

# Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones

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*From the Ancient World  
to the Era of Human Rights*

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## Chapter 8

# *The "Big Rape": Sex and Sexual Violence, War, and Occupation in Post-World War II Memory and Imagination*

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The defeated Reich that the victors encountered in the spring of 1945 wore a predominantly female face. German men had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner, leaving women to clean the ruins, scrounge for material survival, and serve the occupiers, often as sexual partners and victims.<sup>1</sup> After years of remarkable inattention since the 1950s, and provoked in part by the sexual violence associated with the conflicts in former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, Red Army rapes became the subject of vigorous scholarly and feminist debates on German women's role in the Third Reich. The sixtieth anniversary of war's end, with its new emphasis on recognizing, publicly and legitimately, German suffering as well as a growing popular awareness of rape as a war crime in civil and ethnic conflicts, brought renewed public attention—albeit in a less carefully contextualized manner—to the story of German women's victimization.<sup>2</sup> The numbers reported for these rapes vary wildly, from as few as 20,000 to almost one million, or even two million altogether as the Red Army pounded westward. A conservative estimate might be about 110,000 women raped, many more than once, of whom as many as 10,000 died in the aftermath; others suggest that perhaps one out of every three of about 1.5 million women in Berlin fell victim to Soviet rapes.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever the figures, it is unquestionably the case that mass rapes of civilian German women signaled the end of the war and the defeat of Nazi Germany.<sup>4</sup> Soviet rapes secured a particularly potent place in postwar memories of victimization, because they represented one instance in which Goebbels's spectacular anti-Bolshevik propaganda turned out to be substantially correct. Millions of Germans were trekking westward in flight from

the Red Army, and millions of German soldiers were marched eastward as POWs, but as Berliners—primarily women, children, and elderly—emerged from their cellars during the piercingly beautiful spring of 1945, the Soviets did not kill everyone on sight, deport them to Siberia, or burn down the city. As the musician Karla Höcker reported with genuine surprise in one of the many diaries composed by women at war's end, "the Russians, who must hate and fear us, leave the majority of the German civilian population entirely alone—that they don't transport us off in droves!"<sup>5</sup>

In fact, the Soviet Military Administration (SMA) moved quickly and efficiently to organize municipal government, restore basic services, and nurture a lively political and cultural life. In regard to violence against women, however, the Nazi "horror stories" (*Greuelgeschichten*) were largely confirmed. Official Soviet policy, however, obstinately refused to acknowledge that soldiers who had sworn to be "honorable, brave, disciplined, and alert" and to defend the "motherland manfully, ably, with dignity and honor," would engage in atrocities on a greater scale than one of "isolated excesses."<sup>6</sup> Ilya Ehrenburg, having quickly assimilated Stalin's new more conciliatory line toward compliant Germans, insisted that "The Soviet soldier will not molest a German woman. . . . It is not for booty, not for loot, not for women that he has come to Germany."<sup>7</sup> "Russian soldiers not rape! German swine rape!" a Soviet interrogator bellowed at the actress Hildgard Knief when she was captured after having disguised herself as a soldier in an effort to escape the fate of the female in defeated Germany.<sup>8</sup> Clearly, however, that new message did not impress troops who had been engaged in a costly final battle and had been told that "every farm on the road to Berlin was the den of a fascist beast."<sup>9</sup> As exhausted, brutalized Red Army troops—"a raucous armada of men with their trousers down" as one officer described his men during their "hour of revenge"—finally crossed into the Reich, they entered not only the fascist lair but also a still-capitalist world of "butter, honey, jam, wine, and various kinds of brandy."<sup>10</sup> Shocked at the continuing affluence of the society they had so determinedly defeated, and the contrast to their own decimated country, Russian soldiers told their victims, "Russia my homeland, Germany my paradise."<sup>11</sup>

For German women in 1945, especially in Berlin and to its East, these Soviet rapes were experienced as a collective event in a situation of general crisis, part of the apocalyptic days of the fall of Berlin and of Nazism. "Rape had," many noted, "become routine"; the story of sexual violence was told as part of the narrative of survival in ruined Germany.<sup>12</sup> A certain matter-of-factness (*Sachlichkeit*), in some ways still reminiscent of the

pre-Nazi Weimar New Woman, pervades many of these accounts. Margaret Boveri, a journalist who had continued working throughout the Nazi years, was laconic about the Soviet "liberators" in her Berlin "Survival Diary" for May 8, 1945: "The usual rapes—a neighbor who resisted was shot. . . . Mrs Krauss was not raped. She insists that Russians don't touch women who wear glasses. Like to know if that is true . . . the troops were pretty drunk but did distinguish between old and young which is already progress."<sup>13</sup> Others accepted their fate as an inevitable, expected consequence of defeat, almost like a natural disaster that could not be changed and must simply be survived: "In those days I endured the Russians as I would a thunderstorm."<sup>14</sup>

### Surviving and Narrating Rape

In diaries composed at the time as well as in reworked diaries, memoirs, and oral histories recorded years later, women reported extremely diverse experiences of what they variously named as rape, coercion, violation, prostitution, or abuse. Indeed, the more one looks at the diaries, memoirs, and novels of the postwar years, rape stories are omnipresent, told matter of factly, told as tragedy, told with ironic humor and flourish. In a recurring trope, women are gathered at water pumps in bombed-out streets, exchanging "war stories" with a certain bravado. Sometimes women recounted stories of surprising escape or reprieve; often they resorted to generalities and passive voice (the awful scenes went on all night, we all had to submit) or referred specifically to the ghastly experiences of neighbors, mothers, and sisters that they themselves had supposedly been spared. "But many fewer escaped than was later claimed," journalist Curt Riess asserted a few years later.<sup>15</sup>

In a compelling diary edited and published by a popular German writer in the 1950s, an anonymous "woman in Berlin" (recently identified as Marta Hillers, another young journalist who had continued to work in the Third Reich) recounted how, after a series of brutal rapes during the first chaotic weeks of April–May 1945, she decided, "It is perfectly clear. I need a wolf here who will keep the wolves away from me. An officer, as high as possible, Kommandant, General, whatever I can get."<sup>16</sup>

Such unsentimental directness in reporting and dealing with sexual assaults or efforts to elude them was quite typical. Curt Riess, a German Jew who had returned to Berlin, with deeply "mixed feelings," as a reporter with an American passport, was both horrified and cynical: "But it was

strange, when the horrific had happened five or six times, it was no longer so horrific. That which one had thought one could not survive, was survived by many twenty or thirty times.”<sup>17</sup> Another younger Berlin Jew, who had returned from Auschwitz, recorded with bittersweet amusement an exchange between two women in the familiar rough (and quite untranslatable) Berlin dialect that, almost despite himself, he was happy to hear again. Justifying her usurpation of a space on an overcrowded train, one loudly announced, “We Berliners had to let the bombs whip around our heads. I sat in a bunker for almost two weeks, was bombed out four times, and the Russians didn’t exactly treat me with kid gloves either; in fact they raped me three times if you really want to know.” This revelation provoked her equally loudmouthed competitor to an often-reported retort: “She actually seems to be proud that at her age the Russians would still take her.”<sup>18</sup>

In a peculiar way, women’s apparent sangfroid in the face of mass sexual assault became part of the story (and myth) of “Berlin *kommt wieder*,” of the city’s irrepressible irreverent spirit. Their self-preserving sexual cynicism can be attributed, at least in part, both to the modernist *Sachlichkeit* of Weimar culture and to the loosened mores of the Nazis’ war, including women’s experience of fraternization with foreign laborers recruited or forced into the war economy. Even more broadly, the fraying of bourgeois morality that had alarmed cultural conservatives at least since World War I and the Weimar Republic clearly continued into the Third Reich and the Second World War, albeit in complex and selective ways—a process recently delineated by Dagmar Herzog in her provocative study of sexuality during and “after fascism.” The war had inevitably and paradoxically led to a loosening of domestic bonds and an eroticization “of public life,” unevenly prosecuted, sometimes denounced and sometimes accepted by the populace. Indeed, as Annemarie Tröger already argued in an important 1986 essay, the dissociative endurance with which women survived rape as well as their instrumental fraternizing affairs bore an uncanny resemblance to the matter-of-fact, apparently detached encounters described in the Weimar “New Woman” novels of an Irmgard Keun or Marieluise Fleisser. German women, Tröger contended, had been trained into a sexual cynicism “freed from love,” which served them well during the war and its aftermath.<sup>19</sup> In the autobiographical postwar novel, *Westend*, the main character narrates her rape with precisely the cool distant tone associated with New Woman writers: “he carried out the act which he perhaps saw as a kind of self-imposed duty coldly and without interest. She felt sorry for the man on top of her.”<sup>20</sup>

The Russian, whose arrival had been so desperately anticipated by victims and opponents of Nazism and so dreaded by most Germans, became in Berlin an object not only of terror but of intense fascination and bewilderment. In keeping with the images provided by Nazi propaganda, he appeared as the drunken, primitive “Mongol” who descended on Germany like a vengeful “hungry locust” in an “orgy of revenge.” These slanty-eyed ravagers from the Far Eastern steppes demanded watches, bicycles, and women; they had no clue that a flush toilet was not a sink or a refrigerator, and were astounded that the *Wurst* they had stored in the tank disappeared when a handle was pulled. They loaded expensive precision instruments, as if they were potato sacks, for transfer to the Soviet Union, only to have them rust on blocked roads or train tracks.<sup>21</sup>

The Soviets baffled the Germans with their strange behavior. As one woman remembered, “we never could quite make sense of the Russians, sometimes they were mild-mannered, sometimes sadistic.”<sup>22</sup> They assaulted women but were tender and protective toward children and babies. They brazenly ripped a watch off someone’s arm or grabbed a bicycle, and then offered a big bear hug, two kisses on the cheeks, and a friendly farewell. Women reported that their attackers could be distracted or even cowed, like a child or puppy, by firm commands. They seemed genuinely convinced that looting constituted proper restitution, and that rape too was merely part of their due. Both the Germans and the Allied victors were intrigued by the Soviets’ capacity for drink, debauchery, and eye-popping portions of caviar. “We went to Berlin in 1945, thinking only of the Russians as big, jolly, balalaika-playing fellows, who drank prodigious quantities of vodka and liked to wrestle in the drawing room,” U.S. Commander Frank Howley recalled. They had arrived not only with tanks and deafening cannons (the *Stalinorgel* that figures in so many memoirs) but with horse- and even camel-drawn vehicles; they quaffed gasoline and 4711 cologne in their endless search for alcohol. A Jewish youth remembered his first glimpses of his liberators, “They were dressed in olive-brown, high collar blouses and had rope belts around their waists. Their pants were stuffed into their boots. I had never seen anything like them. If they hadn’t been so terrifying, they might have funny.”<sup>23</sup> These contradictory impressions reflected the generally schizoid quality of the Soviet occupation: “By day they put the Germans, both men and women, to work in dismantling commandos, clearing up rubble, removing tank barricades; and by night they terrorized the city,” even as some officers were moved to shoot offending soldiers on the spot.<sup>24</sup>

The rapacious *Ivan* was accompanied by the cultivated officer who spoke German, recited Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy, and deplored the excesses of his comrades, even as he used the threat of their assaults as a lure to attract “consensual” sex. Germans frequently counterposed these “cultivated” Soviets from European Russia to the equally if differently fascinating American occupiers who—rehearsing images of American POWs in Nazi newsreels—were categorized as vulgar, gum-chewing primitives. GI conquests, however, came primarily via nylons and chocolate, rather than rape. “The difference,” Berliners quipped, “is that the Americans and the British ask the girls to dinner and then go to bed with them, while the Russians do it the other way round.”<sup>25</sup> Yet the remarkably frank diary entries of one Ukrainian Jewish Red Army officer who professed himself horrified by the depredations of his comrades, differed little from the pleased descriptions of their “fraternization” experiences by American occupiers: German women in Berlin begged him, “I’m willing, just fuck me (*fick-fick*), I’ll do anything you want, just rescue me from all these men.”<sup>26</sup>

In the end perhaps, the many negative but also confused interpretations of the Soviets’ behavior helped women to distance themselves from the horror of their own experience. The narrative of the Russian primitive or exotic curiously absolved him of guilt, as it also absolved women themselves. Such uncivilized, animal-like creatures could not be expected to control themselves, especially when tanked up with alcohol. Nor could women be expected to defend themselves against an elemental force, backed up, of course, in most cases by a rifle or revolver. As one woman remembered, after the initial panic about a fate worse than death, “It became clear to me that a rape, as awful as it might be, had nothing to do with loss of honor.”<sup>27</sup>

More than a few women favorably compared Russian officers to contemptible, defeated German men, who either abetted women’s humiliation or sought to punish them for it, sometimes to the point of killing them to preserve their honor. Pathetic parodies of the manly, SS-valORIZED Teutonic genus, preoccupied with saving their own skins, they were not above pressuring women to submit, to avoid endangering themselves; rape, after all, was a less horrific fate than Siberia or getting shot. The narrator of *A Woman in Berlin* wrote of the Soviet officer whom she finally cornered into her bed, hoping that he would fend off rivals: “On the other hand, I do like the Major, I like him the more as a person, the less he wants from me as a man. . . . Because among all the male creatures of the last several days he is the most tolerable man and human being.”<sup>28</sup>

In the 1951 potboiler, *The Big Rape*, American war correspondent James W. Burke’s “composite” heroine Lilo describes her (temporary) protector Captain Pavel Ivanov in remarkably similar terms; he “was all that she had bargained for. He was kind, he was considerate, he was gallant. And he safeguarded her from wanton attack.” Lilo in turn was determined not to have “painstakingly preserved her life thus far to foolishly lay it down at the altar of such a spurious and pretentious virtue.”<sup>29</sup>

The turn of the millennium explosion of memory (and memory politics) about German suffering during and after the war relies in part on the nagging sense that this victimization was never adequately expressed or recognized, and always overshadowed in both West and East Germany by the demand for a recognition of collective guilt for Germany’s crimes. This insistence on what historians have called “the silence that never was” certainly applies to popular perceptions that German women’s massive and collective experience of sexual assault was quickly and profoundly silenced or made taboo. It is indeed the case that the ubiquitous stories of rape were downplayed or “normalized” by virtually everyone, including, in many ways, the victims themselves. Depending on who was talking, rapes were presented as the inevitable byproduct of a vicious war, or, in the “antifascist” narrative, as understandable retribution or exaggerated anti-Communist propaganda.<sup>30</sup> In no way, however, did these framings mean that rape stories were denied or silenced. On the contrary, in the direct aftermath of the war there was no lack of speech or documentation about rape. If anything, we find a plethora of talk in many different voices and venues, although it is indeed difficult to measure those expressions against our current expectations of treating and “working through” trauma.

Given the realities of mass rape, German communists and SMA authorities could not, particularly during the immediate postwar years 1945–47, impose a total silence around Red Army actions. They sought instead to find ways of containing both the massive incidence of rapes and the conversation about them. They denied, minimized, justified, and shifted responsibility. They freely admitted violations, excesses, abuses, and unfortunate incidents, and vowed to bring them under control (or to demand that the Soviet army do so). But they also trivialized rape, as an inevitable part of normal brutal warfare, as comparable to the violations of the Western Allies, and as understandable if not entirely excusable in view of the atrocities perpetrated on the Russians by the Germans. In a common pattern of simultaneous acknowledgment and denial, Communist Party memos and press reports

referred frequently and openly to (purportedly unjustified) rumors of rape by Red Army soldiers, thereby reproducing and disseminating stories that, their coding as rumors or pernicious anti-Soviet propaganda notwithstanding, everyone presumably knew to be true. The *Berliner Zeitung*, which often resorted to cartoon characters speaking in Berlin dialect to explain unpopular positions (such as unwillingness to take responsibility for having profited from “aryanized” Jewish property), even ran a cartoon strip satirizing women’s fears while encouraging their labor as *Trümmerfrauen*. Under the headline, “Mongols in Berlin, the latest rumor” (*Flüstergeschichte*, literally, “whispered stories”), the sensible Frau Piesepampel informs her hysterical neighbor Frau Schwabbel that she has “no time for such nonsense” and no intention of worrying about “Mongols” now that the war is finally over. There was cleanup work to be done, and she would not be distracted.<sup>31</sup> And while Soviet officers did sometimes exact summary punishment by shooting soldiers accused of rape, few worried as did the dissident Lev Kopolev in his memoirs of life as a political officer in the Red Army, “Why did so many of our soldiers turn out to be common bandits, raping women and girls one after another—on the side of the road, in the snow, in doorways? How did this all become possible?” His “bourgeois human[ist]” compunctions led to his arrest for being pro-German.<sup>32</sup>

All protestations notwithstanding, it was generally if not explicitly acknowledged that the communist-dominated Socialist Unity (SED) Party’s embarrassing loss to the Social Democrats (SPD) in Berlin’s first open elections in 1946 was due in no small part to a heavily female electorate remembering and responding to the actions of the Soviet “friends.”<sup>33</sup> The Soviets had worked hard to present themselves as liberators, organizing city services, licensing newspapers and political parties, and promoting cultural revival, but in many ways their efforts came too late; the damage of the first few weeks could not be undone. In his report to the London paper *The Observer*, Issac Deutscher had predicted that “Next Sunday the women of Berlin will take their revenge against the humiliations that were forced upon them during the first weeks of occupation.” The election results indicated that he was right.<sup>34</sup>

Rape continued to figure in German narratives of victimization for many years. Public conversation about the mass rapes was common during the immediate postwar period, despite all Communist and SMA efforts to block the discussion. Once conditions had somewhat normalized, however, such conversations were indeed curtailed in both the East and West. With the return of prisoners of war and the “remasculinization”<sup>35</sup> of German

society, the topic was suppressed, deemed humiliating for German men and too risky for women who feared—with much justification given the reports of estrangement and even murder—the reactions of their menfolk. But rape stories continued to circulate and indeed were repeatedly invoked or alluded to by contemporary chroniclers, both German and occupier. In immediate reports and in later memoirs, women reported over and over that the cry “*Frau komm*” still rang in their ears.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the importance of Berlin as the conquered capital and the millions of refugees from the East who poured into western Germany assured the centrality of rape stories in memories of defeat even in areas where there had never been a Red Army soldier.

### Rape and American Conquerors

The continuing prominence of rape in German narratives of victimization in the period 1945–49 was not, as suggested by East German communists, due to propaganda by the Western allies. When Colonel Howley, who had served as the first U.S. commander in Berlin, published his virulently anti-communist memoirs in 1950, he wrote at length about the horrors of the Soviet regime of rape, murder, and looting.<sup>37</sup> In his earlier official military reports from Berlin, however, he had downplayed German anxieties about crime, disorder, and hunger. With a touch of sarcasm, he noted that the per capita crime rate in 1945–46 Berlin was lower than that of most cities in the United States, especially New York!<sup>38</sup>

Even among the Americans, therefore, with whom such tales might have served as useful anticommunist propaganda, the discussion was restrained. In the early occupation years, U.S. officials were far from seizing on rape stories to discredit their Soviet allies and competitors, whom they viewed as “hard bargaining, hard playing, hard drinking, hard bodied, and hard headed.”<sup>39</sup> Russians might be barbarian rapists but they were also tough fighters and exotic celebrators who could drink, eat, and copulate prodigiously—often to the admiring frustration of U.S. colleagues unable to match their levels of consumption. Nor were Americans necessarily unsympathetic to Soviet “excesses.” Shortly before the war ended, a *Newsweek* reporter had no trouble explaining a rape “behind the barn” by a liberated Soviet POW who had been “badly treated, particularly by a farmer’s daughter who was a Hitler Maiden and took delight in trying to prove the Russians were second-class human beings,” as an act of “justice.”<sup>40</sup> More than ten years later, in his lurid 1956 novel, *Fräulein*, the American writer James

McGovern sneered, "Poor Frau Graubach. When she had voted *ja*, she had not bargained for this."<sup>41</sup>

On September 6, 1945, military government officer John Maginnis noted, "We had another incident tonight. . . . The MPs were called in by the German police on an attempted rape by two Russians which ended in a shooting contest. Captain Bond went along to see the fun [sic] and almost got himself killed. The Russians were subdued but one of the MPs was shot in the thigh. I gave Captain Bond a good dressing down for getting mixed up in such a brawl; he should have known better."<sup>42</sup> This generally lighthearted tone of American reporting about Soviet abuses surely had something to do with the problems that the U.S. forces had, not only with fraternization and prostitution, but also with sexual violence.<sup>43</sup> When William Griffith took over as a denazification officer for the military government in Bavaria, where there were many more American troops than in divided Berlin, he discovered that an important task of the military police was "largely to parade weeping German rape victims past their suspected GI assailants for identification." Luckily for the GIs, "the poor girls, I regret to say, never identified any of our soldiers."<sup>44</sup> As American reporters Bud Hutton and Andy Rooney smirked about Soviet rapes, "The great novelty for the United States Army was, however, that for the first time in the history of living man someone was behaving worse than the American soldier."<sup>45</sup>

If German communists worried about the effects of Red Army behavior on support for the occupation and the Socialist Unity Party that they had established in April 1946, American officials and journalists certainly also debated the corrupting effects—on both occupier and occupied—of servicemen's looting, brawling, raping, and general "sexual antics."<sup>46</sup> Defeat and military occupation, with their enormous pressures to engage in instrumental sex, make it in many cases difficult to disentangle coercive, pragmatic, and what might be called genuinely consensual sex. Kay Boyle captured this ambiguous state well in one of her "Military Occupation Group" short stories, when an American occupier declares, "Let me tell you that Berlin's the territory for the man who's got a flair. They're still pretty hungry there, so they come to terms without too much of an argument."<sup>47</sup> Thomas Berger's fiercely comic (and presumably somewhat autobiographical) 1958 novel, *Crazy in Berlin*, begins with a GI shouting at a woman in a Berlin park, "Honey . . . *schlafen mit* me, oh won't you *schlafen mit* me!" and concludes with the lesson learned in occupied Germany: "Organize your sex life and all else followed, the phallus being the key to the general metropolis of man-

hood, which most of the grand old civilizations knew but we in America had forgotten."<sup>48</sup>

Certainly, the many American fictionalizations of postwar Berlin—a genre in itself, often written by men who served there—stressed the unique advantages of the GIs' sexual bonanza; what a historian of the U.S. occupation summarized as the "general willingness on the part of German women" and the American Jewish writer Meyer Levin, more bitterly, as "the lustful eagerness of the German girls to fulfill their roles as conquered women."<sup>49</sup> In McGovern's *Fräulein*, the jaded women survivors of the Battle of Berlin hopefully await the American conquerors: "The Americans had not suffered in the war. Their homes had not been bombed, their women raped, their industries razed. Their casualties in Europe had been smaller than those of the *Wehrmacht* at Stalingrad alone. They would be free from the spirit of revenge for which the French, British, and Russians could hardly be blamed." Cynically, the women repeat the dominant American view, "Rape? They don't have to rape. All those women who swarm outside their barracks would rape them for a carton of cigarettes or a chocolate bar." American privilege also assured a more benign general level of exploitation and looting: "The Russians steal power plants and cranes and whole factories, while the Amis are content to ship Meissen china, Zeiss cameras, and family heirloom jewels through their Army Post Office."<sup>50</sup>

### Fraternization: Sexual, Political, and Racial Border Crossing

The putatively "other," but frequently difficult-to-disentangle side of the rape story, was sexual fraternization. The bans imposed with all serious intent by the Americans (and British) very quickly showed themselves to be utterly and hopelessly unenforceable, as "an immense and sordid joke." In one of the many apparently autobiographical novels published in the years right after the war, an officer marveling at the sudden bounty of "guns, wine, silver, paintings, women, and various combinations thereof" greeting the Americans, tells his men, "In this outfit we stand on Patton's unofficial ruling that it is not fraternization if you don't stay for breakfast. Sleep with 'em but don't shake hands."<sup>51</sup> With everyone agreeing that "surely it is necessary to go back to Prohibition to find a law so flagrantly violated and so rarely enforced," General Eisenhower eased the ban on July 7 just as the Americans were taking up their positions in Berlin, and then essentially lifted it by officially permitting public conversations between Germans and Americans on July 15, 1945.



Technicalities notwithstanding, any political fraternization suggested by a handshake was clearly not the major issue; as an American observer bluntly put it in 1946, "Fraternization is strictly a matter of sex. An American with a German woman is with her because she is a woman, not because she is a German."<sup>52</sup> The American Jewish intelligence officer Saul Padover noted the obvious when he wrote that "The dictionary" may have "define[d] fraternization as 'bringing into brotherly love,' but the relations between Americans and Germans did not belong in that category," and it quickly "came to have the exclusive signification of fornication." It was no accident that the ever-creative German joke makers nicknamed the military government "government by mistresses."<sup>53</sup>

Over and over again, using virtually identical phrases, reporters highlighted occupied Germany's ubiquitous *Fräuleinwunder*. "There is nothing like it this side of Tahiti," they marveled about the accessibility of young German women. When a young officer inquired about bringing his wife to his Berlin posting, he was greeted with incredulity, "Wife? You must be nuts!" said the general. "You're bringing a sandwich to a banquet."<sup>54</sup> Or as one decidedly not amused female American reporter sniffed about German women who treated "all American women with contempt and all American men as gods": "If there was any rape, it certainly wasn't necessary."<sup>55</sup> Particularly titillating was the picture of German women quickly shedding all the "baggage" of racial indoctrination, at least in matters sexual or romantic. Initial reports especially highlighted fraternization with both Jewish and African American soldiers as ironic racial transgressions: "the Negro troops are doing particularly well with the Fräuleins. . . . It is also true that Jewish boys are having a field-day."<sup>56</sup>

Field day or not, the politics of fraternization was particularly fraught for Jewish Allied soldiers. In a report on a "ride through Berlin," posted to the refugee weekly *Aufbau* in July 1945, a German-Jewish master sergeant reflected on how hard it was to resist the temptations of well-dressed, well-fed, and appealing *Fräuleins*. He described his own painful discipline of staring into their eyes and visualizing Buchenwald and Dachau.<sup>57</sup> For U.S. occupation official Moses Moskowitz, the fact that "German women have been known to be on intimate terms with Jewish men who only a year ago were behind concentration camp gates" was one of the most difficult and inexplicable aspects of the German "enigma of irresponsibility."<sup>58</sup> Kurt Hirsch, the Czech-Jewish American GI whom the actress Hildegard Knef married, was excruciatingly explicit about this clash of memories and identities. On their first date in bombed-out Berlin, he took her to the movies in

the Russian sector to watch the Soviet newsreel about the liberation of Auschwitz. "I lost sixteen relatives," he told her on the way home.<sup>59</sup>

The combustible mix of race and sex played out in different but—for occupation policy in a still-segregated military—even more tense ways for African American troops. William Gardner Smith, a reporter for the African American newspaper *Pittsburgh Courier*, echoed black GIs' own highly ambivalent feelings about fraternization in his semiautobiographical 1948 novel, *Last of the Conquerors*. Drinking with "sultry looking" German women, a GI remarks, "Two years ago I'd a shot the son of a bitch that said I'd ever be sittin' in a club drinking a toast with Hitler's children. . . . The same people we're sittin' with tonight is the ones that burned people in them camps and punched the Jews in the nose." One of the girls retorts angrily, "How can you talk? What about the white Americans? In your country you may not walk down the street with a white woman." Musing on his initially carefree love affair with a "white girl" named Ilse, the narrator notes "bitter[ly]" how "odd, it seemed to me, that here, in the land of hate, I should find this one all-important phase of democracy." He remembered the pleasures of postwar Berlin, border crossing through the sectors, strolling along the Wannsee in the summer, or going to the opera in the East with his girlfriend, even as they "could still smell the bodies of the dead buried beneath the rubble as we walked." Not wanting to face the reality that Ilse's dream of marriage could never be fulfilled in Jim Crow America, he has no ready response to the buddy who blurts out, "I like this goddamn country, you know that. . . . It's the first place I was ever treated like a goddamn man. . . . You know what the hell I learned? That a nigger ain't no different from nobody else. . . . I hadda come over here and let the Nazis teach me that."<sup>60</sup>

Women had their own reasons for making themselves sexually available, as the sharp-eyed sociologist Hilde Thurnwald surmised in her report on family life in postwar Berlin. Aside from the bare necessities provided by American foodstuffs and supplies, the *Fräuleins* were perhaps lured less by sexual interest than by a general postwar "yearning for life's pleasures" (*Lebenshunger*). If soldiers' rations could ease "the hunger which had replaced the bombs in making life into hell," as Curt Riess put it, then Berlin's women were also seeking a bit of warmth, a bar of chocolate, an ice cream from the American club, some untroubled hours. The *Amis*, they said, in a reference to the Weimar enthusiasm for American rationalization, were "so streamlined." And indeed the crack Eighty-Second Airborne, which had marched into Berlin in July, was well fed, well groomed, and fragrant, as many recalled, with after-shave lotion; quite a contrast to



the ragged German men returning from the front or POW camps (and in most cases the feared Russians).<sup>61</sup> Their entry into the destroyed capital was limned rather contradictorily in Burke's *The Big Rape*: "giants of men—tall, huge, powerful. . . . They were giants—all! In contrast to the Russians there was something immediately sharp and commanding about these troops. Their uniforms were neat, clean and trim. . . . Their faces were uniformly bright and clean. All seemed to be happy. There were no dark brooding faces. They were like a bunch of kids, away on a lark or outing."<sup>62</sup>

Yet, by July when the Americans entered Berlin, the experience of Red Army rapes shadowed the fraternization phenomenon that accompanied them. Indeed, the very experience of rape may have made embittered women less resistant to the casual prostitution that also characterized fraternization while simultaneously making them more open to the pleasures offered by the Eighty-Second Airborne. It was no secret in postwar Berlin that a politics of guilt, revenge, and punishment had been recently enacted on the bodies of German women. The "furlines" and Veronikas, as depicted in the politically and physically infected cartoon character Veronika Danke-schön (VD) in *Stars and Stripes*, as well as the stolid cleaner-uppers and self-sacrificing mothers designated as *Trümmerfrauen*, were both desirable and dangerous. They were freighted with the shame and horror of rape and the guilt of Nazism as well as emblematic of the victims that war produces. In James McGovern's 1956 novel, he professed to capture this mood: "The cook had lost one son at Orel, another at Kasserine pass, her husband and small apartment in a Liberator raid on Prenzlauer Berg, her modest life savings in the black market chaos, had narrowly escaped being raped by a Russian, and she stubbornly muttered that if she were going to feel guilty, or sorry for anybody, it would be for herself."<sup>63</sup>

Berlin's women appeared, however, not only as victims and villains but also as shameless sexually available *Fräuleins*—determined and unsentimental, willing to do whatever was necessary to survive. James Burke's fictional Lilo personified this tougher version: in July 1945, having made it through the initial Soviet occupation, she walked into the U.S. military government press office to offer her services. She had after all worked for the Nazi press; the Americans needed people with skills and experience; they could denazify her "later." Her motto was "Survival! Above all things she must survive. . . . She had survived the rape of Berlin. Surely she could manage from here on."<sup>64</sup> "One has long since lost the habit of pathos" (*Jedes Pathos hat man sich längst abgewöhnt*), the Berlin journalist Ursula von Kardorff, better known than Martha Hiller's *Anonyma*, who also contin-

ued to work in the Third Reich, noted in her journal on January 29, 1945.<sup>65</sup> It is indeed this lack of pathos, this insistently matter-of-fact tone, laconic, resigned, but determined to endure, sometimes laced with gallows humor—so evident in women's contemporary testimony—that challenges our understandings of both the victimization caused by, and inflicted on, German women as the Nazi empire collapsed.

13. British Joint Labour Delegation, *White Terror in Hungary*, 8–10. Other incidents of torture and murder of female victims are reported in Deszö Nemes, ed., *Az ellenforradalom hatalomrajutása és rémuralma Magyarországon, 1919–1920* (Budapest: Szirka, 1953), 266–70; and József Pogány, “Az egri fehérterror,” in *Magyar Pokol: A magyarországi fehérterror betiltott és üldözött kiadványok tükrében*, ed. Györgyi Markovits (Budapest: Szirka, 1964), 254–60.

14. Another young Hungarian woman who testified to the British Joint Labour Delegation reported that she was arrested in Budapest in October 1919 and taken to the Harsfa police station where she was questioned about being a Communist, deprived of food, and repeatedly raped in her cell before she managed to escape to Vienna. British Joint Labour Delegation, *White Terror in Hungary*, 16–17.

15. John Horne, “Masculinity in Politics and War in the Age of Nation-States and World Wars, 1850–1950,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 22–40. See too George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: the Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

16. For Germany: George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). For Austria: Ernst Hanisch, *Männlichkeiten: Eine andere Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 52–54.

17. On the widespread perception of a “world turned upside down” after 1918, see Martin H. Geyer, *Verkehrte Welt: Revolution, Inflation und Moderne, München 1914–1924* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 19.

18. Joseph Roth, *The Spider’s Web* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 2003), 8–9.

19. See Sven Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde: Gewalt und Gemeinschaft im italienischen Squadrismus und in der deutschen SA* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002), 667.

20. István I. Mócsy, *The Effects of World War I: The Uprooted: Hungarian Refugees and Their Impact on Hungary’s Domestic Politics, 1918–1921* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

21. Freksa, *Kapitän Ehrhardt*, 45.

22. On Germany: Boris Barth, *Dolchstoßlegenden und politische Desintegration: Das Trauma der deutschen Niederlage im ersten Weltkrieg 1914–1933* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2003). On Austria: Alois Götsch, *Die Vorarlberger Heimwehr: Zwischen Bolschewistenfurcht und NS-Terror* (Feldkirch: Schriftenreihe der Rheticus-Gesellschaft, 1993), 24. On the Hungarian “stab-in-the-back,” see Paul Lendvai, *Die Ungarn: Ein Jahrtausend Sieger in Niederlagen*, 4th ed. (Munich: Bertelsmann, 1999), 423.

23. Pabst to Kapitän von Pflugk-Harttung in Stockholm (4 November 1931), Pabst Papers, BA (Berlin), NY4035/6 (Weisse Internationale), 1.

24. Pabst Papers, BA (Berlin), NY4035/6, 37–39.

25. An interesting parallel here is France after 1940. See Joan Tumblety, “Revenge of the fascist knights: masculine identities in *Je suis partout*, 1940–1944,” *Modern and Contemporary France* 7/1 (1999): 11–20. See, too, Luc Capdevila, “The Quest for Masculinity in a Defeated France, 1940–1945,” *Contemporary European History* 10 (2001): 423–45.

26. Miklós Kozma, *Az összeomlás 1918–1919* (Budapest, 1935), 380.

27. Ernst von Salomon, *Die Geächteten*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1933), 144–45.

28. Marinetti, as quoted in Ian Kershaw, “War and Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe,” *Contemporary European History* 14 (2005): 107–23.

29. Quotation from Hans Albin Rauter, NIOD (Amsterdam), Doc. I-1380, map H (interview), 15. See, too: Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 51.

30. Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, *Memoiren* (Vienna: Amalthea, 1971), 37–38.

31. Salomon, *Die Geächteten*, 10–11.

32. Gustave Le Bon’s *Psychologie des foules* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1895). On the continued interest after 1918 see, too, Wilhelm Schwalenberg, *Gustave le Bon und seine psychologie des foules* (Bonn: Wurm, 1919).

33. Salomon, *Die Geächteten*, 30–31.

34. «Kritik der Frauenbewegung,» unpublished manuscript, in Bauer papers, Bundesarchiv Koblenz, N 1022/1c/199b. On this theme, see, too, Cornelia Osborne, «The New Women and Generation Conflict: Perceptions of Young Women’s Sexual Mores in the Weimar Republic,» in *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany 1770–1968*, ed. Mark Roseman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 137–63. For Austria, see, too, Franz Schweinitzhaupt, “Die Frauenarbeit,” in Franz Schweinitzhaupt Papers, Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, 137–38.

35. “Kritik der Frauenbewegung,” Bauer papers, N 1022/1c/198–99.

36. See, too, the famous case of Marie Sandmayr, who was hanged by *Freikorps* men for reporting a secret hideout for illegal arms to the police. Gumbel, *Vier Jahre politischer Mord*.

37. Salomon *Die Geächteten*, 184.

38. Erich Balla, “Landsknechte wurden wir...”: *Abenteuer aus dem Baltikum* (Berlin: Kolk, 1932), 111–12.

39. Oscar Szöllösy, “The Criminals of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” as printed in Cecile Tormay, *An Outlaw’s Diary*, 2 vols. (London: Philip Allan, 1923), 2: 226–27.

40. Tormay, *Outlaw’s Diary*, vol. 1 (not paginated).

#### Chapter 8. The “Big Rape”: Sex and Sexual Violence, War, and Occupation in Post-World War II Memory and Imagination

Parts of this article are based on Chapter 2, “Gendered Defeat,” of my book *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007).

1. One Berlin district counted 1,873 women to 1,000 men in August 1945, and the city ratio was 169 to 100. In August the total population was counted at 2,784,112 (1,035,463 male, 1,748,649 female) versus 4,332,000 in 1939. The male population had been halved, female population reduced by a quarter. The 100 men, 169 women figure compared to 100 to 119 in 1939. *Berliner Volks, Berufs und Arbeitstättenzählung*, Aug. 12, 1945, in *Berliner Zeitung* 1, 91 (Aug. 29, 1945): 1. On the meaning of

the female “surplus” at war’s end, see Elizabeth D. Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 10.

2. See the well-received and publicized but controversial publication in Germany, Britain, and the United States of a revised and retranslated text about mass rapes in Berlin, *Anonyma, Eine Frau in Berlin: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen vom 20 April bis zum 22 Juni 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 2003); in English, *A Woman in Berlin: Eight Weeks in the Conquered City*, by Anonymous, trans. Philip Boehm, with foreword by Antony Beevor (New York: Metropolitan, 2005). This interest was preceded by the positive response to Beevor’s discussion of rape in *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (New York: Viking, 2002). Research published in the 1990s includes Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); *Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg Ausstellung: Worüber kaum gesprochen wurde: Frauen und alliierte Soldaten. 3 September bis 15 Oktober 1995* (Berlin: Bezirksamt Charlottenburg, Abt. Volksbildung, 1995); and the text accompanying Sander’s film on the topic, Helke Sander and Barbara Johr, eds., *BeFreier und Befreite. Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder* (Munich: Antje Kunstmann, 1992). For earlier feminist analyses, see Ingrid Schmidt-Harzbach, “Eine Woche im April. Berlin 1945. Vergewaltigung als Massenschicksal,” *Feministische Studien* 5 (1984): 51–62; Erika M. Hoerning, “Frauen als Kriegsbeute. Der Zwei-Fronten Krieg. Beispiele aus Berlin,” in “*Wir kriegen jetzt andere Zeiten*”: *Auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in antifaschistischen Ländern. Lebensgeschichte und Sozialkultur im Ruhrgebiet 1930 bis 1960*, vol. 3, ed. Lutz Niethammer and Alexander von Plato (Berlin: J. H. W. Dietz, 1985), 327–46; and Annemarie Tröger, “Between Rape and Prostitution: Survival Strategies and Chances of Emancipation for Berlin Women After World II,” in *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change*, ed. Judith Friedlander, et al. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986), 97–117. For an even earlier feminist consideration of sexual violence in World War II, including attacks by Soviet liberators on German women, see Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), 48–79. On the thorny problems of historicizing rape at war’s end and the controversy about Sander’s film, see Atina Grossmann, “A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers,” *October* 72 (Spring 1995), 43–63; reprinted in Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany Under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 33–52.

3. Barbara Johr, “Die Ereignisse in Zahlen,” in Sander and Johr, eds., *BeFreier und Befreite*, 48, 54–55, 59. See also Erich Kuby, *Die Russen in Berlin 1945* (Bern/Munich: Scherz, 1965), 312–13, and especially Naimark, *Russians in Germany*, 69–90.

4. Naimark, *Russians in Germany*, 132–33, 79–80, 106–7, 86. Beevor’s *Fall of Berlin* presents much of the same material.

5. Karla Höcker, *Beschreibung eines Jahres. Berliner Notizen 1945* (Berlin: Arani Verlag, 1984), 42.

6. Harold J. Berman and Miroslav Kerner, *Soviet Military Law and Administration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 48.

7. Ilya Ehrenburg, *The War: 1941–1945*, vol. 5, *Of Men, Years-Life* (Cleveland: World, 1964), 175. See also Hoerning, “Frauen als Kriegsbeute,” 327–46.

8. Hildegard Knef, *The Gift Horse: Report on a Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 95.

9. *The Economist*, Oct. 27, 1945, in Issac Deutscher, *Reportagen aus Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 1980), 130.

10. For a careful and sensitive discussion of the rage and frustration as well as sheer exhaustion, brutalization, and alcohol that fueled Red Army rapes, see Catherine Merridale, *Ivan’s War: Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt Metropolitan, 2006), 299–335, 302, 309, 307.

11. Landesarchiv Berlin, Acc. 2421. Gabrielle Vallentin, “Die Einnahme von Berlin Durch die Rote Armee vor Zehn Jahren. Wie ich Sie Selbst Erlebt Habe,” 1955, 37.

12. Michael Wieck, *Zeugnis vom Untergang Königsbergs. Ein “Geltungsjuden” berichtet* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Verlagsanstalt und Druckerei, 1990), 261

13. Margaret Boveri, *Tage des Überlebens. Berlin 1945* (first published 1968; Munich: Piper, 1985), 121–23.

14. Interview with G. C., conducted in early 1990s, quoted in Heimatmuseum Charlottenburg, “Worüber nicht gesprochen wurde,” 22.

15. Curt Riess, *Berlin Berlin 1945–1953* (first published ca. 1953; reprint, ed. Steffen Damm, Berlin: Bostelmann & Siebenhaar, 2002), 19.

16. My translation from Anonymous, *Eine Frau in Berlin*, 78. See the republished version, *Anonyma* (2003), and subsequent debates about the legitimacy of “outing” Anonyma’s name and identity as the journalist Marta Hillers, a kind of Nazi “New Woman,” who had written minor texts for Goebbels’ propaganda ministry before the war (*Kleinpropagandistin*), which played out on the *Feuilleton* pages of major newspapers among male scholars and journalists. See especially Jens Bisky, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Sept. 24, 2003. See also the enthusiastically received 2005 American edition, *A Woman in Berlin*, and the 2009 film version. On the controversy about the German republication, see Elizabeth Heineman, “Gender, Sexuality, and Coming to Terms with the Nazi Past,” *Central European History* 38, no. 1 (2005): 41–74, esp. 53–56.

17. Riess, *Berlin Berlin 1945–1953*, 23, 26, 19.

18. Hans Winterfeldt memoir, Leo Baeck Institute archives, ms. 690, 438.

19. Tröger, “Between Rape and Prostitution,” 113. As Heineman observes, a “regime obsessed with racial purity had become the catalyst of an unprecedented number of relationships between Germans and foreigners.” Heineman, *What Difference*, 58. See also Dagmar Herzog, *Sex After Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth Century Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).

20. Annemarie Weber, *Westend* (Munich: Desch, 1966), 104.

21. Issac Deutscher, *The Observer* Oct. 7, 1945; *The Economist* Oct. 27, 1945, in *Reportagen*, 122–24, 129–30.

22. Margarete Dörr, “*Wer die Zeit nicht miterlebt hat . . .*” *Frauenerfahrung im Zweiten Weltkrieg und in den Jahren danach* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1998), 408.

23. Bert Lewyn and Bev Saltzman Lewyn, *On the Run in Nazi Berlin* (Bloomington, Ind.: Xlibris, 2001), 277.

24. Eugene Davidson, *The Death and Life of Germany. An Account of the American Occupation* (New York: Knopf, 1959), 74.
25. Anne-Marie Durand-Wever, *Proceedings of the International Congress on Population and World Resources in Relation to the Family. August 1948* (London: H. K. Lewis and Co, n.d.), 103.
26. Wladimir Gelfand, *Deutschland Tagebuch 1945–1946: Aufzeichnungen eines Rotarmisten* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2005), 78–79.
27. Gudrun Pausewang, in Heinrich Böll, ed. *NiemandesLand. Kindheitserinnerungen an die Jahre 1945 bis 1949* (Bronheim-Merten: Lamuv Verlag, 1985), 62.
28. Anonymous, *Eine Frau in Berlin*, 138.
29. James Wakefield Burke, *The Big Rape* (Frankfurt am Main: Friedrich Rudl Verleger Union, 1951), 145, 197. The similarities between Lilo and the Anonyma of *A Woman in Berlin*, first published three years later, are striking and worth further study.
30. Consider the contentious discussions surrounding Helke Sander's film *BeFreier und Befreite*, which explicitly claimed to "break the silence" around Soviet rapes of German women. On the 1990s debates, see the special issue of *October 72* (Spring 1995) on "Berlin 1945: War and Rape, 'Liberators Take Liberties,'" particularly Grossmann, "A Question of Silence," 43–63.
31. *Berliner Zeitung* 1:10 (May 30, 1945): 2.
32. Lew Kopelow, *Aufbewahren für alle Zeit*, with Afterword by Heinrich Böll (Munich: DTV, 1979, first published in Russian, 1975), 19, 51, 137.
33. According to the West Berlin women's magazine *sie*: 45 (Oct. 13, 1946): 3, women outnumbered male voters 16 to 10.
34. Deutscher, *The Observer*, Oct. 13, 1946, in *Reportagen*, 187. The communist Socialist Unity Party (SED) received only 19.8% of the vote. See Donna Harsch, "Approach/Avoidance: Communists and Women in East Germany, 1945–9," *Social History* 25:2 (May 2000): 156–82, and in general, among many sources, Naimark, *Russians in Germany*, 119–21.
35. I borrow the term "remasculinization" from Robert Moeller; he refers to Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989).
36. See, for example, LAB Rep 2651/2/184/1, report by Erna Kadzloch.
37. Frank Howley, *Berlin Command* (New York: Putnam, 1950), 65–66.
38. *Six Month Report*, Jan. 4–July 3, 1946 (U.S. Army Military Government, Report to the Commanding General U.S. Headquarters Berlin District), 8.
39. *Six Month Report*, 8. By 1950, with the Cold War in full swing, Frank Howley, who had been the American commander in Berlin, had changed his relatively benign bemused view of the "jolly" Soviets, asserting that, "we know now—or should know—that we were hopelessly naive." Howley, *Berlin Command*, 11.
40. Bill Downs, CBS and *Newsweek* correspondent, *Newsweek* Apr. 16, 1945, 62.
41. James McGovern, *Fräulein* (New York: Crown, 1956), 79. Here, too, similarities to *The Big Rape* and Anonyma's *Woman in Berlin* are worth investigating. See also the 1958 film, directed by Henry Koster for 20th Century Fox, starring Dana Wynter and Mel Ferrer.

42. John J. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal: Normandy to Berlin*, ed. Robert A. Hart (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), Sept. 6, 1945, 294.
43. See, for example, William L. Shirer, *End of a Berlin Diary* (New York: Knopf, 1947), 148.
44. William E. Griffith, "Denazification Revisited," in *America and the Shaping of German Society 1945–1955*, ed. Michael Ermarth (Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1993), 155. On American sexual violence in Bavaria, see Heide Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 54–55.
45. Bud Hutton and Andy Rooney, *Conquerors' Peace. A Report to the American Stockholders* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1947), 67.
46. Harold Zink, *The United States in Germany, 1944–1955* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1957), 138. Among numerous contemporary sources, see also Julian Bach, Jr., *America's Germany. An Account of the Occupation* (New York: Random House, 1946), especially "GIs Between the Sheets," 71–83.
47. Kay Boyle, "Summer Evening," in *Fifty Short Stories*, ed. Kay Boyle (New York: New Directions, 1992), 405–6 (first published in *New Yorker*, June 25, 1949).
48. Thomas Berger, *Crazy in Berlin* (New York: Ballantine, 1958), 6, 236, 405.
49. Harold Zink, *American Military Government in Germany* (New York: Macmillan, 1947) 173; Meyer Levin, *In Search: An Autobiography* (New York: Horizon, 1950), 179. For a recent fictionalization, see Joseph Kanon, *The Good German: A Novel* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001).
50. McGovern, *Fräulein*, 118.
51. David Davidson, *The Steeper Cliff* (New York: Random House, 1947), 63, 33.
52. Bach, *America's Germany*, 71–72, 75.
53. Saul K. Padover, "Why Americans Like German Women," *The American Mercury* 63:273 (Sept. 1946): 354–357.
54. Drew Middleton, *Where Has Last July Gone? Memoirs* (New York: Quadrangle, 1973), 148.
55. Judy Barden, "Candy-Bar Romance—Women of Germany," in *This Is Germany*, ed. Arthur Settel (New York: William Sloane, 1950), 164–65.
56. See Cedric Belfrage, *Seeds of Destruction: The Truth About the US Occupation of Germany* (New York: Cameron & Kahn, 1954), 67–68.
57. "Fahrt durch Berlin. Aus einem Brief von Master Sgt Charles Gregor, *Aufbau* (Aug. 17, 1945): 32.
58. Moses Moskowitz, "The Germans and the Jews: Postwar Report: The Enigma of German Irresponsibility," *Commentary* 2 (1946): 7.
59. Knief, *Gift Horse*, 120–23. The marriage did not last.
60. William Gardner Smith, *Last of the Conquerors* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1948), 35, 44, 57, 67–68. On Smith, see also Fehrenbach, *Race After Hitler*, 35–39, and Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations 1945–1949* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 109–12.
61. Riess, *Berlin Berlin*, 60, 59. See also Hilde Thurnwald, *Gegenwartsprobleme Berliner Familien: Eine soziologische Untersuchung an 498 Familien* (Berlin: Weidman, 1948), 146.

62. Burke, *Big Rape*, 258.
63. McGovern, *Fräulein*, 129.
64. Burke, *Big Rape*, 10, 259.
65. Ursula von Kardorff, *Berliner Aufzeichnungen aus den Jahren 1942 bis 1945*, rev. ed. (Munich: Bilderstein, 1962), 240.

*Chapter 9. War as History, Humanity in Violence: Women, Men, and Memories of 1971, East Pakistan/Bangladesh*

1. All names in this chapter are pseudonyms to protect interview subjects' identity.

2. My discussions with Khuku spanned the period from February to October 2001.

3. The estimated number of rape victims varies. Bangladesh claims two hundred thousand women were raped, while Pakistan says this is an exaggeration. The real problem I am concerned with is not the question of numbers or who raped whom but that the state had sanctioned violence in the war. The subject of sexual violence in 1971 continues to haunt feminist scholars in South Asia, but no thorough investigation has yet been undertaken. The archive of the Red Cross International in Geneva is a rich source, but the 1971 papers have not yet been declassified.

4. The term *Bihari* is used in Bangladesh to refer to a variety of Urdu-speaking people who emigrated from India to East Pakistan in 1947.

5. Biharis and Bengalis started attacking each other on March 3 in Mymensingh, in central East Pakistan, and Chittagong, in the southeast. Visual and documentary evidences of the ethnic massacres are available in the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) library in Geneva. The Mymensingh and Chittagong massacres, however, are rarely spoken about in present-day Bangladesh.

6. In a later section in the chapter I discuss the making and neglect of *birangonas* in Bangladesh.

7. Of the 92,000 taken as prisoners to India, 52,000 were soldiers and the remaining 40,000 were civilians, including 3,600 women and children. These numbers are recorded by the International Review of the ICRC, 1972, Geneva.

8. Lahore, Pakistan, Dec. 14, 2004.

9. There is a growing scholarly interest toward understanding Muslim views on ethics, rights, and morality. See Lenn Goodman, *Islamic Humanism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, "A Kinder, Gentler Islam," *Transition* 52 (1991): 4–16; Robert C. Joansen, "Radical Islam and Nonviolence: A Case Study of Religious Empowerment and Constraint among Pakhtuns," *Journal of Peace Research* 34 (1997): 53–71; Irene Oh, *The Rights of God: Islam, Human Rights, and Comparative Ethics* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2007); Tony Davies, *Humanism: The New Critical Idiom*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008).

10. Veena Das argues that although the circumstances and conditions of violence may become known, the trauma remains unanalyzed. See Das, *Critical Events: An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India* (Delhi: Oxford University

Press, 1995), and "The Act of Witnessing: Violence, Poisonous Knowledge and Subjectivity," in *Violence and Subjectivity*, ed. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphale, and Pamela Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 205–25.

11. Cathy Caruth has looked closely at the gaps between traumatic experience and speech to understand the inability of speech of Holocaust victims who create their silent narratives. See Caruth, *Unclaimed Experiences: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

12. Ashis Nandy, "History's Forgotten Doubles," *History and Theory* 34 (1995): 44–66, argues that the limited method of writing history that historians of South Asia follow in keeping with the western model is a totalizing discourse disenfranchising and oppressing people who do not organize the memory of the past in those terms. He has called on South Asian historians to search for alternative ways of telling people's experiences on their terms.

13. For some excellent reading on the challenges and potential of an oral history of violence, see Jean Herzfeld, *Machete Season: The Killers of Rwanda Speak* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005); Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001); Alistair Thomson, "Fifty Years: An International Perspective on Oral History," *American Historical Review* 85 (1998): 581–95.

14. Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness: An Examination of Conscience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983); Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (originally published in 1998; Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000); Simon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

15. See essays in Daphne Patai and Sherna Gluck, eds., *Women's Words: Feminist Practice of Doing History* (New York: Routledge, 1991). Also, for an ethnography of the interaction and impact of fieldwork on research method and outcome see Ruth Behar, *Translated Women: Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993); Lila Abu-Lughod, *Writing Women's World: Bedouin Stories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

16. Susan Brison, *Aftermath: Violence and the Remaking of Self* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

17. Igna Clandinnen, *Reading the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

18. For a history of "otherizing" leading to the partition of 1947 see Gyan Pandey, "The Prose of Otherness," in *Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha*, ed. David Arnold and David Hardiman (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 188–221.

19. Jinnah's speech has been reproduced in many sites. I have consulted Stephen Hays, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, vol. 2, *Modern India and Pakistan*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

20. For an extended reading of the changes that took place within the army leading to the Islamization of its image, see Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between*