

11

The Pleasure of Terror: Belonging through Genocide

Thomas Kühne

Looking back on his time as clerk in the Auschwitz death camp, former SS man Oskar Groening sentimentalized. Not personally involved in the murder of the Jews, he had enjoyed life in the shadows of the gas chambers, as he remembered still 60 years later. 'Auschwitz main camp was like a small town. It had its gossip – it had a vegetable shop where you could buy bones to make broth. There was a canteen, a cinema, a theatre with regular performances. There was a sports club of which I was a member. There were dances – all fun and entertainment.'¹ Groening's recollection is supported by the photos taken in summer 1944 by SS-Obersturmführer Karl Höcker, the adjutant to the second commandant of Auschwitz, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer. These private photos show SS camp guards happily at play, laughing at boozey picnics, and enjoying themselves on group outings to Solahütte, the SS recreation lodge, 30 kilometres south of Auschwitz.² How can we grasp the meaning of these photos and memoirs? How was it humanly possible to enjoy life – the pleasures of life – in the immediate neighbourhood of a machinery that murdered a million people, mostly Jews, within three years?

Dealing with the juxtaposition in the Third Reich of pleasure, joy and entertainment on the one hand and terror, cruelty and mass murder on the other, scholars, writers and filmmakers have provided two opposing explanations. One paradigm considers the perpetrators or the Nazis in general as pathological figures and names sadism, sado-masochism or other abnormal dispositions as the motor of cruelty. The second view concedes that most perpetrators and even more average Nazis behaved quite normally before, after and even during the Holocaust and resorts to theories of compartmentalization to explain why such 'ordinary' people committed mass murder. British psychiatrist Henry V. Dicks

suggested in 1950 that:

Nazis were likely to be men of markedly pregenital or immature personality structure in which libido organization followed sado-masochist patterns, based on a repression of the tender tie with the mother and resulting typically in a homo-sexual paranoid (extra-punitive) relation to a harsh and ambivalently loved and hated father figure, with its attendant sadism towards symbols of the displaced bad portion of this figure; in increased secondary ('defensive') narcissism, in libido splitting *vis-à-vis* female love objects; and in tendencies towards hypochondriacal (internal prosecutor) and schizoid or hypomaniac (guilt denial) features.³

That brutality served as pleasure for people filled by such amentia is only logical. In fact, such figures existed among the perpetrators, and it is with no surprise that the accounts of camp survivors – from Eugen Kogon to Yehiel De-Nur alias Ka-Tzetnik 135633 – have focused on them. They incarnated the execution of terror, cruelty and humiliation like nothing and nobody else.⁴ Not surprising either is that, for rather different reasons, sensationalist popular culture, working on the commodification of Nazism and the Holocaust, has often deployed the pathology of terror; in fact, it is the confusion of sex and terror that spurs the everyday life of the perpetrators in this type of fiction. The most recent best-selling example of such pornographic horror kitsch is Jonathan Littell's *The Kindly Ones*, which presents a homosexual and incestuous mother-killer as an allegedly ordinary perpetrator.⁵

Since the Milgram experiments in the late 1950s and the Eichmann trial in 1961, however, a dispute on the 'normality' or 'banality' of evil has become the paradigm of Holocaust perpetrator analysis. Historians, sociologists and psychologists have dismissed demonizing pathologies to explain the Nazi terror machine. These scholars rather focus on the entanglement of seemingly abnormal and normal actions. Hans Dieter Schäfer, for instance, in his influential 1981 cultural history of the 'split consciousness' in Nazi Germany showed that the Nazi state, notwithstanding its totalitarian ambitions, left much space for entertainment, leisure and consumption and thus satisfied, or created the illusion to satisfy, elementary human needs – as democratic Western societies did as well. Pleasure, in a generalized sense, thus served as a safety valve to let off steam in an overheated politicized atmosphere.⁶ More closely related to actual Holocaust perpetrators, the psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton has introduced the concept of doubling, that is, the 'division of the self

into two functioning wholes'. Introduced in his 1986 book on *The Nazi Doctors*, 'doubling' was to explain how physicians, tied to the Oath of Hippocrates, could commit mass murder and at the same time function as loving family fathers. 'The individual Nazi doctor,' explained Lifton, 'needed his Auschwitz self to function psychologically in an environment so antithetical to his previous ethical standards. At the same time, he needed his prior self in order to continue to see himself as humane physician, husband, father.'⁷

In fact, however, neither Schäfer's description of a divided or 'split consciousness' nor Lifton's concept of 'doubling' explains how ordinary or not so ordinary people committed extraordinary crimes. 'Rather than a cause of evil-doing', doubling was its consequence, states the psychologist James Waller. 'The human psyche simply cannot tolerate long-term dissociative inner divisions in the manner in which Lifton suggests.'⁸ Whether or not one relies on compartmentalization theories, the plenitude of juxtapositions of pleasure and terror in the Third Reich and not least during the Holocaust is obvious. How to explain them? Without resorting to theories of divided selves or consciousnesses, one may still take into account that human nature, even that of genocidaires, needs diversion, regeneration and relief. That is the way the Nazis themselves dealt with seemingly contradictory behaviour. Official SS guidelines suggested making 'special accommodations for the spiritual care' of men who had conducted mass executions. 'The impressions of the day are to be blotted out through the holding of social events in the evenings.'⁹ Boozy gatherings were to help the perpetrators relax from the psychological and moral burdens of their murderous assignments. So, too, did official brothels and even illegal sex. At a meeting of high-ranking SS officers in 1943 several commanders expressed concerns about SS men increasingly disregarding the laws on racial defilement (*Rassenschande*); it was assumed that 'at least 50 per cent of all men in the SS or police' serving in the East had 'undesirable sexual intercourse with ethnically alien women'. But no action was taken. Sepp Dietrich, commander of SS *Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler* and an old friend of Hitler had stated that the orders forbidding intercourse with women of alien races did not apply to his troops.¹⁰

Although not resorting to notions of 'divided' selves or minds, such reasoning allots a compensatory function to the perpetrators' pleasure. In this view, pleasure, including sex, conviviality, consumption and entertainment, prevents the death machinery from breaking down. Pleasure compensates destruction, that is, one's own destructiveness. Although these explanations certainly comply with human psychology including that of the perpetrators, I shall elaborate on a different

understanding of pleasure, one that takes pleasure as the oil, rather than as a valve, of the Nazi terror machine. This view is informed more by sociology than by psychology, and it focuses on social rather than individual pleasure. What is at stake is the pleasure of togetherness and belonging – a quite 'normal' pleasure, which most humans seek, and certainly one that is not embedded in sadism. In Nazi Germany, however, it fuelled the genocide.

'The special situation at Auschwitz led to friendships of which I'm still saying today I like to look back on with joy,' added former SS man Oskar Groening to his elaborations on the leisure facilities installed at the Auschwitz complex. Groening's sentimental reminiscence went far beyond naive pleasure. When he left the camp in 1944, he lost a place where he had felt at home. It was the 'joy' of belonging, togetherness and community that made Auschwitz such a particular place. 'I'd left a circle of friends whom I'd got familiar with, I'd got fond of,' said Groening.¹¹ Precisely this relation of terror and togetherness, mass murder and community building is the subject of this chapter. It explores the manifold ways in which genocide and genocidal warfare enabled Germans to create, strengthen and experience a particular type of collective identity, even as a national community, that otherwise seemed to be impossible. I show how perpetrating and supporting the genocide against the Jews, but also terror directed towards other people, provided Germans with a sense of belonging that created the *Volksgemeinschaft* that the Nazis indeed had promised to install.¹²

That type of pleasure began to become popular in the aftermath of the First World War, when people coped with the experience of mass death. Whereas most Germans, just as the citizens of other belligerent nations, mourned and sought to regain a sense of normalcy, that is, a life in peace and security, some radical veterans worshiped eternal war and praised the rebirth of a truly male and warrior society in the trenches of the past war.

In the trenches rules the freedom of men. No women hold up the course of the will, no emotion curbs the pace of the almighty men... Finally being beyond good and evil! Finally being human, inhuman, superhuman!... I am allowed to merge into the wilderness of the nature... I am allowed to sacrifice myself, without expecting any thanks! I am allowed to merge into the chorus of the nameless, who carry the vaults of life on feverish shoulders and shake it off jauntily; I am allowed to be a man...¹³

This is the way *Der Weisse Ritter*, or *The White Knight*, *Journal of Young Germany*, put it in 1923. This particular journal came with an elitist touch. However, more popular writers praised the same ideas. Joseph Magnus Wehner, in his book *Seven in front of Verdun*, glorified the 'assault as the ultimate pleasure of men'. The heroes of his war novels found themselves magnetically allured 'by the breath of one thousand men standing over there between the battle fires'. Franz Schauwecker praised the 'wild and lordly pleasure of power display and manliness' in battle.¹⁴ These statements would be mistaken as mere praise of destruction. They rather deploy the pleasure of destruction to praise the contrary – the 'construction', or constitution, in fact the genesis of society, a special society though, one that opposed the civilian society as it emerged after 1918 in Germany as well as in other countries.¹⁵ These men adhered to the myth of an eternal male bond, which included both living and dead men and glorified toughness, brutality and fearlessness as true manliness. Such war fiction was about the desire for and the pleasure of belonging.

The trench fighter still thought and acted within the categories of regular warfare. He did not praise the murder of civilians. It was only when the war was over that the *Freikorps* and other radical nationalists started war against civilian political enemies. One of the most popular and also most decisive literary monuments of the *Freikorps* was published in 1930 – Ernst von Salomon's memoir *The Outlaws*. Born in 1902 and thus too young to fight in the war, he joined a *Freikorps* unit to fight against Communists and Jews in Silesia and the Baltic in 1919. In 1922, he took part in the plot to assassinate Walter Rathenau, the Jewish-German industrialist, foreign minister and advocate of 'filling' the Versailles Treaty. Later, Salomon was involved in a Feme murder. He spent years in prison for both crimes, but had no regrets. Murder served an exclusive goal. 'We felt that we embodied Germany. We believed that we were entitled to have that power.' Desperately seeking to belong, Salomon praised 'man's lust for destruction', dwelt on the soul as an 'emanation of blood' and celebrated the revelry of violence. It was never just about physical destruction or even sadism. Murder, lynching and terror enlivened the 'will to create' through destruction. The 'outlaws' followed their own laws. They refused to recognize any rules but those of their own choosing. The 'commander's will' was not based on defined authority but solely on his ability to strengthen the 'dynamic forces that animated the whole company'. It was all about cohesion and unity. If ever one of the members 'sinned against the rigid laws of the clan', the company would hold a 'short court-martial', send

him to death and move on, singing their pirate song.¹⁶ Rudolf Höss, who became the commandant of Auschwitz, also joined the *Freikorps* and 'found a home again, and a sense of security in the comradeship of my fellows'. In the 1920s, a stable sense of belonging was an increasingly rare commodity for many people. 'Danger' was required to regain emotional stability. Belonging was achieved best by identifying an enemy to fight against. 'In fact, the more we were pushed around by the government in office the more firmly did we stick together. Woe to anyone who attempted to divide us – or to betray us! ... Treachery was punished with death, and there were many traitors so executed.' Höss acted accordingly when it came to punishing a supposed communist spy whom the group blamed for the death of the Nazi martyr Leo Schlageter. As 'no German court would have convicted him, so it was left to us to pass sentence in accordance with an unwritten law which we ourselves, according to the exigencies of the times, had laid down.'¹⁷ Regarding established jurisdictions and codes of ethics as insufficient, the group created its own. The group claimed sovereignty and knew that it would stick together.

Although it was not the *Freikorps* alone that gave birth to the Nazis and the SS, some continuity is obvious.¹⁸ Establishing cohesion and unity, a sense of belonging based on violence, was certainly part of it. From late 1929 on, the Nazi Stormtroopers (SA) waged civil war on communists and socialists. Dance hall battles, brawls and knife fights became a daily routine in German cities. Unleashing brutality in bar brawls, fighting together furiously in the streets and committing murder together served as social 'cement', as Joseph Goebbels said. It was not just standing together against an enemy as soldiers in battle that created this type of comradeship. Moral transgression forged bonds as well. In fact, the SA popularized the myth of revolutionizing society by violating civilian, humanitarian norms. SA men did not hide murder; they staged it. Inflicting ruthless violence guaranteed public attention and established community. When they marched in Charlottenburg, a Berlin suburb, they sang, 'We are the Nazi guys from the murderer unit of Charlottenburg.' If you wanted to become an SA man, you would not just switch into a uniform but adopt a new anti-bourgeois name, copied from the criminal underworld, like 'Revolver Gob' or 'Submarine'. Participating in collective violence was the entrance ticket to the group. When they met in 'storm bars' to enjoy themselves, they dwelt on war stories, and granted the most brutal comrade the greatest respect.¹⁹

A similar social fabric characterized the German Border Police Station in Nowy Sącz, Poland, from late 1939 on. There, a group of 20 to 30

German police officers managed to murder thousands of Jews and send another 15,000 or more to Belzec and other death camps. Novy Sącz, in German, Neu-Sandez, was located 50 miles south-east of Krakow in West Galicia. On the evening of 28 April 1942, the Germans were having a hot party in the local Gestapo casino. About 20 of them, members of the Gestapo, some Wehrmacht soldiers, civil service officers and alike gathered to enjoy an evening of drinking. Most of them had concluded a nasty but, as they saw it, necessary job only a couple of hours before. At the Jewish cemetery, they had killed 300 Jews. It had been chaos. Although most of these men were used to torturing, humiliating and even murdering individuals, they had never organized a mass shooting action. Sometimes, the executioners hit the aortas of their victims, so that their blood poured forth over the hands and weapons of their murderers. Or they did not hit their victims lethally, so these died only slowly. Some SS men felt nauseated by their own deeds and those of their comrades and tried to dodge away. Repeatedly, SS men started quarrelling with each other about how to do their job most efficiently or, as they put it, in a more 'human' way.

The point is: the group did not fall apart but concluded what it considered as its job. These men stuck together and experienced themselves as a community – not least by coping with their internal disputes. Eventually, when the job was done, the Germans marched back to the Gestapo station, singing the Horst Wessel song, the most popular Nazi anthem, which glorified one of the first martyrs of the early Nazi movement, called for revenge, and promised 'freedom' and 'bread', that is the paradise on earth, only for one's own community that has cleansed the earth of its enemies: 'Flag high, ranks closed./ The S.A. marches with silent solid steps./ Comrades shot by the red front and reaction/ march in spirit with us in our ranks./ The street free for the brown battalions./ The street free for the Storm Troopers./ Millions, full of hope, look up at the swastika./ The day breaks for freedom and for bread.'²⁰

The Gestapo of Novy Sącz did not content itself with conjuring a utopia of togetherness and community; it rather anticipated that vision through drunken gatherings as well as through collective violence. The uncrowned king of Novy Sącz was the head of the local Gestapo station, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Hamann. When gathering his men in the Gestapo casino, he loved to demonstrate his toughness and brutality by biting on a glass or pulling a safety pin through his cheek. In the casino, he and his men lived it up. On the evening of 28 April 1942, the crowd enjoyed themselves by shooting at a series of glasses on the bar. At midnight, such boyish pleasures no longer sufficed. Hamann

suggested 'kicking up a fuss'. He wished to check on his 'lamb's' in the Jewish ghetto, as he put it. Would they be doing well or were they about to moan about what had happened earlier in the afternoon? The entire circle had to come with him to make a racket in the ghetto. Excuses were not accepted. In the ghetto, they stormed houses, forced their way into apartments, kicked in doors and windows, and shot down whoever stood around or dared to show up. The police officers entered bedrooms and shot randomly at couples sleeping in bed. The fuss Hamann's men kicked up ended in an orgy of brutality.²¹

What happened in Novy Sącz on 28 April 1942 cannot be explained solely by sadism, by hatred of Jews, by obedience or by group pressure – the established explanations of Holocaust perpetrator actions – although these all mattered. What is at stake here is group pleasure, collective joy, the experience of togetherness and belonging. It would be wrong to assume that all men equally enjoyed such cruel collective joy. Many of them despised Hamann's brutality. The German crowd in Novy Sącz was comprised of men of different ideological, social and generational backgrounds, just as German society was. Some acted willingly, some refused to take part and some stood aside. They were involved on different and even opposing levels of the death machine. But the wholly diverse attitudes were neutralized by a sociological mechanism that merged collective joy and collective crime.

Heinrich Hamann frequently cited an order from Himmler according to which 'everyone' had to carry out executions, and he actually tested the readiness of new members of his detail to obey orders to murder. Community building through crime worked in other units as well.²² Bruno Müller, head of Einsatzkommando 11b began a mass execution in Southern Russia in August 1941 by picking a two-year-old child and shooting it, then killing the mother. Having set the model, he asked the other officers to follow.²³ Everyone, he said, had to shoot at least one person. To become one of 'us', you had to kill at least once. As Hannah Arendt said in her essay on violence, only through an 'irreversible act' that burned 'the bridges to respectable society' could you be trusted and 'admitted into the community of violence'.²⁴

Freedom of action still existed in most police and SS units. The crucial point is that those who indeed dissented and refused to murder actually supported the hegemonic genocidal culture they tried to escape. Talking to comrades who joined in, or to their superiors, they did not claim to be 'too good' to kill. They would rather say, 'I am too weak.'²⁵ They did not question the genocidal morality of the community. They rather judged their own constitutions as abnormal. Thus, they too provided

an essential part of the internal structure of the group. In a culture of 'tough' masculinity, of brutality and mercilessness, they represented the inbuilt 'other' of the group, thus helping to bring the hegemonic ideal into sharp focus. Bullies like Hamann could not have assumed alpha-male positions without the weaklings. This was the basis of an exchange deal that guaranteed even the dissenters a place within the group. Thus, they got a chance to belong as well. And many took the chance. When the perpetrators of Novy Sącz stood on trial in the 1960s, it turned out that none of them had ever made any effort to get away from Novy Sącz. One of those men, who had despised Hamann's brutality and thus was considered by him a weakling, admitted why that had been so, why they all stuck to the site of murder and torture. 'Life in Novy Sącz wasn't too bad. I felt at home in Novy Sącz,' he said. What he wanted to say is: through committing murder and spreading terror, they fabricated a rare good: belonging and collective identity (Figures 11.1 & 11.2). Such belonging based on criminality and brutality would be mistaken as a peculiarity of SS and Gestapo men. The fact that men with different social, ideological and personal backgrounds joined in mass murder and enjoyed themselves by doing so was rooted in certain patterns of youth and adolescent socialization, which were not limited to Nazi Germany, but were realized there more radically than in other countries. The agencies that enabled this shift were the military draft (from 1935 on) and a broad range of pre- and paramilitary training camps. Sebastian Haffner's experience in 1933 can be taken as an example. Haffner, who after 1945 became one of most popular Hitler biographers, was born into a left liberal Berlin middle-class family and despised whatever the Nazis adored. In early 1933 he had just finished law school and was preparing to establish his professional life. After the Nazis came into power, though, he learned that civil service candidates like himself had to join a training camp for some weeks before being permitted to take their legal exams. So he did. In 1938, however, he emigrated to England with his Jewish fiancée and wrote an early memoir, disgusted by the 'systematic infection of a whole nation, Germany, with a germ that causes its people to treat their victims like wolves'. As Haffner put it, the 'widely praised, harmless male comradeship' had become 'demonic' as well as pandemic in Germany, 'a dreadfully dangerous condition'. The Germans, Haffner said, 'are terribly happy, but terribly demeaned; ... so proud and yet so despicable and inhuman'. The Nazi training camp he was forced to join in 1933 had taught him what comradeship was all about.

Camp social life did not focus on Nazi ideology. It rather served as a form of training for offending civil morality and for violent harassment.



Figure 11.1 & 11.2 Close together: sexist and racist wall cartoons in the German casino of Novy Sącz

Source: Courtesy of Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem.

Ritualized recitation of lewd songs and jokes served to vilify bourgeois love and generated collective pleasure. It was all about joining in. One of the highlights was the 'boyish' custom

of attacking a neighbouring dormitory at night with 'water bombs', drinking mugs filled with water to be poured over the beds of the defenders... A battle would ensue, with merry ho's and ha's and

screaming and cheering. You were a bad comrade if you did not take part... It was taken for granted that comradeship prevented those who had been attacked from telling tales.

The civilian individual found himself erased by the group dynamic. Hafner understood, as he put it, 'that comradeship relieves men of responsibility for their own actions, before themselves, before God, before their consciences... Their comrades are their consciences and give absolution for everything, provided they do what everybody else does.' The absence of personal responsibility guaranteed the 'happiness of comradeship... We floated in a great comforting stream of mutual reliance and gruff familiarity.'²⁶

There were many possible ways in which comrades educated deviants into comradeship and assimilated themselves into the community. A tank gunner in the Wehrmacht received a symbolic burial for his failures in formal drill. On the command of a sergeant he was made to lie in a hole and pull his steel helmet over his face. His comrades covered him over with a sheet of corrugated iron, and the sergeant shot three blank cartridges over the 'grave'. When he made mistakes in shooting, he had to stand with a cigarette which the sergeant pretended to shoot out of his hand. Only later did the unfortunate gunner find out that blanks had been loaded. Once he fell in on parade with a dirty neck and his superior told him to wash, which his comrades took as an encouragement to drag the bawling young man into the washroom and 'scrub him down'. Some time later, with the sergeant at the fore, they poured two buckets of water into his bed in the night. A legal prosecution of the harsh but popular sergeant was stopped. In their evidence his comrades showed little sympathy for the 'sniveller', who at the slightest reprimand started 'trembling and howling' and 'wouldn't join in any more'. And the military judges took the view that such 'rough practical jokes' were entirely appropriate for the 'uncompromising demands of modern warfare' which were made on 'useful soldier[ly] material'.²⁷

In the military, group pleasure relied on torturing the other, the one who did not belong. Your superior was at hand not only as the teacher of the virtue of comradeship but also as its catalyst, in torturing the recruits with mud baths, locker room and dormitory roll calls, masquerades and confinement to barracks. For hatred for the tormentors had a conciliatory note. It ensured a certain harmony within the group. Thus in 1942 a Wehrmacht recruit wrote to his friend in the Hitler Youth that 'we had imperceptibly grown together into firm comradeship' through the harassment suffered in the first three weeks of serving

together – following the slogan 'nobody can get to us' and the motto 'and should our arses turn to leather, never mind, we'll stick together'.²⁸ Comradeship developed among recruits through defending themselves against the terrors inflicted on them by their superiors. Often, such comradeship issued in little conspiracies. Dieter Wellershoff's comrade Edi had 'gone to the equipment vehicle in accordance with regulations and with official permission in order to have his boots soled, but had not come back, although it was only some four kilometres away... That was an unauthorized absence from the unit.' Wellershoff and his comrades knew that they were liable to punishment if they did not report Edi. But they did not see him as a traitor and 'believed in Edi's non-chalance and his fantasies', which did not really endanger his ties to his comrades. 'And a secret solidarity with this crazy guy prevented us from reporting the incident.' Instead they hushed up Edi's absence for a day and even into the night, when there was trench digging to be done. Edi did indeed return after a day and turned out to be a 'good comrade' who had gone AWOL not for himself, but for the sake of the group, to 'purloin things'. As 'booty' he brought a side of bacon which 'he shared amongst us'. He was one of 'us'. Edi enriched and enlivened social life – the pleasure of belonging.²⁹

Military service was the drilling square for comradeship. A comrade was someone with whom 'you could get up to something now and then', as Lieutenant Gerhard Modersen put it in his diary in 1943. For countless soldiers, getting up to something together meant one thing above all: adventures with women. Modersen was married. But it was precisely the adultery he practised constantly along with his comrades which represented for him the attraction of life as a soldier.³⁰ It was not only a matter of physical sexual pleasure. At least as important was the ability to boast of sexual adventures to your circle of comrades. Boasting of sexual adventures demonstrated the social sovereignty of the leagues of males, their independence from real women, their superiority over the family and home – over civilian society and civilian morality. The moral grammar of comradeship always obeyed the same rule: anything was allowed that enriched and intensified the group's social life, its bonds and its cohesion. Such cohesion played out when the soldiers got together for having fun or when they did their duties, whatever these were.

No doubt, even more effective than boasting of sex adventures was the actual performance of sexual violence. Abusing women in the occupied areas was the ultimate performative masculinity, that is, an assertion of the sovereignty of the male bond. Shortly after the Germans had

invaded her home town Pskov in early August 1941, the Russian teacher Genia Demianova was tortured and raped by a Wehrmacht sergeant. He did so not only to satisfy his own sexual desires but also to position himself among comrades, as the victim's account reveals. Right afterwards, he started boasting. "There is a roar of cheering, the clinking of many glasses. The sergeant is standing in the open doorway: "The wild cat is tamed," he is saying. "Boys, she was a virgin. What do you say to that?" Another burst of cheering," and the sergeant closed the door, but Demianova was not left alone. "The others came in' and 'flung themselves upon me, digging into my wounds while they defiled me... Then everything passed. The Germans kept coming, spitting obscene words towards me, guffawing as they tortured me."³¹

Leagues of men forming themselves into communities through the illicit and the criminal were not peculiar to the military or to Germany in the Nazi period. As historical, sociological, psychological and anthropological research in other military organizations and in certain gangs and rites of initiation show, such social mechanisms are widespread, perhaps all over the world and throughout history.³² Hitler himself was well aware of the sociology of crime and presented it as a political prescription. In 1923 he declared that there were 'two things which can unite human beings; shared ideals and shared roguery'.³³ Before 1933, the Storm Troopers put this maxim into practice. From 1933 on, assimilation into the community via criminality was arranged by the Nazi state. The Nazi state not only allowed but rather encouraged its soldiers, and in fact the entire Aryan *Volksgemeinschaft*, to dive into a collective pleasure that was based on the torture of the 'other', Jews in particular. Of fundamental significance were the criminal orders which were issued under the seal of secrecy during the preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union in the spring of 1941, but which could not remain secret and were not intended to be so. According to these orders, the so-called 'political commissars' of the Red Army were not to be treated as prisoners of war according to international law, but were to be 'seen to' either at once or after further 'checking over'. The war jurisdiction decree went much further. It suspended 'obligatory prosecution' for offences against members of the subjugated civilian population by Wehrmacht personnel, even if it was a case of 'military crime'. *De facto*, the two commands together declared open season on both prisoners of war and the civilian population of the occupied areas.³⁴

These orders, crassly contrary to international law as they were, were not carried out in all Wehrmacht units with equal consistency.³⁵ Not all soldiers and not all Germans joined in the pleasure of terror to the same

extent. Many refused to take part or stood aside. But the wholly diverse attitudes and variations in conduct in themselves oiled the machinery of genocidal warfare. Lieutenant Fritz Farnbacher, a Protestant, although he took part in the Russian campaign from day one and served at the front, was probably never involved personally in the murder of Jews or other defenceless persons. He instead tried to keep his distance. Three days after the attack on the Soviet Union the fact that the troops were feeding 'off the land' was already giving him a headache, for 'all manner of things are being "pinched"'.³⁶ But staying away was not always easy. Though shocked by the greed of his comrades – 'you have to look into their eyes and at their hands, how they yaw and grasp' – he 'willingly' kept a piece of soap that 'is brought to me'. Soon after, when the neighbouring battery 'received' a barrel of pickles, Farnbacher decided, 'I accepted a couple of them and enjoyed them. We aren't really that bad off!'³⁷

Farnbacher and most of his comrades were well aware of international law. But in the threatening scenarios of the partisan war, dramatized by rumours and propaganda, the scruples about criminal warfare gradually dissolved. 'What we've come to!' he remarked at the end of 1941 on hearing that some 30 Russian prisoners had been simply 'bumped off' because it was so far to the assembly point: 'Five months ago we wouldn't have even said that, let alone dared do it! And today it's a matter of course, of which every one of us approves on reflection. No mercy for these predators and beasts!'³⁸

At the same time enthusiasm grew for shared experiences and adventures which reminded the troops of trips with boys' leagues and which occurred during the requisitioning forays and campaigns against partisans in the locality in spring 1942. They didn't run into partisans, but the booty in a village was all the more sumptuous: potatoes, greens, 50 chickens, grain, three sucking pigs and a cow were loaded on to 30 sledges. 'Then I put myself at the head of my forces, once I have assured myself again that they're all present... and march off homewards. The evening is as beautiful as the morning before it. The wind is at our backs and we race along.' The mood is one of elation, not least due to the ordinary soldiers' sense of humour: 'On our expedition, when I asked whether the cow had been paid for, they just said "Yessir!" To my question, how had they paid, came the answer "With cigarette cards!"'³⁹ Another Wehrmacht lieutenant, Werner Groß, drove 'around the area' in a cart and horses with his men in the spring of 1943. They had, he proudly wrote: 'searched villages, combed woods and cleared the area of gangs... We lived like gypsies and tramps.'⁴⁰ The magic potion which enlivened these cleansing campaigns and plundering trips came from

the awareness of being above civilian society. The 'gangs' which Groß fought were a synonym for partisans, and Nazi propaganda equated partisans with Jews.

Group pleasure based on terror and murder was experienced ambivalently. Pleasure and qualms were close together, and the latter dominated the longer the war went on and the darker the visions about its end became. Farnbacher and Groß served as officers in the Wehrmacht and thus enjoyed privileges and prestige, which the rank and file missed. Most of the latter had been drafted, thus entered the army involuntarily. Only slowly, they discovered the pleasures of comradeship – a special kind of pleasure, embedded in and restricted by a community of fate, which you were forced into, but couldn't just leave if you didn't like your comrades or if they didn't like you. Although never 'alone' in the army, Willy Peter Reese felt 'a stranger among strangers'. Drafted when he was about to pursue a decent career as a clerk and establish a family, he was annoyed with soldiering. But joining in seemed the only option, if you didn't want to be ousted. After a while, Reese 'felt at ease in my company, one of many who shared the same destiny'. They drove away homesickness together with a 'barrel of beer', sitting around a campfire and singing melancholic soldiers' songs. 'Our shared privation and distance from home,' he said, looking back, 'made us comrades.' The pleasure of such comradeship, however, could not compensate the loss of privacy and the permanent threat of losing one's life. The pleasure of comradeship was soaked with moral apathy and blatant cynicism. 'Individuality went under in a vast ocean of apathy and never took shape,' Reese realized. Serving on the Eastern Front, he was well aware of the ongoing war against civilians. 'Two hanged men swayed on a protruding branch ... Their faces were swollen and bluish, contorted to grimaces ... One soldier took their picture; another gave them a swing with the stick. We laughed and moved off.'

In the retreat that began in 1943, the troops covered Eastern Europe with marauding, murder, and plunder. The policy of 'scorched earth' concluded the destruction of half of a continent. 'Russia was turning into a depopulated, smoking, burning, wreckage-strewn desert,' Reese stated in early 1944, at the end of a distressed 140-page-long 'Confession' of his own complicity. 'On the way we torched all the villages we passed through and blew up the stoves ... The war had become insane, it was all murder, never mind whom it affected.' Outbursts 'of rage and hate, envy, fistfights, sarcasm, and mockery' replaced 'whatever may have remained of comradeship,' he wrote, sentimentalizing the warm side of soldierly togetherness. As the Germans were forced to retreat further

and further, a new, very different collective identity emerged, based on 'heroic nihilism' and pure cynicism. Yet already in 1942 Reese had depicted in a poem a gang of soldiers guzzling and whoring, boasting and lying, cursing and crowing. 'As a bawling crowd', they had 'marched to Russia, gagged people, butchered blood' and 'murdered the Jews ... We wave the banners of the Aryan ancestors, they suit us well ... We rule as a band.' The band was the Wehrmacht, the spearhead of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the German nation.⁴¹

These verses do not transpire simple pleasure. They radiate crapulence, the emotional consequence of the pleasure of terror, that is, the bad conscience of a society that was aware that it had, as a nation, perpetrated and supported a monstrous crime, decidedly as planners, scientists, killers or guards, or somewhat passively by gazing, by applauding, or just by looking the other way. Wehrmacht Captain Wilm Hosenfeld was one of the very few German soldiers who did not stand by but took action on behalf of the persecuted Jews and Poles in Warsaw, where he served almost the entire war with the occupation regime. He allowed Polish wives to visit their husbands in the POW camp he was responsible for, befriended persecuted Jewish and non-Jewish Poles and saved some of them from the SS's death machine. During the last months of 1944, he helped the Jewish pianist Władysław Szpilman to hide and survive in the ruins of Warsaw. 'I try to save each one I can,' he said to his wife in August 1944, when he, unwillingly, was in charge of interrogating members of the Polish Armia Krajowa during the Warsaw uprising. He acquired comprehensive knowledge. In spring 1942, he heard of the gas chambers in Auschwitz and found that, 'notwithstanding all secrecy', in Poland such knowledge was no longer exceptional but rather widespread. Two years later, he accepted 'the extermination of a couple of millions of Jews' as a fact. Privately, he sometimes blamed the 'current rulers' for betraying 'the German people', contrasted SS 'turpitudes' with the 'honour' of Wehrmacht officers, or clung occasionally to the illusion that 'we as Wehrmacht have nothing to do with that'. In truth even he, now a Righteous Among the Nations, knew that 'horrible blood guilt' burdened the entire German people and thus him as well, if only because he wore the uniform of a German officer. In fact, he knew that he and even more his fellow citizens generated that guilt. 'What cowards we are ... that we let this all happen.'⁴²

Such confessions were rare, during the war and even afterwards. Nevertheless, the knowledge of the Holocaust, in particular of the mass shootings in the East, was widespread among Germans already during the war, despite all efforts to look the other way, to escape into myths

of Germany's own victimization, first by the Versailles Treaty and the national humiliation after 1918, then by an alleged threat of world Jewry, of the Slavic hordes, of the Communists, of the Stalinist Soviet Union. And it was precisely this knowledge that united the German nation and worried the Germans toward the end of the war, notwithstanding all tendencies towards isolation in the landscapes of mass death at the battle fronts and at the home front. It was these very worries that Hermann Goering and other Nazi leaders addressed, when from 1942 on, they reminded the Germans in public speeches what the entire German people (and not only the SS or the Nazi elite) had done to the Jews. 'The Jew,' said Goering in a speech of 4 October 1942, 'is behind all, and he has declared to kill all of us. And nobody' – he meant no German – 'should think, he might say afterwards: "I always have been a good democrat against these mean Nazis." The Jew will treat all [Germans] equally. He will take revenge on the whole German people.'⁴³

The soldiers got the message. They knew that Goering was right in conjuring a collective German responsibility for the Holocaust. Wehrmacht Private Franz Wieschenberg, having served on the Eastern Front from the beginning, pointed out to his wife in August 1944: 'We Germans are the nation which decisively started this war and which has to endure its consequences.' Three years before, in August 1941, this same soldier had reported to his wife, then fiancée: 'I just saw how the Jews in a town we previously conquered had to move out of their party offices and march through the streets on their way to the stake, carrying photos of Stalin in front of them – that was a sight for sore eyes, what fun!⁴⁴ Wieschenberg had joined in the terror in the East as a spectator of a collective entertainment as many of his comrades had done. In Zhitomir in summer 1941, SS Einsatzkommando 4a was in charge of mass shootings in the area. Jews were to be publicly hanged. It was said they had ill-treated the Ukrainians during the Russian occupation. 'The execution was arranged as a form of popular entertainment' and announced all over town ahead of time by a Wehrmacht vehicle loudspeaker, recalled a former Wehrmacht soldier, Herbert Selle in 1965. 'There were soldiers sitting on rooftops and platforms watching the show.'⁴⁵

Photos taken at such events do not reveal as many ashamed spectators as amused ones. They celebrated their splendid community. The 'Us' had triumphed over 'Them', the 'Other'. Kept like trophies, photos of atrocities illustrated, and were intended to illustrate, the dichotomous social reality of genocide.⁴⁶ On the one hand, we see the triumphant group of perpetrators, enjoying themselves committing or watching cruelty. They stick together, they act together and they feel together.

They experience belonging, the epitome of 'humanity' – a special notion of 'humanity', to be sure. On the other hand there are the isolated, humiliated, naked victims – frightened and freezing, robbed of the signs of their personal identity, all looking alike, no longer retaining their humanity. 'Dissociation' from the victims enhanced 'association' among the perpetrators.⁴⁷

To be sure, the perpetrators and spectators did not constitute a unified and homogeneous mass as some photos and testimonies suggest. Herbert Selle, testifying on the Zhitomir spectacle in 1965, did not do so without stating that he 'had been an opponent of the National Socialist Jewish policy' right from its beginnings. He also addressed the discomfort his superiors felt about masses of Wehrmacht soldiers enjoying themselves by watching the murder of civilians. Whatever Selle's private sentiments toward Nazi racism had been, there is no doubt that not all parts of the Wehrmacht performed equal enthusiasm about the soldiers' support of criminal and genocidal warfare. Nor did all Germans at the home front applaud what they heard about it by rumours or from eyewitnesses, what they read in letters from their men serving in the East, or what they saw in photos the soldiers sent or carried back home. The point is that they learned about the murder of the Jews when it took place, and that they felt complicit, even more when the short time of collective pleasure through terror was gone and the long time of convulsive suffering from qualms about the conjointly committed mass crime began. They knew that they were not supposed to talk openly about what they had heard. They did so anyway. In December 1941, a woman in a bakery in Rhenish Emmerich spoke compassionately about the Jews in Russia whom, as she had heard, the Germans drove into the woods to gun down. She did so in front of various clients; one of whom denounced her to the Gestapo. The cult of secrecy radiated monstrosity, uneasiness, qualms – and curiosity. In January 1942 during a vacation in Austria, a staff judge from Berlin mentioned to a waitress in a coffee shop that the Jews in Germany would be notified of their deportation and would then be shipped to Poland where their graves were already prepared. Asked not to talk about such things, he said, 'this is an open secret, any intelligent person knows about it, only the fools don't'.⁴⁸

It is impossible to estimate how many Germans, whether men or women, whether at the battle front or on the home front, knew about the Holocaust, and what exactly they knew. Probably only few Germans knew about the entire monstrous dimensions of the death machinery of Auschwitz or Majdanek. But multifaceted research into a broad variety of different sources, ranging from Gestapo files and reports to private letters,

diaries and memoirs, has left little doubt that Germans who wanted to know were able to acquire at least rough knowledge of the ongoing mass murder. Some Germans knew even more. Victor Klemperer, who as a Jew living in Dresden in a mixed marriage was always afraid of deportation, was one of them. On 24 October 1944 he noted in his diary that 'six to seven million Jews... have been slaughtered (more exactly: shot and gassed)'. It is worth noting to whom the Jew Klemperer owed his knowledge. It was the 'reports of Aryans', as he repeatedly stated. Long before, Klemperer had grasped the cement of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft*. In 1937, he had seen a picture in the *Stürmer*, the radical antisemitic Nazi newspaper, which showed 'two girls at a seaside resort. Above it: "Prohibited for Jews"; underneath it: "How nice that it's just us now!"' Klemperer, who strongly identified himself as a German and had long taken pride in being a First World War veteran, understood the 'horrible significance' of these words. 'I have not only outwardly lost my Fatherland... My inner sense of belonging is gone,' noted Klemperer in his diary. To Germans, the pleasure of being 'just us now' meant to live without Jews – at a vacation resort as well as throughout the entire country.⁴⁹

Notes

1. L. Rees, *Auschwitz. A New History* (New York, 2005), 157. The quotation comes from an interview with O.G. for the BBC documentary *Auschwitz: Inside the Nazi State*.
2. 'Auschwitz through the Lens of the SS: Photos of Nazi Leadership at the Camp', www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/ssalbum/auschwitz_album/ (accessed 3 December 2009), see in particular photos 6–12, 42, 74–78, 109–112.
3. H. V. Dicks, 'Personality Traits and National Socialist Ideology: A War-Time Study of German Prisoners of War', in *Human Relations*, 3 (1950), 111–154, quotation 113–114.
4. E. Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell. The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them* (New York, 1950); Ka-1zetnik 135633, *House of Dolls* (New York, 1956).
5. J. Littell, *The Kindly Ones. A Novel* (New York, 2009).
6. H. D. Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewußtsein. Deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeit 1933–1945* (Munich, 1981).
7. R. J. Lifton, *Nazi Doctors. Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986), 418–419.
8. J. Waller, *Becoming Evil. How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (Oxford, 2002), 117–118.
9. Order by Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, 11 July 1941, quoted in C. Browning, *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992), 13f; E. B. Westermann, *Hitler's Police Battalions. Enforcing Racial War in the East* (Lawrence, 2005), 176f.

10. R. Mühlhäuser, 'Between "Racial Awareness" and Fantasies of Potency: Nazi Sexual Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union, 1942–1945,' in D. Herzog (ed.) *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (Houndmills, 2009), 203 (SS meeting); H. Buchheim, 'Command and Compliance,' in H. Krausnick et al., *Anatomy of the SS-State* (New York, 1968), 343–345 (Dietrich).
11. Rees, *Auschwitz*, 157.
12. This chapter relies on T. Kühne, *Kameradschaft. Die Soldaten des nationalsozialistischen Krieges und das 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2006); Idem, 'Male Bonding and Shame Culture: Hitler's Soldiers and the Moral Basis of Genocidal Warfare,' in O. Jensen, C.-C. W. Szejnmann and M. L. Davies (eds), *Ordinary People as Mass Murderers. Perpetrators in Comparative Perspectives* (Houndmills, 2008), 55–77; and Idem, *Belonging and Genocide. Hitler's Community, 1918–1945* (New Haven, 2010).
13. *Der Weiße Ritter. Zeitschrift des jungen Deutschland* 5 (1923), 86ff., facsimile in: B. Hatenecker and M. Fritz (eds), *Wehrziehung und Kriegsgedanke in der Weimarer Republik. Ein Lesebuch zur Kriegsbegeisterung junger Männer*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1992), 48–49. (My translation. All following translations from German are mine as well unless otherwise noted.) Cf. W. Laqueur, *Young Germany. A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York, 1962), 133–143.
14. J. M. Wehner, *Sieben vor Verdun* (Munich, 1935), 40f; Franz Schauwecker, *Im Todeskrahen. Die deutsche Seele im Weltkrieg* (Halle, 1919), 264.
15. Apparently, my take on the discourse on belligerent masculinity deviates from the one suggested by K. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2 vols (Minneapolis, 1989). Whereas Theweleit, based on a special reading of Freudian psychoanalysis, emphasizes its pathologies, in particular the disconnectedness of its figures and their inability to establish social relationships, I focus on the sociological dimension and the social constructivism.
16. E. von Salomon, *The Outlaws* (London, 1931), 141, 66, 138, 261f, 62–64, 342–46, 358f, 420f.
17. R. Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz. The Autobiography*, trans. by C. Fitz Gibbon (London, 2000), 42–45.
18. See e.g. T. Segev, *Soldiers of Evil. The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York, 1987), 54ff.
19. J. Goebbels, *Das erwachende Berlin* (Berlin, 1934), 126, quoted in S. Reichardt, 'Fascist Marches in Italy and Germany: Squadre and SA before the Seizure of Power,' in M. Reiss (ed.), *The Street as Stage. Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007), 185; Idem, 'Vergemeinschaftung durch Gewalt. Das Beispiel des SA-"Mördersturms 33" in Berlin-Charlottenburg zwischen 1928 und 1932,' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*, 7, (2002), 23 (song), 30; J. K. von Engelbrechtchen, *Eine braune Armee entsteht. Die Geschichte der Berlin-Brandenburger SA* (Munich, 1937), 85 (storm bars); P. H. Merkle, *The Making of a Stormtrooper* (Princeton, 1980).
20. Modern History Sourcebook, www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/horstwessel.html (accessed 3 December 2009).
21. Trial against Heinrich Hamann and others, judgement Landgericht Bochum, 22 July 1966, BAL 162/14273, fol. 169–183.

22. Judgement Landgericht Bochum, 22 July 1966, BAL 162/1374, fol. 1313–1317.
23. A. Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg, 2003), 188, 434.
24. H. Arendt, *On Violence* (New York, 1967), 67; cf. F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 2004), 45.
25. Browning, *Ordinary Men*, 185f. My focus on group pleasure rather than on group pressure does not serve to doubt the meaning of the latter, that is, group conformity. But I think we need to go beyond a Milgram-oriented view on Holocaust perpetrators by considering the emotional 'benefits' of genocidal violence for the perpetrators rather than only the pressure they suffered from.
26. S. Hafner, *Defying Hitler* (New York, 2002), 288–291.
27. Trial of Wilhelm J., judgement 18 May 1944, Bundesarchiv-Zentralnachweisstelle Aachen-Kornelimünster, W 11/M 59.
28. H. Melcher, *Die Gefolgschaft* (Berg a.S., 1990), 112f.
29. D. Wellershoff, *Der Ernstfall* (Cologne, 1995), 188.
30. Gerhard Modersen (Pseudonym), *Diary 1935–1949*, copy owned by the author of this article.
31. Mühlhäuser, 'Between "Racial Awareness" and Fantasies of Potency', 201. See Na'ama Shik, 'Sexual Abuse of Jewish Women in Auschwitz-Birkenau', in D. Herzog, ed., *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (Houndmills, 2009), 221–246; W. J. Geertjeanssen, *Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front during World War II* (PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2004); B. Beck, *Wehrmacht und sexuelle Gewalt. Sexualverbrechen vor deutschen Militärrichtern 1939–1945* (Paderborn, 2004).
32. D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making. Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, 1990); F. W. Young, *Initiation Ceremonies. A Cross-Cultural Study of Status Dramatization* (Indianapolis, 1965), 24–41, 63–104; V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, 1977); J. Remy, 'Patriarchy and Fraternity as Forms of Androcracy', in J. Hearn and D. Morgan (eds), *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory* (London, 1990), 43–54; A. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys. The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe, 1955); J. W. Messerschmidt, *Masculinities and Crime. Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory* (Lanham, 1993).
33. A. Hitler, *Reden* (Munich, 1925), 89.
34. *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg, 2002), 43ff.
35. C. Hartmann, 'Verbrecherischer Krieg – verbrecherische Wehrmacht? Überlegungen zur Struktur des deutschen Ostheeres 1941–1944', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, (2004) 52, 1–75; F. Römer, '"Im alten Deutschland" wäre solcher Befehl nicht möglich gewesen.' Rezeption, Adaption und Umsetzung des Kriegsgerichtsbarkeitsgesetzes 1941–42' (2008), *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 56, 53–99; Idem, *Der Kommissarbefehl. Wehrmacht und NS-Verbrechen an der Ostfront 1941/42* (Paderborn, 2008).
36. F. Farnbacher, *War Diary, 1941–1948*, typescript owned by the author, 23 June 1941.
37. *Ibid.*, 2, 19 July 1941, 23 June 1941.
38. *Ibid.*, 30 Dec 1941.
39. *Ibid.*, 27 March 1942.
40. Werner Groß (Pseudonym), letters to his parents from his time in school, in the Hitler Youth, and in the war, 1930–1945. Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, 700.153, no. 286–291, 4 April 1943.
41. W. P. Reese in S. Schmitz (ed.), *A Stranger to Myself. The Inhumanity of War: Russia, 1941–1944* (New York, 2005), 7f, 12f, 17f, 23, 44, 51–53, 135; Idem in S. Schultze (ed.), *Mir selber seltsam fremd. Die Unmenschlichkeit des Krieges. Russland 1941–44*, ed. Stefan Schmitz (Berlin, 2004), 242f (poem, not in the English edition.). Cf. T. J. Schulte *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford, 1989).
42. W. Hosenfeld in T. Vogel (ed.), 'Ich versuche jeden zu retten'. *Das Leben eines deutschen Offiziers in Briefen und Tagebüchern* (Munich, 2004), 286 (letter to his wife, 10 November 1939), 302 (note, 14 December 1939), 455 (letter to his son, 7 March 1941), 607 (17 April 1942), 626–628 (diary entry and letter to his wife, 23 July 1942), 641 (diary entry, 13 August 1942), 714 (letter to his wife, 9 May 1943), 799f. (letter to his wife, 25 March 1944), 834 (letter to his wife, 23 August 1944). On Szpilman *ibid.*, 108–113, 972–974, and W. Szpilman, *The Pianist. The Extraordinary True Story of One Man's Survival in Warsaw, 1939–1945* (New York, 1999), 209–222, epilogue by W. Biermann.
43. Goering speech, 4 October 1942 in W. Roller and S. Höschel (eds), *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft*, vol. 1, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen, 1930–1946* (Potsdam, 1996), 217f.
44. Letters of F. Wieschenberg, Kempowski-Archiv Nartum, Nr. 3386, 3 August 1941. On German soldiers' antisemitism see O. Bartov, *Hitler's Army. Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York, 1991).
45. Trial testimony of Herbert Selle, 1965, quoted in E. Klee, W. Dressen and V. Riess (eds), *The Good Old Days. The Holocaust as Seen by its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York, 1991), 108. See *ibid.*, 109, photos of the Zhitomir execution.
46. K. Hoffmann-Curtius, 'Trophäen in Brieftaschen – Fotografien von Wehrmächts-, SS- und Polizeiverbrechern', *kunsttexte.de*, no. 3 (2002), 1–14, <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/download/poli/hoffmann-curtius.pdf> (accessed 3 December 2009); B. Hüppauf, 'Framing Violence through the Viewfinder', in *New German Critique*, 72, (1997), 3–44.
47. W. Sofsky, *The Order of Terror. The Concentration Camp* (Princeton) (1997), 9; D. J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996), 135f., 168ff., 327ff.
48. B. Dörner, *Die Deutschen und der Holocaust. Was niemand wissen wollte, aber jeder wissen konnte* (Berlin, 2007), 336–340; cf. F. Bajohr and D. Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis. Die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten* (Munich, 2006); P. Longenich, 'Davon haben wir nichts gewußt!' *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Berlin, 2006).
49. V. Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness. A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1942–1945* (New York, 1999), 371 (24 October 1944), 377 (26 November 1944); Idem, *I Will Bear Witness. A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1933–1941* (New York, 1989), 233f., 17 August 1937.

Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany

Edited by

Pamela E. Swett

Associate Professor of History, McMaster University, Canada

Corey Ross

Professor of Modern History, University of Birmingham, UK

Fabrice d'Almeida

*Professor of Contemporary History, Université Panthéon-Assas
(Paris II), France*

palgrave
macmillan