural arbiters of the postwar period believed a renewed art scene would reawaken German public life after twelve years of repression. They saw their work as crucial in the process of writing the narrative of the German wartime and postwar experience. For the writers and artists who framed Germany as a patient in need of a cure, it was important to distinguish National Socialism from the nation. If fascism was the disease, German society was the infected body. Although the laden term *Volkskörper* disappeared from postwar public discourse, the concept persisted through such cultural constructions of the *Volk* as a single, sickly entity.[86] Through tales of shared suffering, postwar intellectuals imagined, art would contribute to the reconstruction of national identity. In opposition to the rhetoric of health and wholeness espoused by the Nazi regime, these thinkers employed a discourse of illness that encouraged an identification with Germanness through a sense of collective trauma and recovery. The post-1945 vision of the German national community departed from the fascist vision of a healthy *Volkskörper,* positing instead a nation bound together by a shared ailment, a "kingdom of the sick."[87]

Yet this vision of the nation, which suggested that Germany's collective illness was temporary and curable, also perpetuated the very language of degeneracy and disease employed so effectively by the Nazi regime. These postwar framings of the German Patient relied upon a biopolitical vocabulary that, like many National Socialist texts, imagined the body of the *Volk* as requiring cleansing and a cure. Healing, according to each scheme, could be achieved through the excision of the nation's unhealthy elements. For in their effort to use National Socialism's own language against it—making fascism sick, and resistance to it healthy—they employed the same binary, biologistic thinking typical of their despised predecessors. Although the Nazi movement had collapsed, postwar intellectuals and artists still worked under its sign. They employed medical language as a means to invalidate Nazi ideology, but this strategy often provided little more than a reversal of roles, a shift in the content of established categories. Postwar thinkers never consistently explored the genocidal implications of this language, and they remained silent on the subject of anti-Semitism, despite its centrality for the fascist construction of the *Volkskörper.* Instead, much early postwar cultural production problematically tended to employ the very kind of *rhetorical* inclusion and exclusion practiced by the National Socialist regime. Biopolitical texts produced after 1945 perpetuated a medicalized language that presupposed that the body

of the nation could be treated through the elimination of its unhealthy elements.

Despite the many monikers for the postwar years, from *Stunde Null* (zero hour) to *Kahlschlag* (clear-cutting), the postwar years did not so much represent a clean break with the past as a phase of intellectual and semantic continuities. The process of refiguring German identity unfolded in direct reaction to and reliance upon preexisting models of the nation. Thus in another sense, we can speak of the postwar years as a recovery phase—as a period in which biomedical terminology enjoyed a certain continuation or salvaging in public discourse. As Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer eloquently argue, the scholarship on twentieth-century Germany must acknowledge the "vital interrelationship" between that history's many periods of rupture and recovery, and think in terms of "simultaneous processes of the making and unmaking of the German nation."[88] Following Jarausch and Geyer, I concur that scholars must seek a "stereoscopic view" that bridges two halves of the twentieth century.[89] In constructing such a multidimensional vision of the German past, it becomes essential to explore the various cycles and recyclings that have marked twentieth-century German thought.

In highlighting the continuity in German biopolitical understandings of the nation, this book aims to speak with a number of recent studies that have illuminated the important social, cultural, and political linkages between the Weimar, Nazi, and postwar years—connections that persisted through all the real and rhetorical crises of those tumultuous decades. Thus Frank Biess has shown that the discourse regarding returning POWs began taking shape well before the official conclusion of the war.[90] Biess argues compellingly for a view of the POWs as archetypical figures in the difficult debates over guilt, German suffering, and the struggle to come to terms with the German past (or, as Nobert Frei has aptly termed it, the "policy for the past").[91] Jaimey Fisher asserts an analogous importance for the postwar figure of German youth. In his analysis, Germany's younger generation served a key symbolic function in the larger national reckoning with National Socialism, construed at once as innocent (by virtue of their nonmajority) and implicated (because of their extensive participation in fascist youth groups and National Socialism's own emphasis on the centrality of youth for the movement).[92] In his important study of the postwar amnesty debates, Norbert Frei illuminates further the deliberate tactical use of continuity on the part of the Federal Republic's fledgling political coalition, as postwar politicians sought to end denazification and legislate

the forgiveness of "minor" perpetrators: indeed, according to Frei's argument, amnesty came to be seen as essential for German political stability in the tenuous first years of independence. This policy (labeled by Frei "the touchstone of the new state's sovereignty") aimed to incorporate former Nazis into the postwar regime rather than driving them out.[93] Frei explains the public support for amnesty measures as a further long-term effect of National Socialism: postwar Germans "presented themselves as a merely mildly secularized *Volksgemeinschaft*" driven to reject Allied denazification policies in an "unconscious acknowledgement" of the very collective guilt that they vociferously rejected, and an "ersatz enactment" of a now forbidden nationalism.[94]

These continuities did not unfold only in those arenas most obviously touched by the war and postwar determinations of guilt. As numerous scholars have shown, gender and sexuality proved key points for the renegotiation of German identity throughout the tumultuous twentieth century, and especially in the years under National Socialism and postwar reconstruction. In her analysis of the sociopolitical and discursive relationship between fascism and sexuality before and after 1945, Dagmar Herzog illuminates with acid clarity the contradictory "compromise formations" that accompanied postwar attempts to address the Nazi legacy,[95] as evidenced by the persistence of deeply troubling conceptions of the body politic in matters of sex and reproduction—whether in postwar definitions of marriage as the site for production of "physically and psychologically valuable offspring,"[96] the "unapologetic continuity in disdain for the disabled and embrace of eugenic perspectives,"[97] or the "conceptual legacy of Nazi homophobia for the postwar period."[98]

Atina Grossmann traces a similar chronology from the Weimar period through the late 1950s in her study of the sex reform movement and in the process uncovers a meaningful history of both rupture and continuity. Grossmann seeks to counter teleological readings of Weimar biopolitics as a mere prefiguration of fascist eugenic policy and, at the same time, to point out the post-1945 legacy of National Socialist discourses of racial hygiene. Thus she argues for a "profound and irrevocable break in 1933 that could not and would not be reversed after 1945 and that left its marks on the postwar development of population and family policy in both German states."[99] And as Elizabeth Heineman's work demonstrates, continuity characterized both the real and metaphorical formations of women's experiences from the 1920s through the 1950s, despite major shifts in political power. In her study of women's marital status, Heineman shows that the

National Socialist construction of marriage and singlehood remained influential through the postwar period.[100] Taking up the issue of women's wartime experiences—from mass rapes to the air war against German cities and subsequent rubble clearing—Heineman argues that the development of a West German postwar identity relied heavily upon an appropriation of women's history.[101] While women's history thus came to serve as a stand-in for the entirety of the German war experience, its specifically gendered dimensions were simultaneously stripped away (e.g., in metaphorical discussions of the "rape of Germany," at a historical moment in which women's real experiences of sexual violation were ignored or silenced). This co-optation contributed significantly to the larger emergent discourse of German wartime victimization.

The thorny question of wartime suffering forms a further central theme of *The German Patient,* and here again, the book is indebted to the work of Heineman and others who have demonstrated the early postwar emphasis upon German wounds—a discourse that almost universally precluded any acknowledgment of Jewish persecution under National Socialism. Robert Moeller's indispensable study *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* not only dispells the myth that postwar Germany suffered from acute "amnesia" regarding its own war past but also makes clear the extent to which recent attention to wartime suffering draws upon older concepts of German victimization.[102] Frank Biess likewise demonstrates the centrality of concepts of victimization for the early phase of POW reception, and he highlights the importance of the notion of defeated masculinity for that discourse.[103] Writing on the development of the postwar "policy on the past," Norbert Frei argues that postwar politicians felt compelled to work on behalf not of "a persecuted minority" but rather of a "German majority . . . whose actual suffering (e.g., through expulsion and bombing) and false claims to victim status (through denazification or 'military conviction') had only begun with the crumbling of Hitler's regime."[104] As Frei suggests, German suffering was often located precisely at the nexus of defeat and occupation, much like certain diagnoses of the German "disease" that this book illuminates.

Far from novel, the post-1945 preoccupation with national recuperation signaled instead the persistence of biopolitical metaphor in German thought. Given the long history of the discourse, this continuity is not in and of itself surprising. Nevertheless, any discussion of the discourse of collective illness after 1945 must raise broader questions about the ideo-

logical continuities between the war and the postwar period, and the extent to which biopolitical binarisms—the healthy and the sick, host body and parasite, privileged and "unworthy" life—continued to impact German intellectual life, even among those most opposed to Hitler.

As the subsequent study will show, hearkening back to a rhetoric of a healthy *Volk* did not necessarily signal an affinity with a National Socialist notion of an exclusionary social body. Indeed, such a move might have been intended instead to reconnect with progressive Weimar-era conceptions of social welfare. Further, some postwar thinkers attempted to escape this dualistic framework altogether and reshape the discourse in order to avoid replicating a simplistic view of health and illness. Yet even in the case of those thinkers who most consciously attempted to rethink this dyad, the question remains whether their efforts were adequate to subvert the biological paradigm embraced by National Socialism. The very flexibility of this discourse of the German Patient—much like the postwar concept of youth analyzed by Jaimey Fisher—rendered it at once useful, powerful, and deeply problematic.[105] For that reason, this book closely tracks the question of etiology—that is, what source postwar diagnosticians single out as the cause of Germany's perceived malaise. Whether a critic identifies Weimar Modernism, National Socialism, or the postwar Allied occupation as the trigger for Germany's postwar problems can tell us a great deal about that critic's politics.

In addition, though the notions of collective sickness and health provided a potent tool for postwar thinkers to reject fascism, they also fostered a narrative of Germany as victim. Rather than the movement that would restore the health of the *Volkskörper* or "national body," National Socialism became, in their analyses, an infectious agent, a force that had ruined Germany's well-being. This rhetorical inversion implied that Hitler's movement represented a foreign body within the nation, echoing Nazi appropriations of the concept of the *Fremdkörper.* At a time when the nation found itself beset by allegations of guilt, the discussion of illness frequently permitted a certain alleviation of responsibility, suggesting that, regardless of why the country had become "susceptible," the Nazi movement had nevertheless preyed upon it. Although the West German official discourse on the National Socialist past eventually emerged as one of accepting responsibility for the crimes of the Reich, in the early years following the war, discussions of German illness framed the nation as Hitler's greatest casualty—a notion that lived on in popular West German discourse about the war for decades to come.

Jarausch and Geyer have defined cultural history as an endeavor that "explores the ways and means by which individual and social bodies constitute themselves, how they interact with each other, and how they rip themselves apart."[106] In this spirit, *The German Patient* offers a discursive history that traces the complex and often troubling trajectory of metaphors of collective illness from the earliest days of the defeat to the dawn of the *Wirtschaftswunder.* In the following pages, the reader will encounter a series of close readings of key texts in key contexts. Underlying this approach is a firm belief that we understand an age best when we look closely at its seminal texts, and that, in turn, we can understand these texts best when we situate them in relationship to their social, historical, and cultural moment. Accordingly, this book draws the reader's attention to a series of crucial episodes, in order to reveal through close readings the imbrication of postwar intellectual production in the larger debates about German health.

Chapter 1 traces the rise of the discourse of the German Patient in postwar culture, demonstrating the emergence of two parallel discussions of German guilt after 1945. Chapter 2 examines the postwar concept of "regenerate art," or the notion that aesthetic intervention could provide a key means of treatment for a devastated nation. Focusing on the case of the first postwar film, Wolfgang Staudte's *The Murderers Are Among Us* (1946), the chapter explores the centrality of illness to the film's portrayal of the trauma and recovery of its lead male character, a shell-shocked former army doctor. Stepping back a few years, chapter 3 looks at the political uses of illness metaphors in the exilic writings of Thomas Mann and his close friend, the physician and popular scientific writer Martin Gumpert. Through an examination of their literary and political essays, it demonstrates that both authors responded to the growing discussion in the United States about what to "do" with Germany once the war ended. Chapter 4 takes up the topic of remigration through an analysis of Peter Lorre's 1951 film *The Lost Man,* which correlates fascism with clinical madness. In his emphasis on fascism's "bacterial" qualities, Lorre raises difficult questions about the visibility of National Socialism and the latent threat it presents to postwar culture. The brief epilogue examines the waning importance of the discourse of the German Patient after 1950 but argues that the German Patient nevertheless survived and continues to this day to mark discussions of the Nazi past.

For the artists and intellectuals discussed in this book, nothing less than the survival of the nation was at stake. They believed that the country

was in desperate need of restoration and offered their regenerate art as a means to achieve that end. In rejecting Nazi culture, they often nonetheless mimicked its language and proposed that through the expulsion of the nation's sickly traces, Germany would rise again. Through their works, they hoped to provide a new shared narrative and to form a new concept of Germanness. And indeed, such a discourse did develop during the postwar years, one that defined the nation as much in terms of its own suffering as in terms of the suffering it caused. This discourse gave rise to a new concept of the nation, as a body united in sickness rather than in health, as a German Patient.

CHAPTER I

Sick of Guilt

> Is the destruction, the bloodshed at an end? Alas, we do not know. But for the moment there is peace. No, it is something else. It is the end of the illness, that inner illness, the end of the unnatural, of that forced way of life, a life that was no longer a life, of the pressure of an inner regime, that mysterious world of violence and false appearances that kept us in suspense, against which we fought futilely, but that ensnared us and whose simple disappearance we so desired, often without hope, although we knew nothing of what would follow.
>
> —Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Nach der Katastrophe*

> I think I share all your views on the subject of the "nation" and on the freedom to choose political responsibility and therefore a state. There is, however, something that one cannot choose but has to "accept." . . . If someone says: You are a German Jew—I am a German—those are of course just words, and everything depends on their interpretation. I think constantly now, with my heart, about what my being a German means. Until 1933 that was never problematic for me. But now one at least has to contend with a fact I perceive more strongly in Switzerland than I do at home in Heidelberg: The whole world shrieks at one, so to speak: You are a German.
>
> —Karl Jaspers, in a letter to Hannah Arendt

In the tumultuous years that followed the end of World War II, postwar discourses associated Germanness with two things: guilt and pathology. As the epigraphs suggest, these designations emerged virtually side by side. If the "inner illness" afflicting the nation had subsided, its aftereffects were still to be felt—not least, in the accusatory stance of other nations, which made the designation of "German" a damning diagnosis in and of itself. Consumed by a collective crisis, Germany appeared, in the view of many

contemporary intellectuals, to be quite literally "sick of guilt"—ailing not just as a result of twelve years of Hitler's rule but also the steady confrontation with the mass scale of the regime's ghastly crimes, and the growing sense that German culture at large would have to account for its responsibility for those offenses.

Just how Germany should confront the question of culpability was hotly contested. If postwar German thinkers shared a belief that the nation must be restored, they were divided about how to understand the issue of German responsibility for the actions of the collapsed regime. In the realm of politics, as Norbert Frei has demonstrated, a fledgling West German government endorsed a politics of "discretion" regarding participation in the Nazi regime, leading to a "triumph of silence" that tolerated and even embraced perpetrators and contributed, among other things, to the West German government's poor record for prosecuting Nazi crimes.[1] In the more immediate years that followed the end of war, however, before this selective silence emerged as official state policy, diverse intellectual schools sought to answer the "German question." As a result, competing discourses of guilt vied for prominence. While both factions shared important commonalities—most notably a certain biomedical language when discussing the German relationship to fascism—their differences were pronounced.

With his 1946 volume *Die Schuldfrage* (*The Question of German Guilt*), Karl Jaspers undoubtedly exerted the greatest influence on this intellectual debate. Jaspers argued for a juridical and theological conceptualization of guilt, stressing the importance of legal as well as psychological remedies for the nation's condition. Rejecting collective categories, he advocated a nuanced understanding of culpability and emphasized the role of the individual in the process of coming to terms with the crimes of Nazi Germany. Jaspers imagined a new model of German citizenship founded on personal responsibility and proposed that the nation would find regeneration through the redemption of its individual members.

Ultimately, the model espoused by Jaspers would prevail, setting the course for official West German attitudes toward national guilt for decades to come.[2] But in the mid-1940s, as debates about German responsibility were still taking shape, a different, parallel discourse emerged. In contrast to the school that followed Jaspers's legal model, which envisioned the nation as a kind of German Defendant on trial for the crimes of the Nazi regime, this second group of writers approached guilt as a largely medical problem. They constructed the nation as a German Patient and treated

guilt as one symptom of fascism. Through a course of therapy, they argued that Germany could be restored to physical, mental, and political health. These writers saw the nation as a collective entity and stressed the communal nature of both the disease and the cure.

This notion of the country as a sick body had several important consequences. While it suggested that National Socialism represented a treatable condition and thus carved out the possibility for an eventual recovery, it also raised a number of questions about collective and personal responsibility. Could guilt and illness coincide, or were they mutually exclusive? And if the nation had been overcome by the "disease" of fascism, to what extent was it accountable for what resulted from the ensuing illness? As this chapter lays out, while some writers clearly resorted to illness as an exculpatory model, others held that the concepts of guilt and illness were equally relevant to the postwar situation and advocated a medicalized view of the nation that included acknowledgment of complicity. In these analyses, illness provided not a substitute but rather a supplementary frame through which to examine the German condition: the nation was not sick *or* guilty, it was sick *and* guilty. This conflation of guilt and illness thus did not serve simply as a means to avoid the discussion of responsibility, but rather to complicate it. Blurring the line between guilt and innocence, the discourse of Germany as collectively ill offered a useful rubric for exploring the vast gray area between perpetrators and victims. Meanwhile, the etiological focus of these writings—that is, their attempts to identify the source of the German "disease"—served a diversity of political ends, sometimes indicting the culture that preceded National Socialism, sometimes attacking Nazism itself, and sometimes taking aim at the postwar Allied occupation as the root cause of Germany's condition.

The Doctors Trial

The metaphysical contemplations that comprised the dual discourses of the German Defendant and the German Patient were unthinkable without the very real crisis of German medicine that unfolded in the years following the war. In light of the profession's strong ties to the National Socialist regime, Allied occupiers paid special attention to its denazification.[3] The Nazi-era Reich Physicians Chamber was disbanded and the Consortium of West German Physicans Chambers established in its place, and U.S. occupation regulations, for example, initially prohibited former party members

from practicing medicine. This was a genuine cause of concern for German citizens, since it contributed to a shortage of medical personnel at a time of great need. Moreover, at least some postwar Germans remained skeptical regarding the need for political change in the field of medicine. Consider the caustic words of one reader of *Die Zeit* who favored reinstating the banned doctors, who argued that patients do not visit physicians "in order to be injected with the officially sanctioned worldview, or to have an unpalatable one surgically removed."[4] In fact, the ban was short-lived, as the dire medical situation of the postwar period led the Allies to grant temporary licenses to a wider number of physicians in order to meet demand.[5]

By all accounts, health conditions in the years following the war were abysmal. Rationing had begun well before the war's end, and by the conclusion of combat, food was in dangerously short supply and would remain so until the currency reform of 1948.[6] The occupation administrations had difficulty meeting even their own established minimum rations levels; some estimated that German civilians received fewer than 1,000 calories per day.[7] After traveling through the British sector in fall 1946, Victor Gollancz wrote movingly of the deplorable conditions he witnessed, in the hope of spurring fellow Britons to take action—whether out of humanitarian concern or fear of political repercussions. After describing a "ghastly morning photographing cases of hunger œdema and emaciation," he warned readers, "our prestige here is pretty near the nadir. The youth is being poisoned and renazified. We have all but lost the peace—and I fear that this is an understatement."[8] In his 1950 account of the American occupation, General Lucius L. Clay recalled the central importance of food for the maintenance of both the physical health and political stability of postwar Germany: "The provision of an adequate supply was more than a humane consideration."[9] "We could not hope to develop democracy on a starvation diet. We could not even prevent sickness and discontent."[10] To illustrate this point, Clay's book included two striking juxtaposed photographs, the first depicting a sumptuous "black market meal in the Femina night club in Berlin" alongside a second showing an emaciated young boy "suffering from starvation and not expected to live."[11]

Weakened by hunger and more general exhaustion caused by the end phase of the war, German civilians fell prey to a host of ailments. In addition to such direct consequences of hunger as underweight, malnutrition, rickets, and hunger edema, the population experienced a high incidence of infectious diseases like tuberculosis, diphtheria, typhoid fever, poliomyelitis, scarlet fever, and dysentery, as well as high rates of mortality,

infant mortality in particular. Postwar living conditions exacerbated the situation. Bombing campaigns had leveled Germany's cities and led to a compromised water supply, inadequate sanitation, and overcrowding—a problem only worsened by the influx of millions of expellees.[12] Moreover, the high incidence of rape, particularly in the Soviet zone of occupation (where as many as two million rapes have been estimated to have occurred),[13] contributed to catastrophic levels of sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhea and syphilis, as well as a sharp spike in the number of abortions, many of which were performed illegally under dangerous conditions.[14] Treatment for disease was hampered not only by a shortage of physicians, medical supplies, and hospital facilities, but also by a lack of adequate medicines, particularly penicillin and insulin. Although conditions improved markedly following the currency reform, it is clear that the war and postwar years had lasting health consequences, as evidenced, for example, by the West German "mothers' convalescent home" movement of the 1950s, which aimed to treat women suffering from the extended physical and psychic toll of recent years.[15]

At the same time, the institution of German medicine was experiencing its own acute emergency, prompted by revelations about its complicity in the murderous policies of the Nazi regime. Whether out of conviction or opportunism, German physicians had joined the National Socialist movement in droves. They actively supported the regime's biopolitical aims, playing key roles in state-sponsored programs for sterilization, "euthanasia," and, eventually, mass killing.[16] In the words of Robert Proctor, "Doctors were not pawns but pioneers when it came to Nazi policies of racial extermination."[17] This included the cooperation of regular physicians, who participated in the regime's various public health initiatives, research scientists in such fields as biology, eugenics, and tropical medicine, who provided evidence to undergird Nazi racism, and psychiatrists, who played a key role in the sterilization and murder of populations deemed mentally unfit.[18] A series of postwar trials made public the extent of doctor participation in the regime's gruesome efforts to "heal" the *Volk,* and as a result, postwar Germans did not simply associate the nation's medical establishment with healing, but also with guilt and death. As Michael Kater remarks, "If the SS doctor was a societal role model after 1933, in 1945 he appeared as a villain, becoming a heavy burden for the entire profession" and casting a shadow over the future work of German physicians.[19]

The first Nuremberg Trial, initiated on 25 October 1946 with the issuing of an indictment against leading physicians and administrators of the

National Socialist medical system, brought the question of guilt and disease into particularly sharp focus. Officially titled *The United States of America v. Karl Brandt, et al.* (Case No. 1), the case was known alternately as the Doctors Trial or Medical Case. The trial highlighted the relationship of Nazi biopolitics to Nazi crimes, charging the accused with war crimes, crimes against humanity, and "participation in a criminal organization," the SS. In so doing, the proceedings reinforced for postwar observers the close link between the quest for a healthy *Volkskörper* and the destruction of life. At the same time, the trial called into question the efficacy and appropriateness of having German physicians contribute to the national recovery effort. If medicine itself was "sick," could it possibly help combat the "disease" of fascism? Were doctors too tainted by guilt to participate in reconstructing a new, healthier Germany? In any case, it was clear that German medicine would have to occupy a central position in the process of coming to terms with the past.

The Doctors Trial followed the model of the International Military Tribunal's *Trial of Major War Criminals* (*USA, France, UK, and USSR v. Hermann Goering, et al.*), completed just weeks earlier, on 1 October 1946. That trial resulted in the conviction of some of Nazi Germany's most notorious figures, among them Goering, Rudolf Hess, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Julius Streicher, Baldur von Schirach, and Albert Speer. The American prosecutors for the Doctors Trial—under the oversight of Brigadier General Telford Taylor, Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, but conducted chiefly by attorney James McHaney and his colleague Andrew Hardy—expected similar success. They chose to begin the series of twelve planned Nuremberg Trials with the Medical Case because the evidence was particularly compelling: the crimes were egregious, relatively easy to prove, and emblematic of the regime's brutality.[20] As Telford Taylor noted when he delivered his opening statement on 9 December 1946 at the Nuremberg Palace of Justice, while "it is true that the defendants in the box were not among the highest leaders of the Third Reich . . . this case, perhaps more than any other we will try, epitomizes Nazi thought and the Nazi way of life, because these defendants pursue the savage premises of Nazi thought so far."[21]

Of the twenty-three defendants charged in the Medical Case, sixteen were ultimately convicted, receiving sentences that ranged from lengthy prison terms to death.[22] The evidence of doctors' complicity was indeed damning. Telford Taylor argued in the opening statement for the prosecution that, under Hitler's rule, the traditional healing arts had devolved into

"thanatology, the science of producing death." Taylor went on: "The thanatological knowledge, derived in part from these experiments, supplied the techniques for genocide. . . . This policy of mass extermination could not have been so effectively carried out without the active participation of German medical scientists."[23] As the prosecution case then laid out, the defendants had grossly violated medical ethics in the name of military and racial science, participating in a horrific list of experiments that had caused great pain, disfigurement, or death for their involuntary subjects. The trial detailed the following offenses: At the Dachau concentration camp, physicians subjected prisoners to tests on the bodily impact of extreme altitudes and carried out freezing experiments intended to develop treatments for hypothermia. The Dachau doctors also conducted experiments on malaria, deliberately infecting prisoners to test possible immunizations and treatments, and experiments on chemically treated seawater. At the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Natzweiler concentration camps, doctors exposed prisoners to a variety of toxic or infectious substances, including mustard gas, typhoid, cholera, diphtheria, and epidemic jaundice. Inmates of the Ravensbrück camp were forced to undergo experiments probing the efficacy of sulfanilamide on simulated war wounds, as well as tests on bone, muscle, and nerve regeneration and bone transplantation. They were further abused in a variety of sterilization experiments that employed X-rays, medicines, and surgical procedures. Two defendants, Karl Brandt and Wolfram Sievers, were also convicted of ordering the murder of more than a hundred Jews for a skeleton collection at the University of Strasbourg. The court further showed that Nazi doctors were guilty of murdering tens of thousands of Poles infected with incurable tuberculosis and systematically killing hundreds of thousands of Germans and foreigners through the infamous "euthanasia" program.

While the facts of the trial contributed to a growing sense within German culture that, under National Socialism, medicine had become an ignoble profession, the language of the trial further cemented the notion that fascism itself was a disease requiring treatment. In his opening statement, Telford Taylor characterized German medicine itself as sick, perverse, and deadly. While careful not to suggest that the defendants themselves were insane and thereby incompetent to stand trial, Taylor implied that fascism had infected the community of German physicians. Employing an array of metaphors designed to emphasize fascism's abject and unhealthy qualities, he declared that "the creeping paralysis of Nazi superstition spread through the German medical establishment and, just as it destroyed character and morals, it dulled the mind,"[24] and maintained that "these crimes

were the logical and inevitable outcome of the prostitution of German medicine under the Nazis."[25] The result was a gravely compromised practice, for, as he noted, "neither science, nor industry, nor the arts could flourish in such a foul medium."[26] The impact of fascism, in Taylor's analogy, had proved fatal for Germany: "A nation which deliberately infects itself with poison will inevitably sicken and die. These defendants and others turned Germany into an infernal combination of a lunatic asylum and a charnel house."[27]

Taylor framed the trial itself as a remedy for the ills of the conquered nation and underscored its importance not only for future generations of Germans but also for greater humanity. The stakes of the Medical Case were far larger than simply bringing to justice a few criminal physicians: the very survival of the nation, and the world, hung in the balance. Unless Germans understood the true cause of their current devastation, Prussian militarism might rise again, which would prove "a sad and fatal thing for Germany and for the world."[28] Although Allied bombing had devastated Nuremberg, he argued, "in a deeper sense [the city] had been destroyed a decade earlier," when it became the site of party rallies. "The insane and malignant doctrines that Nuernberg spewed forth account alike for the crimes of these defendants and for the terrible fate of Germany under the Third Reich."[29] Taylor presented the trial as a surgical intervention:

> It is our deep obligation to all peoples of the world to show why and how these things happened. It is incumbent upon us to set forth with conspicuous clarity the ideas and motives which moved these defendants to treat their fellow men as less than beasts. The perverse thoughts and distorted concepts which brought about these savageries are not dead. They cannot be killed by force of arms. They must not become a cancer in the breast of humanity. They must be cut out and exposed, for the reason so well stated by Mr. Justice Jackson in this courtroom a year ago—"The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant, and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated."[30]

Using a metaphorology of disease and degeneracy, Taylor suggested that, unless checked, the "tumor" of fascism would continue to grow and imperil the health of all civilization, and positioned the trial as the next frontier in the ongoing battle to eradicate National Socialism.

Meanwhile, the reaction of the German medical community to the

prosecution of prominent National Socialist physicians was mixed. While a select few argued that medicine must take a leading role in the process of coming to terms with the past, most were reluctant to draw sweeping conclusions about their professional responsibility for actions undertaken by doctors in the name of Hitler's regime. Although leading members of university medical faculties were quick to condemn the actions of the accused, they also characterized Nazi medical atrocities as a regrettable exception that by no means implicated the larger field. Thus Professor Paul Hoffmann, dean of the Freiburg medical school, declared that "an extremely limited Nazi clique" had committed medical crimes. Along similar lines, Professor H. J. Deuticke, dean of the Göttingen medical school, professed the hope that "the current trial in Nuremberg will make clear that only a tiny number of doctors, acting of their own volition, had incriminated themselves and should be punished." "In keeping with its traditions and inner convictions," the greater community of German medicine, according to Deuticke, was "free of guilt and ought not be burdened with accusations."[31]

There were some notable attempts by German physicians to confront the complicity of the medical profession. Dr. Alexander Mitscherlich, an as yet relatively unknown specialist in psychosomatic disorders who would later popularize the notion that Germany had failed to mourn the National Socialist past, was dispatched to Nuremberg to observe the Doctors Trial as head of the German Physicians Commission. While the trial was still in progress, Mitscherlich and his co-author and fellow commissioner Fred Mielke published the first of three accounts on the proceedings.[32] Printed in 1947 by Lambert Schneider Verlag, the same press that published Karl Jaspers's *The Question of German Guilt,* Mitscherlich and Mielke's pamphlet *Das Diktat der Menschenverachtung* (literally, Dictation of the Disregard for Human Life, but published in English as *Doctors of Infamy*) included a critical introduction and excerpts of the Nuremberg transcripts. The authors offered their report as a contribution to the greater postwar search for the truth about the past. Mitscherlich and Mielke argued against viewing science and the state separately, because, under National Socialism, scientific research "inadvertently aided in the waging of war and in the destruction of human life on the basis of 'world-view.'"[33] While concerning themselves principally with the crimes of the medical community, they made clear that their interest in the question of culpability exceeded this narrow scope. As Mitscherlich and Mielke argued, Nazi Germany's condition of "bondage" resulted in "a general

guilt," and the book ended with praise for the Nuremberg Trials and a defense of the concept of collective guilt.[34]

When Mitscherlich first began the project, he expressed the fear that the project would be "exceedingly unpopular."[35] He was not incorrect: although initially enthusiastic about the response of his fellow doctors, he soon encountered obstacles. A plan to publish a preliminary report on the trial with the *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* fell apart after the editor rejected the manuscript as inappropriate for a journal dedicated to disseminating clinical research results useful to practicing physicians.[36] Following the release of the volume with Lambert Schneider Verlag, a medical consultant for the regional government of Baden criticized the work as "ill-suited to fostering the rebuilding of doctor-patient trust."[37] A later version of the text found only limited release after two separate lawsuits were brought by physicians objecting to their characterization in Mitscherlich and Mielke's account.[38]

Although Mitscherlich and Mielke found themselves marginalized within the medical community, they did have some defenders. The editorial staff of the journal *Die Wandlung,* whose founders included Karl Jaspers, Alfred Weber, and Dolf Sternberger, defended the publication of Mitscherlich and Mielke's *Diktat,* declaring that public faith in German doctors could best be restored if medicine openly distanced itself from the Nazi atrocities and subjected the field to rigorous scrutiny. The journal went on to publish its own accounts of the Nuremberg Medical Case, with a particular emphasis on Nazi physicians' mistreatment of the mentally ill. As one such report declared, "The Nuremberg Doctors' Trial is raising awareness among the broader public about some fundamental questions of medical ethics, and demands a stock-taking by medical science the world over, but most especially in Germany."[39]

Despite the unwillingness of the general German medical establishment to draw broader conclusions from the Doctors Trial, however, Mitscherlich and Mielke's work eventually helped convince the international medical community that German medicine had made earnest attempts to come to terms with its role in National Socialism. Thus while an editorial published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in November 1946 declared that, among the litany of medical crimes under Nazism, "perhaps most serious of all is the failure of German medical organizations and societies to express in any manner their disapproval of these widely known experiments,"[40] and the newly founded World Medical Association (WMA) demanded in early 1947 that German medicine issue

an admission of collective guilt, that very same year, the WMA decided to admit Germany as a member.

The Medical Case played a pivotal role in publicizing Nazi medical crimes, at the same time that it reinforced the notion that questions of treatment were intimately bound up with national politics. Implicating medicine in the larger quest to address German crimes, the trial not only tarnished the once-glowing image of the physician, it also fused together the concepts of guilt and illness in the postwar imagination. It created a lasting echo, calling into question medicine's practitioners as well as its methods of healing, while also illustrating the extent to which Nazi ideology had permeated even those areas of German society once considered immune.

Karl Jaspers and the Question of German Guilt

Certainly the most famous intellectual to address the subject of German crimes was the philosopher and physician Karl Jaspers.[41] Jaspers had risen to prominence in the Weimar period as a leading voice in existential philosophy and a critic of psychoanalysis.[42] In 1933, the National Socialist regime forced him from his teaching position at the University of Heidelberg, and Jaspers retreated from public life. His wife, Gertrud, was Jewish, but Jaspers successfully prevented their deportation, and both survived. He observed the events of the war from a position of "inner emigration," maintaining hope that another Germany would emerge when the war ended. From Jaspers's correspondence with Hannah Arendt, we know that he had often tried to comfort Gertrud during those difficult years with the words, "Trude, I am Germany," a claim that she rejected, but one that exemplified not only his sense of solidarity with his wife but also his belief in the potential for a different nation.[43]

When the war finally did cease, Jaspers emerged as one of postwar Germany's foremost thinkers. He took a particularly active role in the reestablishment of the university system, which he saw as central to the larger process of reconstruction.[44] It was under these auspices that he gave the series of lectures that served as the basis for his 1946 publication *The Question of German Guilt*. In his addresses, Jaspers laid out a complex model for comprehending the multiple shades of individual and cultural complicity. He stressed the importance of this work for the larger national community. As he argued, nothing less than the survival of the German

spirit was at stake: "[The question of German guilt] is a vital question for the German soul."[45]

In approaching the question of guilt, Jaspers emphasizes a juridical and theological approach: like a "German Defendant," the nation will have to account for its misdeeds and seek to make amends. Equally important for Jaspers as this acknowledgment, however, is the development of a nuanced understanding of German responsibility. At a time in which, as he declares in the essay's opening, "almost the entire world indicts Germany and the Germans" and "our guilt is discussed in terms of outrage, horror, hatred and scorn," the effort to establish a differentiated notion of responsibility would be paramount.[46] Although he praises the Nuremberg Trials precisely for their declared intent to prosecute individual criminals and not the collective country, Jaspers also takes aim at other, more sweeping Allied statements about German guilt.[47] He makes pointed reference to the posters that appeared at the war's end informing citizens about the concentration camps:

> In the summer of 1945, when in all towns and villages the posters hung with the pictures and stories from Belsen and the crucial statement, "You are the guilty!" [*das ist Eure Schuld*] consciences grew uneasy, horror gripped many who had indeed not known this, and something rebelled: who indicts me there? No signature, no authority—the poster came as though from empty space. It is only human that the accused, whether justly or unjustly charged, tries to defend himself.[48]

According to Jaspers, such broad declarations of guilt could not express the complexity of German involvement in the regime and would only result in defensive denials. *The Question of German Guilt* attempts to break with such a wholesale determination of guilt and instead to solicit thoughtful engagement by allowing room for varying degrees of responsibility.[49]

Jaspers offers a complex scheme of guilts, outlining a model that individual Germans might employ to understand their share in the crimes of National Socialism. He divides guilt into four categories—criminal, political, moral, and metaphysical—and argues expressly against the idea of collective guilt. Yet Jaspers refuses to abandon altogether the term *collective* and promotes instead an alternate notion of shared responsibility (*kollektive Haftung*), framing it as a fundamental part of the social contract and an essential component of any future democratic Germany. This sense of "collective responsibility" will emerge, Jaspers hopes, through a thorough-

going investigation of the question of guilt. Jaspers's text is more attuned to its present moment than to an investigation of Germany's past, and he does not expound at length on the sociocultural roots of National Socialism. While he acknowledges that its underlying causes must be sought, he stresses instead the need for microlevel analysis undertaken instead: by each citizen. He presents *The Question of German Guilt* as a sort of moral guidebook, aiding individuals in their efforts to address their role in the country's political and ethical collapse.

Although Jaspers would go on in later works to write eloquently of the value of cosmopolitanism, his project in *The Question of German Guilt* was deliberately national in scope: by necessity, guilt would form a constitutive part of any postwar German identity, and the work of coming to terms with the recent past represented a precondition for German recovery. From the beginning of the essay, Jaspers makes explicit his intention to address his fellow compatriots: as he explains, he writes "as a German among Germans," driven by a desire to foster "clarity and unanimity" and to participate in "our struggle for truth" "as a human among humans."[50] Counteracting the popular Allied view that Germany no longer numbered among the civilized nations, Jaspers reinscribes Germany as a part of the larger world community—in his terms, "German" and "human" are not incompatible. At the same time, Jaspers speaks to a select German constituency. In language highly evocative of the emerging discourse on "inner emigration," Jaspers appeals to those readers who, like him, had remained in the country during the war and thus would find a differentiated understanding of German guilt particularly attractive: "In the silence underneath the leveling public propaganda talk of the twelve years, we struck very different inner attitudes and passed through very different inner developments."[51] Jaspers allows for a variety of sublimated responses to National Socialism and opens up the possibility for silent resistance to the regime, while also setting the course for what Germany should become.[52] As he exhorted readers of *The Question of German Guilt,* their task was "of not being German as we happened to be, but becoming German as we are not yet but ought to be."[53]

The original introduction for Jaspers's university lecture series illuminates just how central Jaspers believed the process of coming to terms with German complicity was for the larger project of reconstructing postwar German identity. Jaspers's opening remarks to his Heidelberg students spell out a program to revive Germany through a deep engagement with the question of guilt and a renewal of the country's humanist traditions. In

the final section of the opening to his university address, "Plan for the Following Remarks," Jaspers lays out the mission behind the lectures to come.

> We desire orientation concerning our position, we seek to answer the question as to what led to it, and then to see what we are and what we should be, what is truly German, and finally to ask ourselves what we may hope for [*was wir noch wollen können*].[54]

Jaspers's language is striking for its rhetorical suggestiveness: laying out a plan to seek what is "truly German," Jaspers figures Nazism as a foreign element. The search for the root causes of Germany's current postwar devastation becomes a search for an authentic past and future German identity beyond National Socialism.

For Jaspers, the excavation of this past might afford the means to found a new and different German future. According to Renato de Rosa, Jaspers hoped that in embracing "a true image of history" (*ein wahres Geschichtsbild*), postwar Germans might counteract the mythic and heroic worldview promoted under National Socialism.[55] This pursuit of history and truth underlies the whole of *The Question of German Guilt* and represents for Jaspers a fundamental task in the project to reconstitute Germany's culture of humanism—a culture that, in the philosopher's terms, predated not only the mythic barbarism of National Socialism but also the fracturing effects of modernity. Jaspers thought this would be the university's greatest contribution to the reeducation of German youth. Responding to a questionnaire distributed to the Heidelberg faculty by the American denazification officer Edward Y. Hartshorne, Jaspers had noted that the nation's young could be rehabilitated "through participation in scientific inquiry." "They would be exposed to unconditional truth . . . and in the process, their humanity, their sense of law and justice would be strengthened."[56]

This turn to truth and humanity would come, according to Jaspers, from the restoration of the values of Germany's Enlightenment thinkers. As he informed his students, the basis for the nation's future could be found in the study of those great figures from the past:

> After the realization of disaster [*Unheil*] we ask . . . : what is German? We want to see German history, German spirit, the transformation of our national consciousness and great German individuals. The mirror of our history reveals all that we want to and should achieve for our-

> selves today. We hear it in the addresses of our great ancestors, just as we grasp it through the elucidation of those historical idols that led us astray.[57]

In claiming these figures as the nation's true ancestors, Jaspers again suggests that the Nazi movement might be read as "un-German," as a false god, and redefines German identity according to a different tradition. Here Jaspers's work recalls the language employed by many émigrés who saw themselves as representatives of "the other Germany." He locates the Other Germany in the past, rather than overseas, but like some exiles he suggests that another incarnation of the nation might be born through the struggle to overcome National Socialism.

Yet even Jaspers's juridical model was not entirely impervious to the metaphorology of disease that proved so prevalent in the postwar context. In his quest to map the multiple levels of German guilt, Jaspers reveals a larger mission: at its heart, his philosophical and psychological treatise aims to treat the German spirit. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, Jaspers shies away from any single diagnosis of the national condition, and he instead emphasizes the role that each citizen must play in effecting his own cure. While he falls short of declaring National Socialism a disease requiring medical intervention, Jaspers's framework of purification (*Reinigung*) and his emphasis on the search for a new postwar German identity imply an understanding of the collective nation as a community of patients. The language of *The Question of German Guilt* is indebted to theology and psychology, and it is not blood but spirit that unites this imagined community. By means of a kind of group therapy, accomplished through the self-analysis of many individuals, Jaspers proposes that German guilt could be "treated." While it might not—and perhaps should not—ever find a complete cure, it could be made manageable.

According to Jaspers, the work performed by individual Germans to identify their level of responsibility for Nazi crimes would result in a greater, national "purification." Jaspers introduces the notion of *Reinigung* at the close of *The Question of German Guilt* and argues that only by this cleansing process could the nation overcome the "German crisis" (*Krise des Deutschen*).[58] He frames cleansing as the natural by-product that results when individuals acknowledge their own guilt, and contends that it will provide the key to Germany's political future. In an uncanny echo of the famous motto from the Auschwitz concentration camp, Jaspers declares: "Die Reinigung macht uns frei"—"Purification will free us."[59] At

the same time, this process would foster a sense of shared responsibility that, as Jaspers declares, is a precondition for liberty. Jaspers defines *Reinigung* in abstract terms: it is "an inner process," "the way of man as such," characterized by "metamorphosis . . . uplift by illumination and growing transparency—love of man."[60] Jaspers explains it as a means to reverse the *Umschmelzung* (translated as "inner metamorphosis," but meaning more literally "recasting") of the German soul that had allowed for National Socialism's rise.[61] This first transmutation, he maintains, might be overcome by a purifying transformation. Jaspers's term bears metallurgical resonance and suggests a recasting of the national spirit.

Jaspers is less ambiguous on the matter of how this purification may be put into action. As he states, "Purification in action means . . . making amends."[62] Jaspers's reference to reparations did not mean financial restitution per se. According to Jaspers's model, amends might be made by recreating that which Germany had destroyed when it invaded other nations, or by granting special status to those injured by the regime. As Jaspers makes clear, the concept of suffering, as well as guilt, requires differentiation, because not all pains are equal. He pleads against the popular belief that the vastness of German suffering experienced during and after the war might "cancel out" the damage that the nation had inflicted on others.

Jaspers's concept of *Reinigung* contains both a psychological and a theological dimension. It signifies a cleansing of the spirit and a clearing of the conscience. Yet it also bears a hygienic significance: *Reinigung* may be translated not only as cleaning, refinement, or purification, but also as detoxification or disinfection. Jaspers himself suggests such an understanding of his term when he argues: "Without transillumination and transformation of our soul, sensitivity would only increase in helpless impotence. The poison of psychological transpositions would ruin us."[63] Jaspers fuses a biological threat with a psychic condition, representing the German soul as endangered by a psychological poison that can destroy from within the implied national body ("us").

Jaspers's emphasis on cleansing further aligns his text with the larger postwar German project of reconstruction. Here *The Question of German Guilt* echoes contemporaneous discourses on rubble, which saw the bombed ruins as detritus that must be cleared away to make room for Germany's new path. In postwar culture, the need for this clearing was understood on both a literal and figurative level. The debris made cities impassable, and the work to clear the rubble was, in effect, a large-scale recycling effort to salvage building materials. But the ruins were also perceived as

symbols of political and moral destruction as well as military defeat. The removal of the rubble was not simply practical but also emblematic of the effort to clean up and restore the battered German nation. In this passage, Jaspers suggests a kind of *Kahlschlag* or "clear-cutting" for the German spirit—an expunging of the nation's past and removal of its "bad" history. A tension runs through Jaspers's text, between his insistence on preservation—of the recent German past, as a subject for investigation, and of the more distant German past, as a source for cultural renewal—and his demand that the German soul "cleanse" itself of that past and remove its traces, literally "melt" them away through *Umschmelzung*.

In a letter to Hannah Arendt, Jaspers offers further insight into the problem of how to treat National Socialism. His words again suggest a medical and psychological understanding of the movement, which he pits against mythological constructions of fascism. Earlier in their correspondence, Arendt had taken issue with Jaspers's classification in *The Question of German Guilt* of German atrocities as "crimes" and argued instead that one could not describe them thus because the magnitude of the offenses lay beyond the scope of punishment. "The Nazi crimes, it seems to me, explode the limits of the law; and that is precisely what constitutes their monstrousness. For these crimes, no punishment is ever severe enough."[64] Responding to this criticism, Jaspers wrote:

> You say that what the Nazis did cannot be comprehended as a "crime"—I'm not altogether comfortable with your view, because a guilt that goes beyond all criminal guilt inevitably takes on a streak of "greatness"—of satanic greatness—which is, for me, as inappropriate for the Nazis as all the talk about the "demonic" element in Hitler and so forth. It seems to me that we have to see these things in their total banality, in their prosaic triviality, because that's what truly characterizes them. *Bacteria can cause epidemics that wipe out nations, but they remain merely bacteria. I regard any hint of myth and legend with horror, and everything unspecific is just such a hint. . . . Nazi crime is properly a subject for psychology and sociology, for psychopathology and jurisprudence only.*[65]

Jaspers objects to Arendt's view, arguing that it renders Nazi criminality both beyond reach and mythically powerful. It seems striking, therefore, that he replaces the idea of Nazi "satanic greatness" with an analogy of illness. Jaspers likens fascism to bacteria—mundane yet destructive. Here

Jaspers's thoughts on science provide useful insight. For the doctor-turned-philosopher, there was a distinction between illness, which belonged to the realm of the true and treatable, and mythology, which he associated with falsity and obfuscation. When Jaspers claims that Nazi crimes are the proper domain not only of jurisprudence but also of psychopathology, he underscores the idea that Nazism was a condition curable by means of existing remedies.

Jaspers's comparison between National Socialism and bacteria serves several ends. While it suggests the "banality of evil," as Hannah Arendt later famously described the nature of German atrocities, the parallel also denigrates Hitler and his regime as petty, small, and ordinary.[66] The analogy also accords with Jaspers's aim to abolish the sort of deceit he identified with National Socialism. For the trained physician, this medicalizing of fascism not only suggested that it could be treated but also dispelled its fantastical aura, thereby contributing to the work of creating a true image of history. Jaspers—who remained optimistic that science held great promise for the modern world, despite the guilt of some of its practitioners—believed that medicine belonged to the world of fact, not mythology. Thus the restoration of unbiased scientific research, according to Jaspers, could aid in the process of national renewal.

Physician, Heal Thyself!

It was in part Jaspers's faith in science as an objective field of inquiry that led him to place a particular emphasis on the role of medicine in the investigation of Germany's past. He believed its failure under the Nazi regime, exemplified by doctors' participation in crimes against humanity, was symptomatic of a widespread state of cultural decline brought on by the conditions of Modernity. Jaspers drew here on his Weimar-era work, most notably his 1933 volume *Die geistige Situation der Zeit* (*Man in the Modern Age*), which spoke of the spiritual perils of modern existence. Like many conservative thinkers of the 1930s, from Heidegger to Spengler, Jaspers maintained that technology was reducing man to a mere machine, just as the rise of the masses was overwhelming the individual. In his postwar writings for physicians, Jaspers pleaded for a holistic vision of the patient and argued that specialization represented a kind of medical Taylorism. Jaspers's efforts to reform medicine corresponded with the project of *The Question of German Guilt.* Through the restoration of the individual—as a

patient, as well as a political agent—German culture might move away from the more perilous trends of modern mass society and return to its humanist roots.

If the discipline revived its original purpose and redevoted its energies to the pursuit of truth, it could serve an important role in overcoming National Socialism. But Jaspers also believed that if science were to contribute to Germany's reconstruction, it would have to undertake its own exploration of guilt. As his various postwar writings on science reveal, Jaspers held that science, and medicine in particular, had a special burden to come to terms with its complicity in the Nazi regime.

It was in this spirit that on 15 August 1945 Karl Jaspers addressed the incoming class at the newly reopened medical school at the Ludolf-Krehl Clinic in Heidelberg. Jaspers had played a key role in the reestablishment of the program, which was tailored to give supplemental training to *kriegsapprobierte* physicians, that is, those who had received provisional licensing during the war.[67] In his remarks, Jaspers ushered in the great day by expressing his hope that other departments would soon reopen and so bring to an end the "pause that had followed the collapse, . . . after the ruinous state into which the university was forced for twelve years."[68] Jaspers sketched out the contours of that ruin as he outlined his hopes for the future of the institution.

Jaspers opened his address with a reflection on guilt that was reminiscent of his earlier lectures. He admonished the new students that "we survivors did not seek death. . . . We are to blame for the fact that we are alive."[69] Invoking a kind of survivor's guilt, Jaspers made clear that Germany's still-living citizens would have to face their role in the crimes of Hitler's regime. And as in *The Question of German Guilt,* Jaspers went on to explain the German condition as a deep transformation of the nation's essence:

> Something happened to us during these twelve years, a transformation [*Umschmelzung*] of our being. In mythical terms: the devils fell upon us and dragged us into a tumult that robbed us of sight and hearing.[70]

Jaspers suggests that National Socialism "possessed" the population and led to its physical decline—reducing Germans to a deaf, blind population that must now attempt to recover. Despite Jaspers's rejection elsewhere of mythological readings of fascism as "demonic," he allows himself such a parallel here by highlighting his rhetorical ploy.[71] At the same time, he con-

structs a national community with a shared experience of the Nazi past, employing the designation *we* and so signaling that he includes himself among the guilty.

Jaspers was not content to discuss the past only in broad philosophical strokes, and as his speech continued, he delved into a detailed discussion of medicine's transgressions in Nazi Germany. After stating that the disciplines of the humanities would need to confront a great number of questions in their attempts to renew the university, Jaspers declared that medicine also faced some difficult issues in confronting the past:

> *Medicine* appears to be far removed from these questions. It is a science and an art that wants the same thing the world over, irrespective of politics, wherever human beings care for the health of body and soul. But this is only a matter of appearances. We have seen to what extent interference was possible even in such an apolitical arena.[72]

Jaspers went on to list specific instances of such political activities, including the medical establishment's participation in the drafting of racial laws, forced sterilizations, and the murder of the mentally ill and impaired. It must have been a sobering message for the physicians just embarking upon their course of study. Jaspers makes clear that medicine is not simply a force by which to repair the shattered nation but also a field that requires the deep introspection that he outlined in his essays on German guilt. Jaspers interrogates the common assumption that science is inherently objective. In his view, medicine is not simply a pure science, immune to the influence of politics, and it had lost its independent stance when it served the aims of the state. If medicine were to once again become a true science, physicians would have to return to an unbiased standard of research and care.

According to Jaspers, these crimes did not stem from National Socialism alone but grew out of a preexisting set of circumstances. Since the turn of the century, he explained, the two pillars of medicine, truth and respect for human existence (or science and humanity), had grown ever weaker, the result of a loss of unity between body and spirit that culminated in Nazi "delusions."[73] Jaspers would reinforce this message in a later address to a gathering of Swiss physicians on 6 June 1953, entitled "Die Idee des Artzes" (The Idea of the Doctor). In that speech, he argued against the ever-increasing phenomenon of medical specialization and advocated a comprehensive approach to the patient. Specialization, he believed, led to

the "apparatus-cization" of medicine and undermined the physician's capacity to make informed decisions. He envisioned instead a doctor-patient relationship in which both parties lived in a state of "reason and humanity."[74] Again, the crimes of Nazi medicine were not far from his mind. As he noted, the physician's task was to maintain the life of the individual, "in moments when life is being destroyed by the millions by human beings."[75] Alluding to the murder of Germany's mentally ill, he took special care to note that the proper relationship to the mentally impaired is one of respectful caregiving.

Jaspers applied this same set of questions to the broader matter of the sciences. In "Is Science Evil?" (published in the American journal *Commentary*), Jaspers argued that science was not to blame for the crimes committed under its aegis, but rather the perpetrators alone were culpable. "It is not the spirit of science but the spirit of its vessels that is depraved."[76] While Jaspers reiterated his belief in the objective foundations of science, he also suggested that Nazi crimes sprang from a psychological disturbance. In his 1946 essay "Die Wissenschaft im Hitlerstaat" (The Sciences in Hitler's State), Jaspers also claimed that science had strayed from the path of truth—and so from the essential core of its mission—when it tailored findings to meet the political needs of the day. While highly critical of the turn the sciences had taken under National Socialism, Jaspers also offered a nuanced view of researchers' complicity, noting that although cooperation was widespread it varied in degree. He even held out the possibility of an unconscious participation: "Some were unwittingly infiltrated by the poisonous atmosphere."[77] Jaspers describes fascism as a kind of miasma, a deadly cloud that infiltrates the body and mind.

Three key concepts unite Jaspers's diverse postwar writings. First, German culture would recover only if the individuals that comprised it found the means to address the subject of guilt. Second, this process would require not only the work of each citizen but also a philosophical shift that privileged the individual over the mass and revived humanist principles in the realm of science as well as politics. And third, this restoration of the individual would bring about, in turn, the collective recovery of the nation. Through the redemption of one, the community might be saved. While Jaspers emphasized a philosophical model reliant upon law and religion as the best means to achieve German rebirth, he, too, was not impervious to the discursive trends of his day: interwoven with his juridically and theologically oriented meditations on German guilt, we find references to fascism as a "disease" from which the nation must be cured.

Jaspers in Context

Famously, *The Question of German Guilt* found little resonance among leading postwar German philosophers—most notably, Martin Heidegger, whose silence on the question of guilt led Jaspers to push for his removal from the university.[78] This is not to say that the work went unnoticed, however. Jaspers's text exerted a substantial influence on the discourse of German responsibility almost immediately after its publication—whether directly, through its critical reception, or indirectly, through related essays that referenced, adopted, and adapted Jaspers's model.[79] Postwar journals and newspapers abounded with articles analyzing German complicity in Nazi crimes, and a survey of them reveals clear echoes of Jaspers's work.[80] The print media played an exceptionally important role in refashioning the nation after the fall of Hitler's regime: while book production resumed only slowly, the immediate postwar period witnessed a veritable renaissance in serial publications, with dozens of newspapers and journals springing up as soon as fighting ended. Today, these publications provide a key source of information about public debates of the immediate postwar period. The print media of the era give ample evidence that debates over the concept of collective guilt formed the core of discussions about German responsibility.

In a review for the Munich literary journal *Die Fähre,* Joachim Günther (later publisher of *Neue deutsche Hefte*) noted the recent rise of a German "guilt literature," including Jaspers's contribution. Günther expresses some uneasiness regarding the genre, which he finds "not altogether unjustified and yet superfluous" and derides as a "so to speak 'civically profitable' venture."[81] At the same time, Günther praises these postwar writers for having raised critical voices "even before Germany's hybrid Fall" and for having offered "correct diagnoses and prognoses," even if they had been "drowned out by the noise of mass hysteria."[82] Günther lauded both Jaspers, as one of the few living philosophers of European importance, and *The Question of German Guilt,* which he found "thoroughly competent to incite a worldwide discussion, if ever a German voice merited such an echo."[83]

Writer and cultural critic Otto Flake, who himself addressed the state of the nation in his 1946 essay "Die Deutschen" (The Germans),[84] declared in an essay on the question of guilt for *Merkur* that Jaspers was an "impartial, well-meaning, and just thinker, who thinks ahead so that others can reflect later."[85] In a follow-up piece in the journal's next issue, Max

Meister adopted Jaspers's framework, declaring that Germany faced the task of repentance. He explained:

> Atonement doesn't mean that you come off badly. It is a metaphysical cleansing process that pertains to guilt not as a political or legal matter, but as a metaphysical one. No one is excluded from this, even those who do not share in "the German guilt" by virtue of culpable action or omission.[86]

He further outlined the notion that German guilt stemmed from a condition of cultural crisis prevalent in all of Western civilization. The "dreadful spectacle" that Germany had offered to the world, according to Meister, was not the "isolatable manifestation of a particular national character" but rather "the symptom of a general cultural decline."[87] Meister clearly relies on Jaspers's vocabulary, from his emphasis on the need for cleansing to the assertion that there are various forms of guilt. In a favorable review of the *The Question of German Guilt* for *Welt und Wort,* Herbert Hupka also lauded Jaspers's approach and proclaimed, "after reading this book, all excuses and easy downplaying of one's own guilt must fall silent."[88]

While Karl Jaspers remains the best-remembered voice on the subject of guilt in postwar Germany, he was by no means the only voice, and his work must be understood as part of a broader cultural debate. Again and again, postwar publications demonstrate the existence of a substantial discussion of German complicity. Numerous writers adopted a Jaspers-like stance and emphasized that although Germans had some share in the rise of National Socialism, and hence in its actions, guilt resided primarily in the individual. While the notion of the collective remained an important tool in their analyses, these postwar intellectuals followed Jaspers in pleading for a differentiated conception of culpability.

In *Die Zeit,* conservative chief editor Richard Tüngel described "the guilty plea of the German *Volk*" and claimed that although Germans rejected resoundingly the idea of collective guilt, they were preoccupied nevertheless with the matter of responsibility and avidly consumed books on the subject. Tüngel argued that most Germans abhorred the actions of the Nazi regime, and he interpreted expressions of remorse as tantamount to an admission of guilt: "Remorse implies a sense of guilt, indeed, a veritable confession that every individual German has a part in the crimes that occurred."[89] Despite this sweeping claim, he advocated a complex under-

standing of the degrees of guilt, expressing sympathy, for example, for those who claimed that they knew nothing of the government's misdeeds. Tüngel praised thinkers outside Germany (in particular, Bertrand Russell) who offered a nuanced picture of German complicity and repentance. Tüngel contended that one could only speak of collective guilt on a political plane—a guilt that he declared, following Jaspers, should pertain to the entirety of the German electorate of 1933, which had failed to check the rise of National Socialism.

A writer for the youthfully oriented journal *Der Ruf* similarly decried the tendency to view the German people as collectively guilty, claiming that this view displayed symptoms of "the dreaded disease of our time, collectivism."[90] Along these lines, the author rejected the argument that the Sudeten expellees were more deserving of their postwar plight than their compatriots, since their wartime behavior had made them more blameworthy. According to the article, this attitude sprang from the same collective thinking that would castigate "*the* Germans," and signaled a failure to recognize that only individuals could bear the weight of guilt.[91]

In *Die Wandlung,* author Marie Luise Kaschnitz took a more expansive, theologically informed view of Germans' responsibility, describing the culture of questioning in postwar Germany as reminiscent of "the Last Judgment."[92] She declared that one nevertheless could speak of mass guilt, because modern society had transformed the individual's relationship to the collective:

> Precisely because the character of the individual has so wholly been folded into the powerful will of commonality [*Allgemeinheit*], it is possible to speak of mass guilt, of mass responsibility.[93]

Kaschnitz does not provide a simple solution to this shared guilt and claims that it is only mitigated by "our suffering and our hope for the coming day."[94] Kaschnitz invokes German suffering, and while she stops short of allowing this to justify the nation's crimes, she suggests that this suffering must be acknowledged. Employing language reminiscent of Freudian psychoanalysis, Kaschnitz argues that although Germans, confronted with the mass death of the war, are wont to minimize their own relatively trivial pains, still these memories cannot be forgotten: "Like enormous shadows, they rise up out of the past, and how often must we defend ourselves in dreams against the nightmare on our breast."[95] Kaschnitz envisions a collective trauma that coexists alongside mass guilt. While her view corre-

sponds to the larger postwar tendency to emphasize German suffering, it is also noteworthy for its construction of a collective consciousness. Drawing on discourses of mass culture, Kaschnitz figures the nation as a collective corpus, replete with a shared, wounded psyche.

Other journalists found the German discussion of guilt problematic precisely for its inclination to limit attention to a few key perpetrators, at the expense of a more comprehensive sense of shared responsibility. In a remarkable article penned for *Die Zeit,* returned exile journalist Ernst Friedlaender castigates the contemporary politics of blame as the residual element of Nazi propaganda. In "Siegfried and Hagen," Friedlaender identifies a postwar revival of the Nibelungen stab-in-the-back myth in a culture eager to resuscitate the mythic image of the "great and powerful hero, unbeatable in open combat, only able to be felled by means of betrayal."[96] "Since the inception of the unfortunate collective guilt thesis, the repression and falsification of history have become routine," he notes. Lacking a Communist or labor scapegoat to saddle with the blame for the German defeat, postwar critics instead accuse "treacherous officers . . . preferably active officers, preferably aristocratic active officers" for having caused the nation's collapse: "It is as though a part of Siegfried's own sword turned against him." In the meanwhile, as Friedlaender points out, this discourse links guilt not to the war but to the failure to win the war. In Friedlaender's analysis, this constitutes evidence that Nazi ways of thinking still continue to "infect" postwar culture: "True national self-criticism . . . serves the truth, because it knows that there is a slippery slope from error to illness, and from illness to the perpetration of crimes. Only a bond with the truth can make a people morally and politically healthy." He ends the essay with the hope that his fellow postwar Germans will cease to be "gullible" and instead become "unbelievers" in dangerous national myths. Friedlaender would go on to become an important commentator for *Die Zeit* and along with Marion Gräfin-Dönhoff eventually forced the resignation of editor Richard Tüngel after it was revealed that the publication had hired at least one former Nazi as a contributor.[97]

Friedlaender's article adds another dimension to the postwar debate on guilt, making clear that although many writers took issue with the notion of collective guilt, some also remained suspicious of efforts to exculpate the majority by blaming the few. Friedlaender was seconded by a critic for *Der Ruf,* who noted that, while most nations seemed to be softening their stance toward Germany's shared responsibility for atrocities, "the Germans for their part demonstrate ever more clearly the tendency to head

toward the opposite extreme and lay claim to a collective *innocence.*"[98] Although postwar authors almost universally joined the chorus condemning collective guilt, these articles prove that there were also voices pressing for continued debate on the matter. While these latter writers do not defend the concept of *Kollektivschuld,* they also reject the alternate schemas of blame emerging in its place.

These varied responses to the question of guilt indicate that postwar German intellectuals engaged in a far-reaching discussion about how to come to terms with the nation's past and present crisis. If few academic voices were heard on the subject, many more popular writers nevertheless wrestled with the knotty problem of how a nation that claimed preeminence as a center of culture could commit such barbarism. Following Jaspers, these authors argued against simplistic notions of collective guilt and advocated instead an understanding of responsibility as a complex, multilayered, and individual phenomenon. At the same time, they retained something of the concept of the collective, positing the new nation as a site of shared responsibility. In so doing, they set the terms of debate for decades to come.

Catastrophic Illness

If collective thinking was unproductive for conceptualizing guilt, it proved a powerful tool for those critics wanting to explain how the nation had come to support the Nazi regime, and seeking to demonstrate that, in its current condition, Germany required healing on a broad scale. Alongside those diverse approaches to the question of German responsibility outlined in the preceding pages, numerous texts appeared in the postwar years that presented the nation as a body suffering from a systemic malaise—as a German Patient. These texts employ corporeal metaphor to express Germany's current state of crisis and suggest possible solutions. While they vary widely in their precise formulation of the "German disease"—reading it as a poison, virus, or mental illness, to name a few—they share a common assumption that the nation is ailing and must seek a cure.

Two key tropes of illness emerge from these writings: contagion and systemic failure. Those texts organized around concepts of contagion orient themselves toward Germany's present and generally aim to combat the notion that postwar Germany remains "infectious." They deploy the metaphor of quarantine, suggesting that the nation finds itself isolated by

guilt, contained by its occupiers so that fascism will not spread. The second group of writings, which focus on questions of systemic failure, cast their gaze back into the German past to explain the country's susceptibility to fascism and trace the origins of the National Socialist "disease" back to the rise of modern mass culture. Within these two broad categories, we find further subtle but important variations, particularly in the work of the authors to identify the moment when the German national body first succumbed. Whereas some writers trace the disease back to the origins of Modernity and view National Socialism as the final expression of a long-standing decline, others seek a more contemporary source, blaming Allied occupiers for having constructed a postwar disease of guilt—so that not fascism, but rather the eradication of it, comes to be figured as the origin of Germany's present suffering.

An article appearing in *Der Ruf* exemplifies the use of illness metaphor to target the Allied occupation as the root cause of postwar Germany's ailments. Countering the official narrative of liberation, the article instead frames Germany as a victim of the arbitrary interventions of its occupying "doctor."[99] Entitled "Zwischen Freiheit und Quarantäne" (Between Freedom and Quarantine), the piece polemically attacks Allied denazification, which the author frames as a misguided form of national treatment designed to isolate the "diseased" nation. Linking illness and complicity, the author suggests that the notion of collective guilt has occasioned Germany's transformation into a kind of sick ward and has served only to alienate the nation from the rest of Europe.

> The German *Volk* wears the robes of the penitent. It has become a people living between freedom and quarantine, a people that, behind a Great Wall of collective guilt, is supposed to be educated toward the highest form of social freedom and self-determination.[100]

The mantle of collective guilt appears literally as a disease provoked by Allied treatment. The accompanying illustration, which depicts a series of walls dividing the four sections of Germany, underscores the idea that Germany's occupiers have cordoned off the territory like a contagious body and in the process imposed disease upon the nation. The writer suggests that the Allied policy toward Germany is inherently contradictory: the nation is being walled off at the very moment in which it is also being asked to develop a new tradition of democracy. In order to restore Germany's political health, the quarantine of collective guilt will have to be lifted.

Missing from this equation is any acknowledgment of the original crimes that inspired the discussion of collective guilt. Instead, the Allied "cure" here is itself figured as the illness, a move that shifts the blame for Germany's postwar woes away from the war's perpetrators and squarely onto the shoulders of its occupiers. Rather than the lingering effects of fascism, Germany is said to suffer from the impact of Allied treatment, and the cessation of that treatment appears as the precondition for true recovery.

In an article for *Die Zeit* entitled "Der Geist der Quarantäne," or "The Spirit of Quarantine," author Hanns Braun offered a similar attack on the Allies' "fear of contagion" in order to criticize the concept of collective guilt:

> We lived under Nazism, and as long as we did not die "one way or another" from that disease, we are, in the opinion of the majority of our Western liberators, tainted by it: we appear suspect to their eyes—like wandering bacillus carriers and latent fomites.[101]

Braun insists that the war's survivors, like its victims, do not form a homogeneous group. It was quite a different thing to die "one way or another" under National Socialism—that is, in the service of or at the hands of the state. Moreover, Braun contends that such collectivist concepts betray a dangerous faulty logic, and he sees in the Allied "spirit of quarantine" not only provincialism but also echoes of Nazi assertions about Jews and Communists. Taking aim at Allied attitudes toward the occupied state, Braun suggests that all-encompassing notions such as collective guilt falsely label all Germans as "sick," without providing adequate treatment.

Six months later, another writer for *Der Ruf* invoked the image of quarantine to discuss what he perceived as the woeful state of postwar culture, and once more, the metaphor served to critique Allied policy. While this article presents National Socialism as the originary "poison" that sickened the German nation, denazification appears as a similarly toxic antidote. Criticizing a number of trends in cultural circles, from the weak reception of Modernist art to the veneration of material goods, Hellmut von Cube contends that these attitudes are all "symptoms of the same disease . . . alienation from the spirit."[102]

> The infection occurred in 1933, and the poison had twelve years' time to take possession of an almost defenseless body. And the antitoxin of reeducation, which has been injected since 1945 mostly clumsily and

> to excess, has done little to combat the disease, particularly because the preconditions for healing were understandably adverse in Quarantine Zone Germany.[103]

Von Cube frames National Socialism as a disease caused by spiritual estrangement and depicts the nation's citizens as little more than hapless victims of infection. Moreover, the author accuses the Allies of having perpetuated the disease: "denazification injections" have failed, the German sick zone persists, and assertions of guilt are only exacerbating the situation. As von Cube explains a few lines later, Germany cannot be healed through "accusation" (*Anschuldigung*) or a "compulsory cure of education" (*Zwangskur der Schulung*).[104] As in the earlier example, the author argues that the best therapy would be to lift the national quarantine; the Allies could accomplish this by liberalizing international travel regulations, for example, permitting German students to study abroad. With this suggestion von Cube clearly appeals to the journal's target audience—*Der Ruf* was the self-declared publication for the "younger generation"—but he also aligns himself with writers claiming that the nation needs to recuperate from the collective illness of both fascism *and* Allied denazification. Precisely this language of disease and invasion—a metaphorology redolent with political significance in the years following National Socialism—would circulate just two years later as conservative politicians argued for the eradication of denazification programs as a "tumor on the body of the German *Volk*" and "a monstrous birth engendered by totalitarian thinking."[105]

The concept of contagion proved useful for writers wanting to assess Germany's postwar state and attack Allied efforts to "contain" the threat of fascism. In focusing on the metaphor of disease control and the politics of occupation and denazification, these analyses studiously avoided deeper historical investigation into the emergence and success of National Socialism. Those writers desiring to investigate fascism as the root cause of the country's devastation availed themselves of a different medical metaphor: systemic failure. They sought to offer historically informed diagnoses of the national past and spoke in broad terms about the social and political conditions leading up to Hitler's regime. Drawing on Weimar-era critiques of Modernity as fomenting a culture of crisis, they characterized the Nazi movement as the terrible expression of a sick age. Nazism appears in these analyses as the final stage of a far more extensive decline. Although these texts suggested that Germany provided fertile soil for Hitler, they also

posed the question of Nazism's origins and often implied that the movement was foreign to the nation. They portrayed Hitler's regime as parasitic, as an opportunistic disease that had infiltrated and infected a "susceptible" Germany. Thus while texts emphasizing systemic failure expressly critique National Socialism, they do so through a highly charged biopolitical rhetoric that retains many of the basic metaphors and concepts of national health so powerfully mobilized by Hitler's regime. Indeed, one might almost confuse certain of these texts, with their propensity to read German suffering as the consequence of a diseased modern culture, with earlier Nazi attacks on the Weimar state as decadent and degenerate—but for the important fact that, in the spirit of 1945, these texts no longer present National Socialism as a cure but instead present it as the final stage of a longer-term German illness.

The 1947 volume *Nach der Katastrophe* (After the Catastrophe) provides a good example of the complex and often convoluted attempts by postwar authors to identify the origins of German fascism. Author Wilhelm Hoffmann declared that one might trace the rise of National Socialism back to the unhealthy environment of German cities in recent years:

> The constitution of the average metropolitan German in these years was sick, or at the very least abnormal. And the sickly tension in which he lived prevented—indeed, was supposed to prevent—any awareness of this situation that might have led to a realization about its dreadful moral danger, a realization that could have crippled the will or, from the perspective of leadership, could have led it in a dangerous direction.[106]

Hoffmann depicts the city as a medium, a literal and figurative "culture" in which the germ of fascism grew. Invoking the concept of miasma familiar from social hygienic discourses about the perils of urban space, he suggests that the nation has failed at a structural level, creating an environment in which unhealthy politics could breed and spread unchecked. At the same time, Hoffmann's assertions about the city dweller's exposure to nervous excitement recalls earlier arguments about the impact of modern living on the individual: the "tension" (*Spannung*) of which he speaks not only invokes psychological and neurological discourses but also suggests electrification, a common motif in discussions of the metropolis and nervousness.[107] This tension, according to his analysis, resulted in a loss of sensation and the gradual deadening of feeling—a sort of paralysis in-

duced by overstimulation that he believes prevented Germans from properly perceiving the dangerous state of their society and thus prepared the nation for totalitarian rule.

In trying to locate further the origins of the German catastrophe, Hoffmann offers a typically confused postwar litany of explanations that distributes the blame for Germany's condition: according to his analysis, the main sources of German tension were "the bombing war, the tension of working life, inner terror, and political sensations."[108] While the mention of "terror" and "sensations" would seem to allude to the repressive tactics and propaganda of the Nazi state, the culture of work that he identifies invokes an industrialization process that began a hundred years before Hitler. Hoffmann's reference to bombardment clearly points toward the actions of Allied forces. This differs from the quarantine metaphor employed to critique occupation and denazification: Hoffmann does not single out the air war as the principal cause of German wartime nervousness or postwar suffering. In suggesting that the air war, if perhaps unwittingly, fostered rather than helped to fight National Socialism, Hoffmann nevertheless confers responsibility for the German decline on the victors as well as the vanquished—locating the trigger for the nation's "disease" both within and beyond Germany.

Significantly, Hoffmann also presents "the German" as a hapless and victimized patient of historical processes: "A person's body can become so tense with fear that the surgeon, who wants to undertake a small procedure, cannot cut through the skin. A similar tension between fear and sensation coursed through the German being during the past six years—and even earlier."[109] While Hoffmann grants some responsibility to individuals, as when he notes that "the German . . . was not simply forced into a state of constant readiness by propaganda and terror, . . . but rather he joined in a great many foolish and senseless actions," such assertions are drowned out by his far more numerous references to Germany as "sick."[110] His book ultimately positions the nation as a suffering body in a fashion inimical to any thoroughgoing discussion of personal guilt: "The German is sick—as much in need of healing [*Heilung*] as of sanctification [*Heiligung*]."[111] Moreover, this disease is one clearly conferred upon the German body by outside forces. Note the language of the first epigraph at the opening of this chapter. Hoffmann depicts the nation as a patient that has unsuccessfully fought off and succumbed to disease. Although he emphasizes German resistance, he also characterizes it as futile. While the metaphor of illness thus serves Hoffmann's efforts to critique National Socialism, it also

provides a neat means to sidestep any thorough analysis of individual agency or responsibility. Caught up in the "tensions" of Weimar and Nazi Germany, "the German" of Hoffmann's analysis appears a victim of fate—and not a perpetrator.

In *Führer und Verführte* (The Leader and the Misled, or, alternately, The Leader and the Seduced), author Hans Windisch adopts a biopolitical rhetoric that uncannily echoes National Socialist rhetoric of a physically depleted German nation. As he explains at the outset of his book, he hopes to seek the "medical" reality behind the country's collapse: "Naturally, this text seeks the truth. But not a juridical truth—it would be senseless to discuss that, since history has already spoken. What we seek for ourselves is a biological, almost medical truth regarding the seemingly sudden decline of a seemingly healthy organism."[112] For Windisch, legal explanations have a limited value: "History has already spoken." His language echoes contemporary complaints that the Nuremberg Trials were little more than a case of "victor's justice" that presumed German guilt. Instead, a physician's approach is called for when approaching a *Volk* that is no longer healthy but rather "purely biologically exhausted."[113] He rejects the notion that "political immaturity" explains the German attraction to National Socialism and instead argues that the nation suffers from "biological overmaturity [*Überreife*], it is not infantile, but rather the symptom of a complete confusion and disorganization in the entire organism of a people."[114] With its emphasis on a nation in decline, Windisch's rhetoric harkens back to the Spenglerian cultural pessimism common earlier in the century, while seeming to ignore the more recent resonances of such language with Nazi ideological framings of the national body.

Although Windisch characterizes fascism as the outgrowth of the nation's collective illness, what is most striking in his account are the parallels between his phrasing and Nazi characterizations of the *Volkskörper.* Both represent the nation as a body that, under attack from foreign influences, must be restored to health, and both see the decadence of modern times as the source of Germany's decline. Rather than attempting to do away with biopolitical understandings of the nation, Windisch simply adds National Socialism to the list of modern ailments, instead of potential treatments.

Windisch singles out Modernity as the main culprit behind the nation's biological exhaustion:

> If ever a *Volk* exemplified the true meaning of the spirit of the masses, of an age of the masses, then the Germans have. The manner in which

> the mechanism of mass hysteria unfolds cannot serve as an "excuse." But it can serve as an explanation. At best, we can say by way of excuse for the Germans that historical crises were never stemmed by the methods of reason, and that the German *Volk* was particularly predestined to be susceptible to all manner of the pathos of the mass. What remains, however, is the fact that the entire culture of white man [*der weißen Menschheit*] is succumbing to industrial massification—that is *the* problem of our age. And herein lies the reason for the indeterminate fear that has seized everyone so deeply: that once again, somewhere, monstrous masses could break free, with new groups of the misled following new leaders, avalanche-like, unstoppable, destroying *everything*—so that the path would be free: a return to our primitive origins [*Uranfang*].[115]

Identifying industrialization as the key problem of the age, Windisch takes care to locate the illness of modern living within the wider framework of the "white" world. If his country was especially susceptible to "mass hysteria," it was not the sole nation that modern mass culture threatened to overwhelm. Following Windisch's analysis, National Socialism represents an egregious example of a more general international phenomenon. While this recalls some of the arguments advanced by Telford Taylor at the Nuremberg Trials about the global threat of totalitarianism, Windisch's argument also manages to strip the Nazi movement of much of its sociocultural specificity. Germany, like many other advanced nations, suffers from the deleterious effects of a "lifeless technology," and even as he speaks of a German destiny, Windisch suggests it may have been coincidence that the "outbreak" of fascism occurred there.[116]

In employing such rhetoric, Windisch positions himself with a longstanding critique of Modernity that was not exclusively fascist, or even exclusively conservative. Thus one finds echoes of this idea embedded in Karl Jaspers's call for German culture to slough off the mechanization of modern life and return to its earlier humanist roots. What is striking in Windisch, however, is the ease with which he adopts the rhetoric of physical exhaustion and calls for German renewal without ever reflecting on the deadly recent legacy of such language. He presumes that the concept of the national body requires no revision, and the search for a cure continues.

A comparable idea runs through one of the best-known accounts of the German crisis from this period, historian Friedrich Meinecke's 1946 *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (*The German Catastrophe*). Meinecke makes a

more substantial attempt than many of his contemporaries to locate the evolution of Nazism along a historical continuum, and he identifies Prussian militarism and bourgeois materialism as key elements enabling Hitler's rise. The result is a more detailed analysis than the sort of vague diagnostics offered by Hoffmann and Windisch. Yet like his contemporaries, Meinecke relies on a similar assessment of Modernity as a disease-inducing development, with fascism representing the "final stage" of illness.

Like numerous postwar critics, Meinecke identifies a process of national decline ensuing from the mechanical nature of life under the modern work regime, which he claims caused an imbalance in the rational and irrational forces of the spirit.[117] He contends that excessive rationalism had led to the rise of irrational impulses, with the result that "*homo faber* supplanted *homo sapiens,*" that is, the producing man replaced the thinking man.[118] This transition introduced, according to Meinecke, a systemic "process of moral degeneration of European society"[119] that in Germany culminated in the creation of a new species, the "new German degenerate Hitler-type" (*neudeutsch entartete*[*s*] *Hitlermenschentum*).[120] Fascism appears as the malformed offspring of a culture beset by moral and—implicitly—biological degradation.

Despite such depictions of systemic malaise, however, Meinecke does not follow Windisch in representing National Socialism as the result of a wholly degenerate culture. Instead, he characterizes German fascism as a singular aberration, distinct from the body of the *Volk:*

> The German *Volk* was not fundamentally sick with a criminal disposition, but rather suffered a onetime serious infection resulting from a poison that was instilled in it. If this had continued to impact the body for a longer period of time, the case might have become hopeless.[121]

In a manner altogether typical for postwar criticism, this passage employs a striking array of mixed metaphors—from sickness to criminality to infection to poison—that render National Socialism a danger to public health in every conceivable way. Following Meinecke, the criminal and "poisonous" spirit of National Socialism had made Germany thoroughly sick. Yet Meinecke insists on the temporary nature of the disease: despite serious infection, the nation is not yet incurable. Predictably perhaps, Meinecke implicitly includes himself among the healthy, positioning himself as a diagnostician who, by virtue of his own power to identify the root causes of the German illness, appears immune.

Meinecke further develops the concept of the "good Germany" just a few lines later, when he makes clear which elements of German society are to blame for the fascist "disease." Speaking of his own wartime perspective on the German condition, he recalls:

> While I was comforted by my faith that the German *Volk* would be able to find its way back to its better self after the terrible lesson that it had received, and to eliminate the parasite of Hitlerism from its blood, I never forgot the connections between that Hitlerism and the social and spiritual development that preceded it, the intoxication with power prevalent since Bismarck's time in broad circles of the upper classes, the decline in their spirit and growth of materialism, in addition to the still older constriction and torpor inherent in Prussian militarism, and the manner in which all of this was bound up with the transformation of the *homo sapiens* into the *homo faber* and its despiritualizing effect.[122]

While Meinecke's analysis bears note for its identification of diverse historical reasons for fascism, his charged biopolitical language remains uncomfortably close to that of Nazi rhetoric, a point that becomes still clearer in later characterizations of Hitler as a "parasitic," "demonic,"[123] and "disturbed" personality who endangered the country's "political, intellectual, and moral health."[124]

A generous reading would suggest that Meinecke, as in his earlier invocation of "degeneracy," intends to use the notion of parasitism critically, disrupting its connotations by applying it to National Socialism. We might compare Meinecke's strategy here to that of those émigré writers who attempt to turn the tables on National Socialism by using the movement's own language in order to critique it. Yet while this trick of inversion presents National Socialism as a problem rather than a cure, it has further, more disturbing implications. Meinecke's mode of argument also indicates a troubling intellectual continuity: he offers a biopolitical reading of national history that retains the notion of a healthy national body and simply seeks to alter the definition of disease. The characterization of Hitler as a parasite implies that the dictator infiltrated a helpless nation, an idea that not only undermines the book's own assertions about the historical underpinnings of National Socialism but also plays into the developing discourse that views the Nazi leadership as an isolated group of madmen. Moreover, in presenting Germany as a collective body under attack, Mei-

necke displaces blame for the nation's downfall on a few highly contagious individuals.[125] Most problematically, when Meinecke suggests that the nation can heal itself only through the isolation and elimination of its unhealthy elements (the "Hitlerian types") he implies the need for postwar policies of "extermination." Of course, Meinecke does not call for such aggressive intervention: he closes his study by proposing the establishment of Goethe societies around the nation, which would restore German culture through the embracing of Enlightenment principles. Like Jaspers, Meinecke evinces a general faith in a German tradition of humanism as the key to postwar restoration. Along the way, however, the historian also exhibits a striking and troubling debt to the intellectual legacy of National Socialism—presenting a world that can be cured only if it can root out its degenerate elements.

Taken together, these texts provide ample evidence that multiple approaches to the question of German guilt circulated in the years immediately following the war. While Karl Jaspers's *The Question of German Guilt* exerted a powerful influence on contemporary views of culpability, it marked just one contribution to the larger German debate about how to understand and treat the German past. Many thinkers shared his skepticism about collective guilt while not partaking in his larger critique of collectivist thinking. For these writers, such all-encompassing categories provided an essential framework with which to examine the larger impact of National Socialism on the nation. Drawing on corporeal metaphors, they characterized Germany as a single, sickly organism. In their analyses, this common illness served to complicate the question of collective guilt. These authors sought a model beyond guilt and innocence, and painted a portrait of the complex interplay between an opportunistic movement and a susceptible population.

Germany—Sick or Guilty?

It is this relationship between the "germ" of Nazism and the "patient-body" of the German nation that a colleague of Karl Jaspers's, physician and author Wilhelm Kütemeyer, explores in a 1948 article in *Die Wandlung*. In "Deutschland—schuldig oder krank?" (Germany—Sick or Guilty?) Kütemeyer offers a theory of collective illness that incorporates a concept of responsibility, and argues that Germany is both sick *and* guilty.[126] Through this model, Kütemeyer attempts a critical engagement with the

ideas of Jaspers's seminal text. Kütemeyer asks whether one should more properly characterize the "evil that befell us" as a disease (*Krankheit*) or as a crime (*Verbrechen*).[127] Kütemeyer makes an effort to retain both concepts and insists that Nazi atrocities were crimes resulting from illness. In his analysis, he proposes a fundamental departure from Jaspers and argues in favor of a notion of unconscious, compulsive guilt.

Informed contemporary readers would have recognized the dialogue between the two approaches when Kütemeyer's article appeared in *Die Wandlung*. Even if they did not know about Jaspers's association with the publication, the resonance between the two *Schuld* titles was unmistakable. It is even possible that Jaspers arranged for the inclusion of Kütemeyer's essay in the journal. Kütemeyer belonged to the medical faculty at the University of Heidelberg, and Jaspers would almost certainly have been aware of his work, just as Kütemeyer doubtless knew Jaspers's contributions to the guilt debate. Taken together, these texts illustrate the competition between alternate postwar theories about how to treat the German condition.

Kütemeyer had been active in publishing since 1929 and had helped to edit and translate several works by philosopher Søren Kierkegaard.[128] According to the book jacket biography for a later work, Kütemeyer chose not to emigrate in 1934 but instead to switch careers and enter the field of medicine—clearly suggesting that physicianship offered a refuge from the perils of National Socialism, despite the known role of medicine in Nazi genocidal policies.[129] In pursuit of this new career, Kütemeyer worked under the tutelage of famed Heidelberg physician Viktor von Weizsäcker. Von Weizsäcker mentored another fledgling doctor who would soon become famous in his own right for his writings on German guilt: Alexander Mitscherlich. All three were proponents of a psychosomatic philosophy of medicine, which held that disease had its roots in the psyche.[130] Their theoretical approach dominated the Heidelberg medical school in the postwar period, and as Matthias Bormuth has shown, Jaspers grew increasingly critical of von Weizsäcker's work, which ultimately led to a bitter public break between Jaspers and the other Heidelberg physicians.[131]

Their split had two main causes. On the one hand, Jaspers held that science had remained principally untainted by the transgressions of doctors under National Socialism. Von Weizsäcker, like his former student Mitscherlich, held a more critical view.[132] Kütemeyer shared the opinions of his mentor and argued that the discipline of medicine was thoroughly sick. This is not to say that Kütemeyer or his cohort implicated their own psychoanalytic practice in this diagnosis. As Geoffrey Cocks points out,

Mitscherlich and Mielke's earlier account of the Nuremberg Trials had focused on the issue of medical experiments, and not on the role that psychiatrists had played in the Nazi euthanasia program.[133] Even more telling, the inaugural issue of *Psyche* (founded by Mitscherlich in 1949) declared the journal to be the only venue dedicated to continuing the work of those analysts forced to cease practicing under National Socialism—suggesting Mitscherlich's school of depth psychology was free of any brown taint, despite the fact that, according to Cocks, the school grew in some measure out of the work of the Nazi-era Göring Institute.[134] As the subsequent pages will show, Kütemeyer held a similar view of psychoanalysis as the ideal framework for examining Nazism's origins.

Jaspers and von Weizsäcker also had sharply differing views on psychoanalytic theory. Von Weizsäcker's belief in psychosomatic illness relied on the notion that the psychoanalyst could unveil the true source of a patient's illness. Jaspers had long been critical of the doctor-patient relationship in psychoanalysis, feeling it perpetuated a dangerous power imbalance in their communications. In contrast to the couch sessions of Freudian practice, Jaspers imagined an ideal therapeutic scenario as one in which analyst and analysand engaged in conversation as equals. This carried over to his thinking in *The Question of German Guilt,* in which he stressed that the individual must take responsibility for his own complicity in the Nazi regime and essentially "cure" himself of guilt.

In "Germany—Sick or Guilty?" Kütemeyer constructs a model of responsibility that denies the importance of conscious, rational choice at both the moment of "infection" and in the pursuit of the cure. Unlike Jaspers, Kütemeyer does not include himself explicitly in the population that he hopes to diagnose, and instead he situates himself outside of the sick national body and adopts the position of a healing physician. The German Patient of his account is unconscious and awaiting medical intervention. His article pursues three questions: Can one really speak of illness in the German case? What is the pathogenesis of the nation's disease? And what sort of therapy is possible?

Kütemeyer openly addresses the advantages and drawbacks of his illness model. As he states at the outset of his essay, disease provides an appealing rubric for understanding a phenomenon that defies rational explanation:

> The reason we are so inclined to assume that the present German calamity [*Unheil*] may be understood better under the rubric of illness

> than that of guilt is this: the continued impenetrability of the catastrophic event; the fact that all of our good will appears entirely inadequate to prevent the calamity or repair it; indeed, that it was and is precisely the high level and intensity of such "best efforts" [*des "guten Einsatzes"*] that ensnared us in such evil and permitted it to grow unchecked. Just as with a disease that seems to function blindly, without any logic, which attacks us at the very moment when we are in our prime, for natural and unnatural reasons, and which evades the grasp of our understanding.[135]

For Kütemeyer, the concept of illness becomes useful precisely in those moments when one is confronted with the irrational—in this instance, the occasion of his country's descent into National Socialism. Kütemeyer's characterization of Germany's present as one of *Unheil* is also noteworthy. While an altogether common phrase in postwar literature on the German condition, the term resonates particularly strongly with the prevailing discourses on national health. Although accurate, the translation of *Unheil* as "calamity" or "disaster" unfortunately loses the associative force of the original. *Un* negates the word *Heil,* which means "whole" or "healthy," as in the English word *hale.* But the prefix also has the peculiar effect of inverting the infamous Hitler greeting—which, while generally understood to mean "hail," also carries with it the injunction to "heal." The deployment of the word *Unheil* thus, consciously or no, aligns conveniently with efforts by postwar thinkers to refute Nazi claims to heal the nation.

Yet as Kütemeyer acknowledges, the use of disease as an interpretive framework poses potential problems:

> On the other hand, we shy away from using the concept of illness to characterize our terrible condition because we thereby lose accountability and declare ourselves incompetent; we become simply fellow travelers in a fate to which we feel an inner connection, if not with the core of our being, then with substantial parts of that being. In characterizing a dysfunction as a disease, we excuse it. In the process, however, we rob the sick individual of the freedom to do not just evil, but also good, and when we forgo the possibility of punishing him, we also forgo the possibility of making him better.[136]

Kütemeyer introduces and then promptly rejects the idea that one preempts discussion of responsibility by characterizing the Third Reich as a

mass disease. He insists that guilt and illness are not incompatible but rather closely connected phenomena and emphasizes the critical importance of understanding their interrelation: failure to do so means relinquishing all hope of healing the patient. For Kütemeyer, illness is not a condition bereft of agency.

According to Kütemeyer, the individual trained in psychoanalysis could discern that "in [Hitler's] Germany, something was occurring on a grand scale that was already familiar to him on a small scale from his patients. He could recognize that here an entire *Volk* was suffering from a serious and acute psychic disorder."[137] Kütemeyer posits Germany as a collective psyche awaiting diagnosis. At the same time, he argues that the German medical establishment could not properly treat the nation's disease as it emerged, because medicine itself was the sickest institution of all.[138] Under National Socialism, the doctor and patient were equally unhealthy.

Kütemeyer further reflects on the inadequacies of traditional psychological models for explaining large sociocultural tendencies. While medicine includes the science of pathology, there was "no scientific concept of pathology that could contribute to a psychopathology of supraindividual organisms." A pathology of science, instead, was required to explain the psychic workings of larger entities like nations.[139] Kütemeyer stresses the need for a psychological study of institutions, because we have only a limited understanding of the physiology of these "life forms" and know little more of their pathology than that it exists. He argues that the state is not just "a sum of individuals," that "talk of the 'body of the *Volk*' [*Volksleib*] [is] not just a metaphor."[140] Rather than reject the notion of the national body, Kütemeyer embraces it as a key concept for effecting collective recovery.

Kütemeyer proposes a new understanding of illness as a condition that is self-induced. Here he shows his debt to von Weizsäcker and psychosomatic medicine:

> Illness would then be something that we bring about ourselves by circumventing our freedom in the impenetrable space of the body, in a self-alienated self. And recovery would only then be possible if we knew how to read the language of the body that comes into being beyond the realm of our own arbitrary will. To understand an ill [*ein Übel*] as a disease would not mean to excuse it, but rather to understand guilt so deeply that one is responsible even for that which is involuntary.[141]

Kütemeyer contends that disease—whether personal or national—results from a state of alienation. The alienated individual undergoes a split that in turn produces illness, a corporeal language that we must learn to interpret. The outbreak is not innocent or accidental, according to this scheme, because guilt resides in the deepest stratum of the mind, at the level of the unconscious. By way of example, Kütemeyer cites the concept of original sin: man is always already guilty.[142]

Kütemeyer singles out several signs of collective illness and warns his compatriots against a false sense of health and innocence.[143] Like other proponents of the systemic failure model of German history, he claims that "mass madness" (*Massenwahn*) erupted during the crisis period of the Weimar years, and he identifies Friedrich Hölderlin and Friedrich Nietzsche as harbingers and victims of this mass illness. Kütemeyer argues that postwar Germany is not yet well and continues to experience "the continuation of the sickness, just with other symptoms."[144] He gives a name to the disease, arguing that the nation, and indeed all of old Europe, suffers from "schizophrenia."[145] Kütemeyer applies the concept of the split subject to the wider culture, which he portrays as unaware of its own fragmentation:

> In each case, one of the competing entities was forced out of sight, underground, and from that point forward it functioned as an intangible, antagonistic force, always appearing at the other's back, mysterious and uncanny—a second, enemy self, so to speak, that, like an unshakeable foe hidden beneath a cloak of invisibility, delivers the severest of blows to itself. Great conflicts were present in this *Volk,* but they were not faced head-on, but instead repressed. For this reason they functioned in a pathological manner, so injurious that, in the end, guilt and illness grew inextricably entangled.[146]

With this division, a dangerous Doppelgänger emerges. Nazism, to follow Kütemeyer's analogy, functions as a kind of latent evil twin. According to Kütemeyer, the guilt for the emergence of National Socialism must be placed with Weimar culture, which inadvertently created its own destroyer. Kütemeyer's borrowing of the "cloak of invisibility" image from Nibelungen lore furthers the idea that Germany became its own worst foe. According to the saga, Siegfried donned this magical garment first to win Brunhild for Günther, by besting her in a series of athletic events, and then, after she became Günther's bride, to tame her through rape. Kütemeyer

breaks with the stab-in-the-back legend popularized in the 1920s and aligns the nation not with Siegfried but rather with Brunhild, who suffered both military and sexual defeat. Postwar readers would have recognized the Siegfried mythos as a key narrative of Nazism; Brunhild provides an alternative figure with which the author can express the nation's victimization at the hands of its adversarial self.

The crimes committed by physicians under National Socialism were yet another symptom of Germany's widespread disease, according to Kütemeyer. He describes the murder of the mentally ill, under a regime that had made disease itself a punishable offense, as a weighty chapter in the "*history of illness in the modern healing arts* and in modern science as a whole."[147] He insists that the killings, an official secret, must be understood as crimes, but then asks:

> Was this guilt not perhaps a sickness? Did not these doctors who carried out the killing act out of such a state of voluntary compulsion, of the sort that was so characteristic for many Germans in recent years? Were they murderers or were they just exponents of a political union that itself had succumbed to an epidemic of clouded consciousness, indeed, darkening of the spirit?[148]

In reading Nazi doctors as symptomatic of their times, Kütemeyer hints that his fellow Germans must take an expansive view of guilt: by implication, at least, the entire nation suffered from the same ailment. Yet Kütemeyer is not interested here in promoting an idea of collective guilt: although he brands National Socialism's homicidal physicians as criminals, he leaves open how such crimes are best treated and suggests that these acts are more appropriately investigated on the couch than in the courtroom. In the process, he risks betraying his own earlier assertions that illness need not serve as an exculpatory model. While he insists on the voluntary nature of German compulsion, his vague assertion regarding the era's broader "clouded consciousness" suggests that Nazism itself cannot even be blamed for its own excesses, since the movement itself appears to have "succumbed" passively to its own madness. Here it is useful to recall Karl Jaspers's debate with Hannah Arendt on this matter. Jaspers insisted that Nazi atrocities should be viewed as crimes—to do otherwise was to place them beyond the reach of jurisprudence. In contrast, Kütemeyer seems to say that the law provides only for a partial understanding of what drove these men to murder. Kütemeyer argues that Germany must be understood

as both guilty *and* sick, although one might not easily discern the relationship between the two: "That Germany is sick *and* guilty—or guilty in the form of illness, sick in the guise of guilt—this means that one is concealed in the other."[149]

Kütemeyer argues that Germany requires intensive therapy but warns that the nation must take care in selecting a proper course of treatment. National Socialism was a disease that had been mistaken for a cure: Fascism "wanted to be a medication against Bolshevism," he explains, "and therein lay one of the main reasons that so many Germans were receptive to it."[150] Kütemeyer insists that there will be no easy remedy, but that it is nevertheless indispensable for a continent on the path to suicide. Turning to Kierkegaard, Kütemeyer cites the philosopher's claim that only traitors could save Christianity, because they would revolutionize its declining state. The nation today needed such a heretic, and Kütemeyer found one in Russia, "God's ultimatum to Germany and Europe."[151] Against this negative example, Kütemeyer hopes Christians will find the inspiration to reform themselves and renew the faith. Previous attempts at a cure had thus far failed, he notes. Referring to the war as a kind of wide-scale "shock therapy," he surmises that the treatment was unsuccessful because it did not penetrate to the level where guilt and illness commingle.[152] Germany's only hope of healing itself would come through exploring the nation's psychic depths, through subjecting the spirit, and not simply the body, to psychoanalytic intervention.

Writing on the question of guilt in the first years after the war, Karl Jaspers and Wilhelm Kütemeyer each offered a view of how to conceive of Germans' responsibility for the atrocities committed under National Socialism, and each attempted to provide a path to collective healing. Each was concerned with the role that medicine would play in the postwar world, and each believed that the sciences would have to undergo their own process of reconciliation to overcome their state of crisis. Yet their texts reflect sharply different models for how to treat the nation. They represent two divergent strands in the larger postwar discourse on the origins and effects of fascism.

Jaspers has long been considered the preeminent theorist of the *Schuldfrage,* and there can be no doubt that his text played a central role in the nation's efforts to come to terms with its recent history. But Jaspers did not provide the sole framework with which to understand the Nazi past. Kütemeyer, along with many other thinkers employing an image of a "sick" Germany, provided another potent model for investigating the nation's relationship to National Socialism. In postwar Germany, these dis-

courses existed side-by-side. One followed Jaspers's text and saw the nation as a kind of German Defendant, on trial for the crimes of Hitler's regime. The second appears in the writings of authors like Meinecke and Kütemeyer; according to that narrative, the nation formed a sickly body, a German Patient.

The Strange Case of the "Miracle Doctor"

In the late summer of 1949, German publications printed a spate of articles concerning the rise of a popular faith healer. Bruno Gröning, better known simply as the Miracle Doctor, was attracting would-be patients by the thousands. For its 7 July issue, the newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* made Gröning the subject of its cover story, discussing his widespread following and investigating his claim to cure the masses.[153] The focus of the *Spiegel* article was not Gröning's appeal alone but also the reactions of German authorities to his gatherings. As *Der Spiegel* reports, the government of North Rhein-Westphalia invoked a 1939 law governing health practitioners and prohibited Gröning from treating patients, while at the same time Hamburg officials cancelled a scheduled appearance by the doctor "due to the threat to public security."[154] At the time of the article's publication, Gröning's entourage, in response to this unwanted intervention, had abandoned its Herford headquarters and headed for parts unknown.

Although the Miracle Doctor must be considered something of an oddity, even in an era as unsettled as late-1940s Germany, his case nevertheless exemplifies the particular demands and dilemmas surrounding the postwar German need for physical and psychic recuperation. Gröning's case is noteworthy, not least for the seriousness with which he was regarded by those seeking treatment and by governmental authorities. As a reporter for the *New York Times* noted, Gröning operated in a climate ripe for such faith healing:

> A medical expert here asserted that even if he devoted himself to "that kind of patient he is going to have a whole lot [of patients] in a country that has suffered so much from bombing and terror."[155]

Nor was there a shortage of willing "doctors" for the nation, as the left-leaning youth publication *Der Ruf* reported in an article detailing the postwar rise of faith healers. The 1947 piece predates Bruno Gröning's rise to fame, but it speaks to the conditions that facilitated his success. Noting

that the journal had received numerous submissions from would-be "special consultants" in matters of personal health, the author declared:

> If we wanted to, we could solve nearly all postwar problems, *from collective guilt to potato beetles,* should we decided to lend credence to and implement any of the many faith recipes that have been offered up.[156]

As contemporaneous sources show, the doctor's methods of treatment raised difficult questions about the nation's real and imagined ailments, about the need to control the treatment process for its guilt, and about the continued existence of the sort of mass persuasion associated with the National Socialist era.

Gröning appealed to audiences with a vague spiritualism and the message that society must return to a more natural way of living, in terms that echoed an earlier conservative rhetoric of German decline: "We have retreated from nature and gone over to culture. In other words, we have elevated ourselves, only to lower ourselves in the process."[157] He claimed to heal his patients through a variety of techniques, including long-distance diagnosis and the transmission of energy through aluminum foil balls known as "Gröning Spheres" (sold on site for 50 DM apiece).[158] He even declared that he could effect cures through paper: "I need only to throw scraps of paper among the people, and anyone who finds one will be healed, if he has the faith."[159] Gröning staff members practiced similarly mystical methods, like the acolyte who directed cure-seekers at one gathering to "spread out their hands in their pockets and press them toward the soil, because this field is a hallowed field of radiant energy. If you hold your fingers to the earth you will absorb the rays directly."[160]

At the same time, Gröning dodged reporters' queries about his precise methods and invoked faith in God as the only prerequisite for healing. When confronted with questions about cases that went awry—like one young patient who, "cured" of diabetes, ceased his insulin treatments and fell into a nearly fatal coma—Gröning was similarly evasive. Declaring that his failure rate was not worse than that of conventional practitioners, he boasted of his many successes and went so far as to issue a warning to those campaigning against him:

> I am proud of the fact that I don't punish my enemies. But if they don't stop making difficulties for me here—foreign nations are already pursuing me. I want to give things another chance with Germany.

> They ought to be glad and say: this is a German, we ought to keep him. But if I am banned, blood and thunder will be sure to follow![161]

Gröning suggests that the regional government, if it is to act in its best interests, must campaign to keep him, and he threatens an outright insurrection if he is prohibited from practicing. While his remarks have a fire-and-brimstone quality, they also serve to underscore his status as a *German* healer of Germans. His threats to go abroad imply that, without his aid, the larger project of collective national recovery will suffer. In other of his addresses, Gröning indicated a similar megalomania, as when he informed one crowd: "I could simply declare that all Germans are healthy. But I will not, because I want to heal the person first myself!"[162]

It was by no means unusual for German authorities to pursue a faith healer like Gröning, and there is a longer history of such state interventions. Yet the case is striking for the sort of anxiety and skepticism that permeate the governmental and media reactions to the healer's popularity. The doctor's detractors were not only doubtful of his abilities (and actively worked to debunk his claims, for example, gathering testimonials of disappointed cure-seekers) but also of his avowal of disinterested altruism. One report noted the spectacle surrounding Gröning's operation, which included cameras and klieg lights,[163] while another observed that the doctor's assistant, Egon Arthur Schmidt, was encouraging followers with the command, "maintain your faith in God," and asking them to contribute to the healer's organization, that is, to keep the faith and send cash![164] Gröning's opponents further speculated that his treatments might work through mass psychology, a suspicious method given the extensive discussion of National Socialism's influence on German crowds. Asked about this possibility, one *Spiegel* source explained: "In the case of such an unstable, undifferentiated mass, mass suggestion can occur. You say that academics number among Gröning's followers. But a formal education does not offer protection against hysteria."[165]

The potential dangers of such group persuasion were made still more apparent in the *Gegenwart* article, which noted:

> If Gröning wanted to found a political party or a religious sect, he would find followers. But even these waiting masses, bound to him by the magic circle of unconditional faith, form a sociopolitical movement, whose direction is not yet clear. Is it possible that a concealed modern spiritualism is expressing itself here in the form of therapy?[166]

In this light, it is not difficult to understand why regional authorities perceived Gröning as a "threat to public safety" and took quick action to quell his movement. In addition to the long-standing prohibitions against faith healers, these accounts demonstrate that contemporary observers saw in the healer's popularity shades of the persuasive powers of Nazi leaders. The descriptions of Gröning's "mass suggestion" and the resulting "hysteria" invoke the language of group psychology. The analysis of group mentality was inaugurated at the turn of the century by thinkers like Gustav Le Bon, but it took on a pointed political significance three decades later when psychologists, most notably Wilhelm Reich, attempted to interpret the far-reaching appeal of fascism. Gröning's followers seemed likely candidates for such scrutiny: as the previously cited source notes, his crowd of adherents could already be said to form a political community.

News accounts further indicate that Gröning's closest supporters did not represent a new, postwar constituency but rather had their roots in the dubious political world of National Socialist Germany. Reporting from Munich, the *New York Times* noted:

> The crowds [of Gröning's followers] form outside the *Traubenhof,* a small but neat restaurant where Adolf Hitler was reported to have done much of the organizing of the National Socialist movement in the early nineteen twenties. The present proprietor, Johann Holzmuller, is one of the miracle man's principal supporters. Other backers are reported to include some very close friends of Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop but Herr Groening insists that his actions have no political motivation and he is not interested in material things.[167]

In rather less direct, if equally suggestive terms, the journalist for *Der Spiegel* suggested similar ties, commenting that Gröning assumed "a *Führer*-pose" while being interviewed[168] and identifying Gröning's right-hand man, Egon Arthur Schmidt, as the former police contact to the Berlin Propaganda Ministry.[169] Perhaps the magazine's strongest comment on Gröning came in the form of the photomontage that graced the magazine's cover of 7 July 1949 (fig. 2). Gröning's head and shoulders—larger than life, his face exhibiting a resolute gaze—loom before a field of adoring, uplifted faces. Without ever calling it such, the image clearly suggests that Gröning enjoys a cult following.

The debate that ensued with Gröning's rise to prominence represents

Fig. 2. "Miracle Doctor" Bruno Gröning, surrounded by devotees. (Reprinted courtesy of *Der Spiegel.*)

a single thread in a much larger discussion about how to "cure" Germany of National Socialism. But his case, however select, illuminates the politicization of recuperation, in a postwar context in which medicine itself was in crisis and the figure of the doctor was viewed, not simply as a healer of bodies, but also as a bearer of disease. When the authorities intervened to shut down Gröning's practice, they were clearly motivated by concern that he might harm his patients. But his mass appeal can have played no small part in the regional government's considerations: as their actions indicate, not all modes of treatment were desirable or acceptable. While there was no doubt that Germany required recovery, it was also clear that it would have to choose its physician wisely.

CHAPTER 2

Regenerate Art

> What a perfidious doctor at the sickbed of the German people! But what did he have in mind for the sick man and his recovery? He had something planned for him, dead or alive. The doctor stands before the court. The sick man, suffering more than ever, will have to think of another cure.
>
> —Alfred Döblin, "Der Nürnberger Lehrprozeß"

> Germany is a sick man. He now can have only what the doctors prescribe. Later on he will have a more ample diet.
>
> —Elmer Davis, American director of the Office of War Information, explaining why all publications, films, and businesses would be prohibited indefinitely in Germany during the occupation

For postwar intellectuals and artists, the key task facing Germany in the aftermath of Nazism was the restoration of its physical, spiritual, and mental health. Believing that aesthetics provided one road to recovery, they promoted the idea of a "regenerate art." Through a course of aesthetic therapy, they proposed, the nation might be cured. They imagined literature, historical writing, and the cinema as forms that could identify the roots of Germany's ruin and simultaneously model new ways to imagine a healthy, vital future. Countless works created during this period employed medical metaphors to assess the postwar state of the arts—whether they reflected on the "disease" that had sickened Germany or expounded on the palliative effects of art.

Among the many essays presenting literature as a kind of national medicine, we find authors divided as to whether the classics should provide the foundation for a new Germany, à la Jaspers and Meinecke, or whether

the legacy of National Socialism demanded a break from the literary legacies of the past. Regardless of their position vis-à-vis that tradition, however, they were unified in the belief that the belles lettres would play a key role in German renewal. Writing for the inaugural issue of the literary journal *Das goldene Tor* (which invoked the spirit of G. E. Lessing, clearly favoring a return to the canonical works of German humanism) founding editor Alfred Döblin optimistically opined that the "instruments of reason and critique" would lead to a "removal of rubble" (*Enttrümmerung*) and "cleaning up of the spirit" (*Abräumen im Geistigen*), and that German culture's "recovery was certain."[1] Herbert Scheffler claimed in an article for *Die Zeit* that the ground for cultural development had never been more unsteady, but insisted that art was particularly important in such hopeless times. Literary classics, he insisted, would assuage the nation's dismal situation: "It is our forefathers who can help us to heal these wounds, to bring light into the darkness, order to the chaos."[2] Publisher Peter Suhrkamp likewise argued that Germany lacked "real culture" after twelve years of censorship and state propaganda. But Suhrkamp departed from Scheffler in his prescription. Suhrkamp argued that the classics alone would not suffice and declared that the nation needed an infusion of new material: "In the long term, a lively new literary production is crucially important for the emotional life and conscience of a people and its intellectual life [*geistiges Leben*] more generally."[3]

This emphasis on crafting new national narratives also found its way into postwar reflections on historiography. In an exemplary essay for the journal *Aufbau* entitled "Probleme der geistigen Erneuerung," (Problems of Spiritual Renewal) Joachim Barckhausen argued that Germany had twice succumbed to collective madness:

> Twice in the course of a single generation, a grave illness has befallen the German *Volk,* the consequences of which not only plunged the patient, but also his entire surroundings into confusion and misery. In the case of the first attack, we gave this suffering the name "imperialism" or "Wilhelminism"; the second, more terrible outbreak we called fascism or National Socialism. Unfortunately there is no disputing the fact that this was not an acute impairment, perhaps brought on by outside influences, but rather a true evil, deeply anchored in the being of the nation . . . In point of fact, since before the turn of the century, the nation has presented the image of one suffering from serious mental illness.[4]

While Barckhausen, like the historians whose work is outlined in the preceding chapter, sees the traces of the National Socialist "disease" in early instances of German militarism, he also expounds on the idea that even this deeply rooted "evil" may be overcome through the construction of a new concept of Germanness. Barckhausen suggests that the key to German revival lies in forging a national mythos to replace the fascist notion of German historical destiny. He argues that "historical myth" (*Geschichtsmythos*) produces a collective identity through the formation of a "national subconscious" (*eine Art nationalem Unterbewußtsein*), and proposes the creation of a new *Weltbild,* with a new panoply of heroes:

> Behind the ruins of a false worldview, other, more luminous forces and forms will become visible. In a process that will tear down the edifices of one thousand years, they will raise their voices as victims and co-plaintiffs against the false gods and will determine the content of a new image of German history [*Geschichte*]; an image that will give form to the poets and educators of the people [*Volk*], planting the seed for today's youth and future generations to do right, and so benefiting us and the entire world.[5]

The restorative power Barckhausen ascribes to narrative is remarkable. A new *Geschichte*—that is, a new history, or more simply, a new story—would bring about renewal, and with it effectively a new world. Thus at the close of the essay he urges his readers: "Let us build a new house for the German soul and the German spirit."[6] Through a new story of Germanness, the nation could again find shelter.

No writer believed more wholly that literature might revive the nation than Heinrich Böll. His earliest postwar writings, from numerous short stories to his 1949 *Der Zug kam pünktlich* (*The Train Was on Time*), attest to this in their intensive examination of Germany's past and present devastation. In 1952, Böll addressed audiences in the third-class waiting hall of the Cologne train station and defended the art of "rubble literature." Although he gave his speech, "Bekenntnis zur Trümmerliteratur," or "In Defense of Rubble Literature," at a moment when rubble literature was already on the wane, the author's remarks illuminate the key concerns behind postwar efforts to craft aesthetic cures for German culture. Böll proposed that this gritty, realist genre would help cure the nation by shedding light on the misery of recent history, and he charged his listeners to remember that "the destruction in our world is not just external, and also not

so negligible that we can hope to heal it in only a few years."[7] Böll's talk embraced the concept of "rubble literature" as a critical designation and defended its preoccupation with stories of everyday life after the war. Such a focus played to writers' diagnostic strengths:

> He who has eyes shall see! And in our lovely mother tongue, the word "seeing" has a meaning that cannot be exhausted just with optical definitions: for objects become transparent to him who has eyes—and it must become possible for him to see through them, and he can attempt to see through them by means of language, to see into them. The writer's eye should be human and yet incorruptible . . .[8]

Böll stressed the importance of vision not only as a tool to accurately perceive the conditions of the postwar world but also as a means to penetrate the surface of appearances, like an X-ray, in order to reveal the hidden wounds that still rankled after seven years of reconstruction—to register those phenomena that had "not yet surfaced in the optical realm." This Roentgen sight required that the contemporary writer avoid looking inward to create fictional worlds and instead confront his real surroundings and attempt faithfully to record them. Only through such a laying-bare of the invisible traces of the war, its undiscovered ruins, could literature hope to heal a wounded postwar Germany. The rubble to which Böll laid claim was human rather than architectural detritus—the wasted lives of the war. For Böll, the primary work of the writer was to bring Germany's trauma to light and through that to foster recovery.

In 1955, in a brief essay entitled "Die Stimme Wolfgang Borcherts" (The Voice of Wolfgang Borchert), Heinrich Böll praised his fellow author for his incisive portrayals of postwar Germany, singling out those elements of the deceased playwright's oeuvre that aligned with the larger aims of rubble literature. Written as the introduction for a collection of Borchert's wartime writings, Böll's piece took the occasion to remind readers not only of the deceased author's courageous resistance to National Socialism but also to reflect on the commemorative function of Borchert's postwar work: Borchert, according to Böll, numbered among the war's victims, and as such, he spoke not just from but also for the dead. In contrast to the false flourishes of wartime fanfares, Böll argued, Borchert contributed an honest assessment of war's cost for both victor and vanquished, and eschewed any easy displacement of guilt. In this lay Borchert's invaluable contribution to the postwar nation: he helped to commemorate the fallen and heal

survivors through his unflinching depictions of the havoc wrought by twelve years of National Socialist rule.

In particular, Böll praised Borchert's penetrating style:

> The occasion for reportage is always something current—a hunger crisis, a flood, a strike—just as the occasion for an X-ray is a current one: a broken leg, a dislocated shoulder. But the X-ray does not only show the location of the break, or where the shoulder is dislocated, in addition it always *simultaneously* exposes the blueprint of death, it shows the photographed subject in his skeletal frame, magnificent and terrifying. Likewise, where the writer's X-ray gaze penetrates the present, it sees the whole of man, magnificent and terrifying. [Borchert's story] takes up all the misery and all the greatness of mankind, just as, behind the X-ray image of a broken septum, one can make out the deathly skull of the injured person.[9]

Böll seizes upon the image of the X-ray machine to emphasize the clinical precision of Borchert's prose. Like a Roentgen apparatus, his writing cuts through the external trappings of German society to lay bare the site of its deepest wounds. Böll renders the author as diagnostician here, privileging his perspective on postwar life as akin to that of a doctor—that is, of one who is trained to view matters with objectivity and a certain cool detachment. Yet Böll's passage suggests that the writer must serve a second function, as well: for in assisting in the diagnosis of a society's ailments, he also serves the aims of healing. Böll imagines the writer as nothing less than a cultural physician.

While Böll was among the most noted and outspoken of the postwar authors to contemplate art's ameliorative qualities, he was by no means singular in his faith in the restorative potential of literature. He represents one voice in a larger turn toward a recuperative and redemptive aesthetics—a turn prompted not only by the sense that narrative could lead the way out of Germany's current catastrophe but also by a feeling that the writer's basic tool—language itself—had been compromised by National Socialism. While this idea grew out of a longer philosophical and literary tradition of *Sprachskepsis* or skepticism about language, it also developed in specific relation to the exigencies of cultural life after National Socialism. In a society in which language had been strategically manipulated to an unprecedented degree by a regime that espoused a policy of linguistic as well as racial "cleansing," writers found themselves with a special burden

to consider the uses and abuses of language. Inherent in the postwar concept of the "healing arts" was a twofold mandate: to use the written word to mend German wounds and to restore the word itself.

This impulse gave rise to a number of postwar works investigating the linguistic impact of National Socialism—most notably, Dolf Sternberger's *Aus dem Wörterbuch des Unmenschen* (From the Dictionary of the Unmensch), first published in serial form in the journal *Die Wandlung* between 1945 and 1948, and Victor Klemperer's *LTI: Notizbuch eines Philologen* (*LTI: A Philologist's Notebook*), published by Aufbau in 1947. Both works examined the roots of National Socialist rhetoric. Literary writers also took up this skepticism directly, for example, in the poetic dialogue between Bertolt Brecht and Paul Celan. In his 1939 exile text, "An die Nachgeborenen" ("To Those Born After"), Brecht wrote: "What times are these, / in which a conversation about trees is almost a crime, / because it means remaining silent about so many misdeeds." Many years later, Celan would take up these lines in "Ein Blatt, baumlos, für Bertolt Brecht" ("A Leaf, Treeless, for Bertolt Brecht"): "What times are these, / when a conversation / is nearly a crime, / because it includes / so much already said?" While the two poets take a decidedly different approach to the manner in which language had become compromised under fascism, their poems speak to a larger sense that German itself had become a bearer of the National Socialist legacy—an idea that culminated most famously in Adorno's dictum regarding the impossibility of writing poetry after Auschwitz.

It is all the more striking, then, how frequently biopolitical language continued to surface in the writings of even those critics most concerned with eliminating fascism at its linguistic and literary roots. Thus Victor Klemperer, writing in *LTI,* described the "bodily" effects of National Socialism:

> The strongest influence was neither exerted by individual speeches, nor by articles or leaflets, nor by posters or flags, nor by anything that one could perceive through conscious thought or feeling. Rather, Nazism seeped into the flesh and blood of the multitudes through individual words, turns of phrase, sentence structures, which it forced upon them a million times over and that they mechanically and unconsciously adopted.[10]

Klemperer describes fascism as a creeping infection, one that has silently penetrated the flesh and blood of the masses. In his *Dictionary,* Sternberger

employs a similar inversion of fascist notions of the "healthy" and the "sick": his reference to the Hitlerian *Unmensch* evokes the *Untermensch* of Nazi rhetoric. Böll's emphasis on the nation's hidden wounds and his concept of the writer as cultural physician similarly rely upon an image of a Germany *Volkskörper*—a composite "body" of the nation that has been damaged by National Socialism and war. Purification and healing would come, these analyses suggested, through the discovery and elimination of the residual germ of Nazism.

Healing Cinema

Postwar cinema, too, was constructed as a powerful tool to effect national recuperation. The National Socialists had privileged the filmic medium as a means to transmit outright propaganda as well as subtler forms of social influence, and the intellectuals of the Zero Hour likewise believed in the power of film art to shape an incipient culture—whether it took a democratic or socialist form. While post-1945 thinkers perceived cinema as an institution that, like literature, required its own denazification process, they also saw in it a force for encouraging German cultural and spiritual recovery. This faith was shared by the American occupation forces and Hollywood executives, who showed a strong interest both in using film as a curative for the ills of German society and in opening the German market to American imports. General Dwight D. Eisenhower declared that the film industry might help bring Germans back to the path of democracy.[11] And Darryl Zanuck, vice president of Twentieth Century Fox, suggested that motion pictures might "contribute . . . [to] re-educating the world to peace," acting as an antidote to what he dubbed the "steady diet of poison on celluloid" that had been served up by the fascist nations.[12]

In an essay for *Aufbau* on the subject of film direction, authors Kurt Maetzig (later a founding member of the DEFA studio) and J. M. Keller outlined film's healing potential:

> With the new era and democratic freedoms, the shackles on our art are also disappearing. It can only help us become human once again—animated, free people with reason and heart; people able to cry, yet who will want to laugh again—no longer hardened, frozen givers and receivers of orders. The art form that appeals to the broadest public—the cinema—is assigned an especially meaningful role in

> this process. If it strikes the right note, it has the ability to melt the icy crust that surrounds so many hearts. It will arouse them from a lethargy that cannot be dissolved by intellectual means.[13]

Maetzig and Keller emphasize the special place of film in the restoration or "thawing" of German culture. They specifically praise the medium's power to evoke emotion, rather than reflection, and, strikingly, they see in it the means to heal those at both ends of the chain of command—suggesting that cinema can heal *all* Germans through a strategy of liberatory affect.

In similar, if more overtly political terms, Richard Weimann emphasized the centrality of cultural initiatives for renewing the German spirit: he located the core "troops" behind these efforts among the socialist workers' class, who had "remained immune to the Nazi poison."[14] Weimann, writing for the Soviet-zone newspaper *Neues Deutschland,* took particular note of the reemergence of German cinema, which exemplified Germany's "new sensibility and attitude":

> The very first film—*The Murderers Are Among Us*—already signaled a turn away from the old. For the person who does not yet believe in the new Germany—here it is! He can find it embodied in this film.[15]

Singling out the very first postwar production, Wolfgang Staudte's 1946 *Die Mörder sind unter uns,* Weimann sees in it more than the simple revival of a local industry: it represents the beginnings of a new national culture and a new nation. As the following pages explore, Staudte's film marked a key intervention, both in the process to heal the nation's cinema industry and the larger cultural effort to treat the German Patient.

Through the tale of a traumatized former Wehrmacht physician, director Wolfgang Staudte constructs a narrative of guilt, redemption, and healing. In so doing, he foregrounds the postwar need for recovery and suggests that cinema will assist in national reconstruction—providing a talking and *seeing* cure. This is never more apparent than in a sequence that unfolds three-quarters of the way into *The Murderers Are Among Us.* Set in the apartment shared by the recuperating doctor, Hans Mertens (Ernst Borchert), and his lover, the concentration camp survivor Susanne Wallner (Hildegard Knef), the scene marks a moment of unusual tranquility in an otherwise turbulent film.[16] It is a peaceful, happy scene of domesticity, as Hans and Susanne share in Christmas preparations. The scene opens with a medium shot of Hans sitting at his desk. The camera has

abandoned the canted angle with which it first framed its protagonist, and it now frames him directly—a restoration of visual order that parallels the return of domestic order. Hans works assiduously, a sign that he successfully has made the transition from traumatized soldier to productive member of postwar society. Underscoring this, he is clean-shaven and wears a suit, the picture of bourgeois respectability that he earlier mocks. The apartment has undergone a similar transformation; books line Mertens's desk, and a portrait hangs on the wall.

The film cuts to a medium shot of Susanne, who is in the adjoining room busily decorating the Christmas tree, which she has managed to obtain despite postwar privation. Clothed in a neat black dress with a prim collar and her hair perfectly coiffed, she now looks more like a perfect *Hausfrau* than the war-ravaged figure she represents at the outset of the film. The table is set with a crisp white tablecloth, and Susanne has even procured tinsel and real candles. The lighting is soft, reflecting the idyllic quality of the moment. The mise-en-scène is similarly restful, the result of Susanne's vigorous cleaning now truly evident in this sparse but cozy abode. The soundtrack, arranged by Ernst Roters, plays the angelic sounds of a chorus, underscoring the tranquil atmosphere and cueing the fact that the scene is set on Christmas Eve.

The film then cuts back to the rear room to reveal Susanne approaching Hans at his desk. She stands in the doorway between the rooms, then moves to stand over his shoulder. She presses Hans about the traumatic episode he experienced during a recent hospital visit. He evades her question but responds when she asks to be told something of his life before the war. A close-up now brings the viewer into intimate proximity with the couple. All that remains of his past, Hans declares, has been used for the makeshift repair of their apartment. As if in explanation, the film cuts to a medium shot of a window, composed of multiple panes in which X-rays now line the spaces where there had been broken glass (figs. 3, 4).[17]

Hans and Susanne move into the frame and contemplate these new windows, and Hans tells the story of their origin. It is a foundational tale, about how Hans first knew he had the power to heal, and how the war subsequently stripped him of that power. The ribs that whitely gleam in these X-rays are those of the first patient on whom Hans ever operated. Beyond the panes, snow falls softly on the ruined remains of the city. The camera moves in to a close-up, Susanne smiling bemusedly as Hans tells her of his insubordination on that day, when he went ahead with an operation although the supervising professor had not arrived. The chorus abruptly

Fig. 3. Surveying the shattered landscape of postwar Berlin. (From *The Murderers Are Among Us* [1946]. Reprinted courtesy of the Deutsche Kinemathek.)

halts, and Hans stands and recounts the struggle he subsequently faced as a doctor trying to stem the tide of death that grew ever larger with the war.

The X-rays insert a macabre, uncanny note into this otherwise tranquil moment. The black-and-white images frame Hans and Susanne's smiling faces, a ghostly reminder of the devastation caused by the war. Throughout the film, Hans speaks of the difficulty of forgetting the terrible things he witnessed during the preceding years, and at the very moment when he appears to have mastered this past, the X-rays signal what Freud called "the return of the repressed." Death interrupts the idyll that he and Susanne have built. The sequence literally articulates the double meaning of *das Unheimliche* that Freud identifies: the X-rays are eerie, but also "unhomelike," entirely out of place in this domestic environment. There is a tension here, between the construction of a future, which the renovation of the apartment suggests, and the management of the past. Staudte suggests that the coming years will have to bear the heavy freight of history.

Although Hans identifies the body revealed in the X-rays, they con-

Fig. 4. Constructing a narrative of recovery through the productive recycling of the past. (From *The Murderers Are Among Us* [1946]. Reprinted courtesy of the Deutsche Kinemathek.)

note a great deal more than the guileless story of their origin—they exceed the bounds of his narrative. The bones suggest death, decay, and disease on a larger scale, and it is easy to imagine that contemporary audiences were reminded, at least on an unconscious level, of different pictures of war circulating in 1946. The rib cage onscreen recalls documentary footage of the liberation of the concentration camps, which committed to public memory images of inmates' caved chests, of emaciated corpses stacked in mass graves. Like Claudia Fritsch contends, "while the narrative surface [of postwar films like *The Murderers Are Among Us*], in accordance with the postwar strategy of national exculpation, casts the perpetrator ultimately as the victim of the Nazi regime, the darker visual elements . . . carry disruptive diegetic implications and expose a deeper level of complicity and crime."[18] Hans's speech further augments the suggestive potential of the X-rays when he voices skepticism about the usefulness of medical science in an era of violence. His words resonate with contemporary events. As the previous chapter demonstrated, the postwar crisis in medicine had not

only brought close scrutiny to the actions of physicians under National Socialism and cast serious suspicion on their efforts to "treat" the nation, but it had also served to forge a semantic link between the healing arts and German guilt. The premiere of *The Murderers Are Among Us* in October 1946 took place just ten days before U.S. prosecutors filed the indictments for the Doctors Trial, so that viewers of the time would have easily connected Hans's personal dilemma with the larger discourse of medicine's complicity.

The film portrays an ailing nation that must heal itself through the recuperation of its citizens and the systematic extirpation of former Nazis. At this moment, it becomes clear that Hans has accomplished the first part of this goal. The second portion of his mission will come in the scenes to follow, when he confronts his former commander, Captain Ferdinand Brückner (Arno Paulsen). Although the X-rays resonate with contemporaneous images of Jewish bodies, the film's narrative constructs the body in question as German. The concept of the German Patient is doubly emphasized, through the figures of the original patient and the healing doctor.[19] The sequence foregrounds Mertens's own suffering under the Third Reich and serves the film's larger project to portray the German man as fascism's greatest casualty. Staudte establishes Hans Mertens as a victim along several lines—as a soldier, as a man, and as a doctor-turned-patient—while Susanne, who forms Hans's on-screen audience, models for the movie audience an ideal viewing relationship to the traumatized soldier as one of loving acceptance. Although the film makes some gestures toward acknowledging the suffering of those persecuted by the Nazi regime, in the end, their pain remains secondary to that of the narrative's central character, that German everyman, Hans Mertens.

Through Mertens's literally constructive use of his personal history, Staudte illustrates another of the film's key tenets, that the collective healing process requires a proper relationship to the past. Mertens acts in direct contrast to his former captain, Ferdinand Brückner, who now runs a successful business converting old helmets into pots and pans. The film illustrates that, although "productive," Brückner remains trapped in a capitalist and militarist framework that does not distinguish between the manufacture of cookware and weapons of war. He is clearly unsuited to the task of breaking with the nation's bloody history. Hans, on the other hand, recycles his past in a more positive way by taking his X-rays out of circulation and essentially reinventing them.[20] He refigures the past, making it usable while also transforming it. Staudte depicts Hans as Ger-

many's best hope for the founding of a new and fundamentally different society.

The celluloid of the X-rays further invokes the materiality of the film itself. In a self-reflexive gesture, Staudte comments on the restorative power of the cinema for postwar culture. Read allegorically, the sequence demonstrates how to repair the shattered German spirit. Staudte argues for the potential of cinematic narrative to restore the nation and shows that the "negative" brings positive effect. The X-rays tell a larger story about the state of Germany's well-being and mark a moment of both illness and vitality. Framing the nation as a body in crisis, the negatives record a body that is simultaneously sick and healthy, dying and cured. Both Hans and his patient are now well, and the nation finds a similar rejuvenation in this constructive relationship to the past. At the same time, the sequence affords the audience a moment in which to contemplate the "sickness" that has befallen Germany.

Susan Sontag has remarked on the revelatory nature of the X-ray. Writing about tuberculosis, she argues that "TB makes the body transparent. The X-rays which are the standard diagnostic tool permit one, often for the first time, to see one's insides—to become transparent to oneself."[21] Staudte plays on the transparency of the negative. This marks the first time in the film that Hans relates his personal history, and much as they had for his former patient, the X-rays lay bare the internal source of Hans's ailment. Although the audience has been privy to his traumatic episodes, the Roentgen images offer the first real insight into his wounds. Before this moment, Hans's trauma has only been identified as the result of "some war experience." The scene following the X-ray sequence reveals the final textual clue in the search for the origin of Hans's trauma, when Susanne discovers his diary. Thus the X-rays, like the film, begin the process of healing through rendering the wound visible. In a process akin to the psychoanalytic talking cure, the film "brings to light" the traumatic episode at the heart of Hans's shell shock.

The film places strong emphasis on the visual and visible nature of healing—on the spectacle of the recuperating body. Antoine de Baecque has argued that spectacle holds an important place in the deployment of corporeal metaphors:

> The body is not only a metaphor for the world, it is also a spectacle given for us to see. . . . Ceremony must bring bodies to the gaze of all citizens: that is what embodies . . . the new regime. The omnipotence

> of the public gaze is essential, for it places bodies in the space of public transparency. . . . In this space of transparency is established a possible, if not compulsory, reading of the body.[22]

Like Sontag, de Baecque stresses the significance of transparency. He argues that ceremony—as both public display and performance—renders visible a particular reading of the national body. Thus the act of seeing plays an integral role in the education of the public and the formation of a shared narrative of experience. While de Baecque concerns himself with the importance of ceremony in an earlier age, we can construe the space of the postwar cinema as a similar ritual gathering point. Under National Socialism, moviegoing had risen to a new status as a community formative experience; after the regime collapsed, the theater served a similar function, as an arena in which one might find physical and mental refuge from the war-torn world outside, catch up on years of missed international film culture, and, most important, watch the unfolding of a new German culture.[23] Staudte was certainly aware of his film's significance as the first postwar production, and *The Murderers Are Among Us* self-consciously displays a moment of cinematic healing. Staudte offers his postwar viewers a reading of the national body as both sick and in the process of becoming well. In their pursuit of the invisible source of Hans's trauma, audiences are encouraged to witness and partake in the restoration of Germany.

This restoration was not only figurative, but also literal: with the premiere of Staudte's film, postwar cinema was born. *The Murderers Are Among Us* launched a new cinematic genre, the *Trümmerfilm* (or rubble film), so called for its concentration on the conditions of life in Germany's ruined cities. Created in both the Allied and Soviet zones of occupation from about 1946 to 1948, the rubble films addressed the immediate concerns of postwar life.[24] They focused on the efforts of average Germans, and in particular of returning soldiers, to come to grips with the destruction that surrounded them and to restore some semblance of a normal life. The *Trümmerfilm* also had to reckon with the aesthetic legacy of National Socialism. The UFA studios, nationalized under Hitler, had produced a stream of propaganda and entertainment films that fueled popular support for the Third Reich. Under the influence of Joseph Goebbels and the Reich Propaganda Ministry, UFA developed a highly sophisticated mode of moviemaking. This presented a challenge for postwar directors who wanted to break from the established patterns of Nazi cinema and estab-

lish a new paradigm of representation. Rubble film directors also grappled with the impact of Germany's past on a more practical level: although the vast majority of German film workers ultimately resumed their careers both in the East and West, in the initial postwar phase, occupation authorities subjected the film industry to the same process of denazification as other areas of cultural life.

By the time the war ended, Wolfgang Staudte had already developed the screenplay for *The Murderers Are Among Us,* having written it in just three weeks.[25] Staudte first approached the Americans about making his film, but they turned him down—in all likelihood because the U.S. military government favored a film policy that stressed entertainment over "social-issue" pictures, and it preferred to influence the Germans through lighter fare. The former director of the Office of War Information had declared that a denazification policy employing film could only be effective using a combination of feature and documentary pictures.[26] And as one *Variety* article pointed out, after meeting with limited success with screening documentaries, American film officials had begun showing feature films, "which not only drew Germans to the box office, but in themselves have proved good propaganda."[27] In a 1945 report to the American Information Control Sector, director Billy Wilder had warned that audiences would not long be receptive to blatantly reeducational films.[28] He noted that by August of that year, German audiences for documentary films and newsreels already were dwindling, and he questioned how long the Americans might expect the German population to play the "schoolchild with a bad conscience."[29] Outlining his own plans for a feature film to be made in postwar Germany, Wilder promised that his project for an "entertainment film," in contrast to these early efforts to reeducate the Germans, would provide the best "propaganda" yet. In 1948 Billy Wilder released the film that he first outlined in this brief: *A Foreign Affair* starring Marlene Dietrich.[30] Although American film officials were greatly interested in using film as a means to "cure" the German population of fascism, they were equally concerned to make the medicine as palatable as possible.

Staudte only met with genuine interest from the Soviet authorities,[31] who granted him the necessary license in just fourteen days.[32] The Soviets agreed to provide Staudte with both a permit and financing, and his film became the first production under the newly established Deutsche Film AG or "DEFA," founded on 17 May 1946 and installed in the old UFA administration building on Krausen Strasse.[33] In order to receive the funding, however, Staudte was required to make one significant change to his script.

In the original version, discussed in more detail later in this chapter, Hans Mertens shoots his former commander, and the final scenes depict Mertens standing trial for murder. The Soviet administration feared this finale would prompt acts of vengeance and directed Staudte to replace it with the ending that audiences later saw.[34]

Staudte shot the film in just six months, starting on 13 March 1946[35] and wrapping in August of the same year.[36] The director and his crew faced difficult filming conditions. The majority of the studios had been destroyed, forcing Staudte to shoot almost entirely outside, and although the Soviets had confiscated the available equipment and stock, both were in short supply.[37] Actors were also difficult to come by, since occupation authorities required that they first be cleared of having had any affiliations with National Socialism. A case in point is offered by Staudte's male lead, Ernst Wilhelm Borchert: after the film was completed, an American military court charged Borchert with having lied about his Nazi Party membership on his denazification questionnaire, and his name had to be stricken from the program for the premiere.[38] Staudte himself had received permission to work in the film industry despite his wartime work for the UFA studios, where he had found a haven from military conscription.[39] He held a variety of positions as both actor and director, and even played a small role in the infamous anti-Semitic feature *Jud Süß* [*Jew Süss*].[40] In later years, Staudte would comment on his complicity and acknowledged that he tried to get by without engaging in the world of politics around him. For the role of Susanne Wallner, Staudte selected an unknown actress, Hildegard Knef. The film made her a star, and her face became synonymous with the image of the "rubble woman"—the iconic *Trümmerfrau* pictured as leading the postwar effort to restore German cities and souls.

The film premiered 15 October 1946 at the former Staatsoper in Berlin.[41] While the film met with a mixed international reception, German reviewers of *The Murderers Are Among Us* saw the film in decidedly positive and therapeutic terms. In a newspaper article written the day after the film's premiere in October 1946, one journalist explained that Staudte made the film as a means to free himself from the burden of guilt. The article cites Staudte's own comments on the motivation behind producing the film:

> Only a great piece of work could grant me self-liberation, which is something everyone needs who experienced the war and prewar era with open eyes.[42]

Staudte characterizes the process of filmmaking as healing—paralleling the main character in his production. Like Hans, who "makes a film" with the black-and-white celluloid X-ray images, the filmmaker suggests that he transformed his personal experiences into cinematic narrative in order to free himself from the burden of the past.[43] Later in the article, Staudte explains the aesthetic concerns that guided his directorial process:

> My quest for a new cinematic form was just as important as the conflict and resolution. We cannot continue to tread the same old well-beaten paths. The cinema needs a new face.[44]

Staudte here aligns himself with contemporary efforts to find new expressive forms in which to bring about the healing of Germany's cultural scene—through the use of aesthetic forms that would break with the legacies of Nazi cinema, as well as through the more literal presentation of new faces, by hiring unknown actors like Knef.[45] Just as postwar authors posited the need to renew the German language, Staudte suggested that postwar filmmaking required an innovative cinematic grammar.

In a text found in Wolfgang Staudte's estate, the filmmaker characterized the discussion of postwar German cinema as a medical discourse. The passage bears citing at length:

> In countless discussions, publications, and lectures—from all sides, the most diverse remedies have been recommended to the convalescent German cinema. The experts concerned with its recovery differ from one another, first of all, in their two basic approaches. The first group demands a cinema of our times—political cinema. A reckoning with the past and reeducation. Medicine that doubtless leaves a bitter taste, but medicine nonetheless. "But that would be death!" exclaim the others. They, in turn, prescribe something else for the prostrate cinema—sleeping pills. Narcotics in marketable packaging. The pain must be dulled. Laughter heals! In addition to these two contradictory prescriptions, a number of equally conflicting rules regarding behavior are pronounced, to which the sick child must adhere. Windows and doors wide open! But no draft—that would be dangerous, whether it blew from the East or West! Realism, Surrealism, Naturalism, Formalism, Symbolism! The prescriptions are teeming with words. They are as often as illegible to the patient as a regular pre-

> scription. Whether or not such prescriptions are worthwhile, the diagnosis is doubtless incorrect. The weakness of cinema—not just *German* cinema—is its ambivalence. We will not have lost too much if we achieve freedom for artistic development. Such development, however, requires an unflinching desire and a clean conscience.[46]

Staudte describes two opposing postwar strategies for rejuvenating the "sickly" German film industry—the bitter pill or the sweet panacea. While the first aims to cure cinema through an engagement with the past, the second offers the opiate of entertainment in place of educational value. While the text is not dated, one can surmise that it was written some time in the early 1950s, when the divisions between filmmaking in East and West Germany were becoming increasingly pronounced, and both sides railed against the methods of the other. Staudte, who was famous for rejecting the sharp distinctions between the cinema of the East and West that both governments wanted to draw, pokes fun at the sparring between the two Germanys over the proper attitude toward film. He declares that the solutions offered by both sides are illegible as prescriptions, and charges filmmakers of the day to approach their projects with a purity of will and conscience, rather than ideological formulas. Yet Staudte, too, presents the German cinema as a patient—an art form in crisis, which, at the same time that it may contribute to the process of national renewal, itself requires healing.

Recovery amid the Ruins

The Murderers Are Among Us opens with an image affirming the postwar need for individual and collective recovery. Immediately following the title and credits, an intertitle appears that aligns the audience with the perspective of the conquered: "Berlin 1945. The city has capitulated." The film fades in to a low-angle close-up of a heap of earth. Only as the camera tracks up, revealing a makeshift cross and soldier's helmet atop this mound, does the real significance of the structure's abstract contours become obvious: it is a streetside grave. Behind it we can now see further detritus of war: bombed buildings, a destroyed tank, and, framed by the lines of the crucifix, the equally devastated figure of a man—whom we will soon come to know as Hans Mertens—stumbling through the berubbled city. Clouds of dust rise from the damaged structures and meld with the fumes

of Hans's cigarette, reinforcing his connection to this ruined landscape. He is framed at a canted angle, exaggerating his wobbly route, and when the camera pans down and left again to track his movements, he appears literally to descend into the frame. The camera completes its vertiginous survey of this treacherous terrain by tracking up once more to show the front entrance to a cabaret. The jazzy score now appears to have a diegetic origin: although the name of the bar remains obscured, the lower half of its storefront reads "The Modern Cabaret. Dance. Atmosphere. Humor"—an ironic comment on the dreary setting.

By means of off-kilter camerawork, this opening sequence implicates the viewer in Hans's torturous and tortured journey. Emerging literally from the grave, both the camera and Hans appear as specters in the postwar landscape—like ghosts come to call to account the nation's remaining survivors. At the same time, the scene relates Hans to the larger context of national suffering: topped by a Wehrmacht-issue helmet, the grave in the foreground clearly holds a fallen German fighter. Its identifying cross serves not only to introduce the theme of commemoration and mourning, but also encourages audiences to read the scene, and Hans, through the frame of Christian martyrdom, stressing both his and his city's victim status.

In a lengthy lap dissolve, Hans and the cabaret backdrop recede, giving way to the image of an oncoming train. A series of quick shots show the locomotive from different angles, emphasizing the human freight that covers its every available surface, as well as the skeletal remains of the city through which it passes. In a gently tilted close-up, the camera captures a confused tangle of refugees. The lone figure of a woman emerges out of the crowd—Susanne, her entrance cued by the suddenly light, romantic turn of the soundtrack, signaling the entrance of the female lead and love interest. Her face shows clear bewilderment at the encounter with her former hometown. When the film cuts away as if to offer Susanne's perspective on the city, a medium shot, again at a slight cant, shows a tattered poster bearing the slogan "Beautiful Germany." With a clash of cymbals, the scene ends with a brief cross-fade that supplants the traditional German architecture featured in the poster with the image of a stark, towering ruin.

These diverse establishing shots function to introduce the film's central characters: Hans, Susanne, and the city itself. Positioning the film's two principal human figures in the ragged milieu of Berlin, Staudte places the film squarely within the immediate postwar context, with references to improvised streetside burial sites, forlorn returning soldiers, and the ubiqui-

tous crowded rail stations.[47] While the numerous shots of the ruins may initially seem to offer information about the environment of Berlin, it soon becomes clear that they reflect the internal lives of the characters, as well. In part, Staudte achieves this through editing techniques, with cuts from the ruins to close-ups of the actors that draw obvious parallels between the two. Staudte's revival of numerous techniques of German Expressionist filmmaking also fosters this aim. The sharply canted camera angles, the symbolic importance conferred upon objects and mise-en-scène, and the rejection of realism all recall the traditions of German avant-garde cinema of the 1920s and 1930s. Staudte's deployment of these techniques signaled his elective affinity with this earlier German filmmaking tradition and served to distinguish his work from Nazi cinema. In their suspension of the pretense of realism, these Expressionist conventions also encouraged the viewer to read the film allegorically.

The relationship between the film's human and architectural elements is clearest in a scene set shortly after Hans and Susanne agree to share the apartment. The two have a terse exchange. Susanne scolds Hans for his irresponsible behavior (which consists of roaming the streets and drinking to excess) and is shocked to learn that he is a surgeon by trade. Hans bitterly explains that he no longer practices because he cannot stand to face the suffering of his patients, and because he has ceased to believe that humanity is worth saving. The scene concludes with a close-up of Susanne's crestfallen face, followed by a jarring cut to a tumbling ruin—a physical rendering of the emotional havoc caused by the war and Hans's nihilistic outlook. Susanne is "crushed" by his cynicism and lack of desire to resuscitate their world, and Staudte shows her first visibly, then metaphorically destroyed. As the dust swirls up around the base of the collapsed building, the film indicates the confusion and uncertainty of what is to come. In giving the internal lives of the characters plastic form, Staudte further reminds the viewer of the thin line between the public and the private, and suggests that the walls of the postwar self are just as fragmented as these ruins.

The ruins cannot be read as simply a manifestation of emotional devastation, however, as a later scene indicates. Hans and Susanne argue again, this time because Susanne has stumbled across a letter from one of Hans's fallen comrades. (In fact the letter is from Brückner, and only when Susanne attempts to deliver it does she discover that he has survived the war.) When Susanne presses Hans about why he has neglected to pass along the letter, he accuses her of meddling and vociferously reminds her

that he owes her no justification for his actions, since they are not married. When he retreats to his own room, Susanne flees to the ruins. Hans quickly retrieves her and promises to one day declare his love for her. Emboldened by their mutual commitment, they make their way back to the apartment. The film then cuts to another image of a destroyed building, much like that which collapsed in the earlier scene.

This cut to the ruins seems rather perplexing at first, coming at a moment in which the two main characters, Hans and Susanne, come together as a couple for the first time—until one realizes that Staudte uses the wreckage of war to symbolize something different here. This second shot shows a single ruin that is more stable than the first—it does not collapse, although rebuilding has not yet begun. Staudte presents the viewer with a remnant and offers up a new side of the ruins, one of possibility. The decrepit architecture provides a site of potential rebirth. As the couple disappears into their apartment, he suggests that the ruin supplies the foundation for their new relationship. Not yet whole, it nevertheless remains. Staudte employs these ruinous remnants much in the same fashion that he uses the X-rays. Like the radiograph images, these shots of the ruins indicate that the traumatized survivors of the war have begun the process of becoming whole again. The ribs provide a new structure, and it is the sick man who now cures the ailments of the surgeon.[48] These images not only recall the skeletal bodies of the war but also remind the viewer of the skeletal buildings of the city. And like the figure in the X-rays, these images of the ruins represent the fragmented basis for renewal, providing a literal foundation upon which Hans and Susanne can build. If, in the earlier shot, the hidden injuries of the war seem to find expression in the tumbling wreckage, here Staudte hints at the possibility of overcoming those traumas.

Of Victims and Vanquished

The Murderers Are Among Us makes scant references to the presence of the nation's occupiers—only once referring to an unseen American GI who delivers a letter for the elderly neighbor, Mondschein—and instead presents an array of German victims alongside an array of German guilts. At one end of the spectrum, we have Susanne Wallner, a concentration camp survivor who simply wants to forget the past and create a new and better future. The film repeatedly emphasizes her unadulterated innocence, from the bright light that illuminates her features to her lack of desire for

vengeance. Susanne is joined by an anonymous child whom Hans saves from asphyxiation and who in turn rescues Hans from himself by interrupting his first attempt to kill his former commander. The film's central antihero, Hans Mertens, occupies a median position. Traumatized by his failure to stop Brückner from ordering the retaliation killing of a group of Polish civilians, he shares a certain guilt by association, but his anguish over this fact indicates that he will be redeemed through a proper confrontation with the past. Finally, Brückner appears as the classic perpetrator popularized in postwar culture—a giver of orders who feels no remorse for the emotional havoc and death that he has caused, and who must be brought to justice.

As the film's narrative and formal elements regularly reinforce, Susanne embodies physical, moral, and ideological purity. Framed by an auratic halo, her blond hair and pale skin appear literally to glow, while her wartime experiences in a German camp excuse her from any suspicion of complicity with Hitler's regime. Her postwar work further fosters the notion that she is free of taint. She spends her days cleaning the apartment, like an indoor *Trümmerfrau,* bringing order to the space while also removing the filth of war. She devotes herself to renovating Hans as well, providing emotional cleansing for the psychically wounded veteran. Her character offers a prime example of the postwar period's "intensely normative rhetoric of romantic love" that posited the "restoration of heterosexual domesticity as an ideal," in a fashion that, as Dagmar Herzog points out, "was anything but an innocent apolitical enterprise."[49] "In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, sexuality became a central focus of efforts to master Nazism—and its defeat."[50]

The film is notably restrained in its depiction of Susanne's ministrations: this is not "sexual healing," and Staudte carefully frames her attentions as chaste. This is in stark contrast to the comforts offered by the showgirls employed in the cabaret (referenced in the opening sequence) whom Hans initially visits. In one of the film's more striking edits, the camera correlates the sexualized woman with mass death: Hans has been playing chess with one of the cabaret workers, but when she sacrifices a pawn, saying "it's only a game," Hans explodes with rage, declaring that childish amusements have consequences—toy soldiers lead to air rifles, and from there directly to the mass grave. Punctuating this dire progression, the speech is followed by a jarring cut to a shot of the twirling and very exposed derriere of one of the revue's dancers. When Hans leaves this seedy establishment behind and begins favoring Susanne with his attention, it signifies his decision to embrace life and a different sort of femininity.

Linking fascism and sexual excess, Staudte predicates Hans's recovery on the turn toward a "healthier," more wholesome model of womanhood. This is further underscored by the film's emphasis on Susanne's political soundness. She engages in artistic practices that aim to repair German society, drafting posters appealing to her fellow citizens to "Save the Children!" Her artwork recalls the rough sketches of Käthe Kollwitz, aligning Susanne with an antiwar and antifascist tradition—a notion supported by the film's suggestion that she was imprisoned for political rather than racial reasons. Simultaneously, her vocation references Staudte's larger project to promote national healing by aesthetic means.

Susanne functions as a kind of a human *Persilschein*—conferring purification on both Hans and the apartment they share—while the film treats her wartime experiences as quite literally unspeakable.[51] When, upon their first meeting, Hans accuses Susanne of being ignorant of the suffering caused by the war, speculating that she probably spent the final months of the conflict "in safety," she does not refute his words, and instead responds only with the cryptic line: "You could call it that." Although the camera lingers on her visibly distressed face, no more is said, and Hans never expresses further curiosity about his partner's past. The audience only learns of her background through a brief exchange between the resident busybody and another unsavory neighbor, a part-time psychic. Their conversation is whispered, as though the film itself cannot bear to utter the fact, and the scene seems designed as much to target the two characters as malicious gossips as to provide insight into Susanne's history. Although the film thereby draws initial attention to her suffering, it ultimately foregrounds the ease of her recovery. Staudte acknowledges German atrocities, but the moment is quickly glossed over, and the film grants minimal attention to Susanne's healing process. In distinction to Hans, Susanne masters her war past without incident, and as a result, her experience in the camp comes to seem rather insignificant in comparison to his. No visible trace remains of the anguish she expresses in one of the film's opening scenes, when, in a conversation with Mondschein (Robert Forsch), Susanne speaks about the difficulty of forgetting. Mondschein protests that it is quite easy to do so, and from that point forward, Susanne assumes this attitude herself, and the film never gives the slightest hint of what memories initially tormented her. At least one critic from the time saw this as problematic. Writing in 1946, Wolfdietrich Schnurre expressed skepticism that a camp inmate would return home and resume work at the drafting board the very next day, and he lamented that the film limited Knef's range of emotional expression to a "doe-eyed look of wounded sensitivity."[52]

Hans, on the other hand, clearly emerges as a casualty of the war. From the opening shot of the film, Staudte frames him as a victim. When, in the first sequence, the camera pans up to Hans, he looms like a vision of the walking dead. His behavior is erratic and sometimes violent. He is perpetually intoxicated. The origins of this are revealed when he visits a hospital and suffers a flashback that leaves him unconscious and ranting. The doctor who treats him tells the attending nurse:

> I thought so! Some sort of war experience.
> The Nurse: It must have been something terrible.
> The Doctor: War is always something terrible.[53]

The diagnosis explains Hans's poor physical and mental state, and the scene as a whole makes clear that Mertens suffers from a trauma rendering him incapable of practicing his profession. The doctor's rather flippant remark that Hans's condition stems from "some sort of war experience" indicates the prevalence of such trauma. At the same time, the sequence establishes Hans as a patient requiring extensive therapy.

The Murderers Are Among Us repeatedly explores the subject of wartime and postwar suffering through Hans's eyes as well. From the very opening shot, which frames the entirety of the postwar world according to his cockeyed vision, Staudte privileges the perspective and trauma of the returning soldier. A particularly telling moment comes during the film's most explicit flashback sequence, which unveils the full story behind Hans's tortured existence. Immediately following the scene in front of the X-rays, Hans Mertens leaves the safe confines of the apartment and goes in search of Brückner and vengeance. He finds the former captain at his factory, where he is leading a heartwarming Christmas service for his employees. Hans first approaches the party from outside, and the film shows him peering through a window at the singing crowds. Like the X-ray scene, it is a particularly self-reflexive moment, highlighting the act of looking as well as Hans's separation from the events inside. The film then cuts to a shot of Hans slipping into the crowd to observe Brückner more closely. A series of rapid edits connect Hans and Brückner, singling each out from the crowd as the camera moves in toward each man's face.

As Brückner extols the "peaceful Germany" of the future, a close-up of Hans's face dissolves to a medium shot of two soldiers, revealing to the viewer the moment in the war from which his trauma originates. In a series of scenes, Staudte gives a nuanced portrait of guilt, innocence, and suffer-

ing, which becomes only more complicated when the film reverts back to the present day of the frame story. The flashback sequence opens with a shot of soldiers forcing a mass of Polish civilians toward a wall. Hans appears, dressed in full uniform, and passes by the group and moves directly toward the camera. Cut to an interior shot of barracks, as Mertens confronts Brückner, who is decorating a Christmas tree. The connection between this moment and the timing of the film's main action is now apparent. Hans protests the killing of the hostages, pleading with Brückner that it is Christmas Eve and that he should think of all the "innocent victims." But the captain insists on going forward with the executions. He scolds Hans for "getting soft" and orders him to find a star for the tree. Dejected, Hans leaves. The next shot reveals a group of soldiers gathered around the tree, obviously later that day. Brückner stands in their midst, and they sing "O, Du fröhliche" ("Oh, How Joyfully")—an ironic comment from Staudte, since the song refers to "merciful Christmastime." Mertens is nowhere in sight. The camera tracks in and centers on Brückner, as if in accusation. The film cuts to a close-up of a crucifix hanging on the wall of the room, on which a German gun and helmet are hanging, and then to a medium shot showing the execution of the Polish hostages. The soldiers' singing merges with the sound of the machine guns. A close-up then lingers on the pages of a report detailing the number of people killed and the amount of ammunition used in the action—a reminder of the materiality of evidence so important at this time, particularly in the contemporaneous Nuremberg Trials. Finally, the audience catches a partial glimpse of Mertens. A close-up shows Mertens's hand as he crumples a foil star. The camera tilts down to reveal the discarded ornament as it drifts to the floor. While the number of points cannot be made out with absolute certainty, it appears to be a Star of David.

The sequence abounds with references to victimization. There are the Polish hostages, depicted as the defenseless victims of an irrational system of justice presided over by the callous and corrupt Captain Brückner. It is Christmas, linking the events onscreen to biblical narratives of birth, death, and sacrifice. The crucifix-turned-coatrack makes a particularly ambiguous impression. While it suggests an indifference toward religion, the proximity of soldierly paraphernalia to this icon of suffering also suggests an affinity between the two. Recalling the cross from the very first shot of the film, and prefiguring the final shots of crosses with which the film ends, the crucifix calls forth images of those soldiers who have fallen in the war. Perhaps most significant, Staudte equips his central character with an icon

that, at least obliquely, invokes the memory of Jewish suffering and genocide. Shot in close-up but poorly illuminated, the star remains something of a cipher in this scene, and it is difficult to know just how to understand its presence. Are the Polish victims meant to be understood as Jews (perhaps making the wall against which they are executed that of a ghetto)? And if this is the case, why is the star clearly made of foil, and not cloth? Perhaps it is simply meant to read as a sign of Mertens's crisis of faith in the murderous regime he serves.

If the image of the star resists conclusive interpretation, one point remains clear—that in addition to whatever outside world of victimization the ornament invokes, it also serves as one final sign of Hans's suffering. Unable to express his dissent, much less bring about any change in the system of which he is a part, Hans's resistance is distilled in the moment of crushing the feeble bit of foil paper. The role of silence here is again important—while the scene emphasizes Hans's inability to voice further protest, it also remains silent about the greater context of suffering that the star suggests. Like Susanne's camp experiences, which receive only muted treatment, the matter of Jewish persecution is indirectly referenced but remains unspoken. This accords with the film's generally glancing treatment of Nazi genocide. When, in another scene, Staudte shows Brückner devouring a sandwich wrapped in a newspaper with the headline "Two Million Gassed," he emphasizes Brückner's indifference to human suffering without naming the victimized population. Staudte may have felt that the reference was obvious. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy for its oblique invocation of Jewish persecution; indeed, focused on Brückner's consumption, the shot critiques his character on the basis of materialist excess. Characteristically for postwar cultural production, *The Murderers Are Among Us* makes no reference to anti-Semitism as a source of the sort of callous disregard for life that the headline and Brückner's own behavior evoke. He is condemned for being an economic opportunist, not a racist.

Instead, the film concentrates its energies on exploring the traumas of the implicated, contrasting the higher-ups with the "little man" caught up in and compromised by the military chain of command. Thus the camerawork in the star sequence makes a careful distinction between Mertens and Brückner; whereas it zeroes in on the latter as the machine guns fire, it films Mertens at a remove from the other soldiers and represents him only through his anguished hands. Embedding this story within a traumatic flashback, Staudte further encourages audiences to understand this scene as another chapter in the annals of Hans's suffering. While the film invokes

various instances of victimization, it contains them within the context of one man's mental torment, privileging the trauma of the German man above all others.

The Return of Masculinity

Given the historical context in which Staudte produced his film, his emphasis on the preeminence of German male suffering is neither surprising nor unique. Hans represents the primary German Patient of *The Murderers Are Among Us,* not only because he is shown to have suffered serious consequences from his wartime experiences but also because he stands in for the figure of the returning soldier more generally—a figure that became synonymous in the postwar moment with German defeat and devastation.[54] In politics as well as literature and film, the returnee took center stage in postwar cultural production. When Allied forces agreed on a schedule for the release of POWs, journalists even dubbed 1948 "The Year of Homecoming," indicating the larger social significance of the return of German men.[55] Representations of the returnees varied somewhat according to the overall object of the writer, artist, or politician employing them. But there can be no dispute that, alongside the *Trümmerfrau,* who emerged in the national imagination as the rebuilder of Germany, the *Heimkehrer* took on symbolic importance as the bearer of the nation's war legacy and a figure of both pity and guilt—and a compromised masculinity that required treatment if the greater nation were to recover from the war. In the words of historian Frank Biess, "The rehabilitation of the male narrative of war and defeat became one of the central ideological projects of postwar reconstruction in both Germanys."[56] Or as Svenja Goltermann frames it, "The injured bodies of returning POWs came to represent the destroyed 'Volkskörper' of a postwar society engaged in refashioning itself as a community of victims, . . . a new chimeric entity."[57]

Political parties jockeyed for the support of former soldiers and their families with posters showing happy family reunions, appealing to voters by suggesting that their party represented the best hope for a restored nation. They bore slogans like "Returnees! The SED takes care of you!"[58] or "The work of the SED: POWs are returning home!"[59] The KPD solicited votes with a poster that read simply "Freedom: Vote KPD" and depicted a soldier leaving a prisoner of war camp.[60] The CSU appealed to families divided by war, with a poster that presented the reader with a letter written

by "Hans," presumably a former soldier, perhaps writing home because he is still in detention. In his letter, Hans urges the addressee, a female relative or close acquaintance, to vote CSU, which he thinks offers the only hope for a better future.[61] In 1946, the Central Secretariat for the SED published a "guidebook" for returning soldiers, entitled "Welcome Home! The New Germany at a Glance."[62] The slim volume contained such varied fare as a list of aid organizations for returnees, articles and poetry by returning soldiers, crossword puzzles and other word games, and articles favorably comparing the calorie count of rations in the Soviet sector to those in the Western zones.

While the different political parties were generally interested in representing returning soldiers in a positive light even if they acknowledged the men's need for assistance, posters by other organizations emphasized the returnees' suffering. A poster created by the Volksbund deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge, the organization responsible for the care of German war graves, for the occasion of a fundraising drive in 1948, offers a representative example.[63] It urged readers to "help heal wounds" and depicted two emaciated, disheveled soldiers that, excepting the image's obvious references to war injuries, otherwise looked remarkably like concentration camp survivors. Although the poster mentioned a number of different groups requiring aid, including war widows, orphans, and the elderly, the image spoke only to the plight of the returnees. The language of the poster and the accompanying illustration clearly encouraged a reading of the Heimkehrer as a war victim and suggested that his wounds demand the most urgent attention. Both Svenja Goltermann and Frank Biess have commented on this split between the returning soldier as a heroic survivor, on the one hand, and a war victim, on the other, and have argued that postwar commentators struggled to overcome the schism as a precondition to restoring masculinity and German society more generally.[64]

Written representations of the return experience also proliferated after 1945. Postwar newspapers and journals published countless reports both by and about the returnees, while numerous novels and short stories offered fictionalized accounts of soldierly journeys. At the same time, a new genre of *Heimkehrer* dramas developed around the motif of homecoming, the most famous example of which is Wolfgang Borchert's *Draußen vor der Tür* (*The Man Outside*). East German author Christa Wolf would later thematize the drama of return in her 1976 novel *Kindheitsmuster* (*Patterns of Childhood*). Recalling the day that her father came home from the war, she writes that "in August a play was put on: The Fa-

ther's Return" and refers to the moment as a "scene" and her family as a group of "actors."[65] Wolf clearly plays on the familiar tradition of these returnee stories, and she suggests that literary accounts shaped the meaning of her father's homecoming, as well as her memory of that experience.

Wolfgang Borchert's *The Man Outside* was first performed on the radio in February 1947 and premiered on the stage in Hamburg in November of the same year. It met with resounding success and soon numbered among the most frequently performed plays of the period. Borchert's drama bears many similarities to Staudte's film, most noticeably in its presentation of soldierly trauma. Like Mertens, Borchert's protagonist Beckmann is a returnee who finds himself unable to navigate the difficult terrain of postwar Germany. His experiences have left him physically and mentally ill, and he suffers from recurring nightmares that stem from a wartime experience. And like Mertens, Beckmann occupies a low position in the army chain of command—a fact that becomes central in the work of both texts to emphasize the importance of rank in determining the responsibility for crimes of war. In each case, the central character seeks vengeance against his former commander. Mertens threatens to kill Brückner and ultimately turns him in, while Beckmann tracks down his superior officer in order to "give back" the responsibility the latter had bestowed upon him. Moreover, Mertens and Beckmann suffer as a result of their participation in a criminal organization, but neither man is portrayed as particularly responsible for the events that sparked his trauma. They occupy an uncomfortable middle ground between the callous commanders and those at the homefront. Beckmann and Mertens are not guilty, but also not entirely innocent, and must come to terms—in true Jaspers-like fashion—with their own complicity in the horrors of the war. Although Staudte and Borchert, whose main characters are "only following orders," certainly follow the trend to blame the German military command for the nation's crimes, they also devote significant attention to the psychology of the "little man." They construct a discourse of trauma around petty perpetrators who were conscripted, compromised, and ultimately ruined by the choices of their superiors.

The two texts also share a similar gender politics. In *The Man Outside* and *The Murderers Are Among Us,* a woman holds the key to healing the male protagonist. Beckmann finds a reason to live when he meets "the girl," and Mertens likewise is inspired literally to "clean up his act" when he falls in love with Susanne. The unconditional acceptance offered by the female companions in these narratives (whom the authors construct as ma-

ternal nursemaid figures) enables the recovery of the returnees. Apparently, the message of Borchert's text found some resonance with contemporary women. The premiere of the play prompted the women's magazine *Die Stimme der Frau* to urge its readership to help the many who, like Beckmann, could no longer locate the doors to their homes when they returned.[66] Along similar lines, one woman interviewed in the collection *Als Vater aus dem Krieg heimkehrte: Töchter erinnern sich* (When Father Came Home from the War: Daughters Remember) recalled recognizing her father in the figure of Beckmann when she read Borchert's play at the age of seventeen. Thinking back on how broken her father was by the experience of the war, she wonders: "Why do I still feel sorry for the man to this day? Why—to this day—would I still think it okay if he had entered like a lord and master?"[67] As her testimony eloquently expresses, women in postwar Germany experienced a profound and unsettling sense of men's inadequacy when their heroic fantasies gave way after facing the frail reality of returning soldiers.

Numerous writers have commented that Germany suffered from a postwar crisis of masculinity, brought on by military defeat and the coincident increase in women's social power both during and after the war.[68] Writing about American culture after 1945, Kaja Silverman describes a similar problematic. Although the United States, as a "victor nation," presented a substantially different context than its former enemy, Silverman's theoretical framework nevertheless offers valuable insights into the German situation. Silverman ascribes the crisis to a war mythology that supports an ideal of "phallic masculinity" that cannot be sustained once hostilities have ceased:

> Even under the most auspicious circumstances . . . the fiction of a phallic masculinity generally remains intact only for the duration of the war. . . . For the civilian society . . . the traumatized soldier remains a comfortingly heroic abstraction.[69]

Silverman argues for the incommensurability of the masculinity ideal and its reality. Out of that divide, she contends, masculinity crisis is born.

Silverman does not address directly the relationship between the health of the nation and the state of masculinity, but the connection is crucial when discussing the German context. Postwar Germany was plagued with a sense that both masculinity and the national health were failing. It is not accidental that the American official cited in the epigraph calls Ger-

many a sick *man.* The National Socialists had aggressively promoted the image of a strong, healthy, and virile *Vaterland,* and when the regime collapsed it destroyed any remaining faith in the might of the German army. And then the men began returning home, ragged and emaciated. They looked little like the ideal image of the German warrior, and the society as a whole was forced to reexamine the soldierly ideals against which it viewed these returnees. The *Heimkehrer* came up lacking, and German culture began to perceive masculinity and the nation as weak, inadequate, and in need of repair. This failing was not simply construed as physical but also moral and political; as influential commentator Walther von Hollander noted in a 1948 column in the women's magazine *Constanze:* "What was most corroding marriages was 'the question of guilt . . . guilt for all this catastrophe and mess.'"[70]

The case of postwar trauma discourse offers a prime example of the ideational connections drawn by contemporary observers between defeat, trauma, and a compromised masculinity. As Frank Biess and Svenja Goltermann have argued separately, the postwar concept of trauma was a product of its times, connected intimately with larger discussions about Germany's restoration needs and imbricated in historically specific narratives about World War II.[71] Postwar psychiatrists resolutely ruled out wartime experiences as the cause of soldiers' traumatic reactions.[72] Drawing upon the dominant concept of trauma developed following World War I, post-1945 doctors maintained that, although war might serve as a catalyst, the root cause of a soldier's psychic disturbance must be traced to a flaw in his psychological or physical constitution.[73] Implicitly invoking an idealized vision of hardened, militarized masculinity, these physicians presumed that "healthy" men would remain impervious to trauma, and viewed traumatic neurosis as a sign of weakness.[74] This discourse at once localized the problem in the body of the individual and framed treatment as vital for the general welfare, betraying psychiatry's continued debt to Social Darwinist and eugenic thinking.[75]

Moreover, both immediate postwar trauma diagnoses and the later discourse of dystrophy directly linked the identification of male psychic lack to assumptions about sexual inadequacy or "perversion."[76] Thus examinations of traumatized soldiers routinely included inspection of their genitals and body hair, and treatments included the prescription of testosterone.[77] Homosexuality came to be framed as an aftereffect of the soldier's encounter with totalitarianism, whether under fascism or in a Soviet POW camp—a diagnosis that, as Biess astutely notes, predicated the post-

war project to forge democratic citizens through the restoration of male heterosexuality.[78] Only gradually did doctors begin to take into account the external forces that had contributed to soldiers' psychic distress, and as Biess has shown in the case of West German discussions about "dystrophy" (as the medical term for the "POW disease" came to be known), this turn closely followed Cold War political maneuvering: psychiatrists focused overwhelmingly on the detrimental effects of imprisonment on POWs held in Soviet camps, so that the war itself was once again elided as a potential trigger.

The gender dynamics of the postwar period further exacerbated the sense of disconnect between the ideal of the heroic soldier and the shattered figures of the returnees. Despite Nazi efforts to maintain a rigorous division between the sexes, the realities of the war and postwar period had forced many women to assume roles once occupied by men, serving not only as caregivers for their children and other family members but also as the primary providers for their families—in many cases, even after their husbands had returned home. Although the war years had seen the increasing mobilization of women in the workforce, women's roles after the war's end were, if not necessarily more substantial, at least more *visible,* and it was obvious in post-1945 Germany that female labor would play an essential part in reconstruction. With the end of the war, women were encouraged to take an active role in rebuilding German society, in ways that reflected both their newfound positions as well as more traditional functions: on the one hand, women were expected to take the lead in reintegrating returning soldiers into society; on the other, they were also asked to aid in more literal rebuilding efforts, through their work as *Trümmerfrauen,* clearing rubble from the bombed cities. The *Trümmerfrau* became the *Heimkehrer*'s female counterpart and held a similarly important position in both East and West German narratives of the reconstruction, as the driving force behind the restoration of German culture.[79]

The needs of reconstruction were quite real. By the war's end, the majority of large German cities had been destroyed by Allied bombing. Berlin was one of the areas most devastated, and it has been estimated that the city was covered in 80 million cubic meters of rubble.[80] But Berlin was striking as much for what *remained* there as for its widespread destruction. As was noted in the catalog for a 1995 exhibit on Berlin in 1945, "In Berlin, more strongly than in other areas—it was the hour of the women."[81] This is explained in part by the fact that women vastly outnumbered men, a situation that came to be known as the *Frauenüberschuss* or "woman sur-

plus." Berlin offered one of the most extreme examples: a census conducted in October 1946 found that there were 146 women for every 100 men in that city.[82]

While the culture of the Zero Hour celebrated women for providing the strength for German renewal, texts from the period also make clear that the "hour of the women" was only temporary—an interim phase before gender order was restored. In many cases, women were subtly or not-so-subtly urged to assist in returning the German man to a position of dominance. In one of its first editions, the newspaper *Die Zeit* drew upon this postwar notion of empowered femininity and fragile German manhood. The front page of the 7 March 1946 issue bears an illustration of a woman, clearly a *Trümmerfrau,* handing a brick to a man (fig. 5). Her figure bows before him, as if entreating him to take part in the rebuilding effort. His head down, he is obviously depressed, and his bearing and dress hint that he is a returning soldier. A passage accompanies the drawing:

> In the war, the men carried the burden of battle. Did the women remaining at home do less? In peace time, women will perhaps have a better task to fulfill. From the depths of their fellowship with nature, they will become a wellspring of strength, out of which a new, peace-loving, free, and perhaps some day a happier Germany will be built.[83]

Although the text credits women for their efforts during the war, it also downplays the difficulty of their position—quickly moving on to the subject of "pleasanter tasks." It suggests that women will provide the foundation for the restoration of the German nation, but it also consigns them to supporting roles in that process. The passage trades in commonplaces about feminine closeness to nature when it compares the German woman to a spring and implies that, womblike, she will give birth to a new society. The illustration is emblematic of the widespread ambivalence in Germany regarding women's roles in the immediate postwar years. While women were assigned a key role in national reconstruction, their contributions to that effort were framed along highly traditional gender lines—as mother, housekeeper, and nursemaid.

Despite women's noticeable presence in the city and its workforce, when it came to restructuring the nation, women were often encouraged to take leadership positions in the *domestic* rather than the political sphere. In the wake of Germany's complete military and political collapse, postwar society placed a renewed emphasis on the family and stressed its impor-

[To view this image, refer to the print version of this title.]

Fig. 5. Rebuilding Germany and the German man. (Caricature by Mirko Szewczuk. Originally published in *Die Zeit*. Reprinted courtesy of Ilona Szewczuk-Zimmer.)

tance as the core unit of society.[84] The postwar preoccupation with family corresponded to a general turn away from politics, associated with the dangerous and male-dominated world of the preceding years, and toward the seemingly "safe" and apolitical realm of the home. But the well-being of the family also came to serve as an index of national health. The domestic sphere became a space for convalescence, for the German man and nation.[85] Women were urged to participate in the project of "heterosexual stabilization" by devoting their wartime strengths to the cause of reintegrating returning soldiers.[86] As one writer concluded in 1946, "the family fragment dominates the hour. But the idea of the family as a basic formation—that is, as an imaginary space which one can restore and fill—seems to have remained alive."[87]

The Murderers Are Among Us foregrounds this discourse of domestic convalescence in its treatment of the space of the apartment. The vast majority of the film's action unfolds within Hans and Susanne's four walls, and Hans's recovery can be tracked according to his attitude toward this

process of restoration. Whereas he opens the film full of resentment for Susanne's "housewifely passions" and "bourgeois order," he gradually embraces the comforts afforded by this sanitized space and ultimately even aids in the cleaning-up process when he provides the X-ray negatives to repair the apartment's broken windows. As the apartment heals, so does he.

Similarly, Susanne's work to renovate her former home parallels her ministrations to Hans—both commence on the very day after her return. The film makes her nursing duties explicit. In a conversation with the kindly neighbor, Mondschein, she explains why she feels compelled to treat Hans:

> Mondschein, would you deny your help to a person . . . would you reject him merely because he had the misfortune to return home from the war with serious wounds? And if, in his helpless state, he were dependent upon you, would you then push him away?
>
> MONDSCHEIN: Of course not.
>
> SUSANNE: You see—there are invisible wounds, but that require great understanding, patience, and love in order to heal.[88]

Recognizing the veteran's hidden injuries, she is determined to help him overcome his trauma—now shouldering the burden of his care, in addition to fulfilling the functions of a housewife. The film suggests that she does so out of a biological imperative: although the two characters declare their mutual love, Staudte presents Susanne's affection as more maternal than sexual. When Susanne embraces Hans after a particularly difficult day, their intertwined bodies most resemble a Pièta—a reading further supported by the film's contrasting of Susanne's chaste femininity with "that of the tawdry showgirls." The film suggests that a fundamental healing must occur before these two characters can contemplate the logical next step toward German recovery: reproduction.

Acting as a nursemaid-mother figure, Susanne cures Hans by first accepting him, imperfect masculinity and all. Her behavior exemplifies what Kaja Silverman has termed "embracing lack," that is, the cultural mandate for women in the postwar years to tolerate and see beyond the inadequacies of returning soldiers.[89] Jaimey Fisher, also drawing on Silverman, has pointed out that Hans does not resume a normative masculine role.[90] In fact, Brückner is the film's only traditional patriarch. Fisher astutely notes: "The film critiques in Brückner the male who too easily plays the ideal masculine role in the dominant fiction. . . . Given the massive trauma, the

film asserts that an embracing of lack is necessary."[91] Seen in this light, Susanne's acceptance of male inadequacy serves the film's larger project to envision a new and different German man. The unrepentant Brückner is beyond curing, but Hans, the quintessential German Patient, may still be won over to the "kingdom of the well."[92] Hans's lack thus does not signify a simple weakness but rather serves as a positive mark of his sensitivity to the horrors of the world around him. It is this very susceptibility that makes him a worthy candidate to found a new antifascist Germany. Susanne heals Hans by embracing his lack and by reconstructing the domestic space in which his healing may unfold.

Hans, in turn, responds well to Susanne's "treatment," regaining his sanity and sense of self, as well as his capacity to heal others—tellingly revealed when he performs surgery on a dying child.[93] This encounter with innocence restores his own faith in medicine's value, while also helping to ensure that future generations will go on to create a new Germany. At the same time, the moment marks the return of at least some of his paternal function. While he does not become a Brückner, whose excess health and wealth both render him highly suspect in the postwar context, Mertens does achieve recovery, finding productive uses for his past while looking ahead to a better future.

The Sick Doctor

Staudte's film makes the stakes of German recovery all the more urgent when it casts its central character as a traumatized physician. Hans suffers from a double wound: his initial failure to heal represents just one aspect of his more general failure to assume an appropriately active male position within society. The film casts him as metaphorically impotent, unable to practice his profession or to take anything but a passive stance toward the world around him. Hans has lost not only the ability to work but also to perform his social role altogether. Against the backdrop of a general crisis in German medicine, Hans's failure as a doctor further mirrors the incapacity of the nation to heal itself. Staudte hints that the roots of Germany's illness lie not only in the metaphoric collapse of German masculinity but also in the literal breakdown of the medical system. Implicitly, *The Murderers Are Among Us* identifies fascism as the cause of the decline in Germany's health.

It is difficult to say whether Staudte was thinking about the crimes of

Nazi doctors when he made his film, but the confluence of the premiere and the beginning of the Nuremberg Trials is not insignificant.[94] Both the Medical Case and the film confronted contemporary Germans with the question of guilt and linked the fallen regime's efforts to establish a healthy "national body" with grave breaches in medical ethics, including murder. They suggested that the restoration of German society hinged upon the identification and removal of its unhealthy elements. Accordingly, the film portrays Nazism as a disease but also views health with suspicion, as a marker of complicity with the regime. Staudte instead privileges those with a compromised immunity. While Brückner represents the still hearty vestiges of National Socialist Germany, Hans's trauma appears as an appropriate, if unfortunate, response to the sickly political environment of the former regime.

Staudte makes explicit the relationship between the national malaise and the residual fascist element in Germany in an exchange concerning that most infamous of disease-bearing animals, the rat. After his first encounter with Brückner, Hans returns and drunkenly greets Susanne with the cryptic message: "Rats! Rats! Everywhere, rats! The city is coming alive again!"[95] If audiences do not yet understand that this reference is meant to apply to Mertens's former commander, they will certainly grasp its importance a short while later when Susanne uncovers Hans's final journal entry declaring that "Brückner is alive! The murderers are among us!"[96] Staudte correlates the "murderers" with vermin: both are alive and well in Germany. The Brückners of the world, Staudte implies, bear in them the germ of fascism and threaten to cause another "outbreak."

In an uncannily similar image, in March 1946 *Die Zeit* published an illustration intended to comment on the Nuremberg proceedings[97] (fig. 6). Drawn by Mirko Szewczuk, who began his career as a caricaturist during the Nazi period and became a leading postwar political cartoonist, the piece represents the trial as a great broom sweeping up a recoiling rat, and the accompanying text is equally remarkable:

> The court convenes in the midst of the ruins of Nuremberg, at one time counted among Germany's most beautiful cities—a city of Party conventions and of the swaggering military displays of a now collapsed system. People of a different language, people of different blood will decide the verdict. Not only are representatives of the Party, the city, industry, and commerce on trial. The entire German people also stands accused. What we have tried through twelve years

> of inner turmoil to avert has finally occurred. We have been pressed into a common destiny with people we despised and rejected. If we warned . . . if we admonished . . . if we deplored them to abandon an act that seemed so senseless, low, criminal, and detestable to us, they threatened us with prison, torture, and death. Now we sit beside them in the dock. Every one of their crimes fills us with disgust. What they did to us . . . the outrages they committed against the German *Volk,* the German youth and against our future are not being addressed. Scorned and trampled upon, the laws of humankind and humanity demand atonement.

The passage is striking both for its racially tinged language ("people of different blood") and for its characterization of the German public as victims. Echoing the protestations of many of the contemporary critics cited in chapter 1, the *Zeit* passage declares that all Germans are on trial in Nuremberg and decries the concept of collective guilt as unjust.

Further, the passage implies that the (Nazi) "rats" have infected the larger German population with their guilt. Employing imagery evocative of the spread of illness in close quarters, the writer bemoans the fact that Germans have been "lumped together" with the very people they abhorred. The piece cynically claims that average Germans comprised a vast silent resistance and suggests that a guilty few imposed National Socialism on the hapless nation. Like Staudte's rat dialogue, the *Zeit* text hints that the German disease stems from the Nazi scourge, from the "vermin" that have infested the nation. The "disease" is confined to Germany's National Socialist leaders, while the majority German "we" appears simply as their victims—and a twice-victimized group, at that, since the author blames the Allies for perpetuating Nazi persecution through the trial and the assertion of collective guilt. The image accompanying the passage, meanwhile, calls for the extermination of those former leaders—through the image of the giant broom, which will sweep away the National Socialist "infestation" and help to restore Germany's health.

In employing the rat analogy, Staudte reads National Socialism as diseased and dangerous. While this serves the film's larger aim to denigrate the fallen regime, it also marks a stunning inversion. Just a few years earlier, Nazi propagandists were employing an identical rhetoric of parasitism to claim that Jews, Communists, and other "asocial" elements threatened the German *Volkskörper.* Fritz Hippler's 1940 anti-Semitic "documentary" *Der ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), which Staudte, as an employee of the

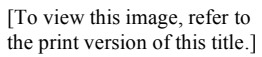

Fig. 6. Eliminating the National Socialist "vermin." (Caricature by Mirko Szewczuk. Originally published in *Die Zeit*. Reprinted courtesy of Ilona Szewczuk-Zimmer.)

Nazi film industry, certainly would have known, notoriously featured footage of scurrying rats to illustrate the dangers of the Jewish presence in Europe. In 1946, Staudte adopts the very same metaphor and simply changes its content—without acknowledging the anti-Semitic discourse and politics of which the analogy was a part. Nazis simply replace Jews as the plague-bearing pests overrunning the social body. While this inversion

speaks to the powerful impact of Nazi propaganda on the German imaginary, it also signals the kind of troublesome continuity that characterized the postwar period. Instead of interrogating the underlying biopolitical premise of fascist ideology, Staudte, like so many of his contemporaries, dusts off the rat meptaphor and reuses it to invalidate National Socialist claims—and predicates German postwar health upon the restoration of the social body.

Through a discourse of contagion, Staudte further complicates the question of guilt. It appears at first perplexing that, in a film portraying fascism as a kind of plague, Hans Mertens is sick while his former commander remains well. Assuming one can speak of degrees of guilt, Brückner bears primary responsibility for the crimes of his unit. After all, the film shows him give the order to murder the Polish civilians. Hans tries to intervene, and although he ultimately stands by as the massacre unfolds, the film emphasizes his muted resistance. Accordingly, one might expect the fascism-illness analogy to produce a sickly (i.e., fascist) commander and a healthy, resistant soldier. As the following chapter outlines, some exile literature, for example, constructed National Socialism as a disease affecting the few and posited the existence of a substantial and vigorous popular resistance.

Staudte takes a different route and contrasts the traumatized and maladjusted figure of Mertens with Brückner's physical and economic well-being. Unlike Hans, the former commander is a successful businessman and well-fed paterfamilias with real glass in his windows. But Brückner's prosperity coincides with—indeed, is shown to be a direct result of—his callous attitude toward the war and its victims. As a "murderer among us," Brückner represents the residual Nazi culture still pervasive in postwar Germany. Staudte emphasizes Brückner's health, and he suggests that the threat of fascism still lingers after the fall of Hitler's state. Brückner becomes the alarmingly hearty "carrier" in whom a latent National Socialism resides and continues to thrive.

Following this extended metaphor, Mertens represents a body fighting infection; his illness emerges as a natural response to the unhealthy conditions of wartime Germany. Here Staudte appears to subscribe to a notion of guilt like that promoted by Kütemeyer. The director indicates that Hans's sickness stems from both complicity and remorse. Hans is sick not because of anything that he did but from a malaise brought on by a "contagious" system. His *resistance* to Brückner's criminal behavior caused his trauma, and he is redeemed through it. Staudte constructs

Hans as a figure who is both sick and morally, if not legally, guilty. While Brückner's condition is one that rightfully should be handled by the courts (and so accords with Jaspers's concept of criminal guilt), Hans suffers from a condition best treated through psychological intervention. Staudte explores the difficult area between guilt and innocence—a realm that must have seemed familiar to the average German who was neither a commanding officer nor a camp survivor. Through the motif of illness, Staudte creates a median category of "sickly guilt" that avoids the polarizing tendencies of juridical examinations and carves out a subject position that acknowledges personal responsibility as well as personal suffering. In the process, the film contributes to the medicalization of German guilt—suggesting that the nation can overcome this postwar "disease" by removing the most obvious sources of illness and treating the remaining patients.

Final Judgment

In Staudte's original treatment, *The Murderers Among Us* did not end with a deus-ex-machina intervention, with Susanne preventing Hans from murdering Brückner and instead urging him to seek legal remedies for vengeance. Rather, Staudte had Hans execute his former commander and then face trial for murder. Staudte conceived of the final sequence as follows:

> The courtroom is packed. The prosecutor speaks and praises the exceptional virtues of the man cut down at the hands of a cowardly murderer on Christmas Eve 1945—at the first celebration of peace and reconciliation after many long, bloody years. And then the defendant is permitted to speak . . . "The murderers are among us!" The defendant ends his testimony thus: "Wearing the masks of upright citizens—proactively blathering their opposition to war and prejudice, appearing to work industriously for a peaceful future—today they are once more, with hypocritical decorum, clothed in civilian dress. But the only thing that will ever truly fit them is—the uniform! Their element is war and their highest ideals—thievery and murder!" The court adjourns to deliberate! On the wall behind the judges' bench—where there once hung the picture of the bloodiest maniac in history—today stands the goddess of justice, waiting and weighing—her eyes blindfolded.[98]

It is a far more pessimistic final sequence, with blind justice prevailing in Hitler's stead and an uncertain fate awaiting Mertens, rather than Brückner. And yet despite the marked differences between this and the version that Staudte ultimately produced for the film, the discarded script bears noticeable similarities to the final product. As in Hans's flashback, the reference to Christmas inscribes suffering and redemption in Christian terms. And much like the film's final version, this narrative revolves around an entirely German context, with German victims, German perpetrators, and most strikingly, a German court sitting in judgment. Like the passage from the *Zeit* image that comments on the Nuremberg proceedings, Staudte suggests that the nation is on trial. At a time when many Germans felt they faced judgment in a literal courtroom as well as in the international court of public opinion, Staudte twice imagines a system in which Germans judge themselves for crimes committed by and against Germans. In both the original and final versions of the film, a fantasy of self-governance prevails. Staudte envisions a Germany allowed to distinguish between its citizens and subject itself to internal examination, punishment, and purification.

In the final version approved by the Soviet authorities and released to the public, Hans does not shoot Mertens. Instead, Susanne enters and intervenes. She and Hans embrace and move outside, leaving behind a cowering Brückner. Now outside the gates of the factory, the two stand facing each other and reflect on the possibility of achieving justice. When Susanne proclaims to Hans that "we do not have the right to judge!" he agrees: "No, Susanne, but it is our duty to bring charges, to demand atonement on behalf of the millions of innocent people murdered!" The film cuts back to Brückner, and a dissolve transforms the gate before which he stands into the iron bars of a prison cell, suggesting that Brückner will now end in jail, despite his repeated entreaties: "But I am an innocent!" Hans and Susanne outline a plan for a measured attack on the roots of fascism still remaining in Germany. They will resort to legal means, and achieve justice without "judgment," without taking matters into their own hands.

The film concludes with a sequence consisting of a series of still images connected by lap-dissolves, which together form a community of diverse victims for whom our protagonists will advocate. The first shot, of a woman and two children, recalls Käthe Kollwitz's antiwar imagery, as well as Susanne's poster. For a longer moment the camera then focuses on two male figures, almost certainly German soldiers, either returnees or prisoners of war. The sequence fades to multiple overlapping shots of crosses, evoking the neat rows of a military cemetery, and finally rests upon a

close-up of the white lines of a single cross—coming full circle, as the film references the original crucifix that framed Hans's initial entrance in the film. As throughout the film, Staudte levels the differences between victims. German soldiers share the screen with women and children, and with the murdered Polish civilians of the earlier scene. Staudte furthermore frames these multiple stories of suffering in relation to the mental anguish of one man, Hans Mertens. Hans's trauma, which grows out of his sense of guilt, becomes the impetus for his pledge to pursue the true perpetrators of the preceding years. *The Murderers Are Among Us* identifies Hans as the greatest victim of the war as well as its greatest survivor, and the final sequence hints that, with Susanne's aid, he will go on to found the new Germany. Staudte depicts Hans as finding healing not only through his contact with the film's figures of innocence but also through the systematic removal of the surviving "germ" of fascism. Through his antiheroic male lead, Staudte privileges a flawed masculinity while also rejecting the Nazi vision of a vigorous *Volkskörper.* Instead, he proposes a new concept of national identity based on the "healthy" management of its illness. That management would become possible not least through a proper aesthetic relationship with the past—one that could penetrate the surfaces of postwar culture, identify its secret wounds, and heal them rather than covering them over.

CHAPTER 3

One Germany, in Sickness and in Health?

> Fascism, of which national socialism is a peculiar variation, is not a specialty of Germany. It is a sickness of the times, which is everywhere at home and from which no country is free.
>
> —Thomas Mann, "The War and the Future"

> What we experience in Europe is a form of insanity, a paranoia of power that has infected a continent with its hypnotic mania. The shock of war may arrest the psychosis, but the fundamental defect remains. For a hundred years to come Europe will be a madhouse, its inhabitants to be treated like patients. As for myself, I do not care to dwell among madmen.
>
> —Martin Gumpert, "Interim: Would You Ever Go Back, If . . ."

On Sunday, 10 March 1940, during a brief stay in New York, Thomas Mann made the following note in his diary: "Went with Gumpert to a café on the 60th floor. Drank tea. Talked about my latest novella, Dr. Faust."[1] The entry bears twofold significance. It marks an early stage in Mann's thinking about one of his greatest works, *Doktor Faustus: Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde* (*Doctor Faustus: The Life of the German Composer Adrian Leverkühn As Told by a Friend*). It also records the beginnings of a productive collaboration. The recipient of Mann's preliminary remarks was exiled physician and writer Martin Gumpert, who not only provided Mann with crucial information about the effects of syphilis but also shared similar intellectual concerns. Although it would be three years before Thomas Mann began working seriously on his novel, the initial discussion proved fortuitous. As it turned out, the two men were engaged in similar projects: analyses employing the lens of disease to examine Germany under fascism.

In many senses, Thomas Mann and Martin Gumpert were exemplary exiles. Mann was considered the model representative of the Other Germany, standing for the best of his former country's intellectual and cultural traditions. Both the American administration and the exiled German community treated him accordingly. Acknowledging his prominent status, fellow émigrés called upon Mann to play a leading role in the U.S. branch of the *Freies Deutschland* or "Free Germany" society, a cause that would eventually bring him into conflict with another famous but less well-established émigré, Bertolt Brecht.[2] The FBI interviewed Mann, along with a few other prominent exiles, about "what to do with Germany."[3] According to one source, the Allies even briefly considered Mann a front-runner to lead the postwar nation.[4] Martin Gumpert was another sort of ideal emigrant, both typical and exceptional. Like many exiles, he was Jewish, a victim of Nazi racial persecution. More unusual was the ease with which Gumpert overcame significant odds and successfully restarted his career abroad. Gumpert had arrived in the United States in the spring of 1936, and he quickly reestablished both his medical and literary practices, working as a doctor in New York and writing for such mainstream publications as the *Nation, Time,* and *New York Times Magazine,* as well as *Aufbau* and *Neue Rundschau.* Together, Mann and Gumpert also represented the geographic centers of German exile; while Mann ultimately settled in California, Gumpert made his home in New York.

The writers had first met in Switzerland when Gumpert visited Mann in the early phase of the elder author's exile there, but their relationship really developed in America, for personal rather than professional reasons. Shortly after his arrival in New York, Gumpert struck up what would be a long-standing if tumultuous love affair with Thomas Mann's daughter, Erika Mann.[5] The two were so often together that brother Klaus Mann referred to them as the single entity "E-Gumpert."[6] Thomas Mann and Martin Gumpert became fast friends, and their tie remained strong despite the doctor and Erika's ultimate break. It was thus that Gumpert served as the model for the figure Mai-Sachme in Mann's *Joseph der Ernährer* (*Joseph the Provider,* the third of the Joseph series).[7] Mann's diaries indicate that he frequently discussed the Faustus novel with Gumpert. It was based upon this enduring friendship that, in 1949, Martin Gumpert became Thomas Mann's companion for his controversial return trip to Germany.

Like many of their fellow exiles, the two writers were concerned with the causes and development of National Socialism. Thomas Mann and Martin Gumpert operated in different yet overlapping circles, and they

shared an engagement with the public discussions of what should be done with Germany. Both strove to analyze the German condition and also make clear that there were no simple cures at hand. Both fought for an understanding of Germany within a larger European context. More important, both believed they could describe continental political developments according to medical principles. Characterizing fascism as an illness, they offered allegorical tales of Germany's decline.

At the time of their New York meeting, Mann was just beginning to plan *Doctor Faustus,* which would tell the story of a German composer whose medical history paralleled national history. Published in 1947, the novel brought together Mann's long-standing interest in the relationship of art to illness and his more recent concern with this other, metaphoric disease ravaging Europe: fascism. Throughout the narrative, the health of the central character, Adrian Leverkühn, rises and falls with the "health" of the nation, and Adrian's pact with the devil reads as a thinly veiled reference to Germany's own diabolical pact. Mann adopted a similar model of disease in his many public speeches, as in the Library of Congress address cited in the epigraph. Although Mann had often thematized sickness in his writing, he did so now with political as well as aesthetic intent.

In the case of Martin Gumpert, his medical training provided an analytical framework with which to pursue political questions. In his 1940 study *Heil Hunger! Health under Hitler,* for example, Gumpert reviewed medical data published in fascist Germany in order to prove that the country's health problems were on the rise, and he argued that National Socialism itself was a sick system. Gumpert's text offers a detailed discussion of public health in 1930s Germany. His analysis goes beyond the realm of physical illness, however, and the metaphoric terms in which he discusses Nazi Germany resonate with many of the central concerns in Mann's *Doctor Faustus.* Like Mann, Gumpert draws parallels between fascism and disease, and asks whether Nazism had "invaded" Germany or rather grown out of an innate national susceptibility.

When the two men met for tea in March 1940 they must have discussed Gumpert's work as well as the Faustus plans. Mann clearly knew of his friend's book. In a letter dated 14 June 1940, just one month later, Mann asked the physician to supply him with a tin of ointment and closed with a playful reference to Gumpert's newest publication: "Heil Hunger! Ihr Thomas Mann."[8] Although Mann's diaries do not specify that he read Gumpert's volume, his choice of salutation makes clear that he was familiar with the work. Given that the two men so frequently enjoyed each

other's company, it seems quite likely that Mann was acquainted with more than just the title.

Addressing the state of Germany's health, both Mann and Gumpert spoke from within the exile community in the United States, and they represented just two voices in a much larger debate. The exiles numbered among the staunchest critics of their former country, and émigré intellectuals contributed substantially to the "avalanche of materials" about what should be done with Germany.[9] As Anton Kaes has pointed out, in the 1940s "being of German origin was suddenly perceived as a sickness in need of a cure."[10] The exiles provided differing approaches to the German question and employed various models of disease to explain the relationship between the nation and the Nazi movement. Like other thinkers of the period, the exile writers alternately characterized Nazism as a psychological and biological phenomenon, and sometimes insisted that both descriptions were accurate. The émigrés also held differing opinions about the extent of Germany's illness. One contingent espoused the view that the nation was wholly and completely sick. In their analysis, German fascism represented the symptom of a deeper disease, as the expression of a deeply rooted flaw in the collective character. Another school of thought held that it was crucial to distinguish between National Socialism and the German people; the Nazis were not Germany, and not all Germans were Nazis. This group discussed fascism as a temporary condition and believed that the Nazi regime represented only one, unhealthy aspect of German culture; following this logic, National Socialism was the disease itself, preying upon the susceptible nation.

Although they employed the metaphor of illness to different ends, the exile writers were united in their efforts to explain the extent of the German disease. This set them apart somewhat from their postwar German counterparts, who as a rule placed more emphasis on the question of guilt (and, perhaps out of strategic necessity, assumed that some healthy element of German society had survived to rebuild the nation). But even in the diverse terrain of the exile and inner-German writing about fascism, one finds a similar underlying question: was the nation partly or wholly to blame for the processes that caused its infection, or was Germany the innocent victim of the National Socialist regime?

Some exilic authors pursued the psychological preconditions for fascism. Wilhelm Reich explored this idea most famously in his 1933 study *Massenpsychologie des Faschismus* (*The Mass Psychology of Fascism*). Reich examined the social and psychological determinants of Nazism and

emphasized the influence of patriarchal order under capitalism. The book was banned in Germany, but Reich enjoyed a more positive reception as an exile in the United States when the first English edition was published in 1946.[11] Along the same lines, although several years later, the authors of *The Authoritarian Personality* (many of whom were exiles, most famously Theodor W. Adorno) offered an empirical investigation of the roots of prejudice.[12] While the study did not focus on German test subjects, the authors cited the Nazi movement as one important inspiration for their work. Siegfried Kracauer would pursue similar interests in his still influential 1946 study of Weimar cinema, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film,* which read the film culture of the 1920s and 1930s as symptomatic of the nation's fascination with fascism.

Still others approached Nazism as a physical ailment, and through quasi-epidemiological writings they explored how the movement had spread. Such a biological discourse was particularly pronounced in those texts that grappled with perhaps the most pressing question for the German exiles: Was there one Germany, indivisible from Hitler's regime, or was there a second, "anderes Deutschland"? Was Hitler an aberration, a madman holding the nation captive? Or was he merely the expression of its political will? For those thinkers who espoused a "two Germanys" theory, illness served as a means to express the distinction between the Nazi movement and the German nation. They argued that one should not confuse the disease with the patient. In their 1940 work *The Other Germany,* Erika and Klaus Mann succinctly summed up the exiles' dilemma:

> What is the matter with the Germans? All of us would like to find out. Will they drive us once more into the jaws of a World War? Why must that be? Have the Germans always been like that? Is Nazism rooted in the German character, or has it been foisted upon the Germans? Are there traditions in German history to which Hitler can point? Shall we hate the Germans? Or is there a Germany we can love? Is there "another Germany"? Are the Germans Nazis?[13]

Or as émigré Rudolf Olden, investigating the reasons behind the nation's repeated acts of aggression, asked: "What is this enigmatic property in the German soul . . . What is this deep-seated malady? Is it incurable?"[14]

Both the Manns and Olden concluded that another Germany had survived the Nazi takeover, and like many of their fellow political exiles, they constructed the image of a "healthy" national alternative. Their concept of

the Other Germany suggested that the nation was not synonymous with its current government and encouraged a view of National Socialism as a temporary condition. Julius Braunthal argued along similar lines that one must view National Socialism as an international ailment:

> Assuming . . . that Hitlerism is no more than a symptom of the disease which has corrupted not only the body of Germany but the body of the whole of modern society; can the disease really be cured by cutting the Nazi ulcer if the poison which caused it be left to spread and flourish? All cures depend on the right diagnosis; and painstaking research is needed to discover the germ of the world's sickness that has infested the social organism of our civilisation.[15]

The Socialist Braunthal claimed that a cure could be achieved only through "the destruction of the military power of Fascism" and "the transformation of the economic, social, and political structure of society from which it emerged."[16] Braunthal posits National Socialism to be a strain of a more widespread illness. He implies that Germany is just one locus of disease and employs terms suggesting that fascism works like a cancer upon the body of the nation. Like the Manns and Olden, Braunthal insists that there is not a single Germany, and that the country can be separated into its diseased and healthy elements. While each of these works tried to shape present-day perceptions of Germany, they also had implications for a postwar scenario—for if not all of the nation was sick, then its uninfected parts might adequately restore it, making unnecessary the intervention of Allied "doctors."

This point was especially important to leftist exiles. As Ehrhard Bahr has argued, the "Two Germanys" thesis was closely linked with their efforts to shape political praxis in Germany after the war and to pave the way for the establishment of a socialist state.[17] An example from the Mexico-based exile paper *Freies Deutschland,* which featured work by such left-leaning writers as Ernst Bloch, Bodo Uhse, Alfred Kantorowicz, Ernst Abusch, and Oskar Maria Graf, illustrates this point. An editorial essay from 15 January 1942, entitled "Was wird aus Deutschland?" (What Will Become of Germany?), opposed those who argued that Germany and Hitler were one and who demanded that the nation be "destroyed and carved up"; instead, the newspaper insisted that the errors of Versailles must not be repeated, and recommended instead a course that would maintain the German nation while removing Hitler and his cronies from power.[18]

Not all of the exiles conceived of Germany and the Nazi state as separate entities. For the advocates of the idea of "One Germany," disease provided a framework with which to assert the unity of the German government and citizenry. Like their counterparts who espoused the "Two Germanys" theory, those exiles favoring the idea of a single nation and state held varied opinions about the extent of the illness and what would bring about a cure. But despite their differences, these theorists shared the belief that both the German people and the German state suffered from one and the same ailment. Fascism, in this analysis, represented the symptom of a deeper disease affecting all of the nation's culture.

Perhaps the most contentious figure in the Germany debates was the scholar Emil Ludwig. Ludwig was born in Germany but had adopted Swiss citizenship. An outspoken critic of both the German government and people, Ludwig belonged to the most adamant wing of the "One Germany" proponents and was the exile most closely associated with the British Lord Vansittart's virulently anti-German views.[19] In *How to Treat the Germans,* Ludwig offered a study of "the German character" and deemed it inharmonious, insecure, mystically inclined, arrogant, and militarist.[20] Citing his Swiss citizenship, Ludwig claimed a higher degree of objectivity than the other German exiles and declared that his fellow émigrés' dream of "a new liberal Germany" was a hopeless cause.[21] In its stead, Ludwig imagined a lengthy occupation of the country and a thorough supervision of its people. Ludwig maintained that the nation's future would depend on the efforts of reeducation. Although aspects of his program resembled the actual occupation policy later adopted by the Allies, some of his more specific suggestions betrayed a less charitable view of how the victors should treat the Germans, as when he proposed that Allied officers should "appear as often as possible in riding boots" to show their mastery![22] In another essay of the period, Ludwig spelled out his vision in more detail, advocating as a first step the dismissal of 50 percent of the country's 6,000 professors. Ludwig suggested that there were adequate numbers of well-educated Germans who could fill the ranks of scholars fired for their Nazi leanings and maintained that such an approach was essential to treating the German schoolchildren and students who were "even now bearers of the war bacillus."[23] Ludwig presents denazification as both a disinfectant and curative measure for a grievously infected nation.

The writer Sebastian Haffner took a related, if less radical view of the German character.[24] In his 1941 book *Germany, Jekyll and Hyde,* Haffner argued that it was important to understand the affinities between Hitler

and the German population. He characterized Hitler as an entirely self-serving madman and "a poor specimen of manly bearing" as well as a "hypochondriac,"[25] portrayed the Nazis as "psychically undeveloped, backward, crippled,"[26] and claimed that their loyal following was composed of similar psychological types.[27] Referring to his title, Haffner argued that the "Germans are leading a double life like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."[28] Haffner's use of the Stevenson tale suggests a polarized nation, torn between good and evil—one body, despite its seemingly disparate identities. No less important for Haffner's analogy is the medical experiment behind Dr. Jekyll's transformation, and Haffner characterizes the various German groups under his analysis as suffering from a kind of genetic and psychological "mutation." As previous chapters have shown, postwar critics of National Socialism regularly inverted the movement's terms in the name of critique—and this was no less true of the German émigré population writing about their former homeland from abroad. Drawing on the language of degeneracy, Haffner's analysis implicitly attacks the notion of Germans as a racially pure population. As these pages explore in greater detail later, Thomas Mann and Martin Gumpert were most sympathetic to this version of Germany, and their discussions of fascism construct Germany as one nation, in sickness and in health.

Mann and Gumpert not only wrote within the context of their exile community, but also within the larger environment of a U.S. political culture that was fighting a propaganda as well as conventional war against Hitler's Germany. Their writings contributed to a larger discursive negotiation taking place in 1940s America about what was "wrong" with Germany. During this period, opponents of National Socialism produced a range of studies on the psychosocial conditions that had fostered fascism, and drew on insights from psychology, sociology, and anthropology to interpret German political tendencies as indicators of a national mental state.[29] Taking up metaphors of illness, Mann and Gumpert helped to fuel an antifascist rhetoric that maintained that the spread of National Socialism should be understood in clinical terms, as a disease of both mental and physical proportions. Mann and Gumpert wrote in dialogue with this greater discussion as they addressed the matter of Germany's illness and attempted to shape the nature of the "treatment" to come.

A cross section of American critical writing on Germany from this period reveals a number of different takes on the German condition, and the materials defy easy categorization. Although these texts share a common consensus that fascism should be understood as a disease, they exhibit a di-

versity of opinions about National Socialism's precise nature and origins. Just as the postwar period in Germany gave rise to alternate theories of German guilt, American writers promoted differing versions of the German condition. Like the exiles, these U.S. commentators were divided on whether to view Germany as a single or a double nation. In general, the American population of the early 1940s was inclined to separate the German state from its citizenry. In a Gallup poll from August 1942, 74 percent of respondents declared that the country's main foe in the war was Germany's government, compared to 6 percent who believed the United States was fighting primarily against the German people.[30]

The American authors diagnosing the German situation had different agendas. Some writers pleaded the cause of quick military intervention (conceiving of it as a kind of medical procedure, and so foreshadowing our own period's fascination with "surgical" military strikes). Still others took the German example as a clarion call for political reform in their own country, arguing that the symptoms of National Socialism were not exclusive to Germany. Another group made the case that Germany would require extensive postwar treatment and offered possible avenues for curing the nation after military defeat. These readings share with many postwar German diagnoses the idea that fascism is "symptomatic," but in contrast to their German counterparts like Jaspers and Meinecke, the American critics tend to view National Socialism as a native disease. Accordingly, these writers eschew general analyses of Modernity as the source of illness and instead emphasize the historical particulars that contributed to Hitler's regime. They insist on a precise circumscription of the sick German Patient and rhetorically quarantine the nation. Two examples from this literature illustrate the various medical analogies employed by antifascist authors.

In *The Nazi Disease* (1939), author Jay M. Scandrett contends that "Nazism is a disease, a disease which now afflicts a great nation. It affects not merely the patient's epidermis, but his whole anatomy and all of his organs."[31] Scandrett is interested primarily in tracing the development of Nazism through a reading of German history. In a series of chapters with such suggestive titles as "Diagnosis," "The Patient's Infancy," and "The Symptoms Are Chronic," he outlines the basis for the current infection (reaching as far back as the Teutonic tribes for evidence of Germans' warmongering tendencies) and makes the case that National Socialism grew out of long-standing sociopolitical conditions in Germany. He blames

Hitler for the nation's inability to diagnose itself. As Scandrett explains: "Hitler . . . denies that Germany is sick. A microbe naturally believes that the microbe is the standard of biological perfection."[32]

Scandrett couples his critique of Germany's political well-being with a reflection on contemporary culture in the United States and cautions that America exhibits certain symptoms of the German disease—in his final chapter, "The Disease Is Contagious," Scandrett warns that although "direct contagion seems rather remote," "the real danger lies not in our (military) vulnerability, but in our susceptibility."[33] Yet while Scandrett sees the German case as grounds for Americans to reconsider domestic politics (thus presaging some of the civil rights debates that emerged following the end of the war), he nevertheless insists on the cultural specificity of Germany's fascination with fascism. Unlike those theorists discussed in the first chapter, Scandrett prefers to trace the roots of Nazism to the nation's social, political, and intellectual traditions, rather than to locate the German problem in the larger context of Modernity.

Psychiatrist Richard M. Brickner discusses the possibility of a German recovery in his 1943 study *Is Germany Incurable?* Brickner identifies the nation's "mental trend" as "paranoia" and explains that "paranoia is not used here as an epithet, but as a responsible medical diagnosis."[34] He argues that one can view the nation as a collective entity, since "the German group—as a collective force, not necessarily as individuals—. . . displays a remarkable number of the classical paranoid symptoms," including megalomania, a sense of divine mission, and feelings of persecution.[35] Brickner takes the stance that Hitler and his leadership are not isolated cases but rather indicative of a large-scale psychological condition and contends that one cannot explain the German situation solely as a matter of politics, economy, and geography. As he states, "The Nazi movement and its leaders are symptoms, not causes, of Germany's trouble, the equivalent of scabs on the body of a smallpox patient."[36] He explains the widespread success of fascism as the result of "paranoid contagion": "Contagion . . . means not that paranoid thinking is a disease like measles that can be caught from another person, but that it is an inflammable potentiality that can be easily ignited."[37] Like Scandrett, Brickner views National Socialism as the product of a particularly German condition and reads political events leading up to 1933, from the agitations of the Pan-German League to the widespread criticism of the Treaty of Versailles, as preliminary indications of the country's failing mental health. And like Scandrett,

Brickner concentrates his attention on fascism within the borders of Germany and interprets this collective paranoia as the product of a single national psyche.

Brickner expresses doubt about the efficacy of international tribunals and holds out hope that national healing might be effected by other means, through a "psychiatric campaign," based on treatment methods traditionally applied to the individual paranoid patient, that would accompany military action.[38] Brickner speculates that some residual healthy element remains in German society, and he proposes that doctors might utilize that remnant to initiate the process of curing the nation after the war, through a kind of countercontagion. He ends with the admonition that "a vivid realization of this diagnosis of paranoia is the *sine qua non* of any success whatsoever in dealing with post-war Germany."[39] Along these same lines, anthropologist Margaret Mead, in her introduction to the book, praises Brickner for his application of neuropsychological principles to the larger entity of the German nation and argues that this model can provide insights "which will guide us, and the rest of the United Nations, in dealing with Germany."[40] Both Brickner and Mead plead for a psychological understanding of National Socialism and make the case for therapeutic intervention at the war's end.

The remainder of this chapter will explore the ways in which Thomas Mann and Martin Gumpert wrote in dialogue with the prevailing discourse about Germany. Although Mann and Gumpert also wrote in response to each other, this chapter does not pursue their cooperation as a study in influence. Rather, it contends that Mann and Gumpert attempted, often along very similar lines, to shape émigré debates about the German relationship to fascism and to contribute to an American understanding of conditions in their former country. In turn, both authors were shaped by the discourse that surrounded them. They drafted their theses on the German situation against the backdrop of a culture that was entertaining multiple theories about what was "wrong" with Germany. Vis-à-vis their fellow exiles, Mann and Gumpert chose a moderate course between the polemical camps of the One and Two Germanys thinkers. They departed from many American writers in viewing National Socialism as a pan-European problem.

Gumpert, perhaps following Erika Mann, came closer than his friend to viewing Germany as a divided land. He described the nation as a body under attack and emphasized fascism's international impact. At the same time, he was more cautious than many of the Two Germanys writers about drawing a clear line between a good and bad Germany. Gumpert forecast

a long recovery period for the ailing nation and questioned the idea that those "resistant" to the Nazi disease would be capable of rising up and restoring Germany as soon as the war ended. Thomas Mann's position was more complicated and ambiguous. Although he should not be confused with more radical thinkers like Ludwig and Vansittart, Mann increasingly favored a One Germany thesis. He argued that one could not distinguish cleanly between the Nazi rulers and the German people, or even between the "good Germans" in exile and the "bad Germans" who had remained. But if he believed in a single (and singular) German character, Mann rejected the idea that there was one fascism. Like Gumpert, he argued that the movement had pervaded Europe, and he insisted that the particularity of the German situation must be understood in a broad, transnational context.

Martin Gumpert: Diagnosing Germany

As a young man, Martin Gumpert had been involved in the Expressionist movement, working as a poet and founder of the journal *Neubild: Zeitschrift für moderne Kunst und neuartiges Geistesleben,* but after serving as a medic in World War I he determined to practice medicine. Alarmed by the rampant spread of venereal disease in the postwar years, he soon specialized in the field of sexually transmitted diseases and skin disorders.[41] Gumpert advocated public health measures to stem the tide of disease by addressing its underlying social causes. Although working as a doctor, Gumpert maintained his interest in literature, and he published widely during this period. He authored a number of literary as well as popular-scientific works, and when racial laws prohibited him from practicing medicine, he took refuge in writing and authored several biographical accounts of rebellious figures in medical history that served as thinly disguised attacks on the Nazi regime.[42] Soon after his emigration to the United States Gumpert resumed writing, and he continued his engagement in German politics from overseas. Drawing on a range of illness metaphors, he attempted to undermine the Nazi movement through drastic diagnoses.

In the opening passage of his 1940 work *Heil Hunger! Health under Hitler,* Martin Gumpert declares:

> This documentary presentation of health conditions in Nazi Germany brings the story completely up-to-date. It reveals to American

> readers that dictatorship is a sickness which drives all concerned to inevitable physical breakdown; that freedom is the first condition for the biological advancement of the individual and of the social group.[43]

Gumpert makes clear that he is interested in a twofold examination of health under National Socialism, concerning himself not only with the statistical evidence of illness in the Reich but also exploring the figurative illness that he argues has been induced in German culture under Hitler. Intending to debunk the myth of National Socialism as a healthy movement, Gumpert analyzes publications authored by medical researchers working within Nazi Germany in order to prove that, under Hitler, illness is actually on the rise. Gumpert particularly wishes to refute the claims of those who see in Hitler a positive influence for Germany, believing that despite the terrible crimes occurring in Germany, "when all is said and done, Hitler did transform a sick and degenerating people into a healthy and vigorous nation!'"[44]

Throughout his book, he maintains a double emphasis on the literal and figurative ways in which fascism is harmful to health. In doing so, he balances an attention to real disease with his interest in its social dimensions. Gumpert positions himself as a diagnostician for the nation, a stance that he was to adopt in many of his subsequent writings about the German situation. In *Heil Hunger!* he comments on a wide range of public health problems common to German society under National Socialism and characterizes these "social ills" as diseases unto themselves. The rising rate of alcoholism in Germany under Hitler he interprets as the sign of an impending collective mental collapse:

> The longing for stupefying drink grows with the longing for liberation from fear and insecurity of life; it grows with the general nervous breakdown which hangs like a dark cloud over Germany.[45]

Regarding the mistreatment of the mentally ill he suggests it is the National Socialists who are actually insane:

> Shortly before the Nazi seizure of power a well-known German mental specialist made this classic pronouncement on the subject of political psychopaths: "First we treat them, then they rule us." The utterance has become sad reality in Germany. In the Third Reich it is not

> an easy destiny either to be mentally sick or to treat the mentally sick.[46]

Perhaps most relevant for the discussion of *Doctor Faustus,* Gumpert claims that, despite efforts by the regime to fight them, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) are a growing problem. He characterizes STDs as the inevitable result of the other societal problems that the regime has fostered: "Drunkenness—sexual criminality—mental crises: the line continues straight to venereal disease."[47] He holds this out as the most damning critique of public health under National Socialism. While this speaks to his professional interest in the subject, one may also surmise that he is attacking the Nazi stereotype of the disease-bearing Jew—a discourse closely bound up with syphilis. According to his analysis, it is fascism, not its designated foes, that is responsible for the decline in Germany's national health.

In Gumpert's account of fascist Germany, the ease with which he switches registers is striking—from discussing the incidence of disease and social problems in the culture to a diagnosis of fascism itself as an illness. One might expect a medical doctor, with an acute awareness of the very real effects of illness on the body, to use greater caution when speaking of social bodies, or to be more precise than Gumpert is when describing the symptoms of this national patient. Instead, Gumpert gives the reader a picture of Germany as suffering from a whole host of maladies ranging from insanity to venereal disease, with fascism as the Ur-disease from whence they spring. This is less perplexing when we consider that his approach is largely inspired by the rhetoric of national health promulgated by the National Socialists, so that his text becomes a counterargument to the Nazi claim that the movement would regenerate the German national body by purging it of "foreign" elements. His text critiques fascism on its own terms. Yet in his attempt to undo the aura of National Socialism—by decrying the movement as sick, and not healthy, as it had claimed—Gumpert, like so many of his contemporaries, employs a rhetoric that retains the basic structures of biopolitical thought. In the process, his work raises the question of whether it was possible to combat fascism by inverting its language. While this strategy of the switch was perhaps an easy and effective means to negate National Socialist claims about healing Germany, it nevertheless validated a basic tenet of fascist ideology: the belief that one could heal German culture by removing or excluding its infectious elements.

Gumpert makes the aim of his diagnosis most explicit when he writes:

> This work has a double purpose. It seeks, by means of facts, to destroy the legend of the power-radiating healthfulness of the Third Reich and to expose it as the propaganda lie which it is. It seeks to demonstrate clearly that Fascism produces not health, but sickness, that it is the unhealthiest and most unwholesome political system ever born in the brain of man. Wherever this disease spreads—and unfortunately there seems to exist no immunity against it—it brings other diseases with it.[48]

According to Gumpert's scheme, fascism is both conducive to disease and a disease unto itself. What is significant in this passage is his notion that fascism, although promulgated by the Third Reich, has a contagious quality: it is a spreading disease that foments other social ills. It suggests that fascism may thus be passed along, from one society to another, and although he does not say that it has "infected" other parts of the world, his text may be understood as a warning to his American readers. As he argues, there is no "immunity" to it. Thus while Gumpert seems to equate the Third Reich with fascism and with disease, the idea that it may spread also suggests that the disease is *not* intrinsically German, and that other nations may soon find themselves fighting it off.

Gumpert's theory of fascism as an illness is further elucidated if one considers the split occurring in the German medical field at the time of his writing. As Robert Proctor has explained, two competing theories of medicine circulated during the later Weimar period. The *Sozialhygiene* or "social hygiene" movement concerned itself with the societal causes and impact of disease, and was frequently espoused by physicians with a leftist bent.[49] Under the National Socialists, this school of thought was supplanted by a racially driven medicine that examined genetic and racial characteristics as determinants of health. *Rassenhygiene* (racial hygiene) suited the biopolitical aims of the regime and became the dominant mode of medical discourse in Nazi Germany following the *Gleichschaltung.* This shift in emphasis from social to racial theories of health and illness had several consequences. Whereas the social hygiene movement had emphasized the importance of social and economic factors in contributing to disease, proponents of racial hygiene stressed the biological basis for illness. Genetics took precedence over environment as a causal factor. This occa-

sioned a further shift in philosophies of treatment: with the new attention to genetics, researchers came to value preventative over curative medicine, according to the logic that one could best serve the populace by ensuring the health of its genetic material.[50]

Gumpert, with his interest in the societal costs of syphilis, clearly subscribed to a social hygienic philosophy of medicine. Accordingly, he criticizes National Socialism as a disease with the potential to spread to any susceptible nation. Gumpert rejects any biologically determinist understanding of Nazism and implies that it is born out of a particular set of social and economic circumstances. This idea runs through even those remarks that appear initially to employ a genetic model. Thus when Gumpert declares, in a passage I cited earlier, that "freedom is the first condition for the biological advancement of the individual and of the social group," his concern with the *political* requirements for health is apparent.

In the closing passage of *Heil Hunger!* Gumpert makes clear that his work is directed at both a German and foreign audience. Echoing (or prefiguring) the final lines of Mann's Faustus novel, he suggests that when the Third Reich has ended, Germany will find itself in need of special "compassion":

> Thus it is also the purpose of this work, which will reach thousands of German readers in another edition, to call forth compassion and help for the German people, which under the pressure of a pitiless fate has for decades experienced an overmeasure of misery and despair. The evil dream of the Third Reich will pass away; this prophecy the doctor dares to pronounce on the basis of the facts and the multiple symptoms of sickness. No nation which has retained a portion of its healthy biologic instincts lets itself be utterly destroyed. The crime against the German national health will be expiated. But there will remain behind a sick organism which will need care and consideration and reintegration in the human commonality of this earth. Then the exploded idea of "a biologic State direction" to which the future belongs may finally be replaced by actions which can restore health and the joy of life to my former homeland.[51]

Gumpert asserts repeatedly that fascism is a sickness and suggests that it has invaded the body of Germany. If the nation is to survive, its healthy instincts must reject this assault. In casting politics as a disease, Gumpert im-

plies a certain biological inevitability—fascism becomes a disease waiting to develop, a "natural" albeit harmful development in the state organism. But significantly, he notes that the disease is not synonymous with the body it invades. Here Gumpert aligns himself with the Two Germanys theory and implies that the national body will survive the passing of Nazism. Yet Gumpert stops short of asserting that that Other Germany is healthy. The remaining organism is not "resistant," as Brecht and other leftist thinkers stressed. Instead, Gumpert imagines a fragile and ailing, *susceptible* national body. This German Patient will require a new system as a cure—a democratic antidote, in place of the state-driven program of racial hygiene against which Gumpert warns.

Mann may have had only a fleeting acquaintance with Gumpert's first major American publication, but it is certain that he was quite familiar with Gumpert's subsequent book, his 1941 *First Papers.* At Gumpert's request, Thomas Mann agreed to write the introduction for the collection of essays, which addressed such diverse subjects as the plight of the exile, reflections on American race politics, the role of the American woman (or "hostess"), and the possibility—or impossibility—of returning to Germany. Mann's diary for 1941 indicates that he devoted his attention to the volume on the evenings of 8, 9, and 10 August, reading it "with enjoyment" and finding it "very pleasant reading."[52] He then drafted the preface on 11 and 12 August. In that preface Mann praises the book as "the picture of a whole epoch, a summary of the external history of the nineteenth century with a whole gallery of portraits of its leading intellects," and "a healthy and intelligent criticism of our problematical epoch, its formations and misformations, of the intellectual, moral, economic, and political crisis, whose suffering witnesses we are."[53]

Although Gumpert's anthology would seem at first glance to differ greatly from his earlier work on public health under Hitler, upon closer examination one sees that he expresses many similar sentiments regarding the pathological nature of German fascism. He frames the causes and effects of National Socialism through a variety of metaphors of national illness. In his essay "Take a Look at the Alien," he remarks that many are still blind to the harms of Hitler's ideology:

> There was no desire—nor is there even today in many quarters—to recognize the infectious, epidemic, hypnotic qualities, nor the human degradation, that emanate from the doctrine of the Anti-Christ who today rules over Europe.[54]

And explaining Hitler's success in Germany, he talks of the fascists' false but appealing promise of a "cure":

> Diabolically they heightened fear, but at the same time they promised a cure and the masses streamed into their camp. They brought religion and faith and superstition and distrust, and they kindled the irrational instincts of sex and blood and violence into a fanatic intoxication that silenced the voice of reason.[55]

Gumpert spends little time analyzing the causes behind the Nazis' mass appeal and instead emphasizes the result of their takeover. As he had done in *Heil Hunger!* Gumpert offered a reading of Nazism as sick, and did so by employing the fascists' own vocabulary. He described the impact of Hitler's ascent to power:

> The whole heritage that we loved, of which we had been so proud—now it was outside of the pale. It was a spectacle of degradation and degeneration, the decay of a great cultural epoch the like of which history has hardly known before.[56]

Nazi ideologues, along with many conservative thinkers of the Weimar period, had portrayed Germany as a body in a dangerous state of decline. Accordingly, the National Socialists had promised to restore the nation to health through a program of social as well as racial reform. Responding to these claims, Gumpert manipulates the discourse of decline. He dates the fall of Germany to the Nazis' rise and thus disavows the claim that they were lifting the nation up out of a denigrated state. In the same vein, he characterizes the nation as degenerate—invoking the language of *Entartung* and employing it against the movement. Fascism emerges as the real biological perversity. Although elsewhere in the essay he speaks of "the collapse of bourgeois traditions"[57] leading up to Hitler's regime, and he singles out Marx, Freud, and Einstein as contributors to that collapse, Gumpert nevertheless places the burden of guilt on the National Socialist state, which had taken advantage of the "dull masses . . . within a space tattered by economic, national, and historical conflicts, steeped in the insanity of endless wars, and forever growing narrower and more stifling."[58] He proposes a view of Germany as a "susceptible" body, predisposed to succumb to an invasive organism.

Gumpert discusses these ideas more thoroughly in the essay "Interim:

Would You Ever Go Back, If . . .” which Mann singled out for praise in his preface, calling it “excellent” and commending it for addressing issues that “particularly concern us who have shared the same fate and fled Europe.”[59] Gumpert writes of a pan-European crisis of culture, the dangerous tendency of which only the “doctors” of society foresaw:

> There was still a Europe then. All but the doctors who were used to discerning the agony of approaching dissolution—they could all still hope. Yet is not that instinct for self-defense the sole hope of a sick body? . . . As for myself, I no longer care to return to this nightmare, even should a new peace mitigate it. Wounds heal, but filth gives rise to putrefaction. The fact that men of good will—great numbers of them—have let themselves be transformed into spineless slaves of depravity and viciousness—that agony cannot be dulled.[60]

Gumpert presents his reader with an image of all of Europe as an ailing body, at the brink of dissolution and with little hope for a cure. Thus while Germany may represent the nodal point of the disease, he indicates that fascism nevertheless represents more than a localized infection. Gumpert reiterates this in the subsequent paragraph:

> What we experience in Europe is a form of insanity, a paranoia of power that has infected a continent with its hypnotic mania. The shock of war may arrest the psychosis, but the fundamental defect remains. For a hundred years to come, Europe will be a madhouse, its inhabitants to be treated like patients. . . . The growth of European culture was tainted with the malignant tumor of increasing destructiveness, and this cancer has wasted and poisoned its substance.[61]

Gumpert offers a litany of diagnoses for the continent. Again, we see the distinction between his analysis of the German condition and that of other proponents of the Two Germanys theory. Although Gumpert continues to maintain hope that the seed of a healthy Europe will survive the war, he makes clear that the prognosis is poor. When Gumpert speaks in terms of centuries, he suggests that Germany and its neighbors will require long-term treatment. This was in sharp contrast to the thinking of many who believed in the idea of two distinct countries. With their sights set on the reconstruction of a different sort of postwar nation, they took a far more favorable view of Germany’s chances for recovery.

As in the earlier *Heil Hunger!* Gumpert employs a range of slippery metaphors in these essays to characterize National Socialism. It is infectious, epidemic, cancerous, a false cure; it is hypnotic, paranoid, psychotic; and it has brought about degradation, decay, and putrefaction. While all connected, these descriptions draw on different models of disease. The first set of metaphors relates to physical illness and implies the existence of a national body. The second group, interpreting fascism as hypnosis or psychosis, posits a collective psyche, a national mental state. Gumpert's discussion of decay and degeneration suggests not only a biological level of decline, as I have already noted, but also conjures the image of the nation as dead and decomposing. His language is imprecise, blurring the boundaries between mental and physical well-being, between illness and cure, between metaphoric and real disease. Gumpert suggests that fascism is thoroughly and completely sick—beyond cure. Gumpert's text runs the gamut of popular antifascist imagery. What critics from Spengler to Husserl had earlier in the century described as the general malaise of European culture appears in Gumpert's writing in a new form, its rhetoric heightened. The crisis of Modernity has been given shape, expressed as the canker of fascism.

Gumpert proposes that fascism must be understood as a contagious disease. While he wavers between thinking of it in terms of mental or physical illness, he in essence presents National Socialism as an opportunistic movement that has overtaken a European culture in decline. Although he sees Hitler at the center of this movement, Gumpert is careful to frame fascism as a European problem rather than simply a German phenomenon. Gumpert does not spell out for the reader the precise causes for the decay that allowed National Socialism to prosper, and he begins his discussion already assuming Europe was susceptible. His use of terms like *hypnosis* and *insanity* further strips away the sense of European responsibility for the rise of Hitler. Europe is rendered as a passive body—it has "let itself" be degraded. He paints a curious portrait of Europe as both the victim and creator of its own decline.

Precisely what Thomas Mann thought of Gumpert's writing on fascism must remain unclear. His comments in the diaries and his introduction to *First Papers* are brief, but they indicate that Thomas Mann found a good deal to like in his friend's analysis of the German situation and the circumstances of exile. More telling are the affinities to Gumpert that Mann exhibits in his critical and literary endeavors. The following pages demonstrate that the friends shared a similar view of fascism and its roots.

Like Gumpert, Mann suggested that National Socialism could be understood as an illness affecting Europe beyond the borders of Germany. At the same time, both authors presumed that fascism had overtaken a nation that was already susceptible and had left little of it unscathed.

Thomas Mann and the Germany Debates

In an address to the Library of Congress delivered on 13 October 1943, entitled "The War and the Future," Thomas Mann declared that fascism was a disease, but one that was not affecting Germany alone. In fact, he argued, it was a worldwide problem: "Fascism, of which national socialism is a peculiar variation, is not a specialty of Germany. It is a sickness of the times, which is everywhere at home and from which no country is free."[62] From the very public podium of the American national library, where he had been appointed Consultant in Germanic Literature on 16 January 1942, Mann spoke "in an official capacity, as a member of the staff."[63] Mann also made his address as the unofficial spokesperson for the German exile community, for that "other" Germany. As I noted earlier, in the eyes of the American public, Mann represented the best of the German liberal humanist cultural tradition that the Nazi regime had deemed "degenerate" and had repressed or forced into exile. Mann acknowledged and accepted this role as premiere cultural arbiter of matters German. The position took on decidedly political dimensions, as when the British Broadcasting Corporation engaged Mann in fall of 1940 to record a series of radio addresses to his former compatriots, "Deutsche Hörer" (German Listeners), which BBC transmitted to Germany between October 1940 and May 1945. Speaking from these official venues, Mann clearly aimed not only to reach out to a German and German émigré public but also to shape the prevailing American understanding of his former country.

The address came at a crucial moment in Mann's life as an exile. His earlier conversation with Martin Gumpert had come to fruition, and Mann was just beginning work on *Doctor Faustus,* which would become a literary reworking of many of the same questions he was addressing in his political life. The speech also followed on the heels of one of Mann's more acrimonious disputes, with fellow émigré Bertolt Brecht.[64] The two quarreled over the matter of how to characterize Germany's relationship to Nazism. On 2 August 1943, Mann had withdrawn support for a declaration

by Brecht and other exile writers (including Bruno Frank, Lion Feuchtwanger, and Ludwig Marcuse) representing the American wing of the Freies Deutschland movement. Founded in the Soviet Union by a group of German exiles and prisoners of war and with the support of the Soviet administration, the Freies Deutschland group hoped to establish an alternative German government. This would lay the groundwork for a German postwar administration (a central goal for members who objected to the partitioning of the nation into Allied-controlled zones), at the same time that it would demonstrate to the international community that there was strong German opposition to Hitler's regime. Mann's initial enthusiasm for the American organization was short-lived, not least because he disagreed with the group's assertion that there were two Germanys. As the statement from which Mann withdrew his signature declared: "We deem it necessary to draw a sharp distinction between the Hitler-regime and the social strata associated with it, on the one hand, and the German people [*Volk*], on the other."[65] Mann, who increasingly came to believe that one could not separate Hitler from the German people, refused to grant the fledgling organization his endorsement and aroused Brecht's ire for some time to come.

Mann's talk also came at a moment when the German army was beginning to show signs of defeat. Although the D-Day invasion was still months away, the Battle of Stalingrad had devastated the Wehrmacht troops and spelled the beginning of the end of Hitler's conquest of Europe. Mann's address represents an interjection into a political conversation that began in earnest at this time, about what to "do" with Germany. If the nation was sick, how should one treat it? "The War and the Future" offers a preliminary examination of the question of German guilt, coupled with a discussion of German illness. Mann's thesis is twofold: while refusing to lift blame from the German population for the devastation its government has wrought, he also suggests that the democratic nations shared in the responsibility for Hitler's rise. Following his assertion that fascism is a disease of worldwide proportions, he declares:

> Never could the regimes of violence and fraud in Italy and Germany have maintained themselves even for a month, had they not met with a very general and disgraceful sympathy from the economically leading classes and, therefore, from the governments of the democratic countries.[66]

Or as he later admonishes his listeners, "wisdom in the treatment of the defeated opponent is desirable if only because of a feeling of shared guilt."[67] Any postwar peace would have to acknowledge the role Germany's neighbors had played in appeasing Hitler and should treat the Germans with temperance.

Mann's 1943 essay offers a seductively clear view of his assessment of National Socialism. Indeed, in his talk Mann himself thematized the need for such clarity, arguing that in those historical moments in which freedom is threatened, the artist must suspend his usual liberty from taking sides in matters of politics. In Mann's analysis, fascism becomes a matter not simply of German significance, but of international import, the product of a pan-European politics. He goes on to argue that this resulted from the ruling elite's irrational fear of communism ("Communism is today the bogeyman of the bourgeoisie").[68]

Yet Mann's use of metaphors of disease—elsewhere in the essay he refers to Europe's "very general susceptibility to the fascist bacillus"—suggests another framework for understanding the rise of National Socialism.[69] Throughout the essay, Mann places great emphasis on fascism's irrational quality, and his analogy underscores this. If disease may have a cause, its precise origins are also often obscure, its course unpredictable. When Mann likens fascism to a germ, he suggests both that it may spread and that its locations are multiple. To follow his analogy, Europe is broadly prone to political ailment, and if Germany is the site of fascism's initial emergence, then the infection has since traveled to other nations. Here Mann's affinity with Martin Gumpert becomes apparent; like his friend, Mann was interested in pursuing fascism as an international condition, and not as simply a German concern. His language also prompts many of the same questions that arise from other immediate postwar German works: What is the relationship between sickness and guilt? Can a nation be collectively ill? Are metaphors of disease adequate to describe the rise and fall of German fascism?

Mann attempted to answer some of these questions in "The War and the Future." He spoke extensively on the matter of guilt, or, as he phrased it, "the question of the common responsibility of the German people for the misdeeds of the Nazis."[70] Mann offers a complicated picture of German responsibility.[71] One the one hand, he speaks of "the cruel compulsion which destiny has forced upon the German spirit"[72] and declares that "for many there the fatherland has become as strange as it has for us; an 'inner immigration' of millions is there awaiting the end just as we."[73]

Mann imagines a lively inner German resistance (striking when one considers his later debate with the self-appointed leaders of inner emigration, Walther von Molo and Frank Thieß). At the same time, Mann presents Germany as a victim of National Socialism, echoing his children's words in *The Other Germany* when they asked whether Hitler's regime had been "foisted upon" the nation:

> We out here, who saw disaster coming, . . . were convinced that the Nazi rule could never bring anything except war, destruction, and catastrophe, we see no great difference between that which these scoundrels have done to us and what they have done to our people at home. We hate the corrupters and we long for the day which rids the world of them. But with very few exceptions we are far from being victims of wretched emigrant-hatred against our own land and we do not desire the destruction of our people. We cannot deny their responsibility, for somehow man is responsible for his being and doing; but we are rather inclined to speak of an historic curse, a dark destiny and aberration than of crime and guilt. The case of Germany is for that reason such a confusing and complicated one because in it good and evil, the beautiful and detestable are combined and blended in a singular way.[74]

Mann parallels his own fate as an exile with that of Germany's remaining population, suggesting that both have been abused by the governing powers. Yet he is also cautious about exculpating the Germans too thoroughly, speaking of man's responsibility for his own actions. Seemingly uncomfortable with blaming his former compatriots for their decline, however, Mann follows with a meditation on national fate. Mann does not offer a clear-cut statement on guilt but instead moves between rational and mythical explanations of the German condition—first citing individual responsibility, and then moving to the realm of fate and the struggle between good and evil.

The passage also indicates the complexity of Mann's position in the exile debate over the Two Germanys.[75] While he differentiates between the German people and government when he characterizes the population as victims of Nazism, he also argues that the country is a single nation. His emphasis on national fate as a kind of collective quagmire works to undermine his earlier distinction. While Mann thus places himself with those who view Germany as inseparable from its current regime, he also avoids

the kind of sweeping condemnation characteristic of Ludwig and other followers of Vansittart. Germany, according to Mann, is both responsible and innocent—simultaneously guilty and sick.

Mann was interested not only in how to explain Germany's decline but also in how to treat the postwar nation that would remain following the end of the war and Hitler's regime. Again, he offered a nuanced image of German guilt:

> Not that Germany and the German people should be relieved of guilt and of responsibility. Looked at from a moral, pedagogical point of view, after the appalling pride, the inexcusable superiority intoxication in which the country has lived for many years, its fall at first, cannot be too deep; and, after all that has happened, it does not become us immigrants to advise the victors as to how Germany should be treated. That the common future should not be too heavily burdened by their decisions is the hope of liberal America. Neither Germany nor the German people should be sterilized or destroyed. . . . We should be psychologists enough to recognize that this monstrous German attempt at world domination, which we now see ending catastrophically, is nothing but a distorted and unfortunate expression of that universalism innate in the German character which formerly had a much higher, purer, and nobler form and which won the sympathy and admiration of the world for this important people.[76]

Mann reiterates his understanding that Germany should be viewed as one nation with a single, problematic character and destiny. He also brings together guilt and illness when he discusses how the Allies should approach a postwar Germany. Mann rejects proposals to sterilize or kill the German people—real suggestions circulating at the time, although they also appear as medical strategies to destroy the "germ" of fascism. More important, he invokes the model of psychology as an alternate means by which one might interpret and cure the German condition. German guilt, in his analysis, stems from the very character of the *Volk*. Mann suggests that a course of therapy might return the nation to its humanist roots, thereby overcoming the fascist disease and its attendant guilt.

If one examines Mann's other political writings from his exile years, it becomes evident that he returned repeatedly to the subject of German illness and guilt. In his subsequent speeches at the Library of Congress, and in his numerous radio addresses for BBC, Mann revisits the question of

Germany culpability. In a broadcast on 16 January 1945, Mann "commemorated" twelve years of Hitler's rule, speaking of it as a "dreadful error, half blamable and half fate."[77] In the same address, he declared "we do not want to speak of guilt. It is no way to express the fatal interlinkage of consequences from an unhappy history, and *be* it guilt, then one bound up with a manifold guilt the world over."[78] But he exhorted listeners to think of their "responsibility" (*Verantwortung*), a personal burden shared by *all* Germans.[79]

Mann's address was aimed at convincing the German population to lay down its arms and refuse to defend its corrupt government, and thus he probably hoped to allay German fears about a harsh Allied peace. Mann may have been responding to German propaganda about the Allies' war aims. According to Ehrhard Bahr, the Nazi Propaganda Ministry cited such authors as Lord Vansittart and Emil Ludwig to convince the population that the Allied military campaign was directed against all Germans, and not just the regime.[80] But the broadcast also exhibits some of Mann's continued ambivalence about the question of guilt. Invoking national fate as a model for understanding the German relationship to National Socialism, Mann indicated that Germany did not bear the sole responsibility for the deeds of its regime and placed the bulk of the blame on the nation's leadership. Mann continued to promote this idea in later broadcasts, as when he singled out Hitler as a liar who had poisoned the people with his rhetoric,[81] and he decried the policy of total war as a crime "committed against the German *Volk* by its *Führer*."[82]

Thomas Mann made his most famous statement on his former homeland shortly after the end of the war, on 29 May 1945. Before an audience at the Library of Congress, he spoke on the subject of "Germany and the Germans." Mann's tone was rather harsher than in his earlier addresses, probably in response to revelations about the extent of German crimes, but he continued to maintain his long-standing idea that one must view the nation as one entity.[83] He implicated himself, as well as all of his fellow exiles, in his critique of Germany.

> Any attempt to arouse sympathy, to defend and to excuse Germany, would certainly be an inappropriate undertaking for one of German birth today. To play the part of the judge, to curse and damn his own people in compliant agreement with the incalculable hatred they have kindled, to commend himself smugly as "the good Germany" in contrast to the wicked, guilty Germany over there with which he has

> nothing at all in common—that too would hardly benefit one of German origin. For anyone who was born a German *does* have something in common with German destiny and German guilt.[84]

Mann went on to explain the roots of Germany's illness, and like many of his fellow critics—some of them across the Atlantic, including Meinecke—Mann detailed a long philosophical tradition leading up to National Socialism. Citing Luther and the Reformation, Mann argued that the Thirty Years' War had "fatally retarded [Germany's] culture, and, by means of vice and epidemics probably made German blood into something different and something worse than it had been in the Middle Ages."[85]

Addressing Romanticism, Mann noted the movement's preoccupation with illness as a source of genius, an idea that he himself had explored in numerous earlier publications from "Tonio Kröger" (1903) to *The Magic Mountain* (1927). Mann's critique of the Romantics' preoccupation with disease necessarily demanded some coming to terms with one of his most important intellectual influences, Friedrich Nietzsche, whom he described as "a spirit raised by illness to heights of fatal genius" and who has long been recognized as a key model for the figure of Adrian Leverkühn in *Doctor Faustus*.[86] By the 1940s, Nietzsche, whose writings had been used so successfully by the Nazis, had become a problematic figure for Mann.[87] Mann later devoted a full Library of Congress address to that question. In "Nietzsche's Philosophy in the Light of Contemporary Events," he defended the philosopher against the charge that he had brought about National Socialism and argued instead for a view of Nietzsche as a sensitive recorder of his historical moment.[88] In "Germany and the Germans," Mann nevertheless addressed the role of Romantic thought in the rise of National Socialism:

> But in this strength and in all its organized efficiency, the Romantic germ of illness and death lived and worked. Historical misfortune, the suffering and humiliation of a lost war, were its nourishment. And, reduced to a miserable mass level, the level of a Hitler, German Romanticism broke out into hysterical barbarism, into a spree and a paroxysm of arrogance and crime, which now finds its horrible end in a national catastrophe, a physical and psychic collapse without parallel.[89]

Mann stops short of a teleological account of German history from Romanticism to fascism, but he suggests that the seed of German totalitarianism had been planted long before the Treaty of Versailles or the Mu-

nich Putsch. Mann implies that the nation bore a biological predisposition to illness: the "germ" of Romanticism lingered and then burgeoned into full-blown barbarism in a diminished post–World War I Germany. This produced the nation's current-day condition of utter mental and physical collapse. Like Gumpert, Mann fuses bodily and psychic illness—a strategy that he would also employ in *Doctor Faustus.*

Toward the close of his address, Thomas Mann offered his clearest statement on the question of Germany, insisting that one could not distinguish the good from the bad Germany.

> This story should convince us of one thing: that there are *not* two Germanys, a good one and a bad one, but only one, whose best turned into evil through devilish cunning. Wicked Germany is merely good Germany gone astray, good Germany in misfortune, in guilt, and ruin. For that reason it is impossible for one born there simply to renounce the wicked, guilty Germany and to declare: "I am the good, the noble, the just Germany in the white robe; I leave it to you to exterminate the wicked one."[90]

Mann declares that there is only one Germany, in sickness and in health. Like Karl Jaspers, Mann implicates all Germans, including the exiles, in the nation's fate, both in its present decline and in its future restoration. He casts doubt on the notion that an untainted, healthy element remains to begin the process of collective recovery. At the same time, he argues that the destruction of Germany's "bad" elements cannot rid the world of the fascist bacillus, because the disease has become too widespread. While he holds out hope that Germany might recuperate and return to its "good" heritage, he suggests that the postwar nation will require extensive treatment. His essay leaves open the question of who will initiate the cure, and how.

For a deeper understanding of Thomas Mann's use of medicalizing metaphors, it is necessary to turn to his most comprehensive work of this period, *Doctor Faustus,* to which Mann once referred as "one single open wound."[91] A great deal of scholarship has been devoted to the subject of illness in Mann's writing, from *Death in Venice* to *Doctor Faustus.*[92] These critical endeavors have in large part concentrated on the correlation Mann draws between illness and genius, and have emphasized the importance of the discourse of decadence for Mann's conception of German and, more broadly, European culture in the age of Modernity.[93] There is little doubt

that Mann was influenced by the theories of degeneracy that grew out of the work of Max Nordau and circulated more generally among conservative thinkers in the beginning of the twentieth century. Friedrich Nietzsche provided another source of inspiration, and scholars have frequently examined the place of the philosopher's theories and biography in *Doctor Faustus.*[94]

In his numerous writings taking up themes of disease and decay, Mann was not only influenced by literary and philosophical concepts of disease but also medical discourses. As Michael Cowan elucidates, in the case of *Buddenbrooks,* Mann drew heavily on contemporary medical writings on neurasthenia: "Indeed, nearly all of the Buddenbrooks' symptoms—from Thomas's and Hanno's bad teeth to Tony's nervous dyspepsia—can be found almost verbatim in the medical literature of the period."[95] Laura Otis tracks a similar attention to medical discourse in her analysis of *Death in Venice,* in which Mann, following the conventions of "contemporaneous scientific conferences," has "bacteriological and miasmatic explanations of disease coexist and engage one another in dialogue."[96] In his study *Die Imaginäre Nation, Thomas Mann und das Deutsche,* Yahya Elsaghe further demonstrates convincingly that Thomas Mann writes within a culture consumed by a concern with hygiene, in which the ideological affinity between epidemiology and foreign policy was particularly strong.[97] Elsaghe argues:

> The practice of the cordon sanitaire, that conflation of geography, international law, and prevention of infection, just like the breakthroughs which German epidemiology would achieve in the decades to follow, reflect the intimate relationship of the human body as an object of political power to the modern concept of the nation . . .[98]

Elsaghe is concerned principally with Thomas Mann's relationship to the intellectual currents of fin de siècle Germany. He takes a special interest in the question of geography and the perils faced by the central characters in Mann's work whenever they move eastward and southward, and he reads Mann's 1947 novel along such lines.

Scholars have also devoted much attention to the question of Adrian Leverkühn's representative status for Germany, and there is clearly much reason to do so.[99] From its inception, Mann conceived of the novel as a *Deutschlandroman,* a "novel of Germany" and Mann's readers immediately recognized it as such, particularly in his former homeland.[100] As yet,

however, no study has explored the connection between Mann's construction of illness in *Doctor Faustus* and the larger exile discourse on national well-being.[101] What follows will explore some of the interlinkages between Mann's literary and political writing, and examine how these two bodies of work represent twin strands of his greater contribution to theories of German fascism current in the émigré community of 1940s America.

Doctor Faustus in the Light of Contemporary Events

Thomas Mann introduces the theme of illness at the very outset of *Doctor Faustus: Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn, erzählt von einem Freunde.* He does so *ex negativo,* as his central narrator, the erstwhile teacher and self-proclaimed humanist Serenus Zeitblom, relates to the reader his intentions in writing the tale of his childhood friend, the composer Adrian Leverkühn. By way of introduction, Zeitblom tells the prospective reader something of himself:

> I am a thoroughly even-tempered man, indeed, if I may say so, a healthy, humanely tempered man with a mind given to things harmonious and reasonable. . . . Though scarcely presuming to deny the influence of the demonic on human life, I have always found it a force totally foreign to my nature and have instinctively excluded it from my worldview, having never felt the slightest inclination boldly to seek out the intimacy of those nether powers, or worse, wantonly to challenge them, or to give them so much as my little finger when they have approached me with temptation. This attitude has meant sacrifices, both in ideal terms and as regards my physical well-being, for once it became apparent that my views could not be reconciled with the spirit and claims of our historical developments, I did not hesitate prematurely to retire from the teaching profession I loved.[102]

Zeitblom, we learn, is endowed with a "healthy" disposition, "humanely tempered" and inclined to "harmony" and "reason." Even before Mann has explored the subject of Adrian's long struggle with syphilis and his ensuing madness, we have met his purportedly hale counterpart in our narrator. Significantly, however, Mann ties this question of health to the social context of the times: Serenus, it becomes clear, explains his good health as the reason for his ability to withstand the draw of the demonic. Despite

Mann's artfully convoluted prose, it is a clear reference to the contemporary lure of fascism in Germany.

And yet, at the very moment when Mann introduces the paradigm of fascism as illness—and health as resistance—that model is undercut. For in this novel, as in "Tonio Kröger" and *Death in Venice,* to name just two examples, Mann will assert the special kinship between illness and genius. If, by 1947, Mann no longer seems to privilege disease as the source of great art—placing this idea in the mouth of the Devil in the famous pact-exchange with Adrian—illness here, as in his earlier works, carries a double valence, representing not only a sign of corruption but also a fertile ground for artistic expression. Nor does health appear to make for great art. Despite (or perhaps because of) his health, Serenus Zeitblom is endowed with a comically verbose literary style, and his account is characterized by incessant backtracking and is rife with disclaimers about his "'faulty' narrative technique."[103] As becomes increasingly clear as the novel progresses, Serenus, although he may represent a nobler aspect of the German populace at this historical juncture, is hardly the standard-bearer for the new German culture.[104]

Mann presents health and illness in dialectical relationship to each other and reveals the historical specificity of their definition. At a moment in time when the Nazis had committed the nation to a project of biopolitical wellness, Serenus, an opponent of the regime, declares himself to be in good health and implies that National Socialism is sick. Having withdrawn from public life, Serenus makes up a small "island of the well." Yet Mann also questions the efficacy of Serenus's attempt to isolate himself from the collective illness that surrounds him. In fact, although Serenus here describes himself as free of disease, there are other moments in the novel that cast his assertion into some doubt. Serenus is the only one among his circle to be drafted into World War I, since everyone else either is or has been ill, but he contracts typhoid and is released after just one year of service. Moreover, the narrator notes that he was conscripted "despite my severe nearsightedness."[105] Myopia is not an illness, of course, but in introducing Serenus's troubled vision Mann also suggests that the narrator enjoys only imperfect *insight,* as well. While Mann may be enjoying a self-reflexive moment here and referencing slyly his own support for the war two decades earlier, which he came to regret, he also signals to the reader that Serenus Zeitblom may have difficulty perceiving the true nature of historical events. Mann underscores this later in the novel when Serenus falls ill during the writing process. This again serves as a parallel to Mann, who, as he

detailed in *Die Entstehung des Doctor Faustus: Roman eines Romans* (*The Story of a Novel: The Genesis of Doctor Faustus*), was sick while he was completing the novel.[106] But Serenus's ailing further suggests that he has not managed to remain entirely "immune" to the surrounding German political situation. Even in the seclusion of inner exile, the narrator is not impervious to illness—an idea that was in keeping with Mann's political writings on Germany as a single nation gone awry. Just as Mann will go on in his novel to reject an art that exists in splendid isolation, he calls into question the possibility that an individual might live in Hitler's Germany and yet remain entirely outside National Socialism.

At the same time, the reader is left to wonder about the relevance of Serenus's claims of health. In a nation beset by the collective disease of fascism, as Mann had described Germany, how much did one man's immunological resistance matter? Mann invokes the popular American and exile discourse about the German disease, and through the figure of Serenus as well as that of Adrian, he poses the question of whether a healthy part of the nation could still exist under the Nazis. And would Germany's uninfected elements be adequate to restore the country to good health, as writers like Richard M. Brickner had proposed?

Mann further complicates the problem of the "German disease" by mapping illness along contradictory axes, which I will term the *horizontal* and *vertical.* This notion first comes into the novel in one of Adrian's early meditations on musical structure: consumed with the question of unity, the fledgling composer plays with creating "melodic lines whose notes could be set one above the other and, when played simultaneously, folded up into complicated harmonies—and vice-versa, of establishing chords made up of many notes that could be spread out horizontally into melodies." With these "transformations of the intervals within a chord . . . of the horizontal into the vertical," "the sequential" metamorphoses "into the simultaneous."[107] In the case of musical notation, verticality translates into simultaneity—with all notes being played at once, while horizontality becomes sequential or serial—unfolding over a period of time. Paralleling his figure's musical experiments, Mann attempts a similar exploration of disease in the novel, although the relationships of time and space are the inverse of those of the musical form described here. Through his strong emphasis upon archaeological time, Mann delves into the layered sediment of German cultural tradition, searching for the roots of fascism through an investigation of a verticality of thought—that is, one that unfolds sequentially through multiple epochs in a single (national) location. At the same

time, Mann plays with the supranational nature of fascism—positing a horizontality of thought that traverses national boundaries and defies efforts at containment, that is, an idea that emerges at the same moment in diverse spaces and that may travel between them. Moreover, through this attention to the dual trajectories of fascism—as a vertical phenomenon with a discrete historical development and a horizontal phenomenon that enjoys a certain simultaneity and mobility across borders—Mann explores the efficacy of two popular competing medical metaphors used to conceptualize National Socialism: as "hereditary" (i.e., fundamentally German), on the one hand, and contagious (multinational), on the other. In keeping with his contemporary political writings on the Germany question, Mann suggests that German fascism must be understood not only as a national historical matter but also a global concern.

This sense of vertical archaeological time is most obvious in those passages in which Mann describes the characters and spaces that shaped Adrian Leverkühn, and the novelist repeatedly connects these with Adrian's own illness and with the roots of an irrational mysticism that figures in the novel as a precursor to National Socialism. Mann hints that the age of German fascism—described as a "horribly swollen belly" bearing "national catastrophe"—may be understood as the sick progeny of a suspect German cultural tradition.[108] According to this logic, National Socialism appears as the product of heredity—not inherited per se but rather the ultimate result of a proclivity to illness passed down through generations.

The composer's father, Jonathan Leverkühn, is "a man of finest German stamp," with "a physiognomy somehow marked by the past."[109] Although Adrian is said to resemble more closely his mother, he inherits from his father the propensity to migraines that will characterize his later battle with the advanced stages of syphilis. Moreover, the town in which Adrian is raised, Kaisersaschern, has an oddly unhealthy air about it: "There hung in the air something of the state of the human heart during the last decades of the fifteenth century, a hysteria out of the dying Middle Ages, something of a latent psychological epidemic . . ."[110] Kaisersaschern appears as a sickly historical breeding ground. The town's other citizens also carry the psychological imprint of their surroundings, become part of its physical and psychological landscape: "The mark of such a neurotic descent into the depths of antiquity, of the secret psychological state of such a town, is found in the many 'characters,' eccentrics and harmless, half-crazy souls who live inside its walls and are, like the buildings, more or less part of the

local scenery."[111] While Mann here suggests the preconditions for Adrian's later mental illness, he also underscores Kaisersaschern's geographic as well as temporal isolation. Mann gives Adrian's mental state a topographic specificity, locating, even *confining* him within a *German* tradition of thought or mentality. Adrian shows a further penchant for such spaces, moreover—choosing to study in Halle, for example, which the narrator describes as a city where "behind a contemporary façade the depths of time are constantly interposing in soft ghostly tones . . . and even breaching the present now and again in historical masquerade."[112] This sense of deeply layered historical time further imbues Adrian's chosen profession: discussing the dilemma of the composer who wants to break from musical tradition, he notes the impossibility of such a venture when "every sound bears the whole within it, and the whole of history, too."[113]

As much as Mann encourages the reader to align Adrian's fate with that of Germany, he is careful to complicate this association—flouting any easy one-to-one correlation. Aside from the perhaps obvious detail that Adrian dies before the German defeat, the novel also associates the composer's intellect and illness with a host of more cosmopolitan influences. The composer's mother, credited with having instilled a sense of musicality in her son, is "dark," "a brunette," and although the narrator notes that such coloring is not unusual for German lands, his assertion that "one need not immediately assume that the accessible genealogy will reveal Roman blood" suggests as much. Uncle Nikolaus Leverkühn, with whom Adrian will board during his high school years and receive his introduction to music, runs an instrument shop with extensive international ties. Adrian's first music teacher, Kretschmar, is in fact a German American, while Adrian's close friend Schildknapp is a professed Anglophile. The prostitute Hetaera esmeralda infects Adrian beyond the borders of Germany, and the devil himself, although "German to the core," is also a self-confessed cosmopolite who first appears to the composer in Italy.[114] Mann is careful to show that Adrian—the symbol of the "German disease"—is not solely a product of German influences. In other words, Adrian is neither a pure German nor purely German.

Mann's insistence throughout the novel upon the dialectical relationship between opposing concepts further highlights the very impossibility of the Nazi ideal of a pure nation, protected from all foreign infiltration. Early on, the narrator notes that "what sphere of human life, be it the most sterling and worthily benevolent, can ever be totally inaccessible to the influence of forces from below" and professes to teach his students that

culture represents the appropriation of the "monstrous."[115] The Halle lecturer Schleppfuss expounds on the "dialectical connection between evil and what is good and sacred."[116] Adrian attacks similar false dichotomies not only when he insists on the relationship between sex and love but also when he speaks of the rift in music between the ascetic ideal of form and the sensuality of performance, or when he concedes that the musical system he is attempting to develop, like all of "life's interesting phenomena," is both "progressive and regressive in one"—a comment that Serenus is tempted to apply to Germany's political condition.[117] Mann expresses this problematic most poignantly when Serenus poses the painful question whether "all illusion, even the most beautiful, and especially the most beautiful, has not become a lie today."[118] Aesthetic autonomy—as a disavowal of politics that unwittingly mirrors insidious notions of national "apartness" and purity—emerges as an untenable, even unethical project.

Mann's emphasis upon the vertical and horizontal axes of fascism comes most strongly to the fore when he explores the German relationship to fascism along geographical lines. Here the author's contemporaneous political writings provide important insights into his placement, and displacement, of illness in *Doctor Faustus.* Mann believed in a unified understanding of the German people and their government, while at the same time he argued that fascism was a pan-European problem. If there was one Germany, there was *not* one fascism. Mann illustrates the transnational nature of the movement in his 1947 novel. Through the example of Adrian Leverkühn's infection, Mann demonstrates that disease defies the logic of national borders.[119]

Yahya Elsaghe has shown that Mann deliberately contradicted his sources on Nietzsche's biography when he crafted the chapters detailing Adrian's bordello visits. In contrast to Nietzsche, who, it was said, became ill after two visits to German bordellos, Adrian's second, fatal encounter with Hetaera esmeralda took place beyond the Reich borders.[120] Rather than locating the site of the infection in German territory, Mann situated it in "Preßburg, or Poszony in Hungarian."[121] Elsaghe reads this revision in the Nietzsche biography as evidence of Mann's association of the East with a dangerous, feminine seduction.

Without detracting from Elsaghe's analysis, there is another way in which we might understand the territorial shift that takes place between Adrian's first and second bordello visits. Mann, greatly concerned with the political debates about the nature of Germany's relationship to fascism, was interested in more than a faithful rendering of Nietzsche's biography

when he created his syphilitic protagonist. Instead, Mann employs syphilis as a critique of the Nazi claim to purity, while at the same time he questions the movement's strict distinction between the healthy and the sick. To be sure, syphilis and fascism are not of a piece, and Mann's novel does not draw a facile parallel between them. Nevertheless, syphilis had special significance for the National Socialist regime, which cannot have escaped Mann as he wrote this novel. In *Mein Kampf,* Hitler names the disease as one of the principal causes for the degeneration of the national body and declares that combating it must be *the* task of the nation.[122] And syphilis had long been associated with foreign aggression, as its various names signify. In the sixteenth century, for example, it came to be known as the "French Disease" after it spread throughout Italy along with the army of Charles VIII.[123] Mann's placement of the disease both within and beyond the borders of the nation manages both to attack National Socialist theories of the pure national body and to highlight the difficulty of locating fascism within any single national and cultural context. As he employs ideas of contagion and infection, Mann rejects Nazi claims to heal German culture and at the same time—like many of his contemporaries—asks whether fascism is foreign to the nation or sprang up out of an innate German susceptibility. Mann, in posing this question, further offers a literary contribution to the political debates on the question of the "other" Germany, which so concerned the exile community at this time. The Germany of Mann's account is a nation of permeable borders, in which no cordon sanitaire is possible.

Mann further blurs the line between notions of illness and health through the shifting location of disease. Indeed, the precise origin of Adrian Leverkühn's illness is not easily established. Mann situates the warning signs for Adrian's later madness early on in his life story. It is a matter of geography, Serenus gives his readers to understand: Kaisersaschern was not simply the sickly territory into which Adrian was born, but also a space, or perhaps feeling, that Adrian "carried with him, wherever he went" and "was determined by."[124] Just as the trace of an earlier age still lingers in the air of the town, so, too, must Adrian bear this past with him wherever he goes.

This border that Mann first establishes around Adrian, with his rootedness in a specific regional and historical context, is undone when Adrian encounters Hetaera esmeralda, the prostitute from whom he contracts syphilis. Adrian's first meeting with her takes place in a Leipzig bordello, where he is (mis)led by a porter who offers to be his guide, or *Fremden-*

führer.[125] Mann indulges in some word play here: the man leads Adrian through the new city, but more important, he leads him astray—*fremd*—and so sets him on a course that will lead over the nation's border. In a sense, Adrian has entered foreign territory even before he leaves the country.[126] As I noted earlier, Adrian's second encounter with Hetaera esmeralda takes place in the Hungarian town of Pressburg or Poszony, under the pretense of a journey to Graz to attend the Austrian premiere of Strauss's *Salome.* It is there that Adrian, despite Esmeralda's warning that she is contagious, consummates their sexual relationship.

Although Serenus gives us a specific time and location for the moment in which Adrian is infected with the syphilis bacillus, the process of identifying the true source of Adrian's illness is actually rather difficult. It seems to come from all sides, and even in the walled city of his birth, set off from the present moment in a kind of mythical time, Adrian is not safe. The composer's Munich circle seems particularly afflicted: his close friend Schildknapp sports a "healthy" tan that cannot fully disguise the pallor beneath; the hypochondriacal Spengler is a fellow syphilis-sufferer; and the death-obsessed Clarissa Rodde affects her own wan look by applying makeup. Nor can the parallel homestead Adrian creates for himself outside of Munich, in Pfeiffering, afford him any respite from disease. Upon Adrian's first visit to the farm it is disclosed that the house has something of a history as a sanatorium, and it is telling that his nephew Nepomuk succumbs to a deadly infection in that bucolic place.[127] This is underscored again when Serenus tells us that Adrian carries Kaisersaschern with him; while he, too, brings with him something across the border, the walls of his internal city afford only ineffective protection.

The dangers of infection are emphasized again in a later passage of the novel, in Adrian's famous conversation with the devil. Unlike Baptist Spengler, the devil explains, Adrian's case will be marked by "metastasis into the metaphysical, metavenereal, metainfectious."[128] As the disease spreads through his veins, Adrian is to suffer a "meta-infection." While this might be understood on a simply clinical level, that Adrian is to suffer from a widespread outbreak of syphilis, the passage also lends itself to a more liberal reading. Like Gumpert, Mann imagines a disease that can spread unchecked, like the fascist sickness to which he refers in his Library of Congress address. This is emphasized when the devil describes the process by which the disease spreads:

> The whole wizardry is osmosis, a diffusion of liquor, a proliferous process. . . . However much our small folk be drawn to the inmost

> part, to the parenchyma, and however great the yearning to draw them thither, they could never enter—without the diffusion of liquor, the osmosis with the pia's cellular fluid, watering it, dissolving tissue, and clearing a path to the inmost part for our flagellants. It is all a matter of osmosis . . .[129]

Mann's attention to the process of osmosis evokes the dissolubility of bodily but also national boundaries. Laura Otis writes eloquently about the poetic and political valence of the membrane:

> Reflecting both scientific fears of infection and nationalistic fears of infiltration, the membrane model bases identity on resistance to external forces, many of which are projections of undesirable internal drives. Penetration of one's "membrane," whether by bacteria or by foreign ideas, represents an insult, a subversion of selfhood. Sexually, it represents an unmanning, the humiliating assumption of a passive sexual role. . . . The sexual paranoia inherent in the membrane model—a paranoia still very much in evidence in notions of identity today—has its basis in two interrelated cultural prejudices: (1) depreciation and misreading of female sexuality as passive penetrability, and (2) exaggerated esteem for the intact hymen, whose rupture initiates one into the realm of the passive, the penetrated, and the impure.[130]

The passage reads as the perfect characterization of the treatment of osmosis in Mann's novel—until we realize that the writer consciously employs this "membrane model" in order to critique it. Mann mobilizes the metaphor of permeability to undo the Nazi fantasy of total biopolitical purity.

Positioning his central character—whose fate rises and falls with the nation—as a syphilitic, Mann refutes the Nazi claim of national health and instead reads the *Volkskörper* as a sickly body. Mann calls into question the notion of a whole, seamless, and healthy national body, presenting Germany as a nation with penetrable boundaries. This seems particularly provocative when one considers that the author has his protagonist pursue a woman so decidedly antithetical to fascist values—dark, foreign, and unhealthy. Mann further complicates the matter when Serenus imagines the cleansing influence Adrian must have had on the prostitute. The sexual encounter leaves her *Heil,* both healed and whole, and Adrian becomes the bearer of the disease.[131] Mann makes literal what he has earlier suggested;

health flows into illness, and illness into health. The site of disease shifts, circulates, and does not obey the established boundaries of the nation. Mann troubles the simple binarism of health and illness, self and other, and in so doing, calls into question the fundamental precepts of National Socialist ideology. In the same breath, Mann complicates the exilic discussions of the German problem. In mapping fascism at once along the vertical axis of history and the horizontal axis of a transnational fascism, the author flouts any effort to fix National Socialism as either a "hereditary" German phenomenon or an international problem of "contagion." Both trajectories would have to be considered, if the world was to understand fully the origins of fascism.

Returning as Good Doctors?

In 1949, Martin Gumpert and Thomas Mann traveled back to Germany for the first time since the end of the war. The decision to return was complex for each of them. Mann made the trip only after lengthy deliberation, and after the cities of Frankfurt and Weimar each awarded him its Goethe Prize. Martin Gumpert, who had attempted to diagnose the German condition from afar during the course of the war, had, like Mann, decided to remain in America. But Gumpert was also driven to revisit his former country and continue his investigation of that central wartime question, what was wrong with the Germans? As Gumpert had explained in an essay from 1945, entitled "Berlin: a Necrology," the fate of his former country weighed heavily on him, although he had come to love America:

> It is not the pyre of my ghostlike past that affects me. It is rather that so much of my earlier life must have been lie and deceit. . . . I cannot forget the first words I learned, the first landscape I saw, the first kindness, the first pain, the first enthusiasm. They were German, untranslatable, incomparable; they remain forever a part of my existence. And that this part of me now is inseparably mixed with dirt, with stench, with unspeakable nausea, this is a sickening pain.[132]

Gumpert offers a requiem for a dead nation. Germany, which Gumpert elsewhere in the essay describes as suffering alternately from the "cancer" and "global epidemic" of fascism, is marred by filth and putrefaction. Gumpert lists his own reaction as nausea, as though he is encountering a

real, rather than figurative corpse. Berlin is beyond rescue—"cancer is incurable if not cut out at its first onset."[133] Gumpert writes with an eye to saving what remains of the sickly nation and its neighbors: "If one could destroy all Germans, the pest which broke out in their organism would still exist and be in danger of spreading."[134] For the doctor looking back at his former country, the need for a cure was international: "Fascism is a global disease . . . fermenting in the soil of this century, breaking out to mutilate the brains and limbs of mankind everywhere."[135] Gone from his rhetoric is the acknowledgment of the Other Germany (which he now characterizes as a "lie" and "deceit"), and he envisions instead one nation, united in its illness and ensconced within a continent threatened by the same disease.

In 1949, Gumpert determined to return to Germany to investigate conditions for himself, securing a contract with *Life* to write about the experience of his homecoming. After some deliberation, it was decided he would accompany Thomas Mann to Germany. The two men met up in Zurich on 11 June 1949, from where they planned to travel on to Frankfurt.[136] Erika Mann was less than pleased about the pair's travel plans. One account has it that she was angered by Gumpert's association with *Life,* which had shown support for the anticommunist campaign spearheaded by Senator McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee.[137] If, as Gumpert's biographers have claimed, she had had a long-term romantic relationship with the doctor, then more personal reasons may have had a role in her reaction, which Thomas Mann described in his diaries as one of "deep bitterness."[138]

Gumpert's account never appeared in *Life.*[139] The *Nation* published a brief article by Gumpert in December 1949, entitled "I Choose America." As he explained there, the end of the war forced the exiles to reevaluate their position vis-à-vis their previous country. "It becomes . . . almost vitally necessary to return to Europe, and either to stay there or to change the forced decision of exile into the voluntary decision to live in America."[140] As his title suggests, Gumpert sided with his adopted country, discovering upon his arrival that he had "become a stranger in Europe."[141] And in any case, he argued, the United States would set the course for European recovery; he preferred to fight the battle for a brave new world from its shores.

Gumpert did not publish any lengthy account of his experiences until the summer of 1950, when his article "Return to Europe" appeared in the *American Scholar.* As he noted at the outset, he had visited all of Europe, which he found cramped and beset by a crisis brought on by a "structure

of human life" "entirely outmoded, unhealthy" and "broken-down."[142] Gumpert determined that Germany was suffering the continued effects of National Socialism and maintained that "psychologically Germany has become a more secret land than ever."[143] He was especially interested in the question of guilt, which may have prompted him to visit with Karl Jaspers, an encounter that he detailed in his essay. Echoing those who criticized early attempts at *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* or "coming to terms with the past," Gumpert claimed that the Germans were incapable of recognizing guilt except in others.[144] Instead, he found that the population was preoccupied with its own victimization. While Gumpert faced his former homeland with a great deal of sympathy—for example, when he detailed the plight of the expellees—he also felt that German recovery was far from sight. Although he found that there were some "good Germans"—individuals who could contribute to "a real German reconstruction"[145]—he argued that the nation showed "the symptoms of a profound mass neurosis which has not yet entered even the preliminary curative stage."[146] Gumpert speculated that "the distorted German mind and, perhaps still more, the distorted German language" required "a long period of convalescence to recover from the deep shock they have experienced."[147]

Describing Mann's acceptance of the Goethe Prize in Frankfurt, Gumpert discussed the author's mixed reception. According to Gumpert, German audiences perceived Mann as a "puzzling and disturbing phenomenon," so German and yet such a man of the world. Although they greeted Mann's speech with enthusiastic applause, Gumpert suggested that their "modest outbreak of friendly emotion [was] perhaps the first which had been seen in Frankfurt in many years."[148] The German populace was not yet able to bridge the gap created by the years of the war, in Gumpert's analysis, and he noted that "one could never lose the strange feeling of unreality which pervaded the reunion."[149] Nor could Mann's visit alleviate the more recent wound of a divided nation. Gumpert remarked that "Mann's visit to Weimar was perhaps a futile, but a brave and timely gesture to stress the unity of the German people and the most desperate climax of its disruption."[150] As he later commented, "the cut that divides [Berlin] is a deadly one."[151] In the eyes of the returning diagnostician, Germany appeared to be a nearly hopeless case. "The progress of healing has not yet been started. There is no patient to submit to treatment. There is no doctor in the German house."[152] Gumpert himself did not want to take on the task, and he would not remain in his former country to contribute to the cause of a national cure.

For Thomas Mann, the decision to visit Germany was perhaps even more difficult than it had been for his friend Martin Gumpert. If possible, Mann had become an even more controversial figure in the postwar nation than he had been during the Nazis' rule. He was aging, beset by nagging poor health, and very skeptical about the German efforts to come to terms with the past. Although his Faustus novel had been quite well received, it cemented his place in the German public imagination as a critic of the nation. Mann's nasty exchange with the representatives of inner exile only furthered this impression. On 13 August 1945, in an open letter in the *Münchener Zeitung,* Walter von Molo had entreated Mann to return to his former country:

> At its core, your people [*Volk*], which has been suffering and starving now for a third of a century, has nothing in common with the misdeeds and crimes, the shameful horrors and lies, the terrible errors of those sick individuals who so trumpeted their own health. . . . Come back soon, like a good doctor [*ein guter Arzt*], who sees not only the effect of the disease, but also seeks its cause—one who is particularly concerned with eliminating it, but who also knows that surgical intervention is needed, above all in the case of those many who once were proud to be called intellectual [*geistig*] . . . You know that our people does not suffer from an incurable disease. Together, we should heal the patient. Above all else, he lacks confidence, and we must be sure that, in his weakened state, he is not made sick again by humiliations or disappointments, and then perhaps rendered incurable.[153]

Von Molo frames Mann as a doctor for the nation and embraces him as one who can not only see the effects but also the causes of the German disease. Von Molo's language recalls the claims of postwar writers that the nation could be cured through a cultural renewal, but von Molo also invokes the larger postwar German discourse of fascism as a disease. He frames the nation in terms of its suffering, positing the *Volk* as a body brought together through the experiences of hunger, weakness, humiliation, and disappointment. While characterizing Germany as sick, von Molo also takes pains to distinguish the infected populace from its victimizers, the National Socialists, the truly "diseased," despite their grand claims of health. Von Molo maintains that the nation may yet be cured, and calls back Mann to begin the process of healing Germany (presumably through a dose of Mannian liberal humanism). Perhaps more startling, von Molo

implicitly poses Mann as the antidote to the man formerly hailed as the great doctor to Germany, Adolf Hitler.

Thomas Mann did not take up von Molo's medical metaphors in his reply, "Why I Am Not Returning to Germany." Instead, Mann's letter scathingly rejected all literature published during the Nazi era as tainted by the stench of blood and shame, which prompted an angry outpouring from representatives of the nascent "inner emigration" movement in Germany (most notably, author Frank Thieß).[154] Mann was unwilling to give himself to the project of renewing a culture he saw as so deeply compromised. Although Mann maintained that he had remained true to Germany and the German language, he, "an old man on whose heart this tumultuous time had taken its toll," did not have the strength to follow von Molo's call and "return like a good doctor" to heal Germany's literary and cultural life.[155] If the nation required convalescence, he could not facilitate it.

Mann had made his first trip back to the European continent in 1947 but ultimately decided not to include Germany in his itinerary. Erika Mann had warned against it, since it would be difficult to ensure his safety once there, and he was loath to travel with bodyguards.[156] But in February 1948, the Bavarian Academy of the Arts elected him president of the literature division, and Mann decided to accept. Around the same time, the Soviet-controlled sector made a similar overture, bestowing upon him the Weimar Goethe Prize.[157] Despite Erika's and Heinrich's attempts to dissuade him, Thomas determined to visit only Munich, correctly judging that American authorities would disapprove if he visited the eastern sector. Then in May, Mann heard confirmation that he had received the prestigious Frankfurt Goethe Prize, prompting his decision to return to Germany and accept the award after a sixteen-year absence.[158] Mann planned his return, and determined to visit the newly founded republics of both West and East Germany. The decision caused him some worry; as he reflected in his diary, "Much thinking about what lies ahead. Things must go forward, and one has to stand by one's man. If only the German question weren't there."[159] He boarded a transatlantic flight on 10 May.[160] After an extended journey through London, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Zurich, Mann departed for Germany on 24 July 1949, after an absence of sixteen years. His journal entry for the evening before is brief and notes his trepidation about the visit: "A feeling as if going to war."[161]

Mann, perhaps out of literary economy and perhaps out of a belief that he must treat both Germanys as one, delivered the same address in Frankfurt and in Weimar, "Ansprache im Goethejahr 1949" (Address in

the Goethe Year 1949). Mann devoted much of his speech to clarifying his position on his former country, and as he had done in his reply to Walter von Molo, he insisted that he had never abandoned his "active fidelity to the German language, that true *Heimat* that one can never lose, which I brought with me into exile and from which no dictator could expel me."[162] While Mann reiterated his belief that the nation suffered from a collective calamity (referring to Germany as "utterly foreign," "poisoned," and seduced as well as helpless),[163] he also insisted that he had been *dabei*—that is, "there" or "present"—and had suffered alongside the nation.[164] Referring to *Doctor Faustus,* he argued that it belonged to an "emigrant literature" that shared "the German plight."[165] Mann returned not, as Walter von Molo had once wished, as a "good doctor" but rather as a fellow sufferer.

Mann was pessimistic about the state of German recovery, and referring to the nation's division, he remarked that "the circumstances of Germany's healing [*Genesung*] are far more obstructive than conducive to its path toward Europe."[166] Nor was he certain how the nation should best pursue the project of healing. As he explained, he had not come as a "preacher of penitence" or a "prophet," but rather as "a poor, suffering man, concerned, just as you are, with the problems of this new age, its birth pains."[167] But Mann did offer one possible avenue for recovery, suggesting that art might provide a cure:

> I often think: art, "this very serious game" (that is an expression that Goethe used for *Faust*), has a happier, more helpful, and more life-relevant meaning than any advice, belief, or teaching. The grateful layman and the connoisseur of an artwork praise and commend it by using the word "beautiful." But the artist, the man of craft, does not say "beautiful," he says "good." He prefers that word, which better and more soberly expresses the praiseworthy aspects of craftsmanship and technique. But it does not end there. In truth, all art hovers in the double valence of this word "good," in which the realms of aesthetics and morals are cojoined, mix, become indistinguishable; its meaning reaches beyond the simple level of the aesthetic, into that which is worthy of approbation, and beyond, into the highest, commanding idea of perfection.[168]

For Mann, literature, that "most earnest game," might serve a key function in the German recovery. Art could provide not only aesthetic

pleasure but also moral guidance. Already several years earlier he had envisioned a burgeoning of postwar humanism. In his first Library of Congress address, "The Theme of the Joseph Novels," Mann predicted that the suffering of the war years would "bring forth a new, deepened feeling of humanity, indeed a new HUMANISM . . . only . . . too necessary for the work of reconstruction" that the international community would face "after the tremendous moral and material devastations, after the collapse of the accustomed world."[169] If Mann's optimism was perhaps somewhat tempered by 1949, he nevertheless held out hope that art, and humanism in particular, could lead the path to Germany's moral and spiritual recovery. Thus it was in this spirit that Mann told his audiences that *Doctor Faustus* "laid at the feet of the people [*Volk*], in whose language it was written."[170] For Mann, the Faustus novel represented one model for a German cure. Through a thoroughgoing examination of the historical underpinnings of fascism, and of one's personal responsibility for the course of the recent past, the nation might find the means to rid itself of the German disease.

It thus seems no coincidence that Thomas Mann's novel about the novel, *Die Entstehung des Doctor Faustus: Roman eines Romans* (*The Story of a Novel: The Genesis of Doctor Faustus*), appeared in 1949. The book gives an account of the author's writing process and makes clear how much Mann's own biography was interwoven with his novel. Curiously, because the *Entstehung* details Mann's diagnosis with lung cancer and subsequent successful treatment, it offers a parallel account of German illness. As Mann biographer Ronald Hayman has noted, Mann felt that his work on the novel and hostility directed at him from Germany had caused his malady.[171] But on a metaphoric level, Mann's account of the writing process—which he publicizes *as a novel*—describes a bout of illness and a cure that runs alongside Germany's own, as Mann had constructed it in *Doctor Faustus.* Just as Mann had insisted there was no "good" Germany distinct from the "bad," he fuses the worlds of exile and inner exile. Both are beset by illness, and both suffer at the hands of the fascist disease. Mann leaves open whether his personal cure may help bring about the collective healing of the nation. But his account suggests that Germany might experience, as he had, the healing power of aesthetics.

CHAPTER 4

A Failed Cure

> Behind the overt history of economic shifts, social exigencies, and political machinations runs a secret history involving the inner dispositions of the German people. The disclosure of these dispositions through the medium of the German screen may help in the understanding of Hitler's ascent and ascendancy.
>
> —Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*

By the early 1950s, Germany had undergone radical changes at all levels: politically, socially, economically, architecturally, and artistically. Most notably, there were two Germanys now—although not the sort imagined by the exiles. The onset of the Cold War cemented the division between the East and West, and by the end of 1949, two separate states had come into existence—one dominated by U.S. influence, the other governed by the politics of the USSR. Under Chancellor Adenauer's rule, and under the influence of finance minister Ludwig Erhard's free-market policies, West Germany experienced a staggering economic turnaround, a phenomenon that soon became known as the *Wirtschaftswunder* or "Economic Miracle." Reconstruction was also facilitated in the late 1940s by economic aid distributed through the U.S.-sponsored Marshall Plan, part of a larger European Recovery Program that aimed to support the restoration of the destroyed European infrastructure and, in the process, to create a bulwark against communism. The currency reform of 1948 stemmed inflation, stabilized the economy, and brought luxury goods back onto store shelves, inaugurating a wave of postwar consumption. Modern architectural structures replaced urban ruins and showcased the nation's forward progress and productive reworking of the past. In the East, political power quickly consolidated in the hands of the Sozialistische Einheitspartei (SED), cre-

ated through the merger of the Communist KPD and Socialist SPD. While rebuilding came about more slowly in the relatively impoverished East, the SED government established its own caesura with the National Socialist past and its aftermath: founded upon the principles of collectivism and equal opportunity (at least for those who toed the party line), the East German government viewed its political philosophy as antithetical to National Socialism. The founding of the GDR necessarily implied a radical break with the imperialist and capitalist aims of Hitler's regime: the two were mutually exclusive.

With the gradual clearing away of the war's detritus and the rise of the two Germanys, attitudes toward the German Patient also began to change. Whereas a sense of collective crisis marked the postwar period, by the 1950s, the ethos of reconstruction brought with it a shift in focus, toward health and vitality rather than illness and death. Both states claimed a "recovery" from National Socialism. In the FRG, robust economic growth, architectural renewal, and swelling wallets and waistlines all were viewed as signs that the disease of fascism had receded. Accompanying this, West Germans exhibited a diminished interest in active engagement with the question of guilt. If the past never fully receded from the intellectual horizon, it went underground in popular discourse, repressed from conscious appraisal in a culture that increasingly celebrated its own material and moral well-being. By mid-decade, German-made war films were back on movie screens, frequently repackaging World War II as a conflict between valiant Wehrmacht officers and corrupt fascist officials, while a spate of popular *Arztfilme* or "doctor films" enacted the return of medicine to a position of social prestige. In 1955, as yet another sign that West Germany and the international community considered the nation "cured" of fascist militarism, the Bundeswehr was established; discussions about rearmament had begun already at the beginning of the decade. In the East, a comparable emphasis upon reviving the German nation and German bodies accompanied the establishment of a communist state. Official government propaganda stressed youthful vigor in its representations of the new GDR citizen, while simultaneously casting enemy nations (particularly the United States) as a parasitic threat.

Not all observers of the German situation were so sanguine about the state of national recovery, however. Among the skeptics was Peter Lorre, renowned actor of the Weimar stage and screen.[1] Lorre spent the war years in exile, developing a busy career playing creepy characters in Hollywood motion pictures. When Lorre went back to Germany in 1950 to write, di-

rect, and star in his first feature film, the noir thriller *Der Verlorene* (*The Lost Man,* 1951), he initially believed that his return to the screen would also inaugurate a revival of his German career. But more than a decade in exile had left the actor out of touch with the tenor and tastes of his former country, and Lorre soon found that German audiences were less than receptive to his gloomy vision of a nation still beset by guilt and illness. The film flopped, and Lorre returned to America. As the following pages explore, Lorre used the film not only as a vehicle to explore his own acting career and revisit his most famous role but also as an opportunity to consider the etiology of National Socialism, its spread, and to question the efficacy of efforts to eradicate it.

Inoculation

The opening credits roll past and a message flickers on-screen: "This film is not fictitious. The events are based on factual accounts of the recent past."[2] A long shot reveals a horse-drawn cart in silhouette against a stark white sky. A train rushes in from the left, cutting in front of the waiting driver and filling the air with a streak of dark smoke. The train passes, the barrier raises, and the traffic of carts and pedestrians resumes, moving away from the camera and toward the horizon. Through the bleak landscape a lone figure walks forward against the flow of the sparse rural traffic. As the film cuts to a medium shot, a large truck passes by and interrupts our view again. When it has gone we see the same man, unmistakable although considerably older since his last appearance on the German screen: it is Peter Lorre, starring in the role of Dr. Carl Rothe, a medical researcher turned serial killer. He passes a looming guard tower and fences of barbed wire and trudges along toward the grim architecture of the displaced persons camp where he serves as head physician (under the alias "Dr. Neumeister" or "new master"). He looks up only to acknowledge a passing woman, who greets him cordially in Polish, addressing him with the respectful form "*Panie* doctor."

In his first and last attempt at directing, Lorre appeared in a familiar role with a timely twist, playing a psychotic doctor who makes his living in the postwar world in the liminal space of the camp. As Rothe, Lorre draws on twenty years of screen time performing the madman. The actor and his character form a curious pair: Lorre embodies the "lost man" on both a real and fictional level, as he acts out his return from exile through a char-

acter who, like him, has been shunted to the outskirts of society, albeit for very different reasons. As we watch the title character's wanderings, we sense that Lorre himself is retracing his steps, walking the course of an alternate history, a life not of exile from National Socialist Germany but rather of complicity and cooperation. Yet Rothe is not so much Lorre's opposite as his distorted double, the parallels between their two figures as striking as their differences.

In the story-within-a-story of the flashbacks, the film traces the personal history of Doctor Carl Rothe, a medical researcher at the Hamburg-based Institute of Tropical Medicine. He is an insider in Nazi Germany yet leads a life oblivious to politics, developing antibiotic treatments without giving much thought to their importance for the fascist regime under which he lives (although the narrative begins in the critical year 1943). The specific goal of his research is never named, but it is related to blood: on several occasions we witness Rothe perform the gruesome task of filling syringes from the heart chambers of rabbits. Rothe is assisted in his work by a young researcher, known only by his surname Hoesch (Karl John), who appears in the frame story in the guise of "Nowak"—a name that, like "Neumeister," also connotes the new. For the sake of simplicity, the characters will be known henceforth as Rothe and Hoesch.

Oberst Winkler (Helmuth Rudolph)—a Gestapo agent, although never directly named as such—appears at the laboratory and informs the doctor that his fiancée, Inge Hermann (Renate Mannhardt), has been smuggling Rothe's research out of the country and into enemy hands. Hoesch, who reveals himself as a Nazi agent, has uncovered the plot by initiating a love affair with Inge. This twofold betrayal becomes the pretext for her murder. Rothe confronts his wife-to-be, but after nearly resolving their differences he suddenly strangles her. Following Inge's death, the plot takes an unexpected turn—although Rothe insists on being arrested, Hoesch and Winkler deny his request and begin a complex cover-up, arguing that Rothe's work is essential for the national war effort. Rothe, his murderous desires unleashed by this first crime and unable to find the punishment he seeks, becomes a serial killer. By sanctioning his actions, the Gestapo transforms the sociopathic act of murder into state-sponsored killing, while the film ironically suggests that Rothe has become another victim of the National Socialist state. Dr. Rothe eventually goes underground and survives the war unscathed, and the postwar moment of the film's frame narrative finds him hiding out in a kind of (self-imposed) in-

ner-German exile in the displaced persons camp. When Hoesch reappears, Rothe can finally exact justice and subject himself to the discipline he has so craved. After an evening of binge drinking in which the two men recount the events of the war, Rothe shoots Hoesch and commits suicide by walking into the path of an oncoming train. With the death of the two remaining figures from the Nazi past, Lorre allegorizes the struggle to destroy the nation's fascist traces.

From the outset, the film emphasizes the dual themes of displacement and disease. Through the figure of Dr. Carl Rothe, Lorre explores the fate of those who remained in National Socialist Germany, and asks how the nation's citizens became "susceptible" to fascism. Lorre employs illness as an interpretive framework, and like other of his contemporaries, he melds notions of physical and mental illness. For Lorre, fascism represents a contagious and deadly psychosis—a shared and dangerous madness. He pursues this question from the vantage of 1951, two years after the foundation of the Federal Republic. Playing a sick doctor, Lorre calls into question the growing popular consensus of the time that Germany was well on its way to recovery. He hints that though the economy may have undergone a "miracle cure," the nation has not and suggests that Germany continues to suffer the lingering effects of fascism. At the same moment he asks what place the exiles might play in the treatment of the German past. Like Thomas Mann and Martin Gumpert, Lorre positions himself as a diagnostician, working from a privileged position that is at once inside and outside his former culture. The film reads as a commentary on reeducation, and a reassessment of the efforts to reshape Germany following the devastation of World War II.

Lorre explores these questions through allegory, and the film, although it is rife with references to the Nazi past, never directly speaks of it beyond the opening claim that the story is based on events from recent years. This fictional displacement has two main functions. First, it fosters the double nature of Lorre's narrative—in Rothe, Lorre creates an ambivalent figure that simultaneously represents the experiences of (r)emigration and of life under fascism. In coupling these two diverse positions, Lorre is able to work through the pain of exile while also reflecting on his own place in a culture that produced such violence. He poses the question of what role the larger society of Weimar Germany played in the rise of National Socialism. Second, Lorre may also have believed that the allegory rendered the film more universal in its message. Lorre was determined to establish an internationally successful film company, and although *The*

Lost Man never made it beyond Germany's borders, in referencing Nazism obliquely, Lorre may have hoped to sell the film as a more general commentary on totalitarianism.

The position of the émigré was particularly important to Lorre as a returnee, and his film also serves as a meditation on emigration and *Remigration.* With his first appearance on the screen—a lonely ghost from Germany's cinematic past—Lorre epitomizes the exile's pathos. Emerging out of the gray mist in the film's establishing shot, he evokes the solitary journey of the émigré away from his fading past, and into an indeterminate future. In his search for fascism's roots, he refers back to his work in Weimar and exile cinema, frequently citing his earlier roles. Like Mann, Lorre mobilizes the past to explain more recent developments in German society and implicates the arts in his analysis. This film is indeed "based on a true story," not only the newspaper blurb which friend Egon Jameson brought to Lorre's attention but also Lorre's own experience as a returning exile. The story of Rothe's rise and fall under National Socialism becomes a dark mirror, as his displacement begins where Lorre's ends. The fall of Hitler's regime forms the unspoken center of *The Lost Man,* crucial yet never made explicit on-screen, and the film marks at once the end of Rothe's era of prominence and the condition of possibility for Lorre's return.[3]

Pain and disappointment would mark Lorre's own experience of exile and homecoming. Like many of his fellow émigrés, he hoped that a return would revitalize his career. Although he had achieved substantial success in Hollywood, Lorre had also been rigidly typecast, and he was less than satisfied with the demands made on his artistic range. Back in Germany, Lorre received an initially enthusiastic reception, and *Der Spiegel* reported regularly on his career plans. As a 1949 column noted with some glee, "Hollywood is still racking its brain to understand" why Lorre walked away from its better-financed world.[4] The article, tellingly titled "*M* Reaches Its End: A Break with Cliché," speculated that Lorre feared he would "remain trapped in the bonds of a cliché for the rest of his career." It went on to suggest that Lorre's numerous performances while in exile all led back to his first appearance as Hans Beckert in Fritz Lang's 1931 *M*—a role from which he "never really got free." When *Der Spiegel* interviewed Lorre in 1950, he also attempted to distance himself from *M,* saying that he had turned down the role for Joseph Losey's 1951 remake of the film and explained, "I don't do the same thing twice."[5] Whether or not his account is entirely accurate (since by some accounts Losey rejected him, and he had often enough played very similar roles), Lorre evidently hoped his return

project would mark a break from his earlier work. For Lorre this was not simply a homecoming but also a new beginning. It is all the more poignant that Lorre, even when given free rein as author and director, would go on to make a film that perhaps more than any other revived the role that made him famous.

Lorre's reflection on the experience of return entails a look both backward and ahead, and represents not only an exploration of his Weimar and Hollywood cinematic legacy but also an engagement in the film politics of 1950s Germany. Lorre's film exemplifies the exile's double focus, examining the pressing political concerns of his former country through an aesthetic framework inspired by his work abroad. It was this desire to meld perspectives from both sides of the Atlantic that prompted Lorre to found a film collective with a "German-American team." Hearkening back to the cosmopolitan ethos of Weimar cinema, Lorre envisioned an international collaboration that, freed from the restrictions of a single location, would travel the world making films. To ensure international success, the films would be shot in both German and English versions. Dubbed "Lorrealism," the group hoped to forge an innovative style of filmmaking and thereby surpass Italian Neorealism and inspire a new era in German cinema.[6]

The project suited the internationalism promoted by many liberals of the day. As Thomas Mann once noted, the state of exile had gradually given way to something else, a new state of being that embraced not only life in a new country but also an appreciation of the decreasing importance of nations. Writing to Emil Preetorius, Mann declared,

> In truth, "exile" has become something completely different than what it was in earlier times. It is no longer a state of waiting, focused only on the return home. Rather, it already plays upon the dissolution of nations and the unification [*Vereinheitlichung*] of the world.[7]

Lorre's production company would attempt just such a global approach—an appealing prospect for the itinerant filmmaker still uncertain of his place between the cultures of America and Europe.

When Lorre assembled the crew of *The Lost Man,* he drew together an international group of acquaintances from his moviemaking experiences in Weimar Germany and the United States. He coaxed Arnold Pressburger back from a successful producing career (in exile in France and then America), where he had worked on projects including Fritz Lang's *Hangmen Also Die* and Josef von Sternberg's *Shanghai Gesture.* Another fellow

émigré, Johanna Hofer (playing the mother of Rothe's first victim), perhaps best known as the wife of exiled actor and later director Fritz Kortner, had had a small part in Douglas Sirk's 1943 *Hitler's Madman* and later appeared alongside Lorre in Peter Godfrey's 1945 *Hotel Berlin.* Cinematographer Václav Vích came from Czechoslovakia, worked in Italy during the war, and spent several years making films in Germany during the 1950s, including the most controversial film of 1951, *Die Sünderin* (*The Story of a Sinner*).

But not all of Lorre's actors experienced the war in exile. For the role of the camp bartender Lorre chose Josef Dahmen, who had begun his career with a bit part in *M* and went on to act in several Nazi-era works, including the 1945 *Kolberg.* Karl John also remained in Germany and worked for the UFA studios. If viewers of *The Lost Man* did not remember him from numerous wartime films (including *U-Boote Westwärts* [U-Boats Westwards, 1941] and *Der Weg ins Freie* [*The Way to Freedom,* 1941]), they may have recognized him from postwar performances in Helmut Käutner's 1947 *In jenen Tagen* (*Seven Journeys*) and Wolfgang Liebeneiner's 1948 *Liebe '47* (*Love '47*). Egon Jameson, whom Lorre credited as the source for *The Lost Man* and with whom Lorre co-wrote the serial novel by the same title, was also the reputed source for Fritz Lang's *M.*[8] Lorre's team represented two film traditions, divergent despite their shared roots: National Socialist cinema and the "exile cinema" of German émigrés.

While Lorre was enthusiastic about the possibility of international collaboration, the years abroad had instilled in him a cinematic sensibility that complicated his reappearance on the German screen. Schooled in American filmmaking of the 1930s and 1940s, with its Expressionist-inspired horror and crime films, Lorre found himself rather out of step with the tastes of moviegoers in Reconstruction-era Germany. In filming, he favored the fateful landscapes of American noir, and like the existentialist heroes of films like Edgar G. Ulmer's *Detour* and Fritz Lang's *Scarlet Street,* Carl Rothe is a gentle man driven to murder by forces beyond his control. When Rothe ends his life, he merely embraces the inevitable. The despair and displacement typical of the noir vision (created by many of Lorre's fellow exiles in Hollywood) must have seemed a good match for the barren world of postwar Germany. Lorre adopted key elements of noir aesthetics; he filmed in black and white, used high-contrast lighting and canted camera angles, and established the film's overtly psychological tone on both the narrative and visual planes.

If Lorre hoped for an easy reintroduction to German cinema, he was disappointed. The filming of *The Lost Man* was beset by difficulties. Returning to Germany, Lorre had succumbed once again to his long-standing addiction to morphine, and he developed the idea for the script while in treatment at Dr. Wigger's alpine sanatorium.[9] Costar Karl John fractured his leg in an automobile accident, halting production for eight weeks and costing the company an estimated 140,000 DM.[10] Filming was disrupted again when producer Arnold Pressburger died suddenly midway through the making of the film, and his son, Fred Pressburger, was forced to take over the project. Then in the final stages of production, a fire destroyed the edited reel, and Lorre had to reconstruct the entire film from the surviving negative. Lorre was also inexperienced at working behind the camera, and in his quest for perfection he incessantly rewrote the script—*Der Spiegel* reported that he produced no fewer than six versions.[11] The result was a story line lacking strong coherence. Lorre's multiple drafts made for a rather haphazard production style, and it is difficult to determine what constitutes the official text of *The Lost Man.* Accordingly, this chapter takes an expansive view and examines the text's various renditions: the serial novel that Lorre first published, the commercial release, and an extant copy of the script located in the archives of the Berlin Film Museum.

The film's initial reception was also rocky. It was rejected at the last minute from the Venice Biennale festival, purportedly "on aesthetic grounds," although a writer for *Der Spiegel* suggested that Lorre's work actually fell prey to postwar film politics.[12] The article explained that Lorre's film had been expected to fare better at the festival than it had in "film-conventional" Germany, and gave two reasons for the film's omission. According to an agreement reached at the Cannes festival earlier that year, Germany could only submit two films for entry in Venice. When by some error three were entered, festival director Antonio Petrucci demanded that one be dropped. His decision to leave out Lorre's film was prompted in part by Ernst Purger, who represented German film producers in Italy. Purger also ran Dolomit-Film, which already had sold the Italian distribution rights for one of the films competing for a slot with *The Lost Man,* Josef von Baky's *Das doppelte Lottchen* (*Two Times Lotte,* 1950). Purger was unwilling to forgo the festival opening, crucial for his film's economic viability in Italy, and reportedly persuaded Petrucci to remove Lorre's film from the roster.

To make matters worse, the newly emergent film censorship office of

the Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle (FSK), which, led by representatives from the church, film industry, state culture ministries, and youth organizations, aimed to stem the perceived amorality of postwar cinema, also attacked the film.[13] Clergyman and FSK member Werner Heß criticized the film—incorrectly, as it turned out—for its "seven sexual murders and one suicide" and declared that "in general, recent German cinema was making notable efforts to overstep the bounds of good taste and garner business through perverse experiments."[14] Although the criticism precedes by several years Adenauer's famous campaign slogan of 1957—*Keine Experimente!* ("No experiments!")—one can already sense in Heß's language the conservative shift unfolding in West German culture, which cast "experimentation" as a danger to postwar order and emphasized the value of social stability over cultural or political innovation.

The film opened to packed houses in three Hamburg theaters, according to a press release from National Film Distribution. A special screening for an audience of legal experts, criminologists, psychiatrists, and journalists had provoked much praise, and radio sender NWDR broadcast the ensuing discussion.[15] But as one premiere attendee commented, although "everyone" present was taken with Lorre personally, only "most" showed enthusiasm for the film, suggesting that the film had met with less than perfect success.[16] Writing for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* Gunter Groll praised Lorre's acting performance but found him a poor author, and declared that "the subject and script are problematic as almost never before, in a postwar film industry richly blessed with problematic material."[17] Although Groll appreciated Lorre's direction, he expressed doubt about the film's message: "Does he know what he's doing when he edges the story of a sexual murderer toward a torturously conjured political and social critique?" Groll concluded that the film "went awry when it portrayed a timeless character as typical of the times, and showed an extreme exception as universal and emblematic." Popular-film scriptwriter Bobby Lüthge called it "an imposition on audiences."[18] The critic for the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* suggested that, "practically speaking, anything is possible, but not dramaturgically speaking," and maintained:

> You cannot mix up a case of sexual murder with an indictment of a political system. You cannot tickle the nerves with one crime and then hope to arouse passionate indignation. The viewer remains clueless as to how he should orient himself to the matter. He doesn't know where to direct his sympathy, where his antipathy.[19]

Although some reviewers praised the film, it had only a short run in German theaters, and Lorre's postwar work would not reappear until its "rediscovery" as a classic work nearly two decades later.[20]

Lorre's film arrived too late. By the time it premiered at the Turm Palast in Frankfurt am Main on 18 September 1951, German audiences had grown skeptical of dark psychological fare. Although the occasional noir-influenced film fared better in the German market (like fellow returnee Robert Siodmak's 1957 *Nachts wenn der Teufel kam* [*The Devil Strikes at Night*]), *The Lost Man*'s vision of postwar life was too hopeless, its visual and narrative ambiguity too pronounced for contemporary viewers. It hearkened back to the *Trümmerfilm* genre of the immediate postwar years, which focused on the unfamiliar physical and moral terrain of Germany's bombed-out cities. Like American noir, rubble film derived much of its visual inspiration from prewar Expressionist cinema. But the genre's popularity was short-lived, and just at the moment Lorre was crafting his reentry into the German film scene, the blockbuster genre of *Heimatfilm* (homeland film) was beginning to come into its own.[21] In 1950, Hans Deppe's *Schwarzwaldmädel* (*The Black Forest Girl*)—the first color film made in Germany after 1945 and the first of the genre—drew 16 million viewers, and his 1951 film *Grün ist die Heide* (*The Heath Is Green*) met with similar success.[22] *Heimatfilm* made up about 25 percent of the total film market of the time, or three hundred of the more than twelve hundred movies released in the 1950s.[23]

The Lost Man's dark tones, chiaroscuro lighting, and preoccupation with memory and history appear all the more striking when compared to the color-saturated films of the *Heimat* genre. The shift from rubble film to *Heimatfilm* brought with it a new attention to the sufferings of the German population. The *Heimatfilm* frequently focused on the fate of the nation's many expellees and their difficult assimilation, without the overt discourse of guilt that permeated the earliest postwar films. *The Lost Man* concerns a different exile, in which victims and perpetrators are easily confused, and the *Heimat* is not a clearly circumscribed space but rather a discomfiting world of moral ambiguity. The "gray area" Rothe inhabits—both physically and spiritually—evokes the returnee's uncertain future, and a happy end remains elusive.

Ambivalence permeates *The Lost Man,* a product of the mixed emotions that Lorre, like many exiles, felt about his former country. Some twenty years earlier, Lorre had moved to Germany from his native Austria to pursue acting, and the decision to return must have been difficult. While

the end of the war immediately raised the possibility of return, it also raised a number of vexing questions: what would it mean to go "home" after so many years in exile? When, years earlier, Joseph Goebbels had tried to summon Lorre to Germany to sign a contract with the UFA studios, the actor reportedly replied with a curt telegram: "There is no room in Germany for two murderers like Hitler and me."[24] Would the new Germany afford him a place—as a Weimar film star and a Jew—or would his displacement become permanent? Lorre's immigrant status, which in combination with his Jewishness had made him somewhat of an outsider in his home country even before the moment of his "official" exile, further complicated this question.

The opening sequences of the film, which show Rothe commencing his work in the displaced persons hospital, underscore the linkages between dislocation and illness. Following his solitary walk, Rothe goes into the camp, pausing to speak to the driver of the passing truck, and their dialogue reveals that the vehicle has been delivering not goods but people. Rothe responds with concern: another shipment was not expected until tomorrow. He asks: "Have they been inoculated?" The man replies dismissively, "Not in the least!" and adds, "In Hamburg they were just shuttled through!"[25] The camera tracks alongside the speakers as they walk, and we see in the background a large group of refugees trundling along in a double line. We hear a mixture of German and Slavic languages as Rothe's colleague redirects the group to a different barracks. The scene concludes when the two men arrive at a large building prominently marked with three signs: "Hospital," "Sanitätsbaracke" (medical barracks), and the emblem of the Red Cross. Rothe and the camp worker go inside, and while the doctor tends a patient the other man encourages him to ease his heavy workload by taking on an assistant (*Sanitätsgehilfe*). Rothe agrees to meet the prospective candidate, a certain Nowak.

The next time we see Rothe he is busy inoculating a long line of refugees. He turns away one woman when, at the interpreter's prodding, she reveals that her pregnancy has progressed too far for her to receive the injection. Another patient steps forward, and as he takes his seat and prepares for his injection the camera pauses on a close-up of the doctor. He readies the needle, squinting to see the level of liquid in the syringe (fig. 7). But the procedure ends before it has even begun. From off-screen we hear the first words from Rothe's prospective helper, who has entered the barracks unbeknownst to him: "Steady your nerves, Doctor. Nowak—well, that's me."[26] Recognizing this voice from his past—as that of his former

Fig. 7. Inoculating against fascism? (From *The Lost Man* [1951]. Reprinted courtesy of the Deutsche Kinemathek.)

colleague, Hoesch—the doctor stiffens and his face falls. He slowly lets the needle drop, turning to face his interlocutor. Still off-screen, Hoesch continues: "Yes, it could no longer be avoided." The camera tracks back and up to reveal both men now as Rothe rises and, averting his eyes, he silently turns to leave. Hoesch responds with a somewhat bewildered question: "Shall I continue in your place?" The music swells to ominous tones, and as the doctor exits, Hoesch takes over the administration of the injections.

The physical appointments of Rothe's surroundings support the film's opening assertion that it is based on "factual accounts from the recent past." The barbed wire fencing and watchtower that dominate our initial view of the camp suggest that it was once the site of a concentration camp (many of which actually were reused as relocation and detention centers in the postwar period). The trucks carrying human cargo not only refer to the mass migrations of Europe's many displaced persons but also recall the forcible deportation and murder of Germany's "undesirable" populations. Rothe's work, like the space in which he practices, is also suspect in the light of recent history. As chapter 1 laid out, postwar Germany experi-

enced a crisis in medicine brought on in part by the Nuremberg Doctors Trial and a general awareness that doctors had been instrumental in supporting the racist aims of the regime. The trials revealed a broad range of inhumane and often deadly research projects perpetrated by National Socialist physicians at the camps, including the testing on human subjects of vaccines for typhoid and hepatitis. Through his presentation of a murderous physician, Lorre evokes the complicity of the medical establishment in the crimes of Hitler's Germany and alludes subtly to the terrible paradox of Nazi racial hygiene: a "healthy" national body required mass death.

The precise aim behind Rothe's question—"Have they been inoculated?"—lends itself to varied readings. Are the refugees to be protected, or is Germany to be shielded *from them?* He never names the precise illness that threatens his patients, and we are left instead with the vague impression of an omnipresent bacterial threat. While Lorre's interactions with his patients in these opening scenes give the impression that he is a well-respected and kindly physician, the film will soon reveal that he has a long and rather dubious history in the field of immunology. As a researcher at the Institute of Tropical Medicine, Rothe sought defenses against *foreign* diseases, not native epidemics, presumably as part of Germany's larger colonial project in the war years. Although Rothe is portrayed explicitly as a man unconcerned with politics, his wartime work was aimed at protecting Germany from the invasion of external threats to the nation's health. Rothe's experiments recall the Nazi preoccupation with blood—a parallel that the serial novel version of *The Lost Man* makes evident when Winkler warns Rothe to be more careful about protecting his lab results: "You must take care that you don't stab millions of people in the heart."[27] When Rothe reappears on-screen practicing medicine on foreigners in the years following the war, the audience is forced to question both his intent and the larger politics of the postwar establishment. Since the decline of the Nazi regime, has the nation received adequate "treatment"? Does reconstruction Germany continue to victimize its outsiders?

Lorre's choices for the soundtrack accompanying the hospital barracks scene are also suggestive; in fact, the portentous music (significantly, the Horla motif that subsequently accompanies the scenes of each of Rothe's murders, discussed in detail later in this chapter) only begins when "Nowak" takes over the inoculation process. Lorre singles out the moment of the switch for aural comment. While working as Rothe's colleague at the Institute for Tropical Medicine, Hoesch had been the catalyst in Rothe's conversion from gentle scientist to psychotic killer, and the film implies

that his fascist influence lies at the heart of the transformation. The score's punctuation signals that the cycle of killing will begin again and further suggests that, of the two men, Hoesch is the truly dangerous one. If we read the moment of inoculation figuratively, as a process bound up with the National Socialist quest for racial purity, then the change in command takes on an ominous importance. With the "real" Nazi reinstated, the medical practices of his regime threaten to reemerge in the seemingly safe postwar realm of the displaced persons camp hospital. While Lorre's character, as a (former?) serial killer, is certainly dangerous enough to the unwitting patients of the camp, Hoesch presents a still greater threat. Unlike Rothe, who longs to be punished for his crimes, Hoesch is an unrepentant killer, a man motivated by cold calculation rather than passionate rage or mental illness. The scene closes as Hoesch takes Rothe's place, and we are left to wonder what, symbolically, he will now transmit through the syringe. The "poisons" of fascism, perhaps? Lorre allegorizes the spread of National Socialism and hints that its violence can be contagious.

This encounter in the camp serves as the occasion for the unfolding of the central story, and the ensuing conversation between Rothe and Hoesch frames the film's numerous flashback sequences. In ten separate episodes (that split the narrative into twenty-one segments), memory intrudes upon the frame story. With this fractured narrative, Lorre repeatedly reminds audiences that the nation's present and past are inextricably intertwined. Paradoxically, the radically ruptured story line underscores the film's message of historical continuity, serving what Maureen Turim, in her study of the flashback, has termed the "ideological reframing of history."[28] The past cannot be neatly cordoned off but repeatedly reasserts itself as it perforates the present moment. As Rothe ruminates at the film's conclusion, "there can be no forgetting."[29]

Lorre also subjects the flashbacks to interruption on several occasions. As Lorre's voice-over continues, acting like a sound bridge, the film returns briefly to the frame narrative to show Hoesch alternately listening to and sleeping through Rothe's account. These intrusions subject the past, like the present, to regular reevaluation and comment, and emphasize the framing intrinsic to the work of historical narration (while also indicating Lorre's skepticism about the willingness of some audiences to hear such stories). The momentary reintroduction of the postwar perspective renders the past fragmentary, contingent. Although these flashbacks come from Rothe's perspective, they may also be read as the product of the remigrant's gaze. Lorre seems to defy the common conception of the émigré longing

for his lost homeland.[30] There is no nostalgia in this looking backward, and there can be no retreat into the safe havens of an earlier age. For the exile returning to Germany, temporal order has collapsed, and memories of the past resurface like traumatic episodes.

Lorre's use of voice-over narration further complicates the structure of recall in *The Lost Man.* Flashbacks have stood in traditionally for one character's personal remembrance, but in Lorre's film we are given not one, but *two* narrators.[31] While Rothe gives the preponderance of the film's commentary, and most of the flashbacks appear to come from his perspective, at crucial moments his conversation with Hoesch provides the narration, and thus the memory that ensues appears to be *shared.*[32] Lorre expands the bounds of what Turim calls the "confessional flashback."[33] Both men are implicated in the crimes that they discuss—by their voiced recollections, as well as by the events of the diegesis—and we are made privy to their collective experience and their collective responsibility. Lorre departs from the conventional use of the flashback for the personal tabulation of sins and instead employs it as a forum for the accounting of societal transgressions. He enters into the ongoing debate about German guilt and appears to implicate even himself in his indictment of German society. In the role of the sociopathic doctor, the Jewish exile shoulders the burden of the German past. At the same time, we can also read this unusual multivoiced narration as an attempt by Lorre, the "remigrant," to enter into discussion with the nation he had left behind. The film literally stages a conversation about the German past and implies that historical narrative is subject to negotiation between parties, forged by victims and perpetrators.

Infection

An extant copy of the script for *The Lost Man* contains Lorre's repeated margin notes concerning the soundtrack for the film's scenes of violence: he writes simply "Horlamotiv,"[34] a reference to Guy de Maupassant's 1886 short story "La Horla."[35] The short story concerns a man possessed by an evil spirit, the Horla, which, he believes, emanated from a passing Brazilian ship. The man, known simply as "Monsieur," resolves to kill himself when he realizes he cannot otherwise free himself from the malevolent specter. The tale was popular material for radio plays in 1940s America, and Lorre himself performed in one production for NBC's "Mystery in the

Air" series, broadcast on 21 August 1947. Lorre played the central character and gave voice to the haunted man's imaginings with typical relish.

The musical motif of the radio play differs from Willy Schmidt-Gentner's original score for *The Lost Man,* but both feature uncanny and suspenseful elements. More important for Lorre than the precise notation seems to have been the thematic overlap between the two texts. The radio play emphasizes supernatural forces and the possession of souls. Like the narrator of that story, Rothe's actions are shown to stem from an irrational, consuming force that has invaded his psyche. In taking up the Horla motif—at least in his conceptualization of the film and its score—Lorre suggests that fascism can be read as a "beast within."

Lorre underscores this in an exchange between Rothe and Hoesch regarding Inge's death. Following Hoesch's unexpected reappearance at the relocation camp where Rothe now practices, the two men celebrate their unhappy reunion over schnapps at the adjoining inn. As they imbibe the contents of a large bottle, Rothe muses about the murder that first bound the men together. He recalls Inge's final moments:

> What she wanted was reconciliation. It would have succeeded, I think. But then something happened—namely, the telephone rang. *Suddenly it was as if you were standing there in the room—in the flesh.*[36]

The film flashes back to the scene of the murder. The telephone rings, and Rothe and Inge weigh whether to answer the call. The jangling sound interrupts the moment of their reconciliation, and, by Rothe's own account, precipitates the killing. He strangles Inge, and the film returns to the frame story at the camp. Roused from his reverie, Rothe looks up into the mirror before him, and sees Hoesch. Rothe explains:

> Well, in any case, it could never again be undone. Never. I don't know anymore why and how it happened. At least then I knew absolutely nothing about why. Believe me.
>
> HOESCH: Yeah okay, sure, you weren't present for a second . . . you just weren't there.
>
> ROTHE: What's wrong? Do you doubt me?
>
> HOESCH: No, I'm sure that's how it was.
>
> ROTHE: It was. Yeah, well . . . yeah well, then I felt something between my hands, I think, yes . . . I played with it, without knowing what it

> was. [A momentary flashback shows Rothe playing absentmindedly with the necklace, and then placing it into his pocket.] Yes, and when I came to again, quite a bit of time had passed . . . so . . . then I heard voices outside in the hall.[37]

Rothe describes his mental state at the time of the killing as an out-of-body experience. He seems to embody something—or someone—foreign to himself. Rothe imagines that Hoesch stands beside him and provides the impetus for the shift from rapprochement to revenge. The sound of the telephone makes Hoesch "present," a humiliating reminder of Inge's betrayal, and Rothe's actions suggest a desire to punish his fiancée and replace his rival. Yet if we read the scene with regard to the Horla motif it takes on a new significance. Through his spectral appearance, Hoesch "inhabits" Rothe during the murder. While Rothe does the killing, we are invited to imagine that Hoesch acts through him. Like the protagonist of "La Horla," Rothe is driven to destruction by a powerful and invasive force—here, Hoesch and the fascist politics he represents.

Rothe's sense of detachment from the murder is reiterated in his subsequent statements. He cannot explain how the events unfolded. When Hoesch voices doubt about Rothe's lack of agency, Rothe insists, "that's how it was." Hoesch's skepticism seems particularly ironic if we consider that he is an unrepentant killer himself—the insanity defense holds no weight for him, and Lorre hints that the Nazis of his film are knowing participants in their crimes. On an allegorical plane, Lorre suggests that, for the average German, however, the years of National Socialist rule may be understood as a period of hypnotic trance. Consider the parallel account of the murder scene in Lorre's serial novel, which similarly characterizes Rothe as a man possessed by a murderous spirit:

> My hand. It no longer obeys me. It's become independent. It claws at your throat. Inge . . . you . . . I would have to lie, even if I just wanted to try putting down on paper what happened. It seemed to me as though someone had delivered me a heavy blow to the skull. My muscles, which are usually so resilient, were paralyzed by overpowering exhaustion. My eyes begin to shut. My head begins to rush. I see bright circles that dance around each other in a play of color.[38]

Delusions and a deeply fragmented identity plague the doctor. He feels unable to give a full and accurate account of the occasion, because the divi-

sion between his mind and body runs too deep. He is weak and feels as though he has been hit over the head. The colorful circles that whirl before his eyes evoke a hypnotist's tool and underscore the sense that Rothe finds himself in an altered state. Lorre here emphasizes Rothe's victimization at the hands of National Socialism, a notion that runs through both the film and book versions of *The Lost Man.* Rothe emerges as a passive recipient, a hollow shell that, invested with the destructive energy of fascist forces, cannot but turn to murder. Lorre implies that National Socialism is an invasive phenomenon.

Lorre was not alone in reading National Socialism as a psychosis-inducing power. As the preceding chapter demonstrated, with Hitler's rise an antifascist discourse developed that rejected Nazi claims to heal the nation and suggested that the movement would lead to mass illness instead. In the American context, many of Lorre's fellow exiles became principal contributors to this discussion, including such diverse writers as Wilhelm Reich, Emil Ludwig, and Thomas Mann. These opponents of fascism characterized the movement as a psychological disturbance of national and even international proportions. This tradition carried over into the postwar period and became a central discourse in constituting a German national identity after Hitler. In constructing his death-driven central character, Lorre borrows not only from the fatalistic Horla tale but also an American exilic discourse that saw fascism as a possibly incurable form of madness.[39]

The visual language of the scene of Inge's death further codes Rothe as insane and relates his mental instability, and hence fascism, to sexual deviance. The camera work, editing, and actors' gestures bear close examination. In a series of quick cuts, the camera alternates between medium shots of the two figures on-screen. Inge kneels, supplicating, before Rothe, who can barely look at her, his eyes half lidded with a mixture of passion and madness. He reaches out to caress her face, and she leans into it, guiding his hand. The camera pauses on Inge's expression as Rothe fingers a curl of her hair and strokes her cheek. A half-smile plays across his lips. The camera returns to Inge and we see that her eyes are closed in sensual anticipation. Then, ominously, Rothe's hand slips down to her neck, which is encircled by a simple white bead necklace. The camera cuts back to a close-up of Rothe, his face in an inscrutable grimace that alternates between pleasure, pain, and intoxication. He rises, and his hands reach down to grasp her throat more firmly. As he stands, Rothe's back fills the screen and blots out all light. The viewer never sees the murder, but the movement of his hands can lead to only one end. The camera fades in to a shot of

Rothe's tortuously curled fingers caressing the air, and the film returns to the barroom of the frame story, where Hoesch looks on.

It is a scene of overtly sexual violence. The soft touch of the lovers' hands reads like foreplay. Rothe's initial caress seems tender, a sign that he has forgiven Inge for betraying him. Her face is transformed by longing, while Rothe's expression shows as much desire as murderous intent. When Rothe later remembers the scene, he flashes briefly back again to an image of himself toying with the white necklace, now a fetish.[40] The closeness of the camera also lends an air of intimacy, while the editing of shot and countershot joins the two actors together in space and prepares us for a different union. When Rothe strangles his wife-to-be at the close of the scene, a moment of violence supplants an embrace.[41]

Although the dialogue of this encounter is not explicitly sexual, the film's visual signs tell a different story. The murder stems not simply out of political or emotional motivations, but appears also to result out of misplaced desire. Lorre aligns fascism with sexual deviance, and in so doing he cites a commonplace of American anti-Nazi discourse. As Andrea Slane has argued,

> fascism, and especially Nazism, has functioned as democracy's troubled Other. In the most straightforward way, all that is split off from the national self is projected onto the Nazi Other, so that much antifascist rhetoric continues to align democracy with middle-class respectability and Nazism with decadence and perversion.[42]

As Slane points out, American critiques have frequently set up fascism as the antipode of American "values" and have staged the conflict between the two ideologies through melodrama, whereby fascism, marked by depravity and excess, threatens the ideal of the healthy, nuclear family.[43] Lorre's film sets up the conflict somewhat differently, as an inner-German struggle, for the family unit of his film has already been destroyed by the war and the Nazi state. Inge Hermann lives with her mother, while her father survives in Swedish exile, and when Inge has died, a young female boarder moves in to take her place. A lonely mother whose husband has been away at the front for five years becomes Rothe's second victim. Unlike the texts that Slane discusses, Rothe's violence and depravity are not oppositional. *The Lost Man* aligns the doctor with the governing power—both cause the dissolution of familial relations. As Wolfgang Staudte had done

in his 1946 film *The Murderers Are Among Us,* Lorre invokes a contemporary discourse that took the relative health of German families as an index of national recovery.

Lorre further draws on conceptions of Nazism as a psychosexual disturbance when, at one point in the film, a character suggests that Rothe is homosexual. Rothe, having fled his apartment in order to repress his urge to kill the new boarder, winds up at a bar, where he meets a prostitute. When she approaches Rothe, a male acquaintance at the pub implies that she has misjudged her target: "Can't you see that the man isn't interested in the ladies?"[44] She shrugs it off but then assures Rothe a few moments later, "You don't have to be afraid of me." Both characters ultimately "recognize" Rothe: the prostitute later realizes that Rothe is a *Totmacher,* a "killer," while her companion returns in the tram scene and insists repeatedly that he knows the doctor. While the latter moment of identification serves in part self-reflexively to remind audiences that Lorre is reappearing on the German screen in a familiar role, it also reinforces the notion that the drunk has uncovered Rothe's "true nature." As Andrew Hewitt has discussed, there is a long discursive tradition that imagines a relationship between fascism and homosexuality (and ironically casts homosexuals as the perpetrators of National Socialism rather than its victims).[45] In the brief barroom exchange, Lorre invokes this idea and correlates Rothe's sadism with a "sick" sexuality.

Lorre does not stop at his association of fascism with mental illness but also suggests that the movement functions like a germ, infecting individuals and making them physically sick. In the serial novel, Dr. Rothe imagines defending himself in a court of law. He takes up his familiar refrain, arguing that "Some unknown thing, . . . a second, foreign person living inside of me squeezed her throat . . . not me."[46] He goes on to argue that this provides no excuse for his behavior, however, and insists that he must be punished:

> I don't want to make excuses . . . because I know that I am a sick person. . . . I am suffering from a contagious disease, the blackest plague, a curse. You cannot let me roam freely any longer.[47]

Here Lorre offers a different take on the idea that Rothe is "possessed." The supernatural Horla figure has not taken over but rather a "plague." Rothe demands that he be contained, since this is the only way to stop from

spreading the "infectious epidemic disease" from which he suffers. In medicalizing Rothe's condition, Lorre opens up the discussion of sexual murder to biological as well as psychological investigation.

The passage echoes a moment in the film that unfolds shortly after Inge's murder, when Rothe and Hoesch have resumed their work at the laboratory. A medium shot reveals Rothe at the microscope, working away quite happily. With the words, "Hey, Hoesch, come over here. Take a look at this!" he calls over his colleague, who enters the room and looks into the instrument (fig. 8). A series of medium close-ups record the remainder of Rothe's monologue and the reactions of Hoesch. As his assistant peers into the microscope, Rothe explains:

> Surely you're able to make out three individual bacteria in this swarm. Good . . . now give them a name. So, name the first one Colonel Winkler, name the second one Hoesch, and the third, Rothe. It's so easy! But if you inject a single one of these—Winkler, Hoesch, or Rothe—into the blood of a healthy person, the person won't stay healthy. He'll croak . . . just like that.[48]

The naming scheme startles Hoesch. Rothe lends the deadly bacteria under the lens that human attribute, but more important, he confers the properties of the bacteria onto their namesakes as well. By extension, Winkler, Hoesch, and Rothe are contagious, capable of entering the bloodstream of a healthy individual and causing sickness and death. Rothe offers a medical explanation for the phenomenon that the audience has already observed when he murders Inge: Rothe has been infected by the Gestapo agents and now carries the disease himself.

According to one version of Lorre's script, the microscope scene was to open in a slightly different fashion, with Rothe meditating on his place within the larger political context.[49] In the passage, Lorre makes explicit what he simply implies in the final screen version. The alternate beginning has Rothe providing a voice-over commentary for the opening shot of the Institute for Tropical Medicine laboratory:

> I had become a part of this, of our times. I was protected by its sloppy theories about the worth or worthlessness of a human life. Naturally, this disease of the time was not a virus, such that you could stick on a slide under a microscope and observe or photograph it.[50]

Fig. 8. At the microscope, identifying the "bacillus" of fascism. (From *The Lost Man* [1951]. Reprinted courtesy of the Deutsche Kinemathek.)

Lorre complicates the metaphor of fascism-as-illness that he employs in the exchange with Hoesch. National Socialism is a "disease of the times" but one that cannot be inspected under the microscope's lens. While he adopts the common parlance of the day, Lorre also foregrounds the limits of a medicalizing discourse—such discourse cannot, in the end, render fascism entirely "visible" or even "knowable." National Socialism defies representation and is not so easily pinpointed as the virus of Lorre's analogy. The lines further underscore the film's project to make the effects of Nazism apparent and make the invisible obvious to the eye. Both the microscope and the movie camera represent technologies of vision that Lorre suggests can help diagnose and treat those infected by fascism.

In this passage, Lorre raises another central concern of *The Lost Man,* the Nazi program of racial hygiene. While Rothe speaks here about the cover-up of Inge's murder, the implication of his words is much greater. His references to the valuation of human life recall the language of National Socialist "public health" initiatives aimed at purifying the *Volkskörper.* Lorre articulates the contradiction inherent in a program of national

hygiene that "cleansed" German blood through bloodshed. While this frames Rothe's killing within the larger context of Nazi extermination policies, it also reflects on his employment at the Institute for Tropical Medicine. As the novel version notes, Rothe develops *Serienimpfen* (serial inoculations) and his experiments are all based on blood analysis.[51] Lorre makes clear that the doctor's work is embedded in a national effort to protect the nation from "infection" (while also suggesting that there is no simple and effective inoculation against fascism).

The serial novel similarly emphasizes Rothe's implication in Nazi racial hygiene policies. When Rothe pleads with Oberst Winkler to punish him for his crime, the doctor declares:

> I am a murderer. Listen closely to what I am telling you as a doctor . . . I am a danger to you, to your state, to all humanity. Take me in, seize me, I must be removed, please, I beg you, please believe me, I must be made harmless, it's essential . . . please have mercy, Captain![52]

Rothe interjects as a diagnostician now and argues from a medical standpoint that he presents a danger to the state. Lorre's choice of words again resonates with the racialized language of Nazism. Rothe believes he must be made "harmless," and in the same breath asks for "mercy," that is, prosecution and then execution. He requests a *Gnadentod*—mercy killing or euthanasia—at the hands of a government that killed thousands of citizens deemed inferior. Lorre explodes the boundaries of this simple tale of individual psychosis and implicates an entire sociopolitical system.

Following the logic of Rothe's speech at the microscope, it is Winkler and Hoesch who have "infected" him and turned him into a killer. Yet at various points throughout the film, Lorre suggests there may be an additional cause for his metamorphosis. In the two scenes in which Rothe murders women, the excesses of female sexuality and desire appear to push him over the edge.[53] Inge becomes "complicit" in her own death when she betrays Rothe and then guides his hand in the embrace that turns to murder. During the second murder, discussed in more detail later, the camera concentrates on the victim's breasts just before Rothe strikes. Just as Staudte linked the overt display of sexuality with fascism and death in *The Murderers Are Among Us,* Lorre connects the unleashing of libidinal energies with the desire to kill, then characterizes both as a form of disease. This is underscored by a passage from Lorre's serial novel, in which he characterizes Inge as a "germ" that attacks the doctor. Rothe thinks back on the moment of their first encounter:

> Until then, I was convinced that I was an unfailing diagnostician. I had learned to interpret fever charts and medical histories with one glance. And now Inge's virus was playing a deadly game inside of me. For God's sake! Who was the master of my feelings? Who guided them? Restrained them? Maddened me? Misled me? Who? Not me. At least, not anymore. Or not yet . . . And yet I had every reason to be thankful to Inge. She saved me, even though she did not know it. Even later, I betrayed nothing to her. It was like in a fairy tale. When she kissed me the first time, I knew I was saved. A storm had been weathered. The saga with Marietta. With that wretch Marietta. In those days I was conducting my first experiments. Marietta took care of the test animals.[54]

Inge has confounded the doctor's diagnostic abilities, and before he knows it he has been struck ill. Desire itself becomes the sickness in this passage, even before Rothe has felt compelled to commit murder. Rothe's reflections invoke long-standing anxieties about female sexuality as a source of madness and disease. But Lorre's text also recalls the more recent National Socialist discussions of the national body's declining health. As I noted in the preceding chapter, Hitler claimed in *Mein Kampf* that prostitution—and more specifically syphilis—weakened the national body.[55] Although Rothe grants a certain beneficial power to the "Inge Bacillus" here, since it eliminates a previous infection (Marietta), the reference to Inge as a disease-causing agent foreshadows the negative impact she will have on his mental state. Inge, like Hoesch and Winkler, renders Rothe helpless to stem his own urges. Rothe's reference to his "experiments" also contributes to the overlapping of sexuality and disease. While we may assume that he is speaking of his scientific work, his choice of wording implies that he was involved in sexual "trials" with Marietta.

Lorre clearly sets up fascism as the central antagonist in his film, and it is perplexing when he places part of the blame for Rothe's "outbreak" on his victims. There are two possible interpretations of this move. On the one hand, Lorre invokes the repressive sexual politics of the Nazi regime. When Rothe murders these "loose" women he acts as the extension of a state that frequently punished women for perceived licentious behavior.[56] The sequence also accords with Lorre's association of fascism with deviant sexuality. Rothe's implied homosexuality thus "provokes" his violence against women. On the other hand, one cannot always distinguish the gender politics of the postwar period from those of the Nazi era. Lorre is hardly out of step with the times when he implies that Inge and Helene (his

second victim) somehow "deserved" their deaths. Both fit the stereotype of the wanton woman. Inge narcissistically admires her own image in the mirror, behaves rudely to her mother and Rothe, and carries on a sexual affair. Helene is a bored housewife grown bold in the years of her husband's absence, who flirts aggressively with Rothe and proclaims just before her death that she no longer feels any fear.

The appearance of the Inge Bacillus also lends itself to another reading. In addition to exploring fascism's "invasive" nature, Lorre invokes widespread postwar anxieties about sexually transmitted diseases—a matter that both German and Allied governments were addressing at the time he made *The Lost Man.* As Annette F. Timm has pointed out, postwar Germany experienced a virtual epidemic, with Berlin clinics treating thirty-four thousand people for STDs in May and June 1945 alone.[57] In their efforts to control the spread of venereal disease, German health officials adopted measures that included mandatory reporting of confirmed cases, forcible examinations of women suspected of being carriers, and the registration (by name or number) of known "sources of infection."[58] The American occupation administration also waged a public information campaign that included specific admonitions to soldiers regarding sexual contact with German women. The *Pocket Guide to Germany,* published by the Army Information branch, warned servicemen that in the aftermath of the war, "diseases have become prevalent. Among these are venereal diseases." It recommended, "if you become exposed to venereal infection, report for immediate prophylactic treatment." (Implicitly acknowledging that fraternization would be hard to prevent, the subsequent section then discouraged would-be suitors by explaining that marrying a "foreign girl" was a "complicated procedure"!)[59] In this light, the Inge Bacillus evokes a different naming scheme than that of the microscope scene. Lorre intimates that Inge is a source of infection and, like Hoesch and Winkler, prompts Rothe's violent turn. Furthermore, if Inge represents a carrier figure, then her affair with Hoesch takes on a new dimension. Inge becomes the medium or culture through which fascist violence is transmitted. She is not simply an object of exchange between the two men but rather the central point in the complex circulation of their destructive impulses. This transfer ultimately costs her her life, when Rothe murders her after being inspired and "possessed" by Hoesch.

In exploring the powers of fascism through the figure of a sexual predator, Lorre represents Nazism as a force that liberates libidinal energies of all sorts. Rothe's encounter with the Gestapo men provides the im-

petus to engage in otherwise forbidden behavior, and what might have been a simple intimate encounter becomes a sexual murder. Lorre attempts to illustrate the seductions of a political regime that was not only repressive but also permissive of certain violent behaviors. In his text, sex, violence, and disease exist in a complex constellation, subject to the National Socialist impulses of containment and release. Lorre demonstrates the far reach of National Socialist ideology when he locates it in the bedroom and the bacillus. In the world of the film, fascism has permeated German culture at the most intimate levels.

Like many of his contemporaries, Lorre was drawn to a concept of fascism as a kind of physical as well as mental illness, with the result that his characterization of the German "condition" appears highly overdetermined. Like Thomas Mann and Martin Gumpert, Lorre attempts to show that National Socialism is thoroughly "sick." From every angle, Lorre constructs the regime and its ideology as pathogenic. This understanding relies on two principal ideas: that mental, as well as physical, ailments can be contagious; and that these ailments can produce a "collective" condition that is shared by a national population. Theories of mass psychology form one crucial source for the conceptualization of fascism as a kind of radicalized folie à deux. Etiology forms another, with its attention to questions of causes and origins of disease. Lorre brings both discourses together in his emphasis on circulation, blurring the line between individual bodies (when fascism passes from one to another) and bodily and spiritual ills.

Elimination

The Lost Man shifts repeatedly from the postwar period to the war years, and the series of flashbacks emphasize the presence of the past. Through looking backward, Lorre searches for the origins of fascism and examines its persistence in the "new" Germany. The "past" does not simply begin in 1943, although this year forms the backdrop for the central events of the film, and on numerous occasions, Lorre cites his earlier performances in Weimar and exile cinema. Lorre's revisitation of his cinematic past on the one hand emphasizes his return to the German screen by reminding audiences of his former star status, and on the other hand it encourages a reexamination of those earlier films in relationship to the German "disease." Rather like Thomas Mann, Lorre returns to these prewar moments to search for the point at which fascism began. Only such a historical review,

he suggests, could facilitate national healing and allow Germany at once to move forward and eliminate the roots of National Socialism. This retrospection further afforded Lorre opportunity to reflect on his own work as a returning émigré. *The Lost Man* represents his attempt not only to explore the reasons behind Germany's decline but also to bring to a conclusion his long period of exile.

German audiences in 1951 were quick to associate Lorre's performance with the one that made him famous—as Beckert, the serial child murderer of Fritz Lang's 1931 thriller *M.* (*Der Spiegel* even referred to the actor's "recidivism"!)[60] Lorre's exile acting experience provided a further source of inspiration for the Rothe role: in films like *The Stranger on the Third Floor* (1940) and *The Beast with Five Fingers* (1946), Lorre played the part of a psychopathic killer. In the figure of Carl Rothe, Lorre offered viewers a complicated amalgam of his previous roles.

Lorre justified his decision to cite his earlier films at the film's premiere: "After *M,* I swore to never make murder films again, and I kept my oath for nearly twenty years, but when Egon told me this story I had to do it."[61] The narrative was apparently compelling, even if Lorre had ample reason to steer clear of associations with his previous work. Certainly Lorre disliked the typecasting that ensued from Fritz Lang's film. Reflecting on his own acting style, Lorre once remarked:

> Me act? Why, I just make faces! Really, that's all I do, I make lots of faces and they pay me for it. The director says: "You're mad, Peter. Make like you're mad." Then pretty soon someone calls out "one hour for lunch"! I follow the others to the commissary and later return to the set. "Make like you did before lunch, Peter," says the director. "Make like you're mad." So I make like I'm mad again and before long someone says, "wrap 'em up. That's all for today." So I go home, have dinner, go to bed, get up, report for work again and the director says: "Make like you're mad again, Peter. Make like you did yesterday." I find it so easy. I just look mad and like old man river I keep rolling along doing devilish things in motion pictures.[62]

Lorre's ambivalence is palpable. But given free rein, he drew on a familiar role and deliberately invoked numerous motifs from his earlier work. If *The Lost Man* might provide him with a new future in German cinema, it also offered an opportunity to reassess his past. For Lorre, this must have seemed an ideal means to pursue the question of his own place in the cul-

ture that gave rise to National Socialism and to free himself of *M* once and for all.

Mad Love likely served as one source of inspiration. During the early years of his exile in England, Lorre starred in Karl Freund's remake of the Weimar classic *Orlacs Hände* (*The Hands of Orlac,* Robert Wiene, 1924). Like Lorre, Freund had worked in the German film industry before fleeing the Nazi regime—in 1927 alone he co-wrote the screenplay for Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin, Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (*Berlin, Symphony of a Great City*) and served as cinematographer for Fritz Lang's *Metropolis.* For *Mad Love,* Freund selected Lorre to play Dr. Gogol, a brilliant but perilously lovestruck surgeon. Obsessed with actress Yvonne Orlac (Frances Drake), Gogol attempts to destroy her marriage. After her husband's hands are crushed in a railway accident, Gogol replaces them with those of a convicted killer. When his plot goes awry, Gogol tries to strangle Yvonne.

In keeping with the generic conventions of the horror film, supernatural forces guide the wayward hands. Gogol covets a life-sized wax figure of his beloved, and the doctor's fascination with the surrogate foregrounds the precarious line between the living and the dead. The film's tone is eerie, fantastic. When, sixteen years later, Lorre again appears as a mad scientist, his performance seems oddly familiar.[63] In *The Lost Man,* the doll has been replaced by another fetish, his deceased fiancée's necklace. Even before Rothe's first murder, Lorre cites a stock image from horror film. In a scene that recalls the famed mirror scene of *M* as well as that of *Mad Love,* Rothe retreats to the basement of the laboratory after learning of Inge's deceit. Gazing at his reflection with a mixture of despair and exhaustion, Rothe rubs his face, and then recoils in horror as a streak of blood appears—he has inadvertently touched a small pool of blood created by one of his experiments. The mark not only foreshadows the first murder but also supports the film's psychological tone, as the mirror reveals the "hidden" murderous aspect of Rothe's reflection.

Yet Lorre introduces a critical difference in the postwar film. He sets the narrative in a concrete temporal moment and frames Rothe's madness within a specific political context. Although the film studiously avoids overt references to fascism, never naming the force holding sway over Rothe, the film clearly takes place in the Nazi past. Rothe is guided less by mysterious forces than by the machinations of the Gestapo. In citing the horror film, Lorre defies generic conventions, supplying his film with a degree of historicity uncharacteristic of the genre (much like his treatment of the Horla material). Lorre does not simply borrow from his cinematic her-

itage but rather refigures it in light of Germany's recent past. In so doing, he makes precise the genre's typically abstract dangers and imbues horror with the specificities of national history.

The parallels between *M* and *The Lost Man* are still more apparent. As Hans Beckert, Lorre had played a child murderer being hunted by both city police and organized crime. And like Beckert, Rothe's own demons pursue him most doggedly. In *M,* Lorre's performance famously rendered a sociopath sympathetic. Cornered by the kangaroo court at the film's conclusion, Beckert is doubly trapped, unable to resist his destructive urges and under attack from the gang of criminal prosecutors. While the sexual nature of Beckert's crimes is never made explicit, Lang suggests that he is a pedophile. With a single exception, all of his victims are little girls, and Beckert ingratiates himself to them by posing as an "uncle," or father figure. Lorre's Beckert is a compulsive eater, hopelessly and childishly trapped in an "oral phase."[64] But Lang is most provocative in his use of visual symbols. In one scene, Beckert stalks a young girl from one shop window to another. When the girl pauses in front of a display, Lang draws our attention to a large arrow, designed to attract the gaze of potential shoppers, which plunges up and down and suggests penetration. Beckert moves on but quickly locates another unsuspecting girl, whom he leads to the display window of a toy store. The camera gives us a perspective from inside the shop, and we watch the two as they admire the wares. A mechanized *Hampelmann* or jumping jack hangs directly above their heads, its legs suggestively scissoring open and closed.

It is no coincidence that Peter Lorre borrows this motif for the second murder scene in *The Lost Man.*[65] Rothe is on his way home, having fled after a botched attempt to murder a prostitute. In a crowded tram, he meets his next casualty, a buxom blonde (Helene, played by Lotte Rausch) who complains that she has too much "spirit" to enjoy a quiet life at home while her husband is away at war. Helene proudly displays her day's purchase to her new friend: a jumping jack for her two sons. She hands it to Rothe, who pulls on the string and smiles as the legs fly open.[66] Sitting across from each other, the two engage in small talk. Helene complains about the excessive heat of the train and strips away the layers of her warm winter clothing. When the camera gives us a medium shot of Rothe's reaction, we see that he is engrossed with the fulsome bosom revealed by her low-cut blouse.

An air-raid siren rousts most of the passengers from the train, but Rothe decides to stay. Following his lead, Helene agrees that one might as well, with the prophetic statement: "If your time is up, you'll get it no mat-

ter where you are."[67] A long shot shows the train pulling away from the platform. Moving once more to the interior of the car, the camera offers a medium shot of Rothe smoking, then a close-up of Helene as she flirtatiously toys with the fur of her stole, declaring that after all the years of war she no longer feels any fear. Cut to an extreme close-up of her breasts, which swell from her neckline. A close-up of Rothe, eyes downcast, is accompanied by the rising sound of the now familiar musical motif that cues each murder. Helene asks for a light. A series of shot and reverse shots show Rothe igniting his own cigarette without returning the courtesy. The film then cuts to an extreme close-up of his face, starkly defined by the scene's chiaroscuro lighting, as the music reaches a fevered pitch. We see Helene draw back, clearly terrified. Rothe stands and the dark form of his back fills the screen, signifying his violent intentions. We hear her scream just as the all clear is sounded, and the film cuts to an outside shot of the train.

Citing *M,* Lorre reminds audiences that he has played this role before, and the jumping jack identifies Rothe as a kindred killer. Lorre transforms the pedophilia that Lang only implied into politically charged sexual predation, and relates fascism to erotic excess. Dr. Rothe has no personal or political motivation for murdering Helene—she is a stranger—and the extreme close-up of her décolletage tells us what has triggered his rage. Rereading his earlier film, Lorre offers *M* as a lens through which to understand the circumstances of Carl Rothe's obsession.[68]

Lorre ties his critique of Nazi and postwar German culture to a particular moment in film history, echoing curiously Siegfried Kracauer's 1947 study *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film.* Kracauer criticized *M* because it "wavered between the notions of anarchy and authority" and "confirms the moral of *The Blue Angel:* that in the wake of retrogression terrible outbursts of sadism are inevitable."[69] Kracauer describes both Lang's and Sternberg's films as prescient:

> Both films bear upon the psychological situation of those crucial years and both anticipate what was to happen on a large scale unless people could free themselves from the specters pursuing them. The pattern had not yet become set.[70]

Lorre suggests a similar teleology when he places Beckert in relation to the rise of German fascism. Reappearing in a narrative of 1943, the Weimar film becomes premonitory. The serial killer prefigures Nazi mass murder.

Lorre's analogy implicates interwar German culture in the crimes of subsequent years. Lang's original film made no overt reference to the political turmoil of its era, but like Kracauer, Lorre reinterprets the film with historical hindsight.

Through references to his former role, Lorre suggests not only a psychological but also a historical explanation for Rothe's impulses. The psychotic doctor resembles an aged Hans Beckert, with a crucial difference. Rothe is a more terrible incarnation than his predecessor, for Rothe operates from within and not in opposition to the social system. Although each man is shown to be a product of his sociocultural moment, Rothe is a physician, an authoritative figure in comparison to the loner Beckert. Rothe is saved because of his position—his misdeeds can be overlooked because the state values his work. In Lorre's vision, Beckert has not been institutionalized but rather absorbed by the institutions of Nazi society. The threat of Beckert returns, magnified in the persona of Rothe.

The continuities Lorre traces between Weimar and Nazi German culture extend into the postwar moment of the film's frame narrative. Dr. Rothe has survived the war, and although the film never makes clear whether he still is murdering women, his continued medical practice is disturbing in its own right, given the ideological significance of his wartime occupation. German society has failed to suppress Rothe and others like him. Lorre underscores this through the figure of Hoesch, who both inspires and condones Rothe's desire to kill. When Hoesch reappears in the postwar political landscape, he stands by his actions during the war. Hoesch shrugs off the suggestion that he should feel remorse over Inge's death or any other. "It's all nonsense, a bunch of nonsense," he cynically exclaims.[71] Although Hoesch now finds himself on the run, he survives in the supposedly denazified terrain of postwar Germany. The law, so crucial in *M,* has no place in Lorre's later film. Rothe bears in his person the vestiges of justice, and the law survives only as he has internalized it. The murderers are still among us—until Rothe intervenes.

After an evening of drinking and recollection, Rothe shoots Hoesch and departs the camp. Walking out into the dawn, he stops to pat the head of a dog—a murderer's last gesture of humanity. His posture is straighter now, free from the constraints of the past, and the score that accompanies his walk toward the tracks includes triumphant as well as somber strains. Rothe strides quickly toward an oncoming train. He steps into its path, covers his eyes, and disappears beneath the locomotive's inexorable progress.

The cataclysmic final sequence suggests drastic "treatment" for a

postwar society that has refused or been unable to rid itself of fascism's traces. The murderer must take it upon him to provide a remedy. Perversely, when Rothe kills Hoesch and commits suicide it seems an act of conscience, his final service to the nation. The film ends with what seems an exile's ultimate vengeance—as Rothe destroys the man that "caused" his madness. But the narrative emphasis on biological transmission does not permit Rothe's survival. An earlier moment in the film already suggests the inevitability of both men's deaths, when Rothe spies the slumbering bartender and remarks to Hoesch: "Nothing that is still living sleeps so deeply that it cannot wake—if it is still alive!"[72] Rothe conjures up the image of "sleeper cells," which remain dangerous because they are capable of reawakening. The threat of Nazism cannot be allowed to remain dormant, and Rothe eliminates the last bacilli: first Hoesch, and then himself.

The final sequence recalls the very first *Trümmerfilm,* Wolfgang Staudte's 1946 *The Murderers Are Among Us,* which Lorre may well have seen when Billy Wilder specially screened the film in Hollywood. Soviet censors forbade Staudte to conclude his film with a revenge killing, and the film's protagonist finds satisfaction in lawful redress in the (presumably occupation) courts. Lorre's film lacks the optimism of its predecessor. Five years later, after the largely failed experiment of denazification, vigilante justice replaces the inefficient workings of the law, and Lorre indulges in a fictional retaliation against the culture that once rejected him. He leaves open whether reintegration and real justice are possible, but prospects seem dim.

Yet Lorre may have valued the film's conclusion less as a political program than as a record of a more personal struggle. Rothe's suicide is the act of a man desperate to be free of his past and the destructive drive that compels him to kill. Like his precursor Beckert, he cannot do otherwise. Lorre seems to contemplate an alternate ending for his earlier film and a different professional outcome for himself. Twenty years after *M* and dozens of similarly psychopathic roles, Lorre effectively "kills off" the figure of Beckert. For Lorre, closely associated with the Beckert role for two decades, this must have entailed a degree of self-destruction. He hoped the death of *The Lost Man* might pave the way for a new career in German cinema and allow him to take on new and different parts. Only by addressing the past, and destroying his personal repertoire of villains, could he pave the way for a different future.

As Hannah Arendt reflected in a letter to Karl Jaspers, for Germany's exiles homecoming might take many forms. "It seems to me none of us can return (and writing is surely a form of return) merely because people again

seem prepared to recognize Jews as Germans or something else. We can return only if we are welcome as Jews," she wrote.[73] Arendt is principally concerned here with European anti-Semitism, but her words on writing offer useful insight into the nature of Lorre's undertaking. Like Arendt, Lorre understood that reemigration to Germany was not simply a matter of physical return. His reentry into German film must take place onscreen, an occasion that demanded an aesthetic revisiting of his cinematic past. The movie theater served as a port of entry, and a space to explore the nuances of exile and reintegration.

But Germany would not be Lorre's final terminus. Unable to reestablish himself, in 1952 Lorre left Hamburg and headed back to Hollywood. *Der Spiegel* did not record his departure; it showed greater interest in noting the number of émigrés who were still returning to Germany.[74] There is no published record of Lorre's own response. We can surmise that he felt discouraged and defeated by his experiences. Like Alfred Döblin, he must have sensed that exile had caught up with him again. In the same year, Döblin noted in his journal:

> My departure from this country draws near. Yes, we will leave this country again, and the whole thing will not have been a homecoming. I was never granted that, and it became an extended visit. Things have remained as they were. I cannot find air to breathe here. It is not exile, but something reminiscent of it. Not only I, but also my books have experienced this.[75]

Lorre's return was incomplete, his efforts to overcome the rupture of exile unsuccessful. Audiences rejected his foreboding message and visual style. Lorre's internationalist ambitions found no resonance in a country increasingly suspicious of American influence and intent on crafting a new national film industry.

Lorre's efforts to eradicate Beckert also failed, and after returning to Hollywood his career and health sharply declined. Again, as before, directors cast him in small roles as a mysterious, murderous stranger. Lorre spent the remaining years of his life playing his own caricature, in films like *The Patsy* and *Comedy of Horrors.* His ubiquity itself became the stuff of jokes, as in his surprise appearance at the end of *Muscle Beach Party,* a musical comedy starring Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello. When Avalon asks, "Don't I know you?" Lorre replies with his characteristic wheeze, "Well, you might have seen my face quite often."[76]

Perhaps to understand Lorre's failed homecoming we must return to his film's beginning. In its final version, *The Lost Man* opens in silence as Lorre walks toward the camera. But according to a draft of the script, Rothe's entrance was to be accompanied by a monologue:

> Rothe utters the same word repeatedly: "Fear . . . fear . . ." Each time he inflects it with a new understanding, with horror, with irony, ambivalence, cynicism, and finally, with a sense of liberation. Following a pause, his thoughts continue to speak, and only the expression of these thoughts plays across his face: "Where did it begin, if, indeed, it is over? Where did it start? There's certainly no end without a beginning . . ."[77]

The screenplay notes that Rothe is pondering the events of the preceding four years. But the final lines also speak to the anxieties of the returnee, and the uncertain time-frame of forced migration. Lorre's own displacement did not have a precise beginning or conclusion, and he faced these same questions: where did it start, and when, if ever, would it cease? For Lorre, it appears, exile never quite ended, its limits unbound in a lifetime of playing the outsider. Rothe's query also refers to the film's other central discourse of disease, and it foregrounds the difficulty of marking a clear beginning for German fascism.

In the end, it is not difficult to imagine why *The Lost Man* attracted few Germans in 1951. Peter Lorre's film is an admonition to postwar audiences. Lorre suggests that the cure for National Socialism remains elusive, while the illness that pervaded the war years lives on essentially unaltered. He voices serious doubts about the national recovery that West Germany was already beginning to celebrate at the time of his film's release. Lorre implies that the destruction of fascism must occur at society's cellular level, through the kind of microscopic examination that Lorre models on-screen. Addressing a culture already grown wary of such introspection, he suggests that the work of diagnosis itself might provide a "cure" for National Socialism—or at least serve as a first step. His disappointment over the film's lackluster reception must have stemmed in part from the recognition that a new German identity, one that would be constituted by the kind of self-exploration embodied in his film, had not yet come into existence.

Epilogue: The Patient Lives

> Whoever refuses to remember the inhumanity is prone to new risks of infection.
>
> —Bundespräsident Richard von Weizsäcker,
> on the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II

In December 1956, the illustrated magazine *Deutsche Illustrierte* published a photo spread with the rather alarming title "Kranke Männer regieren"—"Sick Men Are Governing."[1] It appeared opposite a report on the planned biopic *Der Stern von Afrika* (*The Star of Africa*), a heroic retelling of the life of Nazi-era flying ace Hans Joachim Marseille. Across the top half of the page, directly beneath its dire banner, the article included pictures of U.S. president Eisenhower, Soviet leaders Bulganin and Khrushchev, and U.S. foreign minister John Dulles. Captions beneath each of the photos explained their particular ailments. Eisenhower had collapsed twice within recent months, with coronary vein thrombosis and acute appendicitis the suspected culprits. Bulganin, then premiere of the Soviet Union, had also collapsed on numerous occasions, for which his doctors prescribed a twenty-day stint of medically induced hypothermia "intended to strengthen his nervous system." The magazine noted that psychologists attributed Khrushchev's enraged outbursts before Western politicians in part to his acute diabetes. During the critical days of the Hungarian uprising, Dulles was "struck down with a mysterious ailment" eventually diagnosed as cancer of the large intestine. While the article not surprisingly blatantly favors the Americans, whom it describes as stoically persevering despite their pain, it also presents both sides of the Cold War as radically ill.

Beneath these profiles of sick world leaders, the article inserts a photomontage. The right-hand side shows a coastal highway. The weather is pleasant, a steady stream of cars moves along the road, and beachgoers

frolic in the waves. On the left-hand side of the image, we see a photograph of a world at war. A stream of tanks takes the place of passenger cars, and in contrast to the natural beauty of the right-hand photograph, the tanks traverse the alien landscape of a bombed city. Billowing smoke fills the sky—its source, a series of cartoonishly large falling bombs. Occupying the middle ground of the montage is a pyramid of world leaders—including the Russians Bulganin and Khrushchev on the bottom, Eisenhower just above them, Dulles, and at the top of the pile, Mao Tse-tung. A caption explains the significance of the image:

> Today these sick men decide matters of war and peace. They cannot escape the burden of responsibility and the relentless unrest, and it has marked their bodies. Their condition is so grave that any doctor would describe them as seriously ill! We follow their political activity on a daily basis, but we forget all too easily that their decisions may be influenced by their own medical condition. This raises the question: can seriously ill men even make balanced decisions? And if they are able to do so: Can they withstand the elevated strain of dire world crises? Is there a replacement man behind them, ready to take action in the event that they collapse? Questions of extraordinary world political importance, because they are irresolvable and of serious consequence for the course of history.[2]

What is striking about this passage is the way in which it highlights the deep shifts in the discourse of the German Patient just eleven years after the end of World War II. Indeed, although we still find a "patient," and the issue of illness is still linked to questions of political responsibility and crisis, the "German" seems to have disappeared from the picture altogether. In his place (I will retain the masculine form, since postwar German culture overwhelmingly emphasized male suffering), we find the leading figures of the Cold War conflict. The discourse of politicized illness has shifted away from its initial postwar focus on the internal ailments of the nation to questions of world-political well-being. While this surely indicates the extent to which Germans felt vulnerable at the geographic center of Cold War struggles—evidenced by the article's emphasis on the impact that a weakened physical state might have on the mental capacity of these leaders, and the way in which the montage makes manifest the high stakes of their decisions—it also marks the decline of the German Patient as a conceptual model.

By the mid-1950s, the German states had passed through the initial years of postwar uncertainty and respectively embraced the idea their recovery from the past was complete. Rebuilding was now well under way, and the postwar nations emphasized a new ethos—of productivity, of restoration, of building-up—that entailed a turn away from the sorts of archaeological and radiological uncovering once promoted by those espousing the German Patient model. Thus while this passage from the *Deutsche Illustrierte* echoes the language of the preceding years, particularly in its emphasis on the potential impact of sick leaders, it is most notable for the way in which it directs the reader's attention to illness beyond German borders. It is telling that this piece appeared juxtaposed with the report on the Marseille film, part of a wave of West German war cinema that worked to reframe World War II and recuperate the figure of the soldier. Although that article reports that the directors do not plan a "so-called heroic epic," it generously praises the fallen ace, recalling not only that he earned the Ritterkreuz for downing 158 enemy planes but also that he felt remorse at his own success. Marseille, in other words, was a "good German"—one who fought valiantly but also knew contrition. Absent is any mention of the regime the flyer served—instead, the author mentions only obliquely "the horrors of the Second World War" and notes that these have "more or less become ghastly history."[3] Along with that "ghastly history," the German Patient was fading from public consciousness.

And yet, paradoxically, the German Patient survived, and we can still find traces of it in contemporary discourse. It was kept alive in intellectual discourses that sought a psychosocial basis for National Socialism and so positioned Germany as a collective psyche—works like the Mitscherlichs' *The Inability to Mourn,* which, while attacking postwar culture for its very failure to confront adequately the Nazi past, continued to frame the nation in biopolitical terms. It also persisted in popular memory. Although the concept of Germany as a guilty nation eventually formed the "official line" on the Third Reich, the discourse of German wartime suffering survived.[4] The German Patient went underground, becoming a part of the unofficial story of the war, passed down in oral remembrance and memoirs. Nor did the Patient disappear from political discourse altogether. Recall the epigraph at the outset of this epilogue: President Richard von Weizsäcker posits National Socialism as an illness that still threatens to break out. Germany appears as a nation battling the ills of fascism. The Nazi past presents as a "preexisting condition" that the nation must continue to confront and treat, because the "disease" of which von Weizsäcker speaks continues to linger in the soil.

Von Weizsäcker's remarks exemplify the dominant understanding of German guilt that prevailed for the fifty years following the war. Based upon Karl Jaspers's notion of collective responsibility, it held that Germany's confrontation with Nazi atrocities must be both a shared and individual task. Failure to explore the causes and implications of fascism might lead to repetition of the past. Von Weizsäcker made these comments in the context of the "Bitburg controversy," which arose when U.S. president Ronald Reagan and German chancellor Helmut Kohl made an official state visit to a cemetery in which Waffen-SS soldiers were interred. The scandal gave rise to the so-called Historians' Debate and reenergized public discussions about how to come to terms with the legacy of Nazism. In that context, von Weizsäcker's message—that remembrance was essential to the project of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*—took on a pointed political significance. He warned against the German chancellor's inclination to make light of the symbolism of such state visits and argued that Germany must remain vigilant in its engagement with fascism's legacy. Only through such concerted efforts—through the healing effects of memory—might the country ward off future infections. Implicitly, the "inhumanity" of which he speaks refers to the atrocities committed by Germans, rather than those *against* Germans. In his construction, Germany is a land of perpetrators, not victims, and it is for this reason that the "Nazi disease" still threatens to rise up. In a culpable nation, von Weizsäcker suggests, the germ of Nazism lies dormant.

More recently, another German president, Horst Köhler, has suggested that fascism should be understood as a national ailment. In remarks delivered in the Reichstag on 8 May 2005, on the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II, Köhler noted that "Germany is a different country than it was sixty years ago . . . not just externally. Our country has changed from the inside, and this is indeed a cause for joy and gratitude."[5] Reflecting on the contribution that intellectuals and artists had made to Germany's "clean-up work" (*Aufräumarbeit*), Köhler declared that they had changed the country through their work: "Our society has been thoroughly aired out" (*durchlüftet worden*).[6] Köhler's words recall the language of transformation and purification first set forth in Karl Jaspers's 1946 tract on German guilt. Through a metaphoric clearing-away of the nation's rubble, the nation has been cleansed and given new life. With his emphasis on "airing out," the president invokes the concept of miasma—as if to suggest that the sickroom of Germany has been cleared of the stifling and unhealthy air of the so-called Thousand Year Reich.

Köhler made this medical metaphor far more explicit in an address

delivered on 28 September 2006, when he awarded the Großes Verdienstkreuz mit Stern und Schulterband to historian Fritz Stern. Köhler praised the scholar as a "doctor" to the nation:

> Historians, as you once said, are not therapists for national neuroses. Yet whoever reads what and how you write soon realizes: your family's long medical tradition left its mark upon you, as when, for example, you characterize fascism as a bacillus that can slumber for a long time, undetected, and unexpectedly break out again. In this sense you did become, to some extent, that which family tradition nearly had led you to be: a doctor. To stay with this image: your diagnoses did our country good. They frequently showed us that we were better off than we thought, and that one of our problems might be the typical German tendency to dissatisfaction and self-doubt. You repeatedly placed your finger upon the wound, not to cause the patient pain, but to help him—and for this, we are grateful.[7]

Köhler draws his inspiration from Stern's own work, which, as the president notes, has likened fascism to a bacillus.[8] But Köhler's words also echo uncannily the postwar call issued by Walter von Molo, when he pleaded with Thomas Mann to return to his former country "like a good doctor." Dubbing Stern a physician whose diagnoses have helped to heal the nation, Köhler, like von Molo before him, represents Germany as beleaguered by the extended aftereffects of fascism. History appears as a wound, World War II as a source of both collective pain and suffering. Despite Stern's own words to the contrary, Köhler paints the historian as Germany's therapist—a thinker whose healing touch has come in the form of his engagement with the National Socialist past.

It is thus all the more significant that President Köhler has taken a leading role in the contemporary reshaping of the official discourse concerning World War II—a discourse in which renewed attention is being paid to German wartime suffering. In his public addresses at events commemorating various of the war's anniversaries, President Köhler has made frequent reference to German victims and has argued that their story must be told, if there is to be any balance in the accounts of the war.[9] In his speech of 8 May 2005, for example, the president called for collective mourning, not only for the Jews, Sinti, Roma, and many Poles and Russians murdered during the war, but also for his country's own losses: "We mourn for all of Germany's victims, for the victims of the violence that

issued forth from Germany, and for the victims of the violence that lashed back at Germany. We mourn for all of the victims, because we want to be fair toward all peoples, including our own." Among the German victims, Köhler mentioned German POWs who died in Soviet camps, German refugees and expellees, and German victims of the Allied bombing campaign.

Of course, when Köhler takes up the matter of German wartime experiences, he speaks in concert with a host of other voices in contemporary Germany who have begun bringing attention to the subject. Together, they have begun violating the unspoken taboo that is presumed to have prevented earlier generations from fully exploring the full extent of German war experience—and more precisely, the extent of German suffering at the hands of their victors. Historian Jörg Friedrich's 2002 sensationalistic account of the Allied bombing war, *Der Brand* (*The Fire*), became a best seller and helped to initiate this intellectual and cultural turn.[10] The book's popularity rests partly on its claim that it transmits a forgotten history, resuscitating the suppressed memory of the plight of average Germans under Hitler's rule. The notion of national amnesia—once popular in discussions of Germany's failure to come to terms with the Nazi past—finds new life in the discourse surrounding German suffering.

A number of vaunted and avowedly leftist authors also have turned their attention to the haunting effects of the bombing war and expulsion on postwar generations—a phenomenon that has granted the discourse a certain legitimacy, while also signaling a fresh willingness on the part of contemporary intellectuals to reexamine the question of German pain (and setting this recent trend apart from other recent historical controversies, such as that surrounding the *Wehrmacht* exhibit).[11] As U.S. critic Julia M. Klein has commented, these writers unquestionably represent "ex-post-facto 'good Germans,'" so that "if this is revisionism, it comes, as it must, with a politically correct imprimatur."[12] Thus novelist W. G. Sebald has written eloquently of the carnage caused by Allied bombs. Documentary images of that devastation, he remarks, "cast a shadow over me from which I shall never entirely emerge," although he did not experience them firsthand.[13] And yet he locates in postwar literature a "collective amnesia," an absence of attention to the suffering of German civilians as a result of these attacks—an amnesia that he traces back to a taboo, to the "tacit agreement . . . that the true state of material and moral ruin in which the country found itself was not to be described."[14] Günter Grass, who most recently earned headlines for his admission in his 2006 autobiography *Peel-*

ing the Onion that he served in the Waffen-SS at the war's end, first explored this grey area of German wartime experiences in his 2002 novel *Im Krebsgang* (*Crabwalk*), about the contested memory of the sinking of the *Wilhelm Gustloff,* a passenger ship loaded with German refugees that was destroyed by a Russian torpedo in January 1945. Author Peter Schneider, in an article published in January 2003 in the *New York Times* with the blunt title "In Their Side of World War II, the Germans Also Suffered," welcomed the inauguration of a discussion of German wartime experiences, speculating that "the belated recollection of suffering both endured and culpably inflicted" has the potential to increase present generations' understanding of the damage caused by Nazi Germany in other nations.[15]

Post-Wall cinema is currently experiencing a similar renewed interest in revisiting the topos of World War II through the eyes of German citizens. From Josef Vilsmaier's *Stalingrad* (1993) to Margarethe von Trotta's *Rosenstraße* (2003) to Oliver Hirschbiegel's *Untergang* (*Downfall,* 2004), contemporary filmmakers have directed a revival of historical cinema. Their films have placed emphasis on the psychological dimensions of the war experience, whether through the figure of common citizens or Hitler himself. Recreating the lost world of 1940s Germany, these directors have employed a nostalgic aesthetic that highlights the "pastness" of the past (marking it visually and aurally at a far remove from the present) while also heightening the emotional affect evoked by its representation. These films reproduce the past as a locus of mourning—a lost history, roads not taken.

The contemporary discourse on German suffering, especially as it figures in discussions of the bombing war and expulsions, already has received much attention in academic circles, as scholars have weighed how to view the shift in public attitudes toward German experiences of fascism and war. While it remains beyond the scope of these pages to offer a detailed account of this intellectual current, I would like to suggest that, as the adage goes, "everything old is new again": that this present-day discussion does not mark a novel chapter in the German process of coming to terms with National Socialism but rather can be traced back to earlier postwar discourses about the Nazi era and its effects. As the preceding pages have demonstrated, there was more than one way to think about German guilt in the immediate postwar period. Alongside a narrative of German responsibility, there emerged a parallel discourse of German illness. While guilt had a place in each of these approaches, the latter theory presumed that the nation was only partly culpable for the extent of its "disease" and for the acts committed during the period of infection.

According to the dominant German discourse that prevailed in the postwar decades, the nation's most important bit of memory work was to recall the misdeeds in its past and acknowledge the suffering it had inflicted on millions of Jews and other European populations. But this did not suppress a popular discourse of German suffering, one that grew out of postwar constructions of the nation as a collective patient. Indeed, although the notion of the German Patient faded from official prominence, it persisted in the culture and is now being revived by a new generation of writers. These current discussions, whatever their claim to represent a new discourse on the past, have their basis in the conceptual frameworks of the immediate postwar period. The contemporary rediscovery of lost war memories in fact constitutes a recovery of the early postwar idea of collective illness and national suffering more generally.

There are two plausible reasons behind the revival of German suffering as a subject for intellectual pursuit. Most of the participants in World War II have died, and the current generation in power enjoys what Chancellor Helmut Kohl once dubbed the "grace of late birth." As Germans have grown further removed from the events of the war, they have become more willing to approach that past in different ways. But the German unification in 1990 also has had a deep influence. Certainly the return to constructions of national history represents part of the larger field of post-*Wende* identity politics: with the fall of the GDR, questions of national history returned, as Andreas Huyssen has noted, "with a vengeance."[16] Unification forced Germans to confront their past once more, as the opening of East German archives shed new light on the politics of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in both states. Debates about whether to prosecute DDR border guards recalled discussions from forty years earlier, about those in the Nazi regime that excused their crimes with the defense that they were only following orders. And most basic of all, perhaps, the awkward marriage of the East and West German states once more raised the most fundamental question: *was ist deutsch?*

Unification has also brought forth a revival in the rhetoric of national healing. There is an acute cultural awareness that the *Wende* marked both the beginning of a new era in the country's history and the final chapter of World War II. Within this discourse, the division of Germany has come to be framed as the war's most enduring wound, and the work to reconnect the two states as a form of radical suturing. This restoration of the German nation demands a new national narrative. As in the postwar period, post-Wall writers and artists have taken up the task of crafting a new col-

lective sensibility, of creating a new story that can bind the nation together and bridge the gaps created by a disjunction of forty years. More recently, the rise of the European Union, which effectively dissolved the continent's economic borders, has made still more pressing the need to reexamine the question of national identity. And yet, the rift persists. Nearly two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the process of cultural unification continues to unfold. Perhaps this explains, at least in part, the impulse to return to the site of the Nazi past. Through the process of bringing to light the trauma of the war years, these writers reconstruct a moment of shared suffering, before the two Germanys parted ways. These texts, like their predecessors of the 1940s, posit a national community bound together by a common pain.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

Opening epigraph cited in Klaus R. Scherpe, ed., *In Deutschland unterwegs: Reportagen, Skizzen, Berichte, 1945–48* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982), 338. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

1. Just two examples are Karl Jaspers, *Die Schuldfrage: Von der politischen Haftung Deutschlands* (Munich: Piper, 1965), and Friedrich Meinecke, *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (Wiesbaden: Eberhard Brockhaus, 1946). For a critical assessment see Anson Rabinbach, *In the Shadow of Catastrophe: German Intellectuals between Apocalypse and Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

2. Alex von Frankenberg, "Umsonst?" *Die Wandlung* 3 (1946): 211.

3. Werner Haftmann, "Schlagwort Krise," *Die Zeit,* 27 February 1947.

4. Although it remains a commonplace notion that, excepting Jaspers, postwar Germany remained silent on the matter of guilt, Barbro Eberan offers convincing evidence of an extensive postwar discourse. Barbro Eberan, *Luther? Friedrich "der Große"? Wagner? Nietzsche? . . . ? . . . ? Wer war an Hitler schuld? Die Debatte um die Schuldfrage 1945–1949,* Minerva-Fachserie Geisteswissenschaften (Munich: Minerva-Publikationen, 1983).

5. Greg Eghigian and Paul Betts make a related argument in the introduction to their edited volume *Pain and Prosperity: Reconsidering Twentieth-Century German History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 1–15. They argue that "pain" and "prosperity" have provided "imaginary bonds [resting] at the heart of the twentieth-century cycle of German crisis and calm, sacrifice and satisfaction, ruination and renewal." Further, they note that pain and prosperity did not, in the German context, represent "fixed, immutable states, but 'plastic' ideals and norms whose functions, forms, and values differ over time." Eghigian and Betts, *Pain and Prosperity,* 4–5.

6. Michael Ondaatje, *The English Patient* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 54.

7. H. M. Brockmann, "Deutschlands Unterschrift," *Der Ruf,* 15 April 1947.

8. For an account of the division of Germany see Carolyn Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944–1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

9. *Crisis,* in *OED Online* (accessed March 10, 2008). This is the online version of *The Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

10. Reinhart Koselleck, "Some Questions Concerning the Conceptual History of 'Crisis,'" in *Culture and Crisis: The Case of Germany and Sweden,* ed. Nina Witoszek and Lars Trägårdh (New York: Berghahn, 2002), 14.

11. Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800,* ed. V.Y.T. Mudimbe, trans. Charlotte Mandell, Mestizo Spaces (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 4.

12. De Baecque concerns himself with the manner in which the "body of the nation" can at once be represented as decrepit and impotent, in the case of the king, and vital, in the case of the revolutionary guard. This parallels that moment in courtly culture that has so fascinated theorists, when upon the death of a monarch the cry is heard: "The King is dead! Long live the King!" In particular, see Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959) and Slavoj Žižek, "The King Is a Thing," *New Formations* 13 (1991): 19–37. Giorgio Agamben also takes up this issue in Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life,* trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 91–103.

13. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo,* Routledge Classics ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 4.

14. Ibid., 7.

15. Georges Canguillehem, *The Normal and the Pathological,* trans. Carolyn R. Fawcett (New York: Zone, 1991).

16. Roy Porter, "History of the Body Reconsidered," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing,* ed. Peter Burke (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 245, 51.

17. Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York: Anchor, 1990), 76.

18. Ibid., 58.

19. On the long trajectory of such economic diagnoses, see "Italy: The Real Sick Man of Europe," *Economist* 19 May 2005. As the article notes, "It was Tsar Nicholas I of Russia who reputedly coined the phrase, to describe the Ottoman empire. Since then, many other countries have been called 'the sick man of Europe.' In the 1960s and 1970s, a strike-prone, slow-growing Britain was the favourite. In the 1990s the title passed to Germany. Now a new patient has emerged: Italy." Georgio Agamben has argued that biopolitics serve as a guiding principle in modern states since fascism. While Agamben is clearly right to emphasize the centrality of such metaphors in justifying sovereign decisions over life and death, he overlooks their importance in a process that precedes state-sanctioned killing: the separation of the "sick" from the "well" that determines the borders of the national body. Agamben, *Homo Sacer.*

20. On relationship of literature to medicine, see Thomas Anz, *Gesund oder Krank? Medizin, Moral und Ästhetik in der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1989), and Laura Otis, *Membranes: Metaphors of Invasion in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Science, and Politics,* ed. Sander L. Gilman, Medicine and Culture (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

21. Svenja Goltermann, "Verletzte Körper oder 'Building National Bodies': Kriegsheimkehrer, 'Krankheit' und Psychiatrie in der westdeutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft, 1945–55," *Werkstatt Geschichte* 24 (1999): 83.

22. Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945,* ed. Charles Webster and Charles Rosenberg, Cambridge History of Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1.

23. Nordau coined the term in his two-volume study *Entartung* (1892–93). For more on Nordau's literary influence, see Anz, *Gesund oder Krank?*

24. Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer, *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 45.

25. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 57–59.

26. Michael Cowan, *Cult of the Will: Nervousness and German Modernity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 29.

27. Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930,* ed. Sander L. Gilman and George J. Makari, Cornell Studies in the History of Psychiatry (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 9.

28. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 13.

29. Ibid., 16.

30. On the emergence of criminological discourse, see Richard F. Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945,* ed. Thomas A. Green and Hendrik Hartog, Studies in Legal History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

31. George E. Haddad, "Medicine and the Culture of Commemoration: Representing Robert Koch's Discovery of the Tubercle Bacillus," *Osiris,* 2nd ser., 14 (1999): 118.

32. Otis, *Membranes,* 31.

33. Ibid., 28.

34. Eike Reichardt, "Health, 'Race,' and Empire: Popular-Scientific Spectacles and National Identity in Imperial Germany, 1871–1914." German Studies Association, Pittsburgh, 2006. Thanks to Dr. Reichardt for sharing a copy of this unpublished paper. On public health exhibits, see also Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 411–16.

35. Cowan, *Cult of the Will,* 7. Thanks to Michael Cowan for generously sharing an advance copy of his manuscript. For more on the subject of nervousness and modernity, see Andreas Killen, *Berlin Electropolis: Shock, Nerves, and German Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

36. Joachim Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Munich: Propyläen, 1998).

37. Cowan, *Cult of the Will,* 2.

38. Hans-Georg Hofer, *Nervenschwäche und Krieg: Modernitätskritik und Krisenbewältigung in der österreichischen Psychiatrie (1880–1920)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 17.

39. Michael Cowan convincingly interprets the expressionist project as "symptomatic of a desire to reimagine human agency at a time when the dominance of positivist and determinist doctrines had largely denied the individual any power to shape its own destiny." Cowan, *Cult of the Will,* 4.

40. Lerner, *Hysterical Men,* 32–39.

41. Ibid. See also Hofer, *Nervenschwäche und Krieg.*

42. Hofer, *Nervenschwäche und Krieg,* 34.

43. Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität.* See, e.g., his chapter "Turning to the Will and the Unleashing of World War: Overcoming of Nervousness as National Campaign" (my translation).

44. Hofer, *Nervenschwäche und Krieg,* 40.

45. Lerner, *Hysterical Men,* 1.

46. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery,* trans. Jefferson Chase (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001), 212–13.

47. Ibid., 213.

48. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 313.

49. Cited in Rüdiger Graf, "Die 'Krise' im intellektuellen Zukunftsdiskurs der Weimarer Republik," in *Die "Krise" der Weimarer Republik: Zur Kritik eines Deutungsmusters,* ed. Moritz Föllmer and Rüdiger Graf (Frankfurt: Campus, 2005), 77.

50. Moritz Föllmer, Rüdiger Graf, and Per Leo, "Einleitung. Die Kultur der Krise in der Weimarer Republik," in *Die "Krise" der Weimarer Republik: Zur Kritik eines Deutungsmusters,* ed. Moritz Föllmer and Rüdiger Graf (Frankfurt: Campus, 2005), 10. Föllmer and Graf question the dominant "crisis" model for understanding the Weimar Republic put forth by Detlef Peukert in *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity,* trans. Richard Deveson (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992). See Föllmer, Graf, and Leo, "Einleitung," 9–10.

51. Rüdiger Graf argues for a recognition of the multiple crises of Weimar culture, given how widespread and diverse were the period's diagnoses and prognostications. See Graf, "Die 'Krise.'"

52. Föllmer, Graf, and Leo, "Einleitung," 14.

53. Graf, "Die 'Krise,'" 96–97. Weindling also points out the attractiveness of eugenics for both left- and right-wing political groups. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 337.

54. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 325.

55. Moritz Föllmer, "Der 'kranke Volkskörper': Industrielle, hohe Beamte, und der Diskurs der nationalen Regeneration in der Weimarer Republik," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (2001).

56. Ibid., 63.

57. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies,* trans. Stephen Conway, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987–89).

58. Graf, "Die 'Krise,'" 91, 97. For a representative text, see Christoph Steding, *Das Reich und die Krankheit der europäischen Kultur* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1938). Writing of the Continent's current political woes, Steding opined, "The disease of Europe, and in particular the disease of the Germanic world . . . today has reached a stage where solution, catharsis, change, strophe, or catastrophe must ensue. The disease of Europe will become either disease unto death or a disease unto life." Steding, *Das Reich,* 50.

59. Agamben, *Homo Sacer,* 148.

60. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 401.

61. Ibid., 482. Atina Grossmann notes a similar case in the arena of reproductive health: Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

62. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics,* 470.

63. Ibid., 480.

64. Robert N. Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 8.

65. Ibid., 11.

66. Cited in ibid., 58.

67. Ibid.

68. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies,* 126–27.

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

70. Jarausch and Geyer, *Shattered Past,* 56.

71. Linda Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 232.

72. Social linguists have noted an increased prevalence of metaphors in the German language under National Socialism. See Eugen Seidel and Ingeborg Seidel-Slotty, *Sprachwandel im Dritten Reich: Eine kritische Untersuchung faschistischer Einflüsse* (Halle: VEB, 1961), 11. On the subject of the German language under fascism, see Utz Maas, *Als der Geist der Gemeinschaft eine Sprache fand: Sprache im Nationalsozialismus* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1984), and Konrad Ehlich, ed., *Sprache im Faschismus* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1989).

73. Herf, *Jewish Enemy,* 24–25.

74. On the "orchestra principle," see Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

75. Willi Münzenberg, *Propaganda als Waffe* (Paris: Editions du Carrefour, 1937), 30.

76. See, e.g., Reinhold Sautter, *Hitler Jugend: Erlebnis einer großen Kameradschaft* (Munich: Karl Röhrig Verlag, 1942).

77. For representative examples, see Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

78. Proctor, *Nazi War on Cancer,* 46.

79. As the "hero" of modern German medicine, Koch had long been the center of medical commemorative practices. See Haddad, "Medicine and the Culture of Commemoration."

80. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene,* 73.

81. Ibid., 51.

82. Proctor, *Nazi War on Cancer,* 47.

83. Ibid.

84. Jarausch and Geyer, *Shattered Past,* 5.

85. This figure continued to thrive in popular discourse well into the 1960s in the Federal Republic through the so-called doctor films starring heroic physicians. For an analysis of the genre, see Udo Benzenhöfer and Wolfgang Uwe Eckart, eds., *Medizin im Spielfilm des Nationalsozialismus* (Tecklenburg: Burgverlag, 1990); Udo

Benzenhöfer, *Medizin im Spielfilm der fünfziger Jahre* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993); Martin Reuter, *Ärzte im bundesdeutschen Spielfilm der fünfziger Jahre* (Alfeld/Leine: Coppi, 1997); Sabine Gottgetreu, *Der Arztfilm: Untersuchung eines filmischen Genres* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2001); and Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

86. Goltermann, "Verletzte Körper oder 'Building National Bodies.'"

87. Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor,* 3.

88. Jarausch and Geyer, *Shattered Past,* 11.

89. Ibid., 8.

90. Frank Biess, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

91. Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration,* trans. Joel Golb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), xii.

92. Jaimey Fisher, *Disciplining Germany: Youth, Reeducation, and Reconstruction after the Second World War,* ed. Liliane Weissberg, Kritik: German Literary Theory and Cultural Studies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2007).

93. Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past,* 304.

94. Ibid., 305–8.

95. Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 97.

96. Ibid., 80.

97. Ibid., 99.

98. Ibid., 94.

99. Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950,* viii.

100. Elizabeth D. Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany,* Studies on the History of Society and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

101. Elizabeth Heineman, "The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's 'Crisis Years' and West German National Identity," in *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968,* ed. Hanna Schissler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

102. Moeller, *War Stories.*

103. Biess, *Homecomings.*

104. Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past,* 4.

105. Fisher, *Disciplining Germany,* 14.

106. Jarausch and Geyer, *Shattered Past,* 15.

CHAPTER 1

Opening epigraphs from Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Nach der Katastrophe* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1946), 10–11; and Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers, *Hannah Arendt Karl Jaspers Correspondence 1926–1969,* ed. Lotte Kohler and Hans Saner, trans. Robert Kimber and Rita Kimber (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 94.

1. Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration,* trans. Joel Golb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), xiv.

2. Robert C. Holub, "1946, April: Guilt and Atonement," in *New History of German Literature,* ed. David E. Wellbery, Judith Ryan, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Anton Kaes, Joseph Leo Koerner, and Dorothea E. von Mücke (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 825.

3. On this point, see, for example, Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1950), 275.

4. Alfred Firke, "Und wir Patienten?" *Die Zeit,* 17 October 1945.

5. "Nazi Doctors Arrested for Practice in Bavaria Despite US Army Regulations," *New York Times,* 15 July 1945; "Temporarily Licensed Nazi Doctors Used to Relieve Shortage in US Zone," *New York Times,* 30 September 1945.

6. Manfred J. Enssle, "The Harsh Discipline of Food Scarcity in Postwar Stuttgart, 1945–1948," *German Studies Review* 10, no. 3 (1987). For a detailed if rather sensationalist account of the American aid policy, see James Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies: The Fate of German Civilians under Allied Occupation, 1944–1950* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2007).

7. Victor Gollancz, *In Darkest Germany* (Hinsdale, IL: Henry Regnery, 1947). In his memoir of the Occupation, Lucius Clay estimates an average of 1,180 calories per day in February 1946, although it must be noted that Clay is at pains to offer a positive account of Allied efforts. Clay, *Decision in Germany,* 265.

8. Gollancz, *In Darkest Germany,* 31.

9. Clay, *Decision in Germany,* 263.

10. Ibid., 265–66.

11. Ibid., 270.

12. Jörg Echternkamp, *Nach dem Krieg: Alltagsnot, Orientierung und die Last der Vergangenheit 1945–1949,* ed. Frank Lothar Kroll and Ernst Piper, Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert (Zurich: Pendo, 2003), 8.

13. Ibid., 34–35.

14. Ibid., 40.

15. K. M. N. Carpenter, "For Mothers Only": Mothers' Convalescent Homes and Modernizing Maternal Ideology in 1950s West Germany," *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 4 (2001).

16. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene.* See also Michael H. Kater, *Doctors under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

17. Proctor, *Nazi War on Cancer,* 7.

18. On *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in the psychiatric fields see Geoffrey Cocks, "Repressing, Remembering, Working Through: German Psychiatry, Psychotherapy, Psychoanalysis, and the 'Missed Resistance' in the Third Reich," *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992).

19. Michael H. Kater, "Die Soziale Lage der Ärzte im NS-Staat," in *Vernichten und Heilen: Der Nürnberger Ärzteprozeß und seine Folgen,* ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Klaus Dörner (Berlin: Aufbau, 2002), 67.

20. Paul Weindling, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Nürnberger Ärzteprozesses," in *Vernichten und Heilen: Der Nürnberger Prozess und seine Folgen,* ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Klaus Dörner (Berlin: Aufbau, 2002).

21. *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals,* vol. 1, *The Medical Case* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, n.d.), 71–72.

22. For a complete list of the defendants' names and their positions, see the transcripts of the Medical Case, available online at http://nuremberg.law.harvard.edu/NurTranscript/TranscriptPages/1_01.html.

23. *Trials of War Criminals,* 38.

24. Ibid., 74.

25. Ibid., 56.

26. Ibid., 29.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 28.

29. Ibid., 29.

30. Ibid., 28.

31. Cited in Jürgen Peter, "Unmittelbare Reaktionen auf den Prozeß," in *Vernichten und Heilen: Der Nürnberger Ärzteprozeß und seine Folgen,* ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus and Klaus Dörner (Berlin: Aufbau, 2002), 454.

32. Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke, *Das Diktat der Menschenverachtung: Eine Dokumentation* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1947). Alexander Mitscherlich co-wrote his more famous study with his wife. See Alexander Mitscherlich and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu Trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (Munich: Piper, 1967).

33. Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke, *Doctors of Infamy: The Story of the Nazi Medical Crimes,* trans. Heinz Norden (New York: H. Schuman, 1949), 10.

34. Ibid., 172–73.

35. For a full account of Mitscherlich's travails see Peter, "Unmittelbare Reaktionen auf den Prozeß."

36. Ibid., 458.

37. Ibid., 459.

38. Ibid., 461–72.

39. Curt Oehme, "Das Medizinische Experiment an Menschen," *Die Wandlung* 6 (1947): 486. *Die Wandlung* also published documents regarding the murder of the mentally ill in the Third Reich. See "Dokumente zu den Geisteskranken-Morden," *Die Wandlung* 2 (1947) and "Weitere Dokumente zu den Geisteskranken-Morden: Stimmen des Widerspruchs und des Ausweichens," *Die Wandlung* 3 (1947).

40. "The Brutalities of Nazi Physicians," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 132, no. 12 (1946): 715.

41. For an insightful account of Jaspers's life and work, see Suzanne Kirkbright, *Karl Jaspers, a Biography: Navigations in Truth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

42. Jaspers studied psychology and completed a dissertation at the University of Heidelberg entitled "Heimweh und Verbrechen." In 1913, now a working psychiatrist, he published his *Allgemeine Psychopathologie,* in which he already voiced some skepticism about Freudian psychoanalysis. See Matthias Bormuth, "Aspekte der Kritik an der Psychoanalyse bei Karl Jaspers," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Karl Jaspers Gesellschaft* 10 (1997): 55–56.

43. Arendt and Jaspers, *Hannah Arendt Karl Jaspers Correspondence 1926–1969,* 40. Arendt refers to Karl Jaspers's assertion, and she agrees that Gertrud was correct to reject it. The original letter is cited in footnote 5 on page 698. Regarding Karl Jaspers's sense of solidarity with his wife, see Kirkbright, *Karl Jaspers, a Biography,* 191.

44. On the philosopher's larger emphasis on youth as a source for German renewal, see Fisher, *Disciplining Germany.*

45. Karl Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt,* trans. E. B. Ashton (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 28.

46. Ibid., 27.

47. Jaspers later expressed disappointment in the Nuremberg Trials. See Jaspers, "Nachwort 1962: Über meine Schuldfrage," in *Die Schuldfrage* (Munich: Piper, 1965).

48. Jaspers, *Question of German Guilt,* 47.

49. Criticism of collective thinking formed the basis for Jaspers's public disagreement with Norwegian author Sigrid Undset. See Sigrid Undset, "Die Umerziehung der Deutschen, Oktober 1945," in *Die Antwort an Sigrid Undset mit Beiträgen über die Wissenschaft im Hitlerstaat und den neuen Geist der Universität,* ed. Karl Jaspers (Constance: Südverlag, 1947), 29, and Jaspers's reply: Karl Jaspers, "Antwort an Sigrid Undset November 1945," in *Die Antwort an Sigrid Unset mit Beiträgen über die Wissenschaft im Hitlerstaat und den neuen Geist der Universität* (Constance: Südverlag, 1947).

50. Jaspers, *Die Schuldfrage: Von der politischen Haftung Deutschlands* (Munich: Piper, 1965), 7 (my translation).

51. Jaspers, *Question of German Guilt,* 18.

52. Jaspers is probably making a veiled reference to Germany's most famous exile, Thomas Mann.

53. Jaspers, *Question of German Guilt,* 80.

54. Karl Jaspers, "Einleitung zu einer Vorlesung über die geistige Situation in Deutschland," in *Erneuerung der Universität: Reden und Schriften 1945/46,* ed. Renato de Rosa (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1986), 131.

55. Renato de Rosa, "Nachwort. Politische Akzente im Leben eines Philosophen: Karl Jaspers in Heidelberg, 1901–1946," in *Karl Jaspers, Erneuerung der Universität: Reden und Schriften 1945/46,* ed. Renato de Rosa (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1986), 384.

56. Cited in ibid., 373.

57. Jaspers, "Einleitung zu einer Vorlesung über die geistige Situation in Deutschland," 132. Among Jaspers's intellectual models were Goethe, Kant, and Lessing.

58. Jaspers, *Question of German Guilt,* 104.

59. Ibid., 122.

60. Ibid., 120.

61. Ibid., 104.

62. Ibid., 118.

63. Ibid., 122.

64. Arendt and Jaspers, *Hannah Arendt Karl Jaspers Correspondence 1926–1969,* 54.

65. Ibid., 62. Emphasis added.

66. As the editors of the Arendt-Jaspers correspondence note, "This passage may have influenced the subtitle of Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil.*" Ibid., 702.

67. On Jaspers's role in rebuilding Heidelberg University, see de Rosa, "Nachwort."

68. Karl Jaspers, "Erneuerung der Universität," in *Erneuerung der Universität: Reden und Schriften 1945/46,* ed. Renato de Rosa (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1986), 95.

69. Ibid., 96.

70. Ibid.

71. Jaspers again articulates the problem in a 1952 letter to Arendt. Arendt and Jaspers, *Hannah Arendt Karl Jaspers Correspondence 1926–1969,* 205.

72. Jaspers, "Erneuerung der Universität," 98.

73. Ibid., 103.

74. Karl Jaspers, "Die Idee des Arztes," in *Der Arzt im technischen Zeitalter* (Munich: Piper, 1986), 9.

75. Ibid., 16.

76. Jaspers, "Is Science Evil?" *Commentary* 9, no. 3 (1950): 233.

77. Jaspers, "Die Wissenschaft im Hitlerstaat," in *Die Antwort an Sigrid Undset mit Beiträgen über die Wissenschaft und den neuen Geist der Universität* (Constance: Südverlag, 1947), 16.

78. Anson Rabinbach relates Jaspers's involvement in the affair in Rabinbach, *In the Shadow of Catastrophe,* 129–65.

79. On the postwar reception of Jaspers, particularly responses from private readers, see Mark W. Clark, "A Prophet without Honor: Karl Jaspers in Germany, 1945–48," *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 2 (2002): 211–13.

80. For an extensive look at this issue, see Eberan, *Luther?*

81. Joachim Günther, "Stimmen des nationalen Gewissens: Bücher zur deutschen Katastrophe," *Die Fähre* (1947): 184.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. In Otto Flake, *Die Deutschen: Aufsätze zur Literatur und Zeitgeschichte* (Hamburg: Rutten und Loening, 1963).

85. Otto Flake, "Etwas über die Schuldfrage," *Merkur* 1 (1947): 142.

86. Max Meister, "Noch etwas über die Schuldfrage," *Merkur* 2 (1947): 292.

87. Ibid., 294.

88. Herbert Hupka, "Die Schuldfrage," *Welt und Wort: Literarische Monatsschrift* (September 1946): 124.

89. Richard Tüngel, "Über das Schuldbekenntnis des deutschen Volkes," *Die Zeit,* 2 May 1946, 4.

90. W. M., "Individuum und Kollektiv," *Der Ruf,* 15 May 1948, 4.

91. Ibid.

92. Marie Luise Kaschnitz, "Von der Schuld," *Die Wandlung* 2 (1946): 143.

93. Ibid., 144.

94. Ibid., 143.

95. Ibid., 144.

96. Ernst Friedlaender, "Siegfried und Hagen," *Die Zeit,* 13 November 1947, 1. All subsequent quotes come from this page.

97. On the importance of the German press for democracy, see Christina von Hodenberg, *Konsens und Krise: Eine Geschichte der westdeutschen Medienöffentlichkeit 1945–1973* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006).

98. E. Franzel, "Die Kollektiv-Unschuld," *Der Ruf,* 20 September 1948, 13.

99. Jarausch and Geyer link this rejection of the "liberation" story and embrace of victimization. Jarausch and Geyer, *Shattered Past,* 52.

100. "Zwischen Freiheit und Quarantäne," *Der Ruf,* 1 January 1947, 1.

101. Hanns Braun, "Der Geist der Quarantäne," *Die Zeit,* 4 December 1947, 4.

102. Hellmut von Cube, "Jugend in der Quarantäne," *Der Ruf,* 15 June 1948, 9.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Cited in Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past,* 28.

106. Hoffmann, *Nach der Katastrophe,* 15–16.

107. See Cowan, *Cult of the Will,* and Killen, *Berlin Electropolis.*

108. Hoffmann, *Nach der Katastrophe,* 17.

109. Ibid., 16.

110. Ibid., 27.

111. Ibid., 109.

112. Hans Windisch, *Führer und Verführte: Eine Analyse deutschen Schicksals* (Seebruck am Chiemsee: Heering, 1946), 15.

113. Ibid., 13.

114. Ibid., 14.

115. Ibid., 281.

116. Ibid., 237.

117. Meinecke, *Die deutsche Katastrophe,* 58.

118. Ibid., 62.

119. Ibid., 11.

120. Ibid., 55.

121. Ibid., 140.

122. Ibid., 141.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid., 74.

125. There is an extensive body of work exploring the question of Adolf Hitler's mental health. One contemporary source was F. A. Kramer, *Vor den Ruinen Deutschlands: Ein Aufruf zur geschichtlichen Selbstbesinnung* (Berlin: Wedding, 1946). More recent studies include Theodore L. Dorpat, *Wounded Monster: Hitler's Path from Trauma to Malevolence* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2002); Lothar Machtan, *The Hidden Hitler* (New York: Basic Books, 2001); Anton Neumayr, *Hitler: Wahnideen, Krankheiten, Perversionen* (Vienna: Pischler, 2001); Manfred Koch-Hillebrecht, *Homo Hitler: Psychogramm des deutschen Diktators* (Munich: Siedler, 1999); Fritz Redlich, *Hitler: Diagnosis of a Destructive Prophet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); George Victor, *Hitler: The Pathology of Evil* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1998); David M. Moriarty, ed., *A Psychological*

Study of Adolf Hitler (St. Louis: Warren H. Greene, 1993); Ernst Gunther Schenck, *Patient Hitler: Eine medizinische Biographie* (Dusseldorf: Droste, 1989); Petra Tauscher, *Nekrophilie und Faschismus: Erich Fromms Beitrag zur soziobiographischen Deutung Adolf Hitlers und weitere soziopsychologische Interpretationen* (Frankfurt am Main: Haag und Herchen, 1985); Robert G. L. Waite, *The Pyschopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (New York: Basic, 1977); and Florence R. Miale and Michael Selzer, *The Nuremberg Mind: The Psychology of Nazi Leaders* (New York: Quadrangle, 1975).

126. Wilhelm Kütemeyer, "Deutschland—schuldig oder krank?" *Die Wandlung* 2 (1948). An earlier, shorter version appeared in *Die Zeit.* See Wilhelm Kütemeyer, "Deutschland schuldig oder krank?" *Die Zeit,* 23 January 1947. In 1951, the essay was republished in Wilhelm Kütemeyer, *Die Krankheit Europas: Beiträge zu einer Morphologie* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1951).

127. Kütemeyer, "Deutschland—schuldig oder krank?" 106.

128. "Redaktionelle Anmerkungen," *Die Wandlung* 9 (1945–46): 823. The Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach also cites Kütemeyer as a contributor to the Weimar-era journal *Der Sumpf.*

129. Kütemeyer, *Die Krankheit Europas: Beiträge zu einer Morphologie.*

130. Kütemeyer published or contributed to various works on the subject. See Wilhelm Kütemeyer, *Körpergeschehen und Psychose* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1953); Wilhelm Kütemeyer, *Die Krankheit in ihrer Menschlichkeit: Zur Methode der Erschliessung und Behandlung körperlicher Erkrankungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963); and Wilhelm Kütemeyer, "Wandlungen medizinischer Anthropologie," in *Der Begriff der allgemeinen Medizin,* ed. Viktor von Weizsäcker (Stuttgart: Enke, 1947).

131. Bormuth, "Aspekte der Kritik."

132. Ibid., 72.

133. Cocks, "Repressing, Remembering, Working Through," 204.

134. Ibid., 204–5. Cocks notes a number of named contributors to the journal who worked at the NS-era Göring Institute.

135. Kütemeyer, "Deutschland—schuldig oder krank?" 106.

136. Ibid.

137. Ibid., 110.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid., 108–9.

140. Ibid., 108.

141. Ibid., 107.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid., 113.

144. Ibid., 112.

145. Ibid., 113.

146. Ibid., 114.

147. Ibid., 108. Emphasis in original.

148. Ibid.

149. Ibid., 113.

150. Ibid., 112.

151. Ibid., 119.

152. Ibid., 113.

153. Gröning drew as many as five thousand seekers a day and received tens of thousands of letters, many of them containing money along with requests for treatment. See "Wer ein Schnitzel findet, ist geheilt. Fachmann auf jedem Gebiet," *Der Spiegel,* 7 July 1949, 6–7. The U.S.- and British-produced newsreel series *Welt im Film* devoted a segment to Gröning in which he shared billing with stories on the death of Richard Strauß and Theodor Heuß's election to the office of president. *Welt im Film 225/199* (1949), newsreel, 129 m, sound.

154. "Wer ein Schnitzel findet, ist geheilt," 5.

155. "Bavarian 'Healer' Attracts Germans," *New York Times,* 8 September 1949, 9.

156. A. E., "Die Gesundbeter sind da," *Der Ruf,* 15 September 1947, 4. Emphasis added.

157. "Wer ein Schnitzel findet, ist geheilt," 5.

158. B., "Der Wunderdoktor," *Die Gegenwart: Eine Halbmonatsschrift,* 15 September 1949, 17.

159. "Wer ein Schnitzel findet, ist geheilt," 8.

160. "Schenk mir ein Pferdchen—Auf den kleinen Gröning," *Der Spiegel,* 29 September 1949, 8.

161. "Wer ein Schnitzel findet, ist geheilt," 8.

162. "Schenk mir ein Pferdchen," 8.

163. B., "Der Wunderdoktor," 17.

164. "Wer ein Schnitzel findet, ist geheilt," 9.

165. Ibid., 8.

166. B., "Der Wunderdoktor," 18.

167. "Bavarian 'Healer' Attracts Germans," 9.

168. "Wer ein Schnitzel findet, ist geheilt," 7.

169. Ibid., 5.

CHAPTER 2

Opening epigraphs from the following: the first epigraph was originally published in February 1946 under the pseudonym Hans Fiedeler. The piece commented on the International Military Tribunal trial of major war criminals. Alfred Döblin, "Der Nürnberger Lehrprozeß," in *Ausgewählte Werke,* ed. Anthony W. Riley and Christina Althen (Düsseldorf: Walter, 2005), 209; the second epigraph is from "Strict News and Film Curb Put on Reich," *L.A. Times,* 1 May 1945, 4. Similar illness metaphors later gained popularity in the American context as a means to describe the spread of Communism. See Daryl Ogden, "Cold War Science and the Body Politic: An Immuno/Virological Approach to *Angels in America,*" *Literature and Medicine* 19, no. 2 (2000).

1. Alfred Döblin, "Geleitwort," in *Ausgewählte Werke,* ed. Anthony W. Riley and Christina Althen (Düsseldorf: Walter, 2005), 227.

2. Herbert Scheffler, "Interregnum der Kunst," *Die Zeit,* 30 May 1946, 6.

3. Peter Suhrkamp, "Gegenwartsaufgaben des Verlegers," *Merkur* 5 (1947): 793.

4. Joachim Barckhausen, "Probleme der geistigen Erneuerung," *Aufbau* 5 (1946): 466. More recently, Joachim Radkau has characterized the period from Bismarck to Hitler as marked by collective nervousness. See Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität.*

5. Barckhausen, "Probleme der geistigen Erneuerung," 473.

6. Ibid.

7. Heinrich Böll, "Bekenntnis zur Trümmerliteratur," in *Erzählungen, Hörspiele, Aufsätze* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1961), 343.

8. Ibid., 342–43.

9. Böll, "Die Stimme Wolfgang Borcherts," in *Erzählungen, Hörspiele, Aufsätze* (Cologne: Kiepenhauer und Witsch, 1961), 355. Emphasis in original.

10. Victor Klemperer, *LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1975), 26.

11. Abel Green, "Radio, Pictures Can Do Terrific Job to Reconvert Nazis, Says General Ike," *Variety,* 5 September 1945, 1.

12. Darryl F. Zanuck, "What to Do with the German Film Industry?" *Variety,* 4 April 1945, 6.

13. K. Maetzig and J. M. Keller, "Beitrag zur Filmdramaturgie," *Aufbau* 2 (1946): 202.

14. Richard Weimann, "Um die geistige Erneuerung Deutschlands," *Neues Deutschland,* 4 January 1947, 3.

15. Ibid.

16. *Die Mörder sind unter uns,* dir. Wolfgang Staudte, perf. Ernst Borchert and Hildegard Knef (DEFA, 1946).

17. At least one postwar physician actually employed this technique. The anonymous author of *A Woman in Berlin* reports visiting a doctor's office in which the practitioner had "replaced the window panes with old X-rays of unidentified chests." Anonymous, *A Woman in Berlin: Eight Weeks in the Conquered City: A Diary,* trans. Philip Boehm (New York: Metropolitan, 2005), 246.

18. Claudia M. Fritsch, "Framing the Dark Side of the Nation: Visions of the Serial Killer in German Film Culture 1946–1951" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2005), viii.

19. While Staudte may not have referred intentionally to X-rays with a martial context in mind, it is worth noting that X-rays were used in military offensives beginning in the 1890s. The year 1945 marked the fiftieth anniversary of Roentgen's discovery. See Victor Bouillion, "War and Medicinema: The X-Ray and Irradiation in Various Theaters of Operations, a Selected 100-Year Chronology," in *Incorporations,* ed. Jonathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter (New York: Zone, 1992), 253.

20. Eric Rentschler has also characterized this scene in terms of recycling, although Rentschler sees Hans's actions as akin to those of Brückner. Rentschler, "The Murderers Are Among Us (Die Mörder sind unter uns)," in *Eric Macgill's Survey of Cinema: Foreign Language Film* (Englewood Cliffs: Salem, 1985), 2117.

21. Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor,* 12.

22. De Baecque, *The Body Politic,* 10–11.

23. See, for example, Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion,* Schulte-Sasse, *Enter-*

taining the Third Reich, and Erica Carter, *Dietrich's Ghosts: The Sublime and the Beautiful in Third Reich Film* (London: BFI, 2004).

24. On the history of the rubble film genre, see Robert R. Shandley, *Rubble Films: German Cinema in the Shadow of the Third Reich* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

25. Wolfgang Staudte, "Wie ich ein Rebell wurde," *Film und Fernsehen* 9 (1986): 37.

26. "Riskin Says Voluntary Export Film Censorship Being Studied by U.S.," *Variety,* 30 May 1945, 10.

27. "Reveal Detailed Plans on Films to Be Supplied Civilian Germans," *Variety,* 10 October 1945, 4.

28. Although Wilder saw greater hopes for reeducation in fiction films, he did participate in the production of at least one documentary film for that purpose. In 1945, Wilder was given the assignment to rework a documentary on the concentration camps that had been filmed by noted documentarian Hanus Berger, *Todesmühlen,* that had been deemed by British authorities to be too politically ambivalent in its tone. Wilder took on the job and reduced the originally 86-minute work to 22 minutes and added a soundtrack and voice-over narration. Klaus Jaeger and Helmut Regel, eds., *Deutschland in Trümmern. Filmdokumente der Jahre 1945–1949* (Oberhausen: Karl Maria Laufen, 1976), 42–43.

29. Billy Wilder, "Propaganda durch Unterhaltung, 16. August 1945," in *Kultur auf Trümmern: Berliner Berichte der amerikanschen Information Control Section Juli–Dezember 1945, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1979), 99.

30. Ibid., 99–103. On cultural politics in postwar Berlin, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin, 1945–1948,* trans. Kelly Barry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

31. "Die Staudte-Story, ein gesamtdeutsches Märchen," *Filmkritik* 3 (1957). Apparently, Staudte obtained a British license for filming but was unable to utilize it because the British refused to provide funding. Heide Fehrenbach, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 207.

32. Gunter Netzeband, "Das trojanische Pferd: Marginalien zu einem streitbaren Moralisten," *Film und Fernsehen* 9 (1986): 2.

33. Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater,* 132–33.

34. Ursula Bessen, *Trümmer und Träume: Nachkriegszeit und fünfziger Jahre auf Zelluloid. Deutsche Spielfilme als Zeugnisse ihrer Zeit: Eine Dokumentation* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1989), 118.

35. "Die Mörder sind unter uns," *Cinegraph. Film und Gesellschaft in der DDR* (n.d.). Bundesarchiv Filmarchiv.

36. Rudolf Aurig, Heinrich Behring, Detlef Endeward, Bettine Grefrath, Friedrich Hoche, Peter Stettner, Irmgard Wilharm, and Sibylle Glufke, *Die Mörder sind unter uns: Analyse, Arbeitshinweise, Materialen. Film und Geschichte: Deutsche Spielfilme der Nachkriegsjahre, 1946–1950* (Niedersachsen: n.p., n.d.).

37. Bessen, *Trümmer und Träume: Nachkriegszeit und fünfziger Jahre auf Zelluloid. Deutsche Spielfilme als Zeugnisse ihrer Zeit: Eine Dokumentation,* 118.

38. Ibid., 120.

39. Paradoxically, UFA is remembered as having provided something of a refuge for artists who wanted to avoid military service, and more than one critic of the regime managed to go underground by working for the film company. Author Wolfgang Koeppen was among the "inner exiles" employed in the Nazi film industry.

40. In *Jud Süß,* Staudte played a bit part as the friend of the character Faber.

41. As a result of the complicated interzonal politics of the period, according to which the administrations strictly controlled the flow of information between the sectors, the film did not premiere in the western part of Germany until 10 April 1947, when it was screened in Baden-Baden. "Die Mörder sind unter uns," *Cinegraph. Film und Gesellschaft in der DDR* (n.d.). Bundesarchiv Filmarchiv. *The Murderers Are Among Us* was also shown internationally in New York, Hollywood (where none other than director Billy Wilder arranged for a special screening), Paris, and London, and at the Bienniale film festival in Venice. Wolfgang Staudte, "Ein politisch umstrittener Regisseur," *Film und Fernsehen* 9 (1986): 38–40.

42. Hugo Hermann, "Verstoß in ein neues Land: Ein Gespräch mit Wolfgang Staudte," 1946. Bundesarchiv Filmarchiv.

43. There are different reports regarding Staudte's biographical inspiration for the film. One account has it that the idea came from a real-life encounter that took place in a theater, when an SS officer threatened Staudte with a gun and spared him only after bystanders intervened. "Die Filme des Wolfgang Staudte," *Cinegraph-Filmprogramm* 22:3. Bundesarchiv Filmarchiv. Another source reports that a neighbor brandished a weapon at Staudte after he let slip that he thought National Socialism would soon collapse. Bessen, *Trümmer und Träume: Nachkriegszeit und fünfziger Jahre auf Zelluloid. Deutsche Spielfilme als Zeugnisse ihrer Zeit: Eine Dokumentation,* 117.

44. Hermann, "Verstoß in ein neues Land: Ein Gespräch mit Wolfgang Staudte."

45. Bessen, *Trümmer und Träume,* 119–20.

46. Wolfgang Staudte, "Das Gewissen," *Film und Fernsehen* 9 (1986): 38.

47. *Die Mörder sind unter uns,* dir. Staudte.

48. This is played out on two levels: while Hans literally gives shape to his recovery through the X-rays, he also rediscovers his healing ability when he saves a dying child.

49. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism,* 88.

50. Ibid., 64.

51. *Persilschein* was the sarcastic name postwar Germans gave to the denazification certificate, since it connoted a clean bill of political health.

52. Wolfdietrich Schnurre, *Deutsche Film-Rundschau* 5 November 1946, cited in Eva Orbanz, ed., *Wolfgang Staudte* (Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1977), 104–5.

53. *Die Mörder sind unter uns,* dir. Staudte.

54. On this point see Biess, *Homecomings,* Moeller, *War Stories.*

55. Annette Kaminsky, ed., *Heimkehr 1948* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998), 8.

56. Biess, *Homecomings,* 37.

57. Goltermann, "Verletzte Körper oder 'Building National Bodies,'" 97–98.

58. SED, "Heimkehrer! Die SED sorgt für dich!" (Bundesarchiv Koblenz Plakatensammlung, 100/14/41). Unfortunately, reproduction of this and the follow-

ing images was made impossible by German federal regulations prohibiting their electronic duplication. All of the posters may be viewed at the German Federal Archive in Koblenz, however.

59. SED, "Ein Werk der SED: Kriegsgefangene kehren heim" (Bundesarchiv Koblenz Plakatensammlung, 100/15/100).

60. KPD, "Freiheit: Wähle KPD" (Bundesarchiv Koblenz Plakatensammlung, 5/26/18).

61. CSU (Bundesarchiv Koblenz Plakatensammlung, 4/9/4).

62. *Wilkommen in der Heimat: Ein Blick ins neue Deutschland. Den Heimkehrern gewidmet vom Zentral-Sekretariat der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Dresden: Drückerei und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1946).

63. Volksbund deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge, "Hilfsaktion 1948: Helft Wunden heilen" (Bundesarchiv Koblenz Plakatensammlung, 4/7/10, 1948).

64. Biess, *Homecomings;* also Goltermann, "Verletzte Körper oder 'Building National Bodies,'" and Svenja Goltermann, "Die Beherrschung der Männlichkeit: Zur Deutung psychischer Leiden bei den Heimkehrern des Zweiten Weltkrieges 1945–1956," *Feministische Studien* 8 (2000).

65. Christa Wolf, *Kindheitsmuster* (Berlin: Luchterhand, 1979), 368.

66. "Draußen vor der Tür," *Die Stimme der Frau,* 1 June 1948, 18.

67. Ingeborg Bruns, ed., *Als Vater aus dem Krieg heimkehrte: Töchter erinnern sich* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1991), 14.

68. Erica Carter, "Sweeping up the Past," in *Heroines without Heroes: Reconstructing Female and National Identities in European Cinema, 1945–51,* ed. Ulrike Sieglohr (New York: Cassell, 2000). See also Heide Fehrenbach, "Rehabilitating Father*land:* Race and German Remasculinization," *Signs* 24, no. 1 (1998); Robert G. Moeller, "The 'Remasculinization' of Germany in the 1950s: Introduction," *Signs* 24, no. 1 (1998); and Uta G. Poiger, "A New, 'Western' Hero? Reconstructing German Masculinity in the 1950s," *Signs* 24, no. 1 (1998).

69. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 63.

70. Cited in Herzog, *Sex after Fascism,* 87.

71. Biess, *Homecomings,* 73; Goltermann, "Die Beherrschung der Männlichkeit," 9–10.

72. Goltermann, "Die Beherrschung der Männlichkeit," 14.

73. Goltermann, "Verletzte Körper oder 'Building National Bodies,'" 90. On the Weimar trauma debates, see Lerner, *Hysterical Men.*

74. Goltermann, "Die Beherrschung der Männlichkeit," 15.

75. Goltermann, "Verletzte Körper oder 'Building National Bodies,'" 91.

76. Biess, *Homecomings,* 87–91.

77. Goltermann, "Die Beherrschung der Männlichkeit," 15.

78. Biess, *Homecomings,* 91.

79. As Heineman points out, the positive image of the Trümmerfrau was in part a later construction. In fact, some women were forced to participate in the cleanup of German cities as a punishment for their own or their husbands' involvement in Nazi organizations—a fact that has been all but erased from popular memory. Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make?* 88.

80. Reinhard Rürup, ed., *Berlin 1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Arenhövel, 1995), 59.

81. Ibid., 131.

82. Robert G. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 27.

83. Mirko Szewczuk, *Die Zeit,* 7 March 1946, 1.

84. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood.*

85. Annette Kuhn, "Der Refamilialisierungsdiskurs nach '45," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* 5 (1991), Robert G. Moeller, "'The Last Soldiers of the Great War' and Tales of Family Reunions in the Federal Republic of Germany," *Signs* 24, no. 1 (1998). On the representation of family in early DEFA films, see Gertrud Koch, "Leistung und Familie, wie gehabt: Beispiele des deutschen Nachkriegsfilms 1946–1949 im Kommunalen Kino," *Frankfurter Rundschau,* 19 September 1977. For an excellent account of the importance of marital status and the family in postwar Germany, also see Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make?*

86. Frank Biess, "Survivors of Totalitarianism: Returning POWs and the Reconstruction of Masculine Citizenship in West Germany, 1945–1955," in *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968,* ed. Hanna Schissler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 70–71.

87. U. Torrel, "Auf ihren Schultern . . ." *Sie* 1, no. 15 (17 March 1946): 6, cited in Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make?* 108.

88. *Die Mörder sind unter uns,* dir. Staudte.

89. Silverman, *Male Subjectivity,* especially chapter 2.

90. Jaimey Fisher, "Deleuze in a Ruinous Context: German Rubble-Film and Italian Neorealism," *iris* 23 (1997): 66.

91. Ibid.

92. I borrow this phrase from Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor,* 3.

93. On the trope of the dying child in postwar cinema, see Anke Pinkert, "Rubble Film as Archive of Trauma and Grief: Wolfgang Lamprecht's *Somewhere in Berlin,*" in *German Postwar Films: Life and Love in the Ruins,* ed. Wilfried Wilms and William Rasch (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming). Thanks to Anke Pinkert for sharing an advance copy of this article.

94. Another critic has connected the film to the context of Nuremberg: "Brückner's guilt was minimal in relationship to that which had already been revealed in the days leading up to the premiere by materials from the Nuremberg trials. But through his figure, the average, the ordinary Nazi stood accused. This expressive and provoking film, therefore, meant a lot for the national consciousness of the people—a consciousness which consisted, of course, of much more than just Brückner-types." See Maja Turowskaja, "Der gewöhnliche Nazi," *Film und Fernsehen* 9 (1986): 9.

95. *Die Mörder sind unter uns,* dir. Staudte.

96. Ibid.

97. Mirko Szewczuk, "Nürnberg," *Die Zeit,* 14 March 1946.

98. Wolfgang Staudte, "Arbeitstitel: 'Die Mörder Sind Unter Uns,'" *Film und Fernsehen* 9 (1986): 12.

CHAPTER 3

Opening epigraphs from Thomas Mann, *Addresses Delivered at the Library of Congress, 1942–1949* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1963), 35; and Martin Gumpert, *First Papers,* trans. Heinz Norden and Ruth Norden (New York: Duell, Sloane, and Pearce, 1941), 193.

1. Thomas Mann, "Tagebücher: 1940–1943," ed. Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982), 42.

2. Ehrhard Bahr, "Die Kontroverse um 'Das andere Deutschland,'" in *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933: New York,* ed. John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka (Bern: Francke, 1989), 1500. Also Herbert Lehnert, "Bert Brecht und Thomas Mann im Streit über Deutschland," in *Deutsche Exilliteratur Seit 1933: Kalifornien* (Bern: Francke, 1976).

3. Anton Kaes, "What to Do with Germany? American Debates about the Future of Germany, 1942–1947," *German Politics and Society* 13, no. 3 (1995): 137.

4. Bahr, "Die Kontroverse um 'Das andere Deutschland,'" 1500.

5. Jutta Ittner, *Augenzeuge im Dienst der Wahrheit: Leben und literarisches Werk Martin Gumperts* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1998), 359.

6. Cited in ibid., 355.

7. See the relevant footnote in Mann, "Tagebücher: 1940–1943," 780.

8. Ernest Reinhold, "Martin Gumpert," in *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933: New York,* ed. John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka (Bern: Francke, 1989), 315.

9. Donald F. Lach, "What They Would Do about Germany," *Journal of Modern History* 17, no. 3 (1945).

10. Kaes, "What to Do with Germany?" 131.

11. In the introduction to the 1942 edition, Reich argued that "it is generally clear today that 'fascism' is not the act of a Hitler or a Mussolini, but that it is the *expression of the irrational structure of mass man . . . Fascist mysticism is orgiastic yearning, restricted by mystic distortion and inhibition of natural sexuality.*" Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism,* trans. Vincent R. Carfagno (New York: Pocket, 1976), xxiii. As Andrew Hewitt has noted, Reich relies on a notion of normative heterosexuality and suggests an affinity between the "deviant" behaviors of homosexuality and fascism. See Andrew Hewitt, *Political Inversions: Homosexuality, Fascism, and the Modernist Imaginary* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 22.

12. Theodor W. Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality,* ed. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

13. Erika Mann, *The Other Germany,* trans. Heinz Norden (New York: Modern Age, 1940), 26. Erika Mann abandoned the Two Germanys theory once war broke out, declaring that such distinctions were untenable now that the Germans

were fighting "like lions." Bahr, "Die Kontroverse um 'Das andere Deutschland,'" 1502.

14. Rudolf Olden, *Is Germany a Hopeless Case?* trans. Edwyn Bevan (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940), 10.

15. Julius Braunthal, *Need Germany Survive?* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1943), 17.

16. Ibid., 21.

17. Bahr, "Die Kontroverse um 'Das andere Deutschland,'" 1494.

18. "'Was wird aus Deutschland?'" *Neues Deutschland,* 15 January 1942, 5.

19. On Ludwig's relationship to his fellow exiles see Kaes and Bahr. Vansittart's anti-German works were published in the United States as Sir Robert Gilbert Vansittart, *Roots of the Trouble and the Black Record of Germany: Past, Present, and Future?* (New York: Avon, 1944). In England and the United States, Vansittart had many detractors, who felt he played into the hands of German propagandists, as this title suggests: Heinrich Fraenkel, *Vansittart's Gift for Goebbels: A German Exile's Answer to Black Record* (London: Fabian Society, 1941).

20. Emil Ludwig, *How to Treat the Germans* (New York: Willard, 1943).

21. Ibid., 66–67.

22. Ibid., 79.

23. Emil Ludwig, "Education—Key of the German Question," *Prevent World War III* (April–May 1947): 22.

24. Hans Rudolf Vaget argues that Haffner's book informed Thomas Mann's image of Germany in *Doctor Faustus.* Hans Rudolf Vaget, "*Germany: Jekyll and Hyde.* Sebastian Haffners Deutschlandbild und die Genese von *Doktor Faustus,*" in *Thomas Mann und seine Quellen: Festschrift für Hans Wysling,* ed. Eckhard Heftrich and Helmut Koopmann (Frankfurt am Main: Victorio Klostermann, 1991).

25. Sebastian Haffner, *Germany: Jekyll and Hyde,* trans. Wilfrid David (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1941), 30.

26. Ibid., 92.

27. Ibid., 112.

28. Ibid., 117.

29. A number of related works appeared in Britain. See W. W. Coole and M. F. Potter, eds., *Thus Spake Germany* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1941); G. P. Gooch, Morris Ginsberg, L. A. Willoughby, E. M. Butler, S. D. Stir, and Roy Pascal, *The German Mind and Outlook* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1945); and Verrina [pseud.], *The German Mentality* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1941).

30. Cited in Bahr, "Die Kontroverse um 'Das andere Deutschland,'" 1497.

31. Jay J. M. Scandrett, *The Nazi Disease* (Boston: Christopher, 1939), 9.

32. Ibid., 10.

33. Ibid., 126.

34. Richard M. Brickner, *Is Germany Incurable?* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1943), 30–31.

35. Ibid., 31–32.

36. Ibid., 37.

37. Ibid., 93.

38. Ibid., 303.
39. Ibid., 308.
40. Margaret Mead, "Introduction," in *Is Germany Incurable?* ed. Richard M. Brickner (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1943), 11.
41. Reinhold, "Martin Gumpert," 305.
42. Ibid., 307–8. His titles included Martin Gumpert, *Hahnemann: Die abenteuerlichen Schicksale eines ärztlichen Rebellen und seiner Lehre, der Homöopathie* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1934); Martin Gumpert, *Das Leben für die Idee: Neun Forscherschicksale* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1935); and Martin Gumpert, *Dunant: Der Roman des Roten Kreuzes* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1938).
43. Martin Gumpert, *Heil Hunger! Health under Hitler: How Modern Dictatorship Destroys Its Own People,* trans. Maurice Samuel (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1940), frontispiece.
44. Ibid., 10–11.
45. Ibid., 41.
46. Ibid., 45.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., 117.
49. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene,* 77.
50. Ibid., 84.
51. Gumpert, *Heil Hunger!* 118.
52. Mann, "Tagebücher: 1940–1943," 305–6.
53. Thomas Mann, preface, *First Papers,* by Martin Gumpert (New York: Duell, Sloane, and Pearce, 1941), x–xi.
54. Gumpert, *First Papers,* 56.
55. Ibid., 70.
56. Ibid., 71.
57. Ibid., 63.
58. Ibid., 69–70.
59. Thomas Mann, "Preface," in *First Papers,* ed. Martin Gumpert (New York: Duell, Sloane, and Pearce, 1941), xii.
60. Gumpert, *First Papers,* 191.
61. Ibid., 193.
62. Mann, *Addresses,* 35.
63. Ibid., 3. Archibald MacLeish arranged Mann's series of five Library of Congress addresses, which Mann delivered between 1942 and 1949. Mann secured the position in part thanks to the efforts of Agnes Meyer, a Washington socialite who greatly admired Mann and tried to foster his American career. Ronald Hayman, *Thomas Mann: A Biography* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 471.
64. For a full account of their dispute, see Lehnert, "Bert Brecht und Thomas Mann im Streit über Deutschland." Hans Vaget has argued that Mann's concept of Germany was closely bound up with his dispute with Brecht. See Hans Rudolf Vaget, "Kaisersaschern als geistige Lebensform: Zur Konzeption der deutschen Geschichte in Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus,*" in *Der deutsche Roman und seine historischen und politischen Bedingungen,* ed. Wolfgang Paulsen (Bern: Francke, 1977), 209.

65. Lehnert, "Bert Brecht und Thomas Mann im Streit über Deutschland," 67–68.

66. Mann, *Addresses,* 35.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., 39.

69. Ibid., 36.

70. Ibid., 27.

71. As Herbert Lehnert has argued, it remains unclear how Mann conceived of the German people's relationship to National Socialism. Lehnert, "Bert Brecht und Thomas Mann im Streit über Deutschland," 65.

72. Mann, *Addresses,* 29.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid., 30.

75. Hans Rudolf Vaget has argued that Mann's position on the question of Germany was rather less clear-cut. See Vaget, "Kaisersaschern als geistige Lebensform," 210–11.

76. Mann, *Addresses,* 34–35.

77. Thomas Mann, *Deutsche Hörer! 55 Radiosendungen nach Deutschland von Thomas Mann,* 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1945), 119.

78. Ibid., 120.

79. Ibid.

80. Bahr, "Die Kontroverse um 'Das andere Deutschland,'" 1495.

81. The message aired on 31 January 1945. Mann, *Deutsche Hörer!* 121.

82. Mann made this statement in a broadcast on 20 March 1945. Ibid., 125.

83. As Mann remarked, "We have seen it. Crimes were perpetuated that no psychology can excuse, and they are least of all excusable on the ground they were superfluous." *Addresses,* 59. Gunilla Bergsten notes that "what distinguishes ['Germany and the Germans'] from earlier statements is that Mann here constructs a thoroughgoing psychological explanation for the degeneration of the German spirit and describes this degeneration as a historical process." Gunilla Bergsten, *Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus: The Sources and Structure of the Novel,* trans. Krishna Winston (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 127.

84. Mann, *Addresses,* 48.

85. Ibid., 61.

86. Ibid., 63.

87. On Nietzsche's reception see Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890–1990,* ed. Martin Jay and Anton Kaes. Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

88. Mann, *Addresses,* 68–103.

89. Ibid., 64.

90. Ibid.

91. Cited in Oskar Seidlin, "The Open Wound: Notes on Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus,*" *Michigan Germanic Studies* 1, no. 2 (1975): 301.

92. Regarding *Tod in Venedig,* see Franz Maria Sonner, *Ethik und Körperbeherrschung: Die Verflechtung von Thomas Manns Novelle 'Der Tod in Venedig' mit*

dem zeitgenössischen intellektuellen Kräftefeld (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1984), and the relevant chapter in Yahya Elsaghe, *Die imaginäre Nation: Thomas Mann und das "Deutsche"* (Munich: Fink, 2000). Regarding *Doktor Faustus,* see Laurence M. Porter, "Syphilis as Muse in Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus,*" in *Medicine and Literature,* ed. Enid Rhodes Peschel (New York: Neale Watson Academic, 1980); Claus Lahmann, *Hetaera Esmeralda: Die Bedeutung der Krankheit für die Kunst in Thomas Manns Roman Doktor Faustus* (Frankfurt am Main: R. G. Fischer, 1995); Dietrich von Engelhardt and Hans Wißkirchen, "Die Welt der Medizin im Werk von Thomas Mann," in *Thomas Mann und die Wissenschaften,* ed. Dietrich and Hans Wißkirchen von Engelhardt, *Literatur und Wissenschaft im Dialog 1* (Lübeck: Dräger, 1999).

93. For an exemplary recent contribution, see Cowan, *Cult of the Will.*

94. Among others, see Bergsten, *Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus;* Elsaghe, *Die imaginäre Nation;* Erkme Joseph, "Nietzsche im *Doktor Faustus,*" in *"Und was werden die Deutschen sagen?" Thomas Manns Roman Doktor Faustus,* ed. Hans Wißkirchen and Thomas Sprecher (Lübeck: Dräger, 1997); Vaget, "Kaisersaschern als geistige Lebensform."

95. Cowan, *Cult of the Will,* 42–43.

96. Otis, *Membranes,* 154.

97. Elsaghe, *Die imaginäre Nation,* 18.

98. Ibid., 19.

99. See Bergsten, *Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus;* H. G. Haile, "Faust als nationales Symbol bei Stephen Vincent Benét und Thomas Mann," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 111, no. 4 (1992); Walter Huder, "*Doktor Faustus* von Thomas Mann als Nationalroman deutscher Schuld im amerikanischen Exil konzipiert," in *Künste im Exil, Exilforschung 10* (Munich: text + kritik, 1992); Ritchie Robertson, "Accounting for History: Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus,*" in *The German Novel in the Twentieth Century,* ed. David Midgley (New York: St. Martin's, 1993); Judith Ryan, "The Flower of Evil: Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus,*" in *The Uncompleted Past: Postwar German Novels and the Third Reich* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983); Seidlin, "The Open Wound"; Vaget, "Kaisersaschern als geistige Lebensform."

100. Reviews included Walter Boehlich, "Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus,*" *Merkur* 4 (1948); Erich Kahler, "Säkularisierung des Teufels: Thomas Manns *Faust,*" *Literarische Revue* 1 (1949); Erich Pfeiffer-Belli, "Faustus mit dem Januskopf," *Der Ruf,* 15 May 1948; Klaus Pringsheim, "Der Tonsetzer Adrian Leverkühn: Ein Musiker über Thomas Manns Roman," *Der Monat* 4 (1949); Friedrich Sell, "Ein Kommentar zu Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus,*" *Die Wandlung* 5 (1948); C. V. Wedgwood, "Dr. Faustus in Amerika," *Der Monat* 4 (1949).

101. Numerous articles have examined *Doctor Faustus* as a novel of exile. See Haile, "Faust als nationales Symbol"; Huder, "*Doktor Faustus*"; Paul Ludwig Sauer, "Zwischen 'Außensein' und 'Dabeisein': Exilliterarische Aspekte in Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus,*" in *Die Künste und die Wissenschaften im Exil 1933–1945,* ed. Edith Böhne and Wolfgang Motzkau-Valeton (Gerlingen: Lambert Schneider, 1992). Judith Ryan has argued that Mann was influenced by the American Hearst

press and by his fellow exiles' reactions to news about Germany. Ryan goes on to examine the figure of Serenus Zeitblom as a representative of "inner exile." See Ryan, "Flower of Evil."

102. Thomas Mann, *Doctor Faustus: The Life of the German Composer Adrian Leverkühn as Told by a Friend,* trans. John E. Woods (New York: Vintage, 1997), 6.

103. Ibid., 302.

104. Oskar Seidlin reads both Adrian and Serenus as Mannian self-portraits. See Seidlin, "The Open Wound."

105. Mann, *Doctor Faustus,* 145.

106. Thomas Mann, *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus: Roman eines Romans* (Amsterdam: Bermann-Fischer, 1949). The novel about the novel represents an important intertext for *Doktor Faustus.* Mann details his many difficulties during the writing process, further encouraging an identification of the author with his narrator.

107. Mann, *Doctor Faustus,* 82.

108. Ibid., 355.

109. Ibid., 15.

110. Ibid., 39.

111. Ibid., 40.

112. Ibid., 101.

113. Ibid., 255.

114. Ibid., 242.

115. Ibid., 11–12.

116. Ibid., 112.

117. Ibid., 207.

118. Ibid., 192.

119. Etienne Balibar, writing on issues of transnationalism and border trouble, argues that the nation-state is becoming undone in part because "the appropriation of 'natural' (or natural-cultural) factors 'common to the human race' by individuals or groups themselves controlled and appropriated by states has encountered its limits. The cloud generated by Chernobyl cannot be stopped at the border, nor can the AIDS virus, despite the reinforced control that some dream of imposing on its 'bearers,' which means virtually on all of us." Etienne Balibar, "The Borders of Europe," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation,* ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 218.

120. Elsaghe, *Die imaginäre Nation,* 65.

121. Cited in ibid., 64. According to Elsaghe, Mann was working from two main books on Nietzsche: Hellmut Walther Brann, *Nietzsche und die Frauen* (Leipzig, 1931), and Paul Deussen, *Erinnerungen an Friedrich Nietzsche* (Leipzig, 1901). Elsaghe, *Die imaginäre Nation,* 62.

122. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), 246–51, 54–57, 439.

123. On the history of the disease see Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and Roger French, *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Claude Quétel, *History of Syphilis,* trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

124. Mann, *Doctor Faustus,* 92.

125. Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus: Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn erzählt von einem Freunde* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1963), 152. Elsaghe first pointed out that Mann's guide is leading him "fremd." Elsaghe, *Die imaginäre Nation,* 62.

126. Elsaghe, *Die imaginäre Nation,* 67–70.

127. Mann, *Doctor Faustus,* 223.

128. Ibid., 248.

129. Ibid., 251.

130. Otis, *Membranes,* 6–7.

131. Mann, *Doctor Faustus,* 165.

132. Martin Gumpert, "Berlin: A Necrology," *Nation,* 12 May 1945, 538.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid., 539.

135. Ibid., 529.

136. Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher: 1949–1950,* ed. Inge Jens (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1991), 66.

137. See the relevant footnote: ibid., 416.

138. Ibid., 67.

139. Ittner, *Augenzeuge im Dienst der Wahrheit,* 381. Ittner does not explain why the article was rejected, although she says Gumpert expected that outcome.

140. Martin Gumpert, "I Choose America," *Nation,* 10 December 1949, 567.

141. Ibid., 568.

142. Gumpert, "Return to Europe," *American Scholar* (Summer 1950): 320.

143. Ibid., 321.

144. Thomas Mann numbered among these critics, although this is apparent more in his private writings than in his more tempered public addresses. Mann once wrote about the Germans that "the people as a whole never found any fault with the monster Hitler than that he lost the war." Cited in Hayman, *Thomas Mann,* 546.

145. Gumpert, "Return to Europe," 339.

146. Ibid., 324.

147. Ibid., 330.

148. Ibid., 332.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid., 333.

151. Ibid., 336.

152. Ibid., 340.

153. Klaus Schröter, *Thomas Mann im Urteil seiner Zeit: Dokumente 1891–1955* (Hamburg: C. Wegner, 1969), 335.

154. For Thieß's reaction see ibid., 336–43.

155. Ibid., 178.

156. Hayman, *Thomas Mann,* 540.

157. Ibid., 556.

158. Ibid., 558–59.

159. Mann, *Tagebücher: 1949–1950,* 53.

160. Hayman, *Thomas Mann,* 560.
161. Mann, *Tagebücher: 1949–1950,* 82.
162. Thomas Mann, *Politische Schriften und Reden,* ed. Hans Bürgin, vol. 3, *Thomas Mann, Werke: Das essayistische Werk* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1968), 308.
163. Ibid., 309–10.
164. Ibid., 310.
165. Ibid.
166. Ibid., 312.
167. Ibid.
168. Ibid., 313.
169. Mann, *Addresses,* 7.
170. Mann, *Politische Schriften und Reden,* 311.
171. Hayman, *Thomas Mann,* 528.

CHAPTER 4

Opening epigraph from Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 11.

1. On Lorre's biography, see Stephen D. Youngkin, "Der Insider als Outsider: Die Emigration des Peter Lorre," in *Peter Lorre: Portrait des Schauspielers auf der Flucht,* ed. Felix Hofmann and Stephen D. Youngkin (Munich: Belleville, 1998).

2. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Peter Lorre, perf. Peter Lorre and Karl John (National Film, 1951).

3. According to Marita Krauss, of approximately 500,000 exiles from German-speaking lands, only about 30,000 returned, and of those, most had been political refugees. See Marita Krauss, *Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land: Geschichte der Remigration nach 1945* (Bremen: C. H. Beck, 2001). Although some managed to resume their careers, reentry was notoriously difficult for film workers, and even known stars like Fritz Lang had only sporadic success.

4. "'M' macht ein Ende: Sprung aus dem Klischee," *Der Spiegel,* 25 August 1949.

5. Lorre was less direct about the circumstances of his return. Loath to discuss his future film plans, he said he was traveling through Germany on a "psychological mission" to entertain war wounded in American military hospitals: "Kein Platz für zwei Mörder," *Der Spiegel,* 27 September 1950, 36.

6. "Personalien," *Der Spiegel,* 3 October 1951, 26.

7. Thomas Mann, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1937–1947,* ed. Erika Mann (n.p.: Fischer, 1963), 452.

8. Lorre apparently had two sources of inspiration when he conceived of *The Lost Man* (originally titled *Das Untier*). While at Wigger's resort, Lorre met Benno Vigny, who suggested they collaborate on a film based on Guy de Maupassant's short story "La Horla." Lorre's friend Egon Jameson provided him with further material. A journalist, Jameson became intrigued by a newspaper account of a

murder and suicide by a doctor in the Elbe-Düwenstedt relocation camp. Jameson investigated the matter, and by a stroke of luck discovered the doctor's true identity: Carl Rothe. Jameson and Lorre later co-wrote a serial novel that appeared under the same title as the film and ran in twenty-two installments in the *Münchener Illustrierte.* Youngkin, "Der Insider als Outsider," 148–49.

9. "Kein Platz für zwei Mörder," 36.

10. Hellmut Schlien, *Der Spiegel,* 22 August 1951, 35. Schlien represented the Peter Lorre Film Pressestelle.

11. "Augen sehen dich an," *Der Spiegel,* 4 July 1951, 32.

12. "Ferner liefen," *Der Spiegel,* 5 September 1951, 30.

13. On the development of the FSK, see Fehrenbach, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany.*

14. In fact, the film contains three murders and one suicide. Despite this rocky beginning, the censorship board film ultimately approved the film without reservation. "Augen sehen dich an," 32.

15. Press release, National Film Verleih, n.d., Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek archive, "Verlorene" file.

16. Telephone report by Herr Luft, Wiesbaden, 19 September 1951, 11 PM, Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek archive, "Verlorene" file.

17. Gunter Groll, rev. of *The Lost Man,* dir. by Peter Lorre, *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 20 October 1951, n.p., Stiftung deutsche Kinemathek archive, "Verlorene" file. All subsequent quotations of Groll come from this document.

18. "Libbe, Erijotik und Zoff," *Der Spiegel,* 16 April 1952, 33.

19. G-z, rev. of *The Lost Man,* dir. by Peter Lorre, *Stuttgarter Zeitung,* 1 March 1952, n.p. Stiftung deutsche Kinemathek archive, "Verlorene" file.

20. One of Lorre's early defenders was film scholar Lotte Eisner. Lotte Eisner, *The Haunted Screen: Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt,* trans. Roger Greaves (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 339.

21. For the definitive study of the *Heimat* genre, see Johannes von Moltke, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema.* Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

22. Helmut Prinzler, *Chronik des deutschen Films: 1895–1994* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1995), 184–89.

23. Gertraud Koch, Klaus Konz, Wolfgang Oehrle, Gundula Schmidt, and Barbara Wilzcek, "Die fünfziger Jahre: Heide und Silberwald," in *Der deutsche Heimatfilm: Bildwelten und Weltbilder. Bilder, Texte, Analysen zu 70 Jahren deutscher Filmgeschichte* (Tübingen: Tübinger Chronik, 1989), 79.

24. "Kein Platz für zwei Mörder," 37.

25. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre.

26. Ibid. All subsequent quotes in this passage are from the film.

27. Peter Lorre, *Der Verlorene,* ed. Michael Farin and Hans Schmid (Munich: Belleville, 1996), 54.

28. Maureen Turim, *Flashbacks in Film: Memory and History* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 105.

29. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre.

30. Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Many of the hallmarks of exilic cinema that Naficy identifies as typical of the "accented style" can be found in Lorre's film. But Lorre's film is also a useful text by which to interrogate some of Naficy's claims, particularly his argument about the nostalgic longing for the homeland in exile films. Lorre's film does quite the opposite, demonstrating the impossibility of a sentimental revisiting of the past.

31. Turim points out that flashbacks have often been employed to frame large historical events through the memory of an individual, in order to "render historical thought as the subjective experience of individuals" and to draw comparisons between two temporal moments. Turim, *Flashbacks in Film,* 122.

32. In the first of these shared voice-overs, the two discuss Rothe's wartime life before Inge's murder. In the second, they review the moment when Rothe stumbles upon Winkler's overthrow plot—a thinly veiled reference to the attempted assassination of Hitler—that Hoesch foils.

33. Turim, *Flashbacks in Film,* 172.

34. Peter Lorre, *The Lost Man,* screenplay, n.p., Stiftung deutsche Kinemathek archive.

35. Stephen D. Youngkin, "M—Wie Morphium," in *Der Verlorene,* ed. Michael Farin and Hans Schmid (Munich: Belleville, 1996), 232–33.

36. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre. Emphasis added.

37. Ibid.

38. Lorre, *Der Verlorene,* 76.

39. For an example, see Brickner, *Is Germany Incurable?*

40. The white necklace will reappear when Rothe finds himself tempted to kill the new inhabitant of Inge's room. As he sees her silhouette through the glass of the door dividing their rooms, he unconsciously reaches for the memento in his pocket. Later the viewer realizes he has reached for it once more when, after nearly murdering a prostitute, he finally discards the incriminating object.

41. The sexual nature of the encounter takes on sadomasochistic overtones in the serial novel version of the story. During the murder scene, Rothe imagines his baleful glance striking Inge like the "lash of a whip." Rothe grabs her necklace until he is *gefesselt* ("captivated" or "tied up"), suggesting a moment of bondage as well as overwhelming sexual power. In that version Rothe also kisses Inge, and her response is again erotically charged: "'You!' you moaned, overwhelmed by the force of my passion and the joy of our reconciliation." See Lorre, *Der Verlorene,* 74–76.

42. Andrea Slane, *A Not So Foreign Affair: Fascism, Sexuality, and the Cultural Rhetoric of American Democracy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 9. Laura Frost also suggests that democratic nations—like their fascist counterparts—have defined their political opponents as sexually "deviant" or "perverse" as a means to bolster a particular national identity. See Laura Frost, *Sex Drives: Fantasies of Fascism in Literary Modernism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

43. See her analysis of *Hitler's Children.* Slane, *A Not So Foreign Affair,* 42–71.

44. Lorre frequently plays an effeminate character in his American films, often paired with a dominant male companion, as in *The Maltese Falcon.* See Vito

Russo, *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies,* rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

45. See Hewitt, *Political Inversions.* Lorre may have intended to push at the boundaries of this concept, since Rothe is both a perpetrator and a victim, which troubles the stereotype of the murderer as secret homosexual.

46. Lorre, *Der Verlorene,* 85.

47. Ibid.

48. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre.

49. Peter Lorre, *The Lost Man,* screenplay, n.p., deutsche Kinemathek archive.

50. Peter Lorre, *The Lost Man,* screenplay, n.p., deutsche Kinemathek archive.

51. Lorre, *Der Verlorene,* 42.

52. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre.

53. Barton Byg has suggested that postwar German cinema characterized fascism as a femme fatale. See Barton Byg, "Nazism as Femme Fatale," in *Gender and Germanness: Cultural Productions of Nation,* ed. Patricia Herminghouse and Magda Mueller (Providence: Berghahn, 1997).

54. Lorre, *Der Verlorene,* 31.

55. It is important to note that Hitler's invective was directed not only at women but also at Germany's Jewish population.

56. See Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make?*

57. Annette F. Timm, "The Legacy of Bevölkerungspolitik: Venereal Disease Control and Marriage Counseling in Post-WW II Berlin," *Canadian Journal of History* 33, http://www.usask.ca/history/cjh/webtext.html. Timm's findings are confirmed by one contemporary report, which noted the alarming rise in venereal disease in Berlin: 2,392 new cases of gonorrhea were reported in July 1946 and 3,044 in August 1946, and in one district the monthly average of syphilis cases had risen from 7 to nearly 100. See O. Bosch, "Berlin als Patient," *Die Zeit,* 7 November 1946, 3.

58. Timm, "Legacy of Bevölkerungspolitik."

59. Army Information Branch and Army Service Forces Army Information Branch, *Pocket Guide to Germany* (n.p., n.d.).

60. In "Personalien," 26.

61. Telephone report by Mr. Luft, Wiesbaden, 19 September 1951, 11PM. Deutsche Kinemathek archive, "Verlorene" file.

62. Cited in Claudia Kaiser, "Peter Lorre alias Mr. Murder: Ein Doppelgänger zwischen Europa und Amerika," in *Der Verlorene,* ed. Michael Farin and Hans Schmid (Munich: Belleville, 1996), 271.

63. The in-joke is more obvious to the modern viewer than Lorre's German audience in 1951, who would not have seen his American film.

64. This oral fixation will be replaced in *The Lost Man* by the more adult habit of chain-smoking.

65. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre.

66. The jumping jack also appears in the serial novel, so its choice as a prop was not accidental. In that version Helene invites Rothe to pull the string, engaging him in a suggestive game. Lorre, *Der Verlorene,* 120.

67. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre.

68. On the significance of sexual murder in Weimar culture, see Maria Tatar, *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). For a discussion of *M,* see Anton Kaes, *M* (London: BFI, 2000).

69. Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 222.

70. Ibid.

71. *Der Verlorene,* dir. Lorre.

72. Ibid.

73. Arendt and Jaspers, *Hannah Arendt Karl Jaspers Correspondence 1926–1969,* 31–32.

74. "Drang nach Europa," *Der Spiegel,* 18 June 1952, 28. The article contends that directors headed back to Europe partly to see the "old continent," and partly to escape the American Red Scare.

75. Alfred Döblin, journal entry of April 1952. Cited in Hans-Ulrich Wagner, ed., *Rückkehr in die Fremde? Remigranten und Rundfunk in Deutschland 1945 bis 1955* (Berlin: VISTAS, 2000), 118.

76. William Asher, *Muscle Beach Party* (American International Pictures, 1964).

77. Peter Lorre, *The Lost Man,* screenplay, n.p., Deutsche Kinemathek archive.

Epilogue

Opening epigraph from James M. Markham, "Facing Up to Germany's Past," *New York Times Magazine,* 23 June 1985, 25.

1. "Kranke Männer regieren," *Deutsche Illustrierte,* 8 December 1956.

2. Ibid.

3. "Auch mein Feind hat eine Mutter," *Deutsche Illustrierte,* 8 December 1956.

4. For an analysis of victim discourses in 1950s Germany, see Moeller, *War Stories.*

5. Horst Köhler, "Begabung zur Freiheit: Rede von Bundespräsident Horst Köhler bei der Gedenkveranstaltung Im Plenarsaal des deutschen Bundestages zum 60. Jahrestag des Endes des Zweiten Weltkrieges in Europa," (Berlin, 2005). The full text is available online at http://www.bundespraesident.de/-,2.623709/Begabung-zur-Freiheit-Rede-von.htm

6. Ibid.

7. Köhler, "Laudatio von Bundespräsident Horst Köhler zur Verleihung des Großen Verdienstkreuzes mit Stern und Schulterband des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland an Fritz Stern" (Berlin, 2006).

8. In his talk "Five Germanies I Have Known," delivered in the Uhlenbeck Lecture Series at Wassenaar 12 June 1998, Stern noted the following: "In the Western world, including in the United States, important elements in society harboured much sympathy for Hitler and his achievements, and much understanding for his anti-semitism. No country was free of what might loosely be called the *fascist bacillus,* any more than any of us today are safely immune from Le Penisme or

Haiderism" (emphasis added). For the full text, see www.nias.knaw.nl/en/new_3/new_1/new_0/

9. Köhler, "Begabung zur Freiheit."

10. Jörg Friedrich, *Der Brand: Deutschland im Bombenkrieg, 1940–1945* (Munich: Propyläen, 2002).

11. The Wehrmacht exhibit met with strong local resistance as it traveled throughout Germany, and the international exhibit was pulled just before it was to open in New York, following the discovery of some errors in photograph captions.

12. Julia M. Klein, "Germans as Victims of World War II," *Chronicle Review,* 18 April 2003, 16.

13. W. G. Sebald, "A Natural History of Destruction," *New Yorker,* 4 November 2002, 66. The full essay is available in Sebald's collection *On the Natural History of Destruction,* trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Random House, 2003).

14. Sebald, "Natural History of Destruction," 68.

15. Peter Schneider, "In Their Side of World War II, the Germans Also Suffered," *New York Times,* 18 January 2003, B7.

16. Andreas Huyssen, "Nation, Race, and Immigration: German Identities after Unification," in *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 69.

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B. "Der Wunderdoktor." *Die Gegenwart: Eine Halbmonatsschrift,* 15 September 1949.

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