

## Notes

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### INTRODUCTION

1. Arno Plack, *Die Gesellschaft und das Böse: Eine Kritik der herrschenden Moral* (Munich: Paul List, 1967), p. 309.
2. Anton-Andreas Guha, *Sexualität und Pornographie: Die organisierte Entmündigung* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1971), pp. 126–27.
3. Michael Rohrwasser, *Saubere Mädel, Starke Genossen: Proletarische Massenkultur?* (Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern, 1975), p. 9.
4. Leonore Tiefer, *Sex Is Not a Natural Act and Other Essays* (Boulder: Westview, 1994).
5. Important contributions include Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2002); Geoff Eley, ed., *The "Goldhagen Effect": History, Memory, Nazism—Facing the German Past* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2000); Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997); Anson Rabinbach, *In the Shadow of Catastrophe: German Intellectuals between Apocalypse and Enlightenment* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997); Y. Michal Bodemann, ed., *Jews, Germans, Memory: Reconstructions of Jewish Life in Germany* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1996); Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing and Representation* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996); Michael Geyer, "The Politics of Memory in Contemporary Germany," in *Radical Evil*, ed. Joan Copjec (London: Verso, 1996); Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Feminisierung des Faschismus," in *Die Nacht hat zwölf Stunden, dann kommt schon der Tag: Antifaschismus—Geschichte und Neubewertung*, ed. Literaturwerkstatt Berlin (Berlin: Aufbau, 1996); Jürgen Danyel, ed., *Die geteilte Vergangenheit: Zum Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Widerstand in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1995); Heinz Bude, *Das Altern einer Generation: Die Jahrgänge 1938 bis 1948* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995); Geoffrey Hartman, ed., *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992); Atina Grossmann, "Feminist Debates about Women and National Socialism," *Gender and History* 3 (autumn 1991); Silke Wenk, "Hinweg-sehen oder: Faschismus, Normalität, und Sexismus," in *Erbeutete Sinne: Nachträge zur Berliner Ausstellung "Inszenierung der Macht, ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus"*, ed. Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner (Berlin: NGBK, 1988); Anson Rabinbach and Jack Zipes, eds., *Germans and Jews since the Holocaust* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986); and Lutz Niethammer, ed., "Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll": *Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet* (Berlin: Dietz, 1983). On

the “layerings” of memory, see Dagmar Herzog, “Pleasure, Sex and Politics Belong Together’: Post-Holocaust Memory and the Sexual Revolution in West Germany,” *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (winter 1998), pp. 118–19.

#### CHAPTER ONE SEX AND THE THIRD REICH

1. The “will to know” is not just a term coined by Michel Foucault, but rather was already in use in the immediate aftermath of Nazism; as used then, the term was clearly meant also to convey a violent aspect in the drive for comprehension. See the comments on Nazi doctors’ criminality, dilettantism, and overweening “will to know” (*Wissenuollen*) in Otto Bernhard Roegele, “Wertloses Leben?” *Rheinischer Merkur*, 30 Aug. 1947, p. 2. Roegele was a prominent western German Catholic publicist. But see also another postwar (Soviet zone) commentator’s insistence that Nazi doctors, although indeed criminals, were *not* motivated by “the passionate urge for knowledge and understanding, that characterizes true research”; they were not genuine intellectuals but rather “workmen, who have learned nothing but the application of the routine and practice of experimentation.” See Kühne, “Der Nürnberger Ärzteprozess,” *Das deutsche Gesundheitswesen* 2, no. 5 (1 Mar. 1947), p. 145.

2. For example, see G. Schubert, *Die künstliche Scheidenbildung aus dem Mastdarm nach Schubert* (Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1936), reviewed by W. Stoeckel in *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 60, no. 45 (7 Nov. 1936), p. 2672; H. R. Schmidt-Elmendorff, “Künstliche Scheidenbildung durch vernix-caseosa-Tamponade und Follikelhormon,” *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 61, no. 45 (6 Nov. 1937), pp. 2602–3; F. Beetz, “Über die von den weiblichen Geschlechtswerkzeugen auslösbaren Empfindungsqualitäten,” *Archiv für Gynäkologie* 162, no. 1 (1936); U. Hintzelmann, “Über das Sexualtonikum ‘Effecton-Dragees,’ ” *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* 61 (1935), pp. 379–80; H. Ritter, “Über Erfahrungen und Erfolge mit Hypophysenvorderlappenpräparat bei Impotentia coeundi et generandi,” *Dermatologische Wochenschrift* 105, no. 45 (1937), p. 1467; Paul Schmidt, “Zur Behandlung der männlichen Impotenz,” *Die Medizinische Welt* 12, no. 22 (1938), pp. 783–84; B. Belonoschkin, “Weibliche Psyche und Konzeption,” *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift* 88 (1941), pp. 1007–9; Carl Clauberg, “Nachweis der Wirkung von künstlich zugeführtem Corpus luteum—Hormon am Menschen,” *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 57, no. 32 (12 Aug. 1933), pp. 1895–96; Carl Clauberg, “Das Wesen der weiblichen Sexualhormone,” *Schriften der Physikalisch-Ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg* 68 (1935), p. 205; Carl Clauberg, “Die Stimulierung der männlichen Geschlechtsdrüse durch weibliches Sexualhormon (Tierexperimentelle Untersuchungen),” *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 60, no. 25 (20 June 1936), pp. 1457–64; and Carl Clauberg, “Konzeptionsoptimum,” *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* 69 (July 1943), pp. 548–49. On the genital, reproductive, and hormonal experiments as forms of torture, see Olga Lengyel, “Scientific Experiments,” in *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*, ed. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth (New York: Paragon House, 1993); Jörg Müllner, “Heimkehr des Monstrums,” *Die*

*Woche*, 6 Oct. 1995, p. 10; and Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medizin und ihre Opfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1997).

3. Liliana Cavani quoted in Hartmut Schulze, “Was ist so sexy am Faschismus?” *Konkret*, Apr. 1975, p. 41. Cavani also confessed that she personally found SS uniforms to be “very erotic.” See “Was ist am Faschismus so sexy?” *Der Spiegel*, 17 Feb. 1975, p. 126. Referring to French and German films indulging in nostalgic and decadent representations of the 1930s and 1940s as well as movies made by the Italian directors Cavani, Pier Paolo Pasolini, Luchino Visconti, and Bernardo Bertolucci, *Der Spiegel* noted that “these films were all made by people who call themselves Marxists” and hypothesized that the 1970s turn toward a fascination with highly aestheticized sadomasochism and deviant sexuality as an explanation for fascism and Nazism had a great deal to do with the political and cultural defeat of the New Left (pp. 123–24). On these and related matters, see as well Karl W. Pawek, “Im Dritten Reich der Sinne,” *Konkret*, Aug. 1978, pp. 44–45; Lucy S. Dawidowicz, “Smut and Anti-Semitism,” in *The Jewish Presence: Essays on Identity and History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977); Saul Friedländer, *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death*, trans. Thomas Weyr (New York: Harper & Row, 1984); Alvin H. Rosenfeld, “The Fascination of Abomination,” in *Imagining Hitler* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1985); Joan Smith, “Holocaust Girls,” in *Misogynies: Reflections on Myths and Malice* (New York: Fawcett, 1991); Linda Mizejewski, *Divine Decadence: Fascism, Female Spectacle, and the Makings of Sally Bowles* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992); and Lynn Rapaport, “Holocaust Pornography: Profaning the Sacred in *Ilsa, She-Wolf of the SS*,” *Shofar* 22, no. 1 (fall 2003).

4. For a devastating documentation and critique of the tendency of British and American (and some German exiled) commentators to locate the source of Nazism above all in a (defensively denied, repressed, and repudiated) latent homosexuality, see Carolyn Dean, “Who Was the ‘Real’ Hitler?” in *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2004). For an acute analysis of American commentators’ obsessive insistence on continually relinking Nazism with homosexuality rather than with the murderous homophobia that became Nazism’s far more defining feature, see Paul Morrison, “Lavender Fascists,” in *The Explanation for Everything: Essays on Sexual Subjectivity* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 140–61.

5. For a good introduction to the case and its ramifications, see Eleanor Hancock, “‘Only the Real, the True, the Masculine Held Its Value’: Ernst Röhm, Masculinity, and Male Homosexuality,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8, no. 4 (1998).

6. See especially Gert Hekma, Harry Oosterhuis, and James D. Steakley, eds., *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* (New York: Haworth, 1995); Andrew Hewitt, *Political Inversions: Homosexuality, Fascism and the Modernist Imaginary* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1996); and Anson Rabinbach, “Van der Lubbe—ein Lustknabe Röhm’s? Die politische Dramaturgie der Exilkampagne zum Reichstagsbrand,” in *Homophobie und Staatsräson: Zur Entstehung der Idee des Homosexuellen Staatsfeindes in Deutschland 1900 bis 1945*, ed. Susanne zur Nieden (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus, 2004).

7. Geoffrey J. Giles, "The Institutionalization of Homosexual Panic in the Third Reich," in *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, ed. Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfuss (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001). See also the important reflections in Harry Oosterhuis, "Medicine, Male Bonding and Homosexuality in Nazi Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, no. 2 (1997).

8. On the difficulties—and yet also value—of trying to find a language to express the repudiated-but-palpable homoerotic elements of some forms of heterosexual male rivalry and bonding without simultaneously either reinforcing homophobic assumptions or relying more generally on (both empirically and conceptually untenable) notions of sexual "normality," see the debates between Martin Dannecker and Randall Halle over how to interpret Frankfurt School theorists Theodor Adorno's and Erich Fromm's at once deeply problematic but not completely unperceptive comments about homoeroticism and totalitarianism. Randall Halle, "Zwischen Marxismus und Psychoanalyse: Antifaschismus und Antihomosexualität in der Frankfurter Schule," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 9, no. 4 (1996); Martin Dannecker, "Die Kritische Theorie und ihr Konzept der Homosexualität: Antwort auf Randall Halle," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 10, no. 1 (1997); and Randall Halle, "Wer ist hier Don Quixote? Antwort auf Martin Dannecker," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 10, no. 3 (1997). Theodor Adorno's much-debated remark (written 1944 and published 1951) that "totality and homosexuality go together" is in *Minima Moralia: Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980), p. 51. See in this context also the discussion of the coexistence of homophobia and homoeroticism and of the homoerotic elements in misogynist sexual violence in Peggy Sanday, "The XYZ Express," in *Fraternity Gang Rape: Sex, Brotherhood, and Privilege on Campus* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1990).

9. For outstanding analyses, see Manfred Herzer, "Hinweise auf das schwule Berlin in der Nazizeit," in *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850–1950—Geschichte, Alltag, Kultur*, ed. Berlin Museum (Berlin: Frölich und Kaufmann, 1984); and Manfred Herzer, "Die entsetzlichsten Homosexuellenpogrome der Neuzeit—Wie werden die Massenmorde an schwulen Männern im NS erklärt?" *Capri: Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte*, no. 32 (June 2002). For further valuable introductions to the pertinent issues, see Erik N. Jensen, "The Pink Triangle and Political Consciousness: Gays, Lesbians, and the Memory of Nazi Persecution," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002); and Burkhard Jellonek and Rüdiger Lautmann, eds., *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle: Verdrängt und ungesühnt* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002).

10. For important examples, see zur Nieden, *Homophobie und Staatsräson*; Stefan Micheler, "Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder der 'Anderen': Eine Geschichte Männer begehrender Männer in der Weimarer Republik und der NS-Zeit" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 2003); John C. Fout, "Homosexuelle in der NS-Zeit: Neue Forschungsansätze über Alltagsleben und Verfolgung," Claudia Schoppmann, "Zeit der Maskierung: Zur Situation lesbischer Frauen im Nationalsozialismus," and Angela H. Mayer, "'Schwachsinn höheren Grades': Zur Verfolgung lesbischer Frauen in Österreich während der NS-Zeit," all in Jellonek and Lautmann, *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle*; Geoffrey J. Giles,

"The Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler's SS and Police," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002); Joachim Müller and Andreas Sternweiler, eds., *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 2000); Andreas Pretzel and Gabrielle Rossbach, eds., *Wegen der zu erwartenden hohen Strafe: Homosexuellenverfolgung in Berlin 1933–1945* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 2000); Claudia Schoppmann, *Verbotene Verhältnisse: Frauenliebe 1938–1945* (Berlin: Querverlag, 1999); and Cornelia Limpricht, Jürgen Müller, and Nina Oxenius, eds., "Verführte" Männer: *Das Leben der Kölner Homosexuellen im Dritten Reich* (Cologne: Volksblatt, 1991). See also the testimony on the gang rape by Soviet and French POWs (ordered by the SS) of lesbian prisoners in a German concentration camp (Bützow in Mecklenburg) in Ina Kuckuc, *Der Kampf gegen Unterdrückung: Materialien aus der deutschen Lesbierinnenbewegung* 2nd ed. (Munich: Frauenoffensive, 1977), pp. 127–28.

11. For a recent example of this approach in an otherwise highly interesting analysis of Hitler's relationships to women and of many German women's attraction to the Nazi movement, see Jutta Brückner, "Politik und Perversion: Die Frauen und das Unbewusste des 3. Reichs" (paper to be presented at the Goethe Institut, New York, 11 Nov. 2004). (Brückner is relying for this point on the work of French psychoanalyst Jeanine Chasseguet-Smirgel.) For a critique of Chasseguet-Smirgel, see Morrison, "Lavender Fascists," p. 148.

12. For sharp critical analyses of the tendency of both more recent observers and postwar commentators to feminize fascism and thereby displace responsibility for Nazism away from men and onto women, see Eva Sternheim-Peters, "Brunst, Ekstase, Orgasmus: Männerphantasien zum Thema 'Hitler und die Frauen,'" *Psychologie Heute* 8 (1981); Silke Wenk, "Hin-weg-sehen oder: Faschismus, Normalität, und Sexismus," in *Erbeutete Sinne: Nachträge zur Berliner Ausstellung "Inszenierung der Macht, ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus,"* ed. Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner (Berlin: NGBK, 1988), pp. 17–32; Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Feminisierung des Faschismus," in *Die Nacht hat zwölf Stunden, dann kommt schon der Tag*, ed. Claudia Keller (Berlin: Aufbau, 1996); and Elizabeth D. Heineman, "Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002), pp. 25–33. For examples of texts that do assume a peculiar predilection of women to be aroused by Hitler, see Joachim Fest, *Das Gesicht des Dritten Reiches: Profile einer totalitären Herrschaft* (Munich: R. Piper, 1963); and Maria Macciocchi, *Jungfrauen, Mütter und ein Führer: Frauen im Faschismus* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1976). See also the important reflections in Jane Caplan, "Introduction to Female Sexuality in Fascist Ideology," *Feminist Review* 1, no. 1 (1979). On female perpetrators being represented as the epitome of Nazi evil, see Claus Füllberg-Stollberg et al., eds., *Frauen in Konzentrationslagern* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994); Insa Eschebach, "Interpreting Female Perpetrators: Ravensbrück Guards in the Courts of East Germany, 1946–1955," in *Lessons and Legacies V: The Holocaust and Justice*, ed. Ronald Smelser (Evanston, IL: Northwestern Univ. Press, 2002); Alexandra Przyrembel, "Transfixed by an Image: Ilse Koch, the 'Kommandeuse of Buchenwald,'" *German History* 19, no. 3 (2001); and Lynn Rapaport, "Holocaust Pornography."

13. For a good recent summary of scholarly findings on the contributions Nazism made to the modernization of women's roles, including a critical assessment of earlier scholars' faulty assumptions of pervasive female oppression and victimization under Nazism, see Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 4 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003), pp. 752–60. Yet note that Wehler too makes a problematic assertion about the purported “orgiastic” expression on women's (but apparently not men's?) faces at the sight of Hitler (p. 758).

14. Essen-based historian Alexander Geppert is currently writing a scholarly book on the hundreds of love letters sent by German women to Adolf Hitler. For public fascination with this phenomenon, see H. J. Vehlewald, “Forscher untersuchen Liebesbriefe an Nazi-Diktator Hitler: Süßer Adolf, ich bin zu allem bereit,” *Bild*, 13 Feb. 2004, available at Bild.T-Online.de. For a recent attempt to theorize the swooning crowds of men and women, see Christoph Kühberger, “Sexualisierter Rausch in der Diktatur: Geschlecht und Masse im italienischen Faschismus und deutschen Nationalsozialismus,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51, no. 10 (2003).

15. On both the shreds of available evidence and on contemporaries' and subsequent commentators' fantasies about Hitler's personal sexual eccentricities, see Ron Rosenbaum, *Explaining Hitler: The Search for the Origins of His Evil* (New York: Random House, 1998); Dean, “Who Was the ‘Real’ Hitler?”; Hoffmann-Curtius, “Feminisierung des Faschismus”; Brückner, “Politik und Perversion”; and Vera Laska, “Sex,” in *Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: The Voices of Eyewitnesses* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983).

16. Rapaport, “Holocaust Pornography,” p. 79; see also p. 71. See also Jean-Pierre Geuens, “Pornography and the Holocaust: The Last Transgression,” *Film Criticism* 20 (fall—winter 1996); and the comments on Holocaust imagery in pornography in Israel in the interview with Susie Bright, in Andrea Juno and Vivian Vale, eds., *Angry Women* (San Francisco: Re/Search Publications, 1991), pp. 201–2. On the seemingly arousing but actually ultimately soothing and reassuring qualities of pornography, see also Silke Wenk, “Rhetoriken der Pornografisierung: Rahmungen des Blicks auf die NS-Verbrechen,” in *Gedächtnis und Geschlecht: Deutungsmuster in Darstellungen des nationalsozialistischen Genozids*, ed. Insa Eschebach, Sigrid Jacobeit, and Silke Wenk (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002).

17. The classic statement on the use of Nazi paraphernalia for erotic purposes is Susan Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” *New York Review of Books*, 6 Feb. 1975. The most recent round of public fascination with actual pornographic films produced during the Third Reich—and with what the fact that they were produced during the Third Reich might suggest about the Third Reich more generally—was triggered by the announcement that German writer Thor Kunkel's novel *Endstufe* (Final Stage) had been rejected by the press, Rowohlt, that had paid him an advance for it and had widely advertised that it was forthcoming. Apparently concerned that the Holocaust was referenced in the novel with inadequate sensitivity, Rowohlt extricated itself from its arrangements with Kunkel. The Eichborn press in Berlin will be publishing a revised version of the novel. See Luke Harding, “Porn und Drang,” *Guardian*, 12 Feb. 2004; and Volker Weidermann, “Die Nackten und die Toten,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, 1 Feb. 2004. On the real films on which Kunkel's fiction is based, see Daniel

Kothenschulte's interview with film collector Werner Nekes, “Professionell: Der Sammler Werner Nekes über Pornofilme aus der Nazizeit,” *Frankfurter Rundschau online*, 7 Feb. 2004.

18. In this context, see also the perceptive reflections in Omer Bartov, “Kitsch and Sadism in Ka-Tzetnik's Other Planet: Israeli Youth Imagine the Holocaust,” *Jewish Social Studies* 3 (winter 1997).

19. Joachim Hohmann, *Sexualforschung und -aufklärung in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Foerster, 1985), p. 9; Sabine Weissler, “Sexy Sixties,” in *CheSchah-Shit: Die Sechziger Jahre zwischen Cocktail und Molotou*, ed. Eckhard Siepmann et al. (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1984), p. 99; Christian de Nuys-Henkelmann, “Wenn die rote Sonne abends im Meer versinkt . . .”: Die Sexualmoral der fünfziger Jahre,” in *Sexualmoral und Zeitgeist im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Anja Bagel-Bohlan and Michael Salewski (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1990), p. 109; Scott Spector, “Was the Third Reich Movie-Made? Interdisciplinarity and the Reframing of ‘Ideology,’” *American Historical Review* 106, no. 2 (April 2001), p. 472.

20. This prevalent argument is summarized in (and given some endorsement by) Erich Goldhagen, “Nazi Sexual Demonology,” *Midstream*, May 1981, p. 11.

21. Friedrich Koch, *Sexuelle Denunziation: Die Sexualität in der politischen Auseinandersetzung* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1986), p. 60.

22. Udo Pini, *Leibesкульт und Liebeskitsch: Erotik im Dritten Reich* (Munich: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1992), pp. 9–11. See also Stefan Maiwald and Gerd Mischler, *Sexualität unter dem Hakenkreuz: Manipulation und Vernichtung der Intimsphäre im NS-Staat* (Hamburg and Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1999): “The total state leaves no room in German beds for self-determined sex. The subjects of the NS-state have to forfeit their sexuality unconditionally to the regime” (p. 57).

23. Mayer, “‘Schwachsinn höheren Grades,’” p. 84.

24. Annette Miersch, *Schulmädchen-Report: Der deutsche Sexfilm der 70er Jahre* (Berlin: Bertz, 2003), p. 69.

25. Jeffrey Herf, “One-Dimensional Man” (review of Herbert Marcuse, *War, Technology and Fascism*), *New Republic*, 1 Feb. 1999, p. 39.

26. George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 175–76. For the ongoing resonance of Mosse's perspectives, see also John Borneman, “Gottvater, Landesvater, Familienvater: Identification and Authority in Germany,” in *Death of the Father*, ed. Borneman (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).

27. See George L. Mosse, “Beauty without Sensuality: The Exhibition *Entartete Kunst*,” in “*Degenerate Art*”: *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles: Museum Associates, 1991), pp. 25–31.

28. For example, see Hans Dieter Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewusstsein: Über deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeit 1933–1945* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1985); Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life*, trans. Richard Deveson (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1987); Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1991); Shelley Baranowski, *Kraft durch Freude—Strength through Joy: Tourism, Leisure and Consumerism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004); Norbert Frei, “Wie mo-

dern war der Nationalsozialismus?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 19 (1993); Peter Fritzsche, "Nazi Modern," *Modernism/Modernity* 3, no. 1 (1996); Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984).

29. For example, see Hans von Hattingberg, *Über die Liebe: Eine Aertzliche Wegweisung* (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns, 1936), p. 10; Matthias Laros, *Die Beziehungen der Geschlechter* (Cologne: Staufens-Verlag, 1936), p. 167; Paul Habermann, "Zur Frage der Sexualpädagogik," *Kinderärztliche Praxis* 16, nos. 9–10 (1948), p. 288.

30. For example, see Benno Chajes, "Die Ehe des Proletariers," and Adolf Gerson, "Die Ursachen der Prostitution," both in *Sexual-Probleme*, Sept. 1908, pp. 524–25, 541; Hans Albrecht, "Ueber Konzeptionsverhütung," *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift*, no. 9 (27 Feb. 1931), pp. 347–50; Johannes Ehwalt, *Eheleben und Ehescheidung in unsrer Zeit: Aufzeichnungen eines Rechtsanwaltes* (Berlin: Germania, 1936), pp. 4–5; Gerhard Reinhard Ritter, *Die geschlechtliche Frage in der deutschen Volkserziehung* (Berlin and Cologne: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1936), p. 28; and Dr. Wollenweber, "Das Gesundheitswesen im Kampf gegen den Geburtenschwund," *Der öffentliche Gesundheitsdienst* 5 (1939–40), p. 447. See also the interesting survey conducted in 1932 of doctors' perceptions of the pervasiveness of premarital sex: "Erhebung über Sexualmoral," in *Studien über Autorität und Familie: Forschungsberichte aus dem Institut für Sozialforschung*, ed. Max Horkheimer (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1936). On significant class differences in experiences of premarital sex (girls in that minority of the population that was middle or upper class tended to wait longer, while in the working class premarital sex was the norm), see the summary of research conducted between 1925 and 1930 in Johannes Dück, "Virginität und Ehe," *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik* 11 (1941), p. 306.

31. See Julia Roos, "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002), pp. 67–78; Julie Stubbs, "Rescuing Endangered Girls: Bourgeois Feminism, Social Welfare, and the Debate over Prostitution in the Weimar Republic" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2001); Derek Hastings, "Between Church and Culture: The Rise and Crisis of Progressive Catholicism in Munich, 1900–1924" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2004); and Tim Kaiser's dissertation on Protestants in Weimar (University of Michigan). See also the periodization of mores suggested by B. van Acken, S.J., "Prüderie—Distanzhalten," *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 92 (1939), pp. 77–78.

32. For example, see John S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933–45* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968); Wolfgang Gerlach, *Als die Zeugen schwiegen: Bekennende Kirche und die Juden* (Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1987); Ernst Klee, "Die SA Jesu Christi": *Die Kirchen im Banne Hitlers* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1989); Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest against Hitler* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992); Robert P. Ericksen and Susannah Heschel, "The German Churches Face Hitler: An Assessment of the Historiography," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte* 23 (1994), pp. 433–59; Wolfgang Stegemann and Dirk Acksteiner, eds., *Kirche und Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997); Robert P. Erick-

sen and Susannah Heschel, eds., *Betrayal: German Churches and the Holocaust* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999); David Kertzer, *The Popes against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Antisemitism* (New York: Knopf, 2001); Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (New York: Knopf, 2002); Michael Burleigh, "The Brown Cult and the Christians," in *The Third Reich: A New History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 4:795–818; Jochen-Christoph Kaiser and Martin Greschat, eds., *Der Holocaust und die Protestanten* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988); Doris Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1996); Richard Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003); Gerhard Besier, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich: Spaltungen und Abwehrkämpfe 1934–1937* (Munich: Propyläen, 2001); and Manfred Gailus, review of Besier, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich*, in *Die Zeit*, 27 Mar. 2002.

33. For example, the head of the official Nazi women's organization, Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, organized a letter-writing campaign of women's clubs against the pornographic style of the antisemitic Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*. See Ingke Brodersen, Klaus Humann, and Susanne von Paczensky, eds., *1933: Wie die Deutschen Hitler zur Macht verhalfen. Ein Lesebuch für Demokraten* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1983), p. 38.

34. Venereal disease prevention expert Bodo Spiethoff, quoted in Annette F. Timm, "Sex with a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002), p. 230.

35. R. Hunger, "Grundgedanken zur Sexualerziehung der deutschen Jugend," *Dermatologische Wochenschrift* 105, no. 5 (Oct. 1937), p. 1344 (Flex's comment is the epigraph); P. Orłowski, "Zur Frage der Pathogenese und der modernen Therapie der sexuellen Störungen beim Manne," *Zeitschrift für Urologie* 31, no. 6 (1937), p. 380.

36. August Mayer, *Deutsche Mutter und deutscher Aufstieg* (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns, 1938), p. 31; Fritz Reinhardt, "Frühehe und Kinderreichtum im nationalsozialistischen Staat," *Neues Volk* 5, no. 7 (1937), pp. 22–24.

37. Martin Staemmler, *Rassenpflege im völkischen Staat*, 2nd ed. (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns, 1933), pp. 61, 64.

38. A good example of the conservative pedagogical literature is Walter Hermannsen and Karl Blome, *Warum hat man uns das nicht früher gesagt? Ein Bekenntnis deutscher Jugend zu geschlechtlicher Sauberkeit*, 4th rev. and exp. ed. (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns, 1943). In general, the series on "Political Biology" published by the J. F. Lehmanns press in Munich (in which also more than thirty thousand copies of Hermannsen and Blome's book were printed) served as a steady source of sexually conservative views.

39. For one doctor's account of the "consistently positive, sometimes enthusiastic" resonance he achieved among those considered "the fully valuable" (*Vollwertigen*) among his female patients when—in order to encourage them to desist from the use of contraceptives and bear more children—he flattered their figures

or expressly contrasted their good health with those “mentally ill and disabled persons . . . who after all are being sterilized,” see Wollenweber, “Das Gesundheitsamt,” pp. 454–55. Incidentally, Wollenweber had no objections to premarital sex. “From a population-political standpoint I cannot see it as a tragedy if a young man in the city or in the countryside, in the youthful rush of love, takes his girl in his arms and has sexual intercourse with her” (p. 452).

40. Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 56. The idea, as Reimut Reiche concisely summarized it, was that “sexuality is given a little more rein and thus brought into the service of safeguarding the system.” Reimut Reiche, *Sexuality and Class Struggle* (London: NLB, 1970), p. 46.

41. The poster is reprinted in Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 9.

42. The cartoon (from the *Deutschwölkische Monatshefte* in 1923) is reprinted in Christina von Braun, “Und der Feind ist Fleisch geworden: Der rassistische Antisemitismus,” in *Der Ewige Judenhass: Christlicher Antijudaismus, Deutsch-nationale Judenfeindlichkeit, Rassistischer Antisemitismus*, ed. von Braun and Ludger Heid (Berlin and Vienna: Philo, 2000), between pp. 192 and 193.

43. See Arthur Dinter, *Die Sünde wider das Blut: Ein Zeitroman* (Leipzig: Matthes und Thost, 1920); and the discussion of Dinter in E. Goldhagen, “Nazi Sexual Demonology.”

44. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: Franz Eher/Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), p. 357.

45. Max Marcuse, *Der Präventivverkehr in der Medizinischen Lehre und Ärztlichen Praxis* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1931), pp. 4, 65–66, 91, 103–4.

46. See Manfred Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schulischen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1992).

47. For example, see Max Hodann, *Bub und Mädels: Gespräche unter Kameraden über die Geschlechterfrage* (Rudolstadt: Greifenverlag, 1929). On Hodann’s significance, see Kristine von Soden, *Die Sexualberatungsstellen der Weimarer Republik 1919–1933* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1988), pp. 72–74; and Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 122–26. Grossmann notes that Hodann was considered far more important by his colleagues than the somewhat “crazy” Wilhelm Reich, who would in the later 1960s become so immensely popular with the West German student movement. Above all, Grossmann provides an incisive critical assessment of the limitations of the Weimarer era sex reform movement, including among other things its imbrication with eugenics, its tendency to normativity, and its inconsistent attention to women’s perspectives on sex.

48. See Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, pp. 81–84; and Cornelia Osborne, “Representation of Abortion in Weimar Popular Culture” (paper delivered at the German Historical Institute, Washington, DC, 26 Oct. 2002).

49. Georg Schliebe, “Die Reifezeit und ihre Erziehungsprobleme,” in *Wege und Ziele der Kindererziehung unserer Zeit*, 3rd ed., ed. Martin Löpelmann (Leipzig: Hesse and Becker, 1936), p. 148.

50. Walter Tetzlaff, “Homosexualität und Jugend,” *Deutsche Jugendhilfe* 34 (1942–43), p. 5.

51. “Die Rolle des Juden in der Medizin,” *Deutsche Volksgesundheit aus Blut und Boden* (Aug.–Sept. 1933), reprinted in “Hier geht das Leben auf eine sehr merkwürdige Weise weiter . . .”: *Zur Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Deutschland*, ed. Karen Brecht et al. (Hamburg: Verlag Michael Kellner, 1985), p. 87.

52. Chemnitz-based pediatrician Kurt Oxenius, quoted in Martin Staemmler, “Das Judentum in der Medizin,” *Sächsisches Ärzteblatt* 104 (1934), p. 208.

53. “Homosexualität—keine Erbkrankheit,” *Deutsche Sonderschule* 5 (1938), p. 663.

54. Quoted in Koch, *Sexuelle Denunziation*, p. 62.

55. Text of book-burning speech reprinted in Brodersen et al., 1933, p. 34.

56. According to Hunger, “Jewish psychoanalysis” worked “*individually-autistically*,” while, by contrast, “*German psychotherapy*” (*Deutsche Seelsorge*) was more oriented toward the “*holistic coherence of the soul and the community that creation intended*.” Heinz Hunger, “Jüdische Psychoanalyse und deutsche Seelsorge,” in *Germanentum, Judentum und Christentum*, vol. 2, ed. Walter Grundmann (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1943), pp. 314, 317, 332, 339.

57. For example, see Johannes H. Schultz, “Die Bedeutung der Psychoanalyse im Kampfe mit uns selbst,” *Jahreskurse für ärztliche Fortbildung* 24, no. 5 (1933), pp. 8–18; Rudolf Allers, *Sexualpädagogik: Grundlagen und Grundlinien* (Salzburg and Leipzig: Anton Pustet, 1934), pp. 45–47; von Hattingberg, “‘Chemische Liebe’ (der Irrtum Freuds),” in *Über die Liebe*, pp. 25–30; H. Eymer, “Zur Frage der Scheidenspülung,” *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 72 (1942), p. 320; and Joachim Rost, “Sexuelle Probleme im Felde,” *Medizinische Welt* 18 (1944), pp. 218–220.

58. Staemmler, “Das Judentum in der Medizin,” p. 210.

59. See *ibid.*, p. 208; and “Dreht sich alles um die Liebe?” *Das schwarze Korps* (hereafter *DSK*), 25 June 1936, p. 7.

60. See Alfred Zeplin, *Sexualpädagogik als Grundlage des Familienglücks und des Volkswohls* (Rostock: Carl Hinstorffs, 1938), p. 31.

61. Alfred Rosenberg, *Unmoral im Talmud* (Munich: Franz Eher, 1943), p. 19. The book was originally published in 1933.

62. Staemmler, “Das Judentum in der Medizin,” p. 208. Or as Staemmler remarked elsewhere, lambasting Max Marcuse in particular, that there was “no longer anything sacred in the intercourse between the sexes” was a consequence of the “prominent role played by the Jew” in the development of “the new sexual morality.” Staemmler, *Rassenpflege*, pp. 59, 61.

63. “Die Rolle des Juden in der Medizin,” p. 87.

64. For example, see “Der Kastrierjude,” *Der Stürmer* 10, no. 43 (Oct. 1932), p. 2.

65. See von Soden, *Die Sexualberatungsstellen*, pp. 148–49, 156; and the important reflections in Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, pp. 136–37.

66. See Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1989), pp. 230–32. See in this context also Cornelia Osborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women’s Reproductive Rights and Duties* (Houndmills and London: Macmillan, 1992).

67. See Harald Focke and Uwe Reimer, *Alltag unterm Hakenkreuz: Wie die Nazis das Leben der Deutschen veränderten*, vol. 1 (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1979), pp. 122–23.

68. Frevert, *Women*, p. 232. See also the statistics in Jill Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Germany* (Edinburgh: Pearson, 2001), p. 24; and Dörte Winkler, *Frauenarbeit im "Dritten Reich"* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1977), p. 193; as well as the discussions in S. L. Solon and Albert Brandt, "Sex under the Swastika," *American Mercury*, Aug. 1939, p. 431; Gisela Bock, "Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany: Motherhood, Compulsory Sterilization, and the State," *Signs* 8 (spring 1983), pp. 400–421; and Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1988), p. 126. While the overall birthrate rose from approximately 970,000 in 1933 to 1.4 million in 1939 (it sank again during the war to just over 1 million births annually), scholars have also suggested that in many cases a woman's decision to have another child could be read as less a response to regime propaganda than a strategy to avoid conscription into the labor force once the regime switched course and decided, against its earlier attempt to put women back into the home, that it needed women's labor power.

69. For example, see Weinrich, "Randbemerkungen zum Ehe-Problem," *Monatsschrift für Pastoraltheologie* 30 (1934), pp. 278–79; Theodor Haug, "Die Sexuelle Frage in der Seelsorge," *Zeitwende* 15 (1938–39), pp. 609, 614; and "Oesterreich erwache!" *DSK*, 25 Feb. 1937, p. 6.

70. Conversations with G. C., 2002, and R. W., 2004.

71. Johannes H. Schultz, *Geschlecht-Liebe-Ehe: Die Grundtatsachen des Liebes- und Geschlechtslebens in ihrer Bedeutung für Einzel- und Volksdasein* (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1940), p. 111.

72. Report on conditions for foreign laborers in Nazi Germany prepared by the French Catholic Workers' Youth Movement, quoted in Pieter Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945–1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), p. 145. Furthermore, as historian Gabriele Czarnowski remarked with respect to condom use in the Nazi era, "one medical officer [she is referring to Dr. Wollenweber, who was based in Dortmund] noted that, especially after weekends, large numbers of them could be seen in the drains of the municipal sewage facilities." Or, as historian Robert G. Waite found, residents of Dachau complained about how the benches and grass at a park adjacent to a nearby military base were filled with teenage girls and Wehrmacht soldiers and that the park "was littered with used condoms." So strong was the regime's apparent commitment to condom production that at one point during the war, a group of mothers even complained that rubber (in increasingly short supply not least because of its use for the tires of military vehicles) was being used more for the production of condoms than for making baby bottles. It was not during the Third Reich, but rather in the *aftermath* of its defeat, that the price of condoms "quintupled." See Gabriele Czarnowski, "Hereditary and Racial Welfare (*Erb- und Rassenpflege*): The Politics of Sexuality and Reproduction in Nazi Germany," *Social Politics* 4 (1997), p. 129; Robert G. Waite, "Teenage Sexuality in Nazi Germany," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8, no. 3 (Jan. 1998), p. 451; Pini, *Leibeslust und Liebeskitsch*, p. 326; Kühne, "Geburtenkontrolle," *Das deutsche Gesundheitswesen* 2, no. 23 (1947), pp. 746–47.

73. See Gunter Schmidt, "Weshalb Sex alle (Un)schuld verloren hat," *taz-magazin*, 24–25 Apr. 1999, p. v.

74. See Wollenweber, "Das Gesundheitsamt," p. 451. In 1941, the regime—incoherently—ordered that the advertisement and sale of contraceptives inserted in the vagina (both spermicidal products and diaphragms and cervical caps) be outlawed entirely (in the Himmler ruling of January 1941) and that these items be available only in pharmacies and only with a doctor's prescription (in the Conti ruling of March 1941). Conti was the head of the Reich Medical Office. See Hans Harmsen, "Mittel zur Geburtenregelung in der Gesetzgebung des Staates, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des neuen Entwurfes eines Strafgesetzbuches," in *Sexualität und Verbrechen*, ed. Fritz Bauer et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1963), p. 179. Even after Himmler's ruling went into effect, magazines continued to carry advertisements for mail-order contraceptive devices (of "hygienic rubber"), with only minimal veiling of their meaning. See Heineman, "Sexuality and Nazism," p. 46, n. 81. On the popularity also of intrauterine devices (IUDs) and their continued availability in the early years of the Third Reich (from doctors, medical and rubber supply stores, and door-to-door saleswomen), see V. Ohne-sorge, "Gefahren der intrauterinen 'Schutzmittel,'" *Zeitschrift für Gynäkologie* 59 (13 Apr. 1935), p. 875.

75. Contrary to many postwar commentators' assumptions, information about the rhythm method was not censored during the Third Reich (though the method's effectiveness was certainly contested); doctors discussed in print how to use and interpret the calendars and at least as late as 1942 calendars could be purchased by mail order from Vienna. Hermann Knaus, the Austrian who had, contemporaneously with the Japanese physician Kiyusaku Ogino, developed the method, continued to publish updated information on the use of the method, even as his critics published their counterarguments as well. See, for example, Hermann Knaus, "Die periodische Frucht- und Unfruchtbarkeit des Weibes," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 57, no. 24 (17 June 1933), pp. 1393–1408; Alfred Greil, "Der optimale Konzeptionstermin," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 58, no. 34 (25 Aug. 1934), pp. 2002–6; Ernst Rumpf, "Praktische Erfahrungen mit der Konzeptions-theorie nach Knaus-Ogino," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 61, no. 27 (1937), pp. 1589–92; F. Besold, "Ovulation und Orgasmus," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 65, no. 48 (1941), pp. 2111–12; and Hermann Knaus, "Was versteht man unter dem Knaus'schen Ovulations- bzw. Konzeptionstermin?" *Medizinische Welt* 16 (25 Apr. 1942), p. 428. Strikingly, moreover—though also logically—Catholic advice writers were the most active in promoting the method during the Third Reich, both to priests, continually burdened by the anguish of the couples they counseled in their offices and in the confessional, and directly to married couples. Thus, for instance, one Catholic advice writer (whose book, when reprinted in 1938, had already sold fourteen thousand copies) explained matter-of-factly to women how to monitor themselves for several months to identify their own unique variations in cycle, and also noted that as a rule of thumb the first five to seven days after the end of menstruation were safe for intercourse, then twelve days of abstinence were necessary, but that then the remaining days in the cycle were fine for having sex as well. See Hans Wirtz, *Vom Eros zur Ehe: Die natur-*

*getreue Lebensgemeinschaft* (Heidelberg and Innsbruck: F. H. Kerle, 1938), pp. 249–54.

The information on the rhythm method was no closely guarded secret kept from ordinary family physicians or from wives or even from unmarried women but rather appears in some circles to have been common knowledge. During the war, for instance, it was known that the military encouraged soldiers to take their leaves to see their wives during the days when conception was most likely. See Rita Thalmann, *Frausein im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1987), p. 154. Also see how a medical doctor educated his colleagues about women's cycles (again so as to assist soldiers on short leave in maximizing the possibility for conception) in Schröder, "Konzeptionsoptimum . . . Frage 2," *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* 69, nos. 29–30 (July 1943), p. 549. But unmarried young women could be familiar with enough of the information basic to the method to use it effectively. As one former junior Wehrmacht officer remembered, when asked about how pregnancy prevention worked in the Third Reich, "All of them knew about the rhythm method—doing the math with the days. After all, those were intelligent girls." (*Alle wussten von Knaus-Ogino—Tage berechnen. Das waren ja intelligente Mädchen.*) Conversation with G. C., 2002. And also postwar medical literature made clear that unmarried women had relied on the rhythm method in order to avoid pregnancy; what doctors remarked on was the way that the disruptions in cycles caused by dislocations due to work in the Reich Labor Service or to war caused unplanned conceptions. On the other hand, what also requires attention is the mental world of many young girls, in which eagerness to have sexual experiences (and the active seeking of these) coexisted with ignorance of anatomy and the process of conception; also an otherwise sophisticated girl could easily believe a boy or man who assured her "don't worry, I know what I'm doing, nothing will happen to you"—even as the girl did not know enough about bodies to be sure in retrospect whether her partners had in fact practiced withdrawal or not. Conversation with R. W., 2004.

76. Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), p. 186. The rate of illegal voluntary abortions was still so high in 1943 that the regime instituted the death penalty for abortionists in an effort to suppress the practice. See also Robert G. Waite's informative essay, "Eine Sonderstellung unter den Straftaten: Die Verfolgung der Abtreibung im Dritten Reich," in *Nationalsozialistische Gewaltverbrechen und Strafverfolgung nach 1945—Forschung, Lehre und politische Bildung* (Berlin: Haus der Wannsee Villa, 2004).

77. The classic statement of Weimar Germany's uniquely open discussion of sexual response and clamorous preoccupation with the problem of female frigidity is Atina Grossmann, "The New Woman and the Rationalization of Sexuality in Weimar Germany," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983). Contrast the far greater discomfort with discussions of female pleasure in contemporaneous Great Britain in Susan Pedersen, "National Bodies, Unspeakable Acts: The Sexual Politics of Colonial Policy-Making," *Journal of Modern History* 63 (Dec. 1991). On the discussion in Weimar, see also von Soden, *Die Sexualberatungsstellen*, pp. 102, 128–33; and Anson Rabinbach, "The Politiciza-

tion of Wilhelm Reich: An Introduction to 'The Sexual Misery of the Working Masses and the Difficulties of Sexual Reform,'" *New German Critique* 1, no. 1 (winter 1974), pp. 93, 96. Evidence of the double reality of widespread dissatisfaction and growing popular conviction that mutual pleasure was achievable pervades medical doctors' writings across the ideological spectrum, from both Jewish and Gentile leftists and liberals in Weimar to Christians and Nazis in the Third Reich. For some typical Nazi-era discussions of diverse strategies (including hormonal and psychotherapeutic) for enhancing female orgasmic response, see F. Siegert, "Die Behandlung der weiblichen Frigidität," *Medizinische Welt* 12, no. 31 (July 1938), pp. 1094–98; the summary of Kemper, "Zum Frigiditätsproblem," in *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 64, no. 45 (1940), pp. 1930–31; and F. Besold, "Beiträge zum Problem der Frigidität," *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete* 12 (1940), pp. 249–56. As Besold reported, while working-class women would not use the word "orgasm" (*Orgasmus*), that was certainly what they meant when they used such terms as "being satisfied" (*befriedigt werden*), "coming to the end" (*zum Ende kommen*) and "getting done" (*fertig werden*) (p. 254). Siegert's essay provides a classic example of Nazi-era reconfigurations of preexisting pro-sex impulses; the text mentioned that female frigidity rates might be as high as 50 percent of all women, included intricate diagnostic analysis of different forms and aspects of frigidity, made careful distinctions between libido and orgasm, specified erogenous zones with precision, and carefully assessed the complex possible interrelationships between emotions and physiology, but also suggested that "racial differences" between partners—because they might lead to "psychosexual conflicts"—could be the source of female frigidity (p. 1096).

78. Staemmler, *Rassenpflege*, p. 61.

79. Ferdinand Hoffmann, *Sittliche Entartung und Geburtenschwund*, 2nd ed. (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns, 1938), pp. 13, 21, 24–25, 34.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 30, 49–50, 55.

81. On the notion that Jewishness could have become internal to Germanness, see also the military officer who admonished his noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in 1942 not only that they needed to choose "squeaky clean" women as their brides but also that any German man still attached to a sexual double standard needed to expel the "poisonous substances of the Jewish moral perspective . . . sitting in his bones. Out with them!" Maj. Dr. Ellenbeck, "Der deutsche Unteroffizier und das Thema 'Frauen und Mädchen,'" *Die Zivilversorgung*, 15 Oct. 1942, pp. 281–82. Along related lines, see also Heinz Hunger's complaint in 1942 about the "Jewification" (*Verjudung*) of non-Jews influenced by sex-obsessed Jewish psychoanalysts. Hunger, "Jüdische Psychoanalyse," p. 323.

82. Paul Danzer, "Die Haltung zum anderen Geschlecht als unentbehrliche Grundlage völkischen Aufbaus," in *Streiflichter ins Völkische: Ausgewählte Lesestücke für deutsche Menschen aus dem "Völkischen Willen"* (Berlin: Rota-Druck, 1936), pp. 5–6.

83. Hans F. K. Günther, *Führeradel durch Sippenpflege*, quoted in Hermansen and Blome, *Warum hat man uns das nicht früher gesagt?*, p. 120. Günther, an avid antisemite already during the Weimar Republic, became one of the most influential "race experts" in the Third Reich.



84. Knorr, "Eine noch nicht genügend beachtete weltanschauliche und bevölkerungspolitische Gefahr," *Ziel und Weg: Organ des Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Ärztebundes* 7, no. 22 (Nov. 1937), p. 570.

85. Wollenweber, "Das Gesundheitsamt," p. 451.

86. Orłowski, "Zur Frage der Pathogenese," p. 383. Orłowski's message to men was that "If Nature has denied a gift, then you are not obliged to force it through practices that are damaging to you." Men's struggles to extend the duration of coitus, he warned, led to "a weakening of the ejaculatory centrum" and even to the dangerous condition of "colliculitis, in some cases a colliculus-hypertrophy."

87. On the "top secret" directive to the BDM from the Information Service of the Reich Youth Press Office, see Michael Kater, "Die deutsche Elternschaft im nationalsozialistischen Erziehungssystem," *Vierteljahresschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 67, no. 4 (1980), p. 489. On the contrast between the BDM's official conservative rhetoric and its loose reputation in popular parlance, see also Martin Klaus, *Mädchen im Dritten Reich: Der Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM)* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1983), pp. 119–20.

88. Victor Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1933–1941*, trans. Martin Chalmers (New York: Random House, 1998), p. 137. I thank Maria Hoehn and Anson Rabinbach for calling this passage to my attention.

89. *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (So-pade)* (Salzhausen and Frankfurt am Main: Petra Nettelbeck/Zweitausendeins, 1980), report of Aug. 1937, p. 1070. See also an earlier (1935) report by the Social Democratic Party in exile, to the effect that the so "coarsely" presented "propaganda for racially pure offspring" was leading youth to engage in "uninhibited sexuality." Quoted in Pini, *Leibeskultur und Liebeskitsch*, p. 85.

90. See Clifford Kirkpatrick, *Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1938), p. 36.

91. Herbert Marcuse, *Technology, War and Fascism: Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse*, vol. 1, ed. Douglas Kellner (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 84–86, 90, 162–63.

92. Excerpts from Walter Gmelin's essay "Bevölkerungspolitik und Frühehe" (published in the *Deutsche Ärztezeitung*) reprinted in "Mütterheim Steinhöring," *DSK*, 7 Jan. 1937, pp. 13–14.

93. Excerpt from Rudolf Bechert's essay (published in *Deutsches Recht*, nos. 23–24 [15 Dec. 1936]), in "Mütterheim Steinhöring," p. 14.

94. Carl H. Csallner, *Das Geschlechtsleben, seine Bedeutung für Individuum und Gemeinschaft* (Munich: Otto Gmelin, 1937), p. 10.

95. Zeplin, *Sexualpädagogik*, pp. 12, 24. Zeplin blamed the Christian "sinfulness dogma" for all manner of social ills, from hypocrisy and overweening self-righteousness to the proliferation of perverse fantasies, venereal diseases, abuse of alcohol, and lack of sexual harmony within marriages (pp. 22–23).

96. Von Hattingberg, *Über die Liebe*, p. 16.

97. Frommolt, review of F. Kuenkel, *Charakter, Liebe und Ehe*, in *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 57, no. 22 (3 June 1933), p. 1326.

98. Schultz, *Geschlecht-Liebe-Ehe*, pp. 60, 77, 82.

99. See especially the work of Ute Benz, "Brutstätten der Nation: 'Die deutsche Mutter und ihr erstes Kind' oder der anhaltende Erfolg eines Erziehungsbuches," *Dachauer Hefte* 4 (1993), pp. 144–63; and Sigrid Chamberlain, *Adolf Hitler, die deutsche Mutter und ihr erstes Kind: Über zwei NS-Erziehungsbücher* (Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag, 2000). Contrast Schultz, *Geschlecht-Liebe-Ehe*, pp. 62–66, 81.

100. Johannes H. Schultz, "Nervöse Sexualstörungen und ihre Behandlung in der allgemeinen Praxis," *Therapie der Gegenwart: Medizinisch-chirurgische Rundschau für praktische Ärzte* 78 (June 1937), pp. 252–55.

101. Schultz, *Geschlecht-Liebe-Ehe*, pp. 47, 74, 77, 82–83.

102. Notably, a recent dissertation on sexuality research under Nazism found that strategies for achieving female orgasm were more openly discussed by doctors in the Third Reich than in 1950s West Germany. See Marc Dupont, "Sexualwissenschaft im 'Dritten Reich': Eine Inhaltsanalyse medizinischer Zeitschriften" (Ph.D. diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University, Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 29–42; Dupont observed as well that Nazi medical professionals concerned with sex felt quite free to cite "Jewish sexologists" like Magnus Hirschfeld or Sigmund Freud, and he documented Nazi physicians' recommendations for clitoral and anal stimulation.

103. O. Albrecht, "Ars amandi in matrimonio," *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift* 55, no. 22 (1942), pp. 423, 425–26. German readers were also treated to translations of English-language essays on sex. Thus, for example, in 1938 German readers could learn what one Frederick Harris, late editor in chief of the official newspaper of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), had thought about "sexual adjustment" in marriage. According to Harris, "complete mutuality" was the goal; "both should reach the climax that is absolutely necessary for spiritual and bodily well-being." Castigating those husbands that did not even know whether their wives had ever had an orgasm, and admitting that he was well aware of "the difficulty," Harris nonetheless reminded readers that "We talk about nature as the proper guide. But the kind of sexual intercourse of which I have spoken is by no means 'natural.' It is as unnatural as streetcars or a Beethoven symphony. It is the result of human patience, intelligence, skill. . . . Mutuality in sexual relationships is an artistic achievement, and artistic achievements don't just happen." Frederick Harris, "Sexuelle Beziehungen in der Ehe," *Die Auslese* (Berlin) 12 (Feb. 1938), pp. 156–59. The essay had first appeared in the *Reader's Digest* in 1937.

104. Schultz, *Geschlecht-Liebe-Ehe*, p. 113; "Frauen sind keine Männer!" *DSK*, 12 Mar. 1936, p. 1.

105. Within a few years of its founding, 500,000 copies a week were being printed; by 1944 the total was more than 750,000. See Norbert Frei and Johannes Schmitz, *Journalismus im Dritten Reich* (Munich: Beck, 1989), pp. 71, 101–4; and William L. Combs, *The Voice of the SS: A History of the SS Journal "Das Schwarze Korps"* (New York: Peter Lang, 1986). By the paper's own report, although it was very much a "men's paper," "hundreds of thousands of women" read it as well, and the paper repeatedly opened its pages to female columnists. Editorial note to "Wie eine Frau es sieht," *DSK*, 13 July 1944, p. 4. See also the detailed discussion of *Das Schwarze Korps'* rhetorical strategies in Claudia

Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap at Harvard Univ. Press, 2003), pp. 238–52.

106. For example, see “Es gibt keine katholische Fruchtbarkeit,” *DSK*, 24 Oct. 1935, p. 9; and “Witzecke für Schwachsinnige,” *DSK*, 14 Nov. 1935, p. 17.

107. “Anstössig?” *DSK*, 16 Apr. 1936, p. 13.

108. Hans Lüdemann, “Neues Stadium der Frauenbewegung?” *DSK*, 19 June 1935, p. 10. Lüdemann is criticizing Marie Joachimi-Dege’s essay in Will Vesper’s journal *Neue Literatur*. For another statement from this time about ancient “Germanic” customs with respect to sex—among other things advancing the notion that among these ancient peoples “fidelity” was a racial concept (not just male but also female fidelity was above all owed to the purity of “the Nordic race” and had nothing to do with sexual fidelity per se, which was not especially honored)—see R. Walther Darré, *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns, 1935), pp. 384–85. A similar view on the complete disinterest in female virginity demonstrated by the “old Germanic” peoples—in contrast to the Christian preoccupation with it—is reported in Dück, “Virginität und Ehe,” p. 302.

109. “. . . Unzucht in der Soldatenzeit,” *DSK*, 5 March 1936, p. 6.

110. “Homosexualität—keine Erbkrankheit,” p. 663. (While this author was convinced that “it is not justified to label an immature boy a homosexual on the basis of a few incidents of this sort,” because the whole goal was to “return” such a young man to “normal sexual sensibility,” he was quite concerned that if the “mostly Jewish” sex experts in Weimar had had their way, the result would have been “appalling” and homosexuality could have become a “mass phenomenon.”) For another elaboration of the idea that orientation was fluid in many young men, that only a minority were truly “sick,” and that men could “step by step” be awakened to “love for the other sex,” see Haug, “Die Sexuelle Frage in der Seelsorge,” p. 609.

111. Fritz Mohr, “Einige Betrachtungen über Wesen, Entstehung und Behandlung der Homosexualität,” *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* 15 (1943), pp. 1, 13.

112. See the important discussions in Peter von Rönn, “Politische und psychiatrische Homosexualitätskonstruktionen im NS-Staat,” part 2: “Die soziale Genese der Homosexualität als defizitäre Heterosexualität,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 11, no. 3 (Sept. 1998); and Jellonek and Lautmann, *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle*.

113. Schultz’s comments were printed in the *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* 12 (1940), p. 113, quoted in Ulrich Schultz, “Autogenes Training und Gleichschaltung aller Sinne,” *Die Tageszeitung*, 20 June 1984. In the 1990s, some psychiatrists and psychologists still defended Schultz as “apolitical.” See “Bluthaftes Verständnis,” *Der Spiegel*, 27 June 1994, pp. 183–86.

114. Johannes H. Schultz quoted in “Bluthaftes Verständnis,” p. 185; and in U. Schultz, “Autogenes Training.” The exposé of J. H. Schultz’s role in the Third Reich that appeared in *Der Spiegel* in 1994 seems largely to have been based on the pioneering polemic by Ulrich Schultz (now Schultz-Venrath, no relation to the Nazi Schultz) that was published in *Die Tageszeitung* in 1984; Schultz-Venrath built on the important foundational research done by Regine Lockot in her dissertation, which was published as *Erinnern und Durcharbeiten: Zur Geschichte der*

*Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985). For J. H. Schultz’s own presentation of the homoerotic stage in adolescence and of his notion that fully “four-fifths” of all self-presenting homosexuals were really not constitutionally homosexual but rather had acquired homosexuality due to a developmental disturbance or a kind of (curable) fetishism, see his *Geschlecht-Liebe-Ehe*, pp. 56, 96–97, 103–4. Here he claims that the Göring Institute could take credit for the successful cure of “several hundred of these severely sick people” (p. 104).

115. See “. . . Unzucht in der Soldatenzeit,” p. 6; and “Frauen sind keine Männer!” *DSK*, 12 March 1936, p. 1. For further comments on the prevalence of “lapses in puberty” (*Pubertätsentgleisungen*)—that is, homosexual incidents among youth—see Tetzlaff, “Homosexualität und Jugend,” p. 9; and “Homosexualität—keine Erbkrankheit,” p. 663. For a fuller elaboration of the notions both that homosexual activity could be a natural precursor to heterosexuality and that homosexuality represented a flight from, or inhibited capacity for, heterosexuality, see Ritter, *Die geschlechtliche Frage*, pp. 235, 238, 241.

116. “Was sag ich meinem Kinde?” *DSK*, 15 Apr. 1937, p. 6.

117. “Das sind Staatsfeinde!” *DSK*, 4 Mar. 1937, pp. 1–2; and “Ächtung der Entarteten,” *DSK*, 1 Apr. 1937, p. 11.

118. “Ist das Nacktkultur? Herr Stapel entrüstet sich!” *DSK*, 24 Apr. 1935, p. 12. The strategy of displaying images of nude women while chastising the Weimarer media for their sexual sensationalism was hardly restricted to *Das Schwarze Korps*. The same double maneuver can be found, for instance, in Karl Eiland, “Deutsche Frauenschönheit,” *Neues Volk* 10, no. 9 (Sept. 1942).

119. For example, see “Ehestifter Staat,” *DSK*, 26 Mar. 1936, p. 11; “Kinder—ausserhalb der Gemeinschaft?” *DSK*, 9 Apr. 1936, p. 5; “Das uneheliche Kind,” *DSK*, 9 Apr. 1936, p. 6; and “Mütterheim Steinhöring,” p. 13.

120. “Frauen sind keine Männer!” p. 1.

121. For a fascinating analysis of the racial implications of nudism in Weimar and Nazi Germany (a phenomenon that also repeatedly challenges our contemporary assumptions about what might constitute eroticization or de eroticization), see Chad Ross, “Building a Better Body: Nudism, Society, Race and the German Nation, 1890–1950” (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 2003). See also the discussion of the regime’s reversal of its initial resistance to the nudist movement in Matthew Jefferies, “Naturism, Nudity, and the Nazis,” *German History* 23, no. 4 (2005).

122. Aside from landscapes, no subject was more frequently painted in the Third Reich than female nudes. See Berthold Hinz, *Die Malerei im deutschen Faschismus* (Munich: Hanser, 1974), p. 87; Christian Gross and Uwe Grossmann, “Die Darstellung der Frau,” in *Kunst im Dritten Reich: Dokumente der Unterwerfung*, ed. Georg Bussmann (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Kunstverein, 1974), p. 182; and Wenk, “Hin-weg-sehen,” p. 21. On sculpture, see Klaus Wolbert, *Die Nackten und die Toten des “Dritten Reiches”* (Giessen: Anabas, 1982). As Wolbert observed in the 1980s, “the Nazi sculptors pretty much exclusively—leaving aside for the moment eagles, lions, and horses—produced figures of naked women and men. Wherever one looked in the Third Reich, all architectural areas built or planned for state-representative purposes were covered by naked figures; in city

squares, at fountains, at memorials, monuments, or state buildings stood—usually cast in bronze, less frequently chiseled from stone—nudes, generally of remarkable size.” Photos of statues of female nudes were circulated nationwide on postcards and in newspapers, and photos of both paintings and statues of female nudes were frequent features also of periodicals designed for Wehrmacht soldiers. See Klaus Wolbert, “Die figurative NS-Plastik,” in *Faszination und Gewalt: Zur politischen Ästhetik des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Bernd Ogan and Wolfgang W. Weiss (Nürnberg: Tümmels, 1992); and Silke Wenk, “Aufgerichtete weibliche Körper: Zur allegorischen Skulptur im deutschen Faschismus,” in *Inszenierung der Macht—Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus*, ed. Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner (Berlin: NGBK, 1987). On the postwar mainstream and leftist media’s repetition compulsion in declaring that Nazi art was “not true art” or “complete kitsch” or “justifiably forgotten” while simultaneously reprinting some of the most titillating samples of that art, see Wenk, “Hin-weg-sehen.” The effect of both the mainstream and alternative press strategies, Wenk proposed, was to allow the (mostly male) commentators to engage in a practice of “looking-away-at” (*Hin-weg-sehen*), that is, they were able to enjoy the voyeuristic pleasures of gazing at attractive and well-proportioned nude women while distancing themselves from those same nudes by declaring them to be both politically contaminated and bad art.

123. See “NS-Kunst—Ende der Berührungsgangst,” *Der Spiegel*, 12 Aug. 1974, pp. 86–88.

124. “Schön und Rein,” and “Geschäft ohne Scham,” *DSK*, 20 Oct. 1938, pp. 10 and 12.

125. “Sie Meinen: Apart und lustig,” *Frauenwarte* 8, no. 16 (Feb. 1940).

126. See Hartmut Lehmann, “Hitlers protestantische Wähler,” in *Protestantische Weltansichten: Transformationen seit dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 136–39.

127. Guenter Lewy, “Pius XII, the Jews, and the German Catholic Church,” in Ericksen and Heschel, *Betrayal*, p. 130. On the compatibility of Nazism and Catholicism already before 1933, see also Derek Hastings, “How ‘Catholic’ Was the Early Nazi Movement? Religion, Race, and Culture in Munich, 1919–1924,” *Central European History* 36, no. 3 (2003).

128. Susannah Heschel, “When Jesus Was an Aryan: The Protestant Church and Antisemitic Propaganda,” in Ericksen and Heschel, *Betrayal*, p. 81.

129. Walter Kunneth, Walter Michaelis, and Gerhard Kittel paraphrased and quoted in Besier, “Kirche und NS-Rassenpolitik,” in *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich*, pp. 810–11.

130. See Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, pp. 10, 13–50.

131. Joseph Lortz, *Katholischer Zugang zum Nationalsozialismus*, Reich und Kirche, vol. 2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933), pp. 9–10.

132. Sellmann quoted in Hans-Georg Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland: Eine politische Geschichte* (Munich: Beck, 1989), p. 92.

133. See Roos, “Backlash,” pp. 81–83; and Jefferies, “Naturism, Nudity, and the Nazis.”

134. *Kirche im Volk: Monatsschrift für die katholische Pfarrgemeinde*, Jan. 1934, p. 31, quoted in Joachim Braun, “Lustprinzip und Sexualität in der Wahr-

nehmung der Nationalsozialisten” (Diplomarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin, 1991), p. 107.

135. “Der frische Zug im neuen Staat,” *Volkswart* 26 (1933), pp. 170–71, quoted in Roos, “Backlash,” p. 83. Roos argues persuasively that the early Nazi self-presentation as intent on cleaning up the sexual landscape of Germany was directly motivated by the party’s effort to reverse the German Catholic leadership’s initial skepticism and hostility toward Nazism (p. 81).

136. Weinrich, “Randbemerkungen zum Ehe-Problem,” pp. 274–75, 278.

137. See John Connelly, “Catholic Opponents of Nazism and the Jewish Question: Vienna in the 1930s” (paper presented at the conference of the American Historical Association, 9 Jan. 2004); the quotations from Muckermann are from his *Volkstum, Staat und Nation eugenisch gesehen* (Essen: Fredebeul und Koenen, 1933).

138. Hermann Muckermann, *Grundriss der Rassenkunde*, 2nd ed. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1935), p. 122.

139. *Weisses Kreuz*, 15 Apr. 1935, pp. 20–22, quoted in Braun, “Lustprinzip,” p. 111.

140. Archbishop of Freiburg in *Kirche im Volk: Monatsschrift für die katholische Pfarrgemeinde*, Mar. 1935, no page, quoted in Braun, “Lustprinzip,” p. 110. For an indication of the (situational but also self-imposed) constraints that kept the highest-ranking church leaders from attacking the regime’s encouragements to extramarital sex more directly, see in this context also Walter Brockman, “Illegitimacy in Germany,” *Current History* 46, no. 4 (July 1937), p. 70.

141. Ehwalt, *Eheleben und Ehescheidung*, p. 16. Also see the discussion of Ehwalt’s views in “Ausverkauf der Liebe,” *DSK*, 1 Apr. 1937, p. 6.

142. See Franz Gillmann, “Zur christlichen Ehelehre,” *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 116 (1936), p. 92.

143. Renate Schmid, “Zum Problem der geschlechtlichen Erziehung: Betrachtungen einer Mutter,” *Zeitwende* 13 (1936–37), p. 45.

144. The story is reported in “Anstössig?” p. 14.

145. The story is reported in “Was ist schamloser?” *DSK*, 20 Jan. 1938, p. 8.

146. Ernst Krupka’s remarks in *Der Weg zum Ziel*, no. 18 (1935), quoted and discussed in “Pikanterien im Beichtstuhl,” *DSK*, 26 June 1935, p. 5. For a moving and telling testimonial to the kind of mental compartmentalization and single-minded focus on freedom for Christian witness that could permit a Christian missionary to believe as late as 1937 that Hitler and the SA were supportive of Christian values, while simultaneously being repelled by the overt anti-Christianity and “inhumane, murderous tendencies” of the SS, see Ernst Krupka’s reminiscences in Maria-Luise Krupka, ed., *Lebensauftrag: Evangelist. Ernst Krupka, Sein Leben und Sein Wirken* (Bad Liebenzell: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1986), pp. 62–63.

147. See “Ist das schon ‘Das Wunder des Lebens? Grundsätzliche Betrachtung zur Ausstellung am Kaiserdamm,’” *Katholisches Kirchenblatt* (Berlin), 31 March 1935, p. 10, as well as the ferocious critique of this essay and effusive defense of the exhibit in “Offene Antwort auf eine katholische Kritik,” *DSK*, 17 Apr. 1935, pp. 1–2. Among other things, *Das Schwarze Korps* described the photographs of the handicapped as a “train of horror,” photographs of the “hereditarily less

valuable, whose fathers unfortunately were *not* sterilized in time,” and *Das Schwarze Korps* challenged the *Katholisches Kirchenblatt* whether it really believed “that these figures of horror represent the will of the Creator?” Playing on anxiety and confusion about disability formed a major element in *Das Schwarze Korps*’s campaign to drive a wedge between Germans and the Christian faith. By 1937 *Das Schwarze Korps* was advocating not just sterilization but also euthanasia. Not coincidentally, the tactic used was to criticize Christianity for cruelly endorsing pain and suffering. *Das Schwarze Korps* printed a letter purportedly written by a father of nine children, eight of whom were vibrantly healthy, one of whom was severely disabled and had lived in excruciating agony for a decade before dying. As the father wrote, “Which love is greater: that which let the little child suffer ten long years, let it suffer without pity, or that which would have saved it from its undeserved agonies through a quick death?” The father was especially angry about what his erstwhile pastor had said: “‘It’s a pity, it’s a pity,’ he said when he saw the little child, ‘but,’ he added smiling, ‘there you also have something to remind you of God.’” With great bitterness and sarcasm, the father remarked on this and other Christian counsels to accept suffering as God’s will: “Really, that’s a nice God . . . you’ve got!” See “Was ist ‘humaner’?” *DSK*, 1 Apr. 1937, p. 13.

148. Schmid, “Zum Problem der geschlechtlichen Erziehung,” p. 40.

149. *Klerusblatt*, quoted in Beth A. Griech-Polelle, *Bishop von Galen: German Catholicism and National Socialism* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2002), p. 110; Martin Rade in *Christliche Welt*, 1 Nov. 1935, quoted in Gerlach, *Als die Zeugen schwiegen*, p. 161.

150. Conversation with R. W., 2004. This memory of an individual (who had connections to those members of the Confessing Church who risked themselves to care for “non-Aryan” Christians), is in keeping with the historical record. While courageous individual Protestant theologians and activist laypeople (e.g., Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Karl Barth, Rudolf Bultmann, Marga Meusel, Elisabeth Schmitz, Martin and Marianne Albertz, Ernst Lohmeyer, Wilhelm Freiherr von Pechmann, Gerhard Jasper) took stands on their own, they were unable to move the church’s official organizations to make public pronouncements in defense of Germany’s 500,000 Jews or even in clear defense of the approximately 116,000 Christians of Jewish heritage (90,000 of which were Protestant, the rest Catholic). On disputes in the Protestant Church over whether or how to take a public stand on Nazi abuse of Jews, see Besier, “Kirche und NS-Rassenpolitik,” pp. 809–14, 827, 843–49; and Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 4:798–809. The anti-Nazi Confessing Church did not take a formal public stand against Nazi antisemitism either, despite a few of its members’ efforts. On the contrary, some leading members of the Confessing Church—as a police report of the time noted—even “fundamentally affirmed the stance of the state on the Jewish question.” Bielefeld police report to Berlin Gestapo office, 4 Sep. 1935, quoted in Klee, “*Die SA Jesu Christi*,” p. 123; see also more generally Klee’s discussion, pp. 121–26; as well as Gerlach, *Als die Zeugen schwiegen*, pp. 152–59; Barnett, *For the Soul of the People*, pp. 122–54; and Manfred Gailus, *Protestantismus und Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001). See also the retrospective remarks of theologian Eberhard Bethge: “We were against Hitler’s church policy, but at the same time we were

antisemites.” Bethge interviewed in *The Restless Conscience* (1993, dir. Hava Kohav Beller).

151. Erwin v. Kienitz, “Katholische Sexualkasuistik und Sexualmoral,” *Schönere Zukunft* 11, nos. 12–13 (24 Dec. 1935), p. 310.

152. Laros, *Die Beziehungen der Geschlechter*, pp. 11–12, 15, 34, 70, 166–67. Laros both described the hedonistic culture in the Germany of his day as an especially dangerous form of “Americanism” (*Amerikanismus*) and tried to use the Nazis’ own concepts against Nazi sexual mores, insisting that “ur-Aryan inheritance” and the “original source of Germanic essence” were in the process of being ruined (pp. 20, 24).

153. Wilhelm Stapel, “‘Neuheidentum.’ Ein Brief und eine Antwort,” *Deutsches Volkstum: Monatsschrift für das deutsche Geistesleben*, Apr. 1935, p. 293; and see “Ist das Nacktkultur?” p. 12.

154. Wilhelm Stapel, “Aphoristisches zur Judenfrage,” in *Das neue Deutschland und die Judenfrage*, ed. Gottfried Feder et al. (Leipzig: Rüdiger, 1933), p. 172.

155. Wilhelm Stapel, *Die literarische Vorherrschaft der Juden in Deutschland 1918 bis 1933* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937).

156. See the extended discussion in Adolf Köberle, “Unter den Studenten,” in *Christus lebt! Ein Buch von fruchtbarem Dienst in Lehre und Leben*, ed. Hans Dannenbaum (Berlin: Furche, 1939), pp. 325–26.

157. Adolf Allwohn, “Zu unseren Beiträgen,” *Seelsorge* (Dresden) 15 (1939), p. 67.

158. See “Geschlechtliche Erziehung und paulinischer Geist,” *Katholisches Kirchenblatt* (Berlin), 14 Apr. 1935, p. 13; the neopagan essay criticized and quoted by the *Katholisches Kirchenblatt* appeared in *Flammenzeichen*, 6 Apr. 1935.

159. Thus, for instance, Catholic priest Laros in 1936 complained both of “the fairy-tale of the body-hostility of Christianity” and of how “most people smile and mock Christianity.” Laros, *Die Beziehungen der Geschlechter*, pp. 27, 96. See on this point as well the Catholic publicist and historian Friedrich Heer’s cutting retrospective observation that Christians themselves were to blame for the lacunae in their moral texts with respect not only to such themes as “global responsibility,” “brotherliness” and “humanism,” but also specifically “love” and “sex” (*Sexus*): “Whoever looks into the theological tracts, into the handbooks of moral theology, . . . will become aware of a huge gaping space that Hitler—without resistance, indeed not infrequently invited by the theologians themselves—could occupy.” Heer quoted in Werner Reichelt, *Das braune Evangelium: Hitler und die NS-Liturgie* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1990), p. 170. See also the thoughtful reflections in James Bernauer, S.J., “An Ethic and Moral Formation That Are Repentant: Catholicism’s Emerging Post-Shoah Tradition—The Case of the Jesuits” (paper presented at the conference “Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in the Age of Genocide,” Oxford and London, 16–23 July 2000). Bernauer meditates on “how Nazism successfully exploited a strong religious alienation from the body and, thus, Christianity’s estrangement from its own incarnational tradition.” Bernauer goes on to say that “In that endless searching after the reasons for why the Jews were so victimized by the Nazis, for why so many collaborated

in their murder, and especially for why so many stood aside and failed to do what could have been done, I propose that this issue of sexuality gives an essential answer. Before the Jews were murdered, before they were turned away from as not being one's concern, the Jew had already been defined as spiritless, on the one hand, and sexually possessed, erotically charged on the other hand." I thank John Connelly for calling Bernauer's paper to my attention.

160. Haug, "Die sexuelle Frage in der Seelsorge," pp. 542, 609, 614.

161. Theodor Bliewies, "Mädchen in Not: Eine Fragestellung zur geschlechtlichen Aufklärung," *Der Seelsorger* 14 (1938), p. 212.

162. Hermann A. Krose, S.J., "Die Ursachen der neuzeitlichen Ehezerüttung," *Stimmen der Zeit* 133 (1937–38), p. 364. This is a review of Roderich von Ungern-Sternberg's *Die Ursachen der neuzeitlichen Ehezerüttung* (Berlin: Georg Stilke, 1937). Ungern-Sternberg defended premarital sex, as he also made a case for the close interrelationship between the decline of religiosity and loosening sexual mores.

163. A. Eberle, "Über die Versuchung," *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 94 (1941), p. 232.

164. Van Acken, "Prüderie—Distanzhalten," pp. 73–74, 77–79.

165. Himmler quoted in Felix Kersten, *The Kersten Memoirs, 1940–1945* (London: Hutchinson, 1956), p. 177.

166. Himmler order reprinted in Josef Ackermann, *Heinrich Himmler als Ideologe* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1970), between pp. 240 and 241.

167. See Kersten, *The Kersten Memoirs*, pp. 176, 179.

168. Hitler, 23 Apr. 1942, quoted in Henry Picker, *Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–42*, ed. Gerhard Ritter (Bonn: Athenäum, 1951), pp. 301–2. According to Picker, Hitler said that Christianity "kills joy in that which is beautiful." In this respect, "a certain Protestant philistinism is even worse than the Catholic Church"—for the Catholic Church at least permitted the faithful to sin during carnival. Hitler, 1 Dec. 1941, in *ibid.*, p. 347. Both Picker's compilation of Hitler's daily remarks and the compilation by Hermann Rauschnig have recently come under attack by scholars as being potentially inaccurate; no one, however, has challenged the representation of Hitler's views on sex. See (on Picker) Richard C. Carrier, "Hitler's Table Talk: Troubling Finds," *German Studies Review* 27, no. 3 (Oct. 2003); and (on Rauschnig) Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*.

169. Hitler quoted in George W. Herald, "Sex Is a Nazi Weapon," *American Mercury* 54, no. 222 (June 1942), pp. 656–65. Herald's source is Rauschnig.

170. See Marianne Regensburger and Klaus Scholder, *30 Jahre Deutschland und die Kirche* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1964), pp. 52–53.

171. Endres quoted in Herald, "Sex Is a Nazi Weapon," p. 661.

172. Just as more sexually conservative Nazi moralists had done before him, so too did Rost try to blame Jews for non-Jews' interest in sex. Rost argued that, despite the "gratifying progressive development" initiated in 1933 one could not, of course, expect such a habit-forming belief that "everything that is pleasing is permitted" would be overcome overnight. See Rost, "Sexuelle Probleme," pp. 218–20.

173. See "Das Eherecht in der neuen Gesetzgebung," *Die deutsche Frau* (supplement to the *Völkischer Beobachter*), 12 Feb. 1939. See also Burleigh, *The Third Reich*, p. 231; Frevert, *Women in German History*, pp. 236–37; and Stephenson,

*Women*, p. 29. While Frevert notes that the Weimar women's movement had (in vain) fought for a liberalization of divorce laws, other scholars emphasize the disproportionately deleterious effects of the new legislation on women. See Thilo Ramm, "Eherecht und Nationalsozialismus," in *Klassenjustiz und Pluralismus: Festschrift für Ernst Fränkel*, ed. Günter Doeker and Winfried Steffani (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973), pp. 158–59; and Norbert Westenrieder, "Deutsche Frauen und Mädchen!": *Vom Alltagsleben 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1984), p. 32. Notably, the new legislation was also used to pressure non-Jews living in mixed marriages to divorce their spouses (and thereby facilitate their deportation and murder). See Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), p. 89. In this context see also a classic example of the kind of pseudoscholarship produced under Nazism: a legal expert's call for greater empathy for those "German-blooded" spouses in mixed marriages who had been reluctant to divorce their Jewish partners "as a consequence of their entanglement in Jewish thought patterns" but who now should be encouraged to proceed with divorce in view of their "in the meantime matured recognition of their *völkisch* obligations." Werner Klemm, "Die Lösung deutsch-jüdischer Mischehen," *Deutsches Recht* 9 (1939), p. 1899. Another indicative essay discussing the ramifications of the new divorce law for Jews—replete with remarks about the biologically determined psychological instability of "mixed-race" offspring—and for those with mental illness in the family is Konrad Ernst, "Psychiatrisch Wichtiges im Neuen Ehegesetz," *Klinische Wochenschrift* 18, no. 44 (4 Nov. 1939), pp. 1405–8.

174. See Rudolf Paulsen, "Ein Kapitel über die Ehe," *Die deutsche Frau*, 7 June 1933, p. 2; "Ehe und Persönlichkeit," *Die deutsche Frau*, 27, 28, 29 May 1939; and the discussion in Hannelore Kessler, "Die deutsche Frau": *Nationalsozialistische Frauenpropaganda im "Völkischen Beobachter"* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1981), pp. 52–53 and 88–89.

175. See Walter Menzel, "Ehebruch und ehewidriges Verhalten als Dienststrafvergehen," *Wirtschaft und Recht* 9, no. 6 (15 June 1942), pp. 61–62. (This was a supplement to *Der Deutsche Erzieher*, the official journal for schoolteachers.)

176. All quotations from Karlheinz Deschner, "Krieg und Kirche," *Konkret*, Jan. 1963, pp. 8–9.

177. Bishops' telegram quoted in Regensburger and Scholder, *30 Jahre*, p. 52.

178. Marahrens quoted in Deschner, "Krieg und Kirche," p. 9.

179. Burleigh, *The Third Reich*, p. 724.

180. Prayer quoted and discussed in Regensburger and Scholder, *30 Jahre*, pp. 54–55.

181. Conversation with R. S., 1999.

182. Conversation with G.-L. L., 2000.

183. See Saul Friedländer, "The Wehrmacht, German Society, and the Knowledge of the Mass Extermination of the Jews," in *Crimes of War: Guilt and Denial in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Omer Bartov, Atina Grossmann, and Mary Nolan (New York: New Press, 2002), pp. 24–28. As Friedländer observes (in noting also that the NSDAP's Winter Aid program and the "Jew markets" (*Judenmärkte*) in large cities, respectively, distributed for free or sold the personal belongings of murdered Jews "at dirt-cheap prices . . . often without the original tags having been removed"): "Whether under these circumstances one can speak of the nor-

mality of everyday life under National Socialism is a moot question. Differently put, the everyday involvement of the population with the regime was far deeper than has long been assumed, due to the widespread knowledge and the passive acceptance of the crimes, as well as the crassest profit derived from them. A massive repression of knowledge, if it existed at all, took place after 1945, and probably much less so beforehand” (pp. 27–28). For an autobiographical statement testifying to having knowledge of the mass murder of Jews before 1945 and “losing” that knowledge afterward, see Ursula von Kardorff, “Zeit der Feigheit, Zeit der Gewalt: Beim Durchblättern eines Tagebuches,” *Konkret*, Feb. 1964, p. 7.

184. The literature on these subjects is vast, even as there is still far more research that needs to be done. The best scholarship includes Angelika Ebbinghaus et al., eds., *Heilen und Vernichten im Mustergau Hamburg: Bevölkerungs- und Gesundheitspolitik im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, 1984); Gisela Bock, *Zwangssterilisation im Nationalsozialismus: Studien zur Rassenpolitik und Frauenpolitik* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986); Gabriele Czarnowski, *Das kontrollierte Paar: Ehe- und Sexualpolitik im Nationalsozialismus* (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1991); Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*; Müller and Sternweiler, *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen*; Pretzel and Roszbach, *Wegen der zu erwartenden hohen Strafe*; Christa Schikorra, *Kontinuitäten der Ausgrenzung: “Asoziale” Häftlinge im Frauen-Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Patricia Szobar, “Telling Sexual Stories in the Nazi Courts of Law: Race Defilement in Germany, 1933 to 1945,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002); Jellonek and Lautmann, *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle*. For an excellent critical survey of much of this scholarship, see Heineman, “Sexuality and Nazism.”

185. For a thoughtful elaboration on these issues with respect to World War I, the first “total war,” see Elizabeth Domansky, “Militarization and Reproduction in World War I Germany,” in *Society, Culture and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*, ed. Geoff Eley (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 427–63.

186. See the chapters “Die Verrohung greift um sich” and “Grausamkeit und Sadismus als Kriegsprodukt” in Magnus Hirschfeld and Andreas Gaspar, eds., *Sittengeschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges*, 2nd ed. (Hanau: Verlag Karl Schustek, 1966), pp. 463–518. The first edition was completed in 1929 and based on the collaborative work of an international panel of physicians and scholars.

187. See Bartov et al., *Crimes of War*; and Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995).

188. “Practically necrophiliac” is Omer Bartov’s term for the incidents he discovered in military archives; Ulrich Herbert found similar incidents in the course of his research. Conversations with Bartov, 1998, and Herbert, 2001. On rapes in the killing fields, see Birgit Beck, “Vergewaltigung von Frauen als Kriegsstrategie im Zweiten Weltkrieg?” in *Gewalt im Krieg: Ausübung, Erfahrung und Verweigerung von Gewalt in Kriegen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Andreas Gestrich (Münster: Lit, 1996), pp. 34–50; and Doris Bergen, “Sexual Violence in the Holocaust: Unique and Typical?” in *Lessons and Legacies VII: The Holocaust in International Perspective*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (Evanston, IL: Northwestern Univ. Press, forthcoming). On sadism in the ghettos and camps, see Lengyel, “Scientific

Experiments”; Joan Ringelheim, “Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research,” in Rittner and Roth, *Different Voices*; Andreas Gaspar et al., eds., *Sittengeschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Die tausend Jahre von 1933–1945* (Hanau am Main: Schustek, 1968); Vera Laska, ed., *Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: The Voices of Eyewitnesses* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983); Heinz Heger, *The Men with the Pink Triangle* (Boston: Alyson, 1980); and Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of the Terror: The Concentration Camp* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997). On how “fond of promiscuity” and of “drinking and whoremongering” were the SS officers and guards working in that “paradise of shirkers,” the concentration camps, see Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them* (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1968), pp. 285–86. On sexual licentiousness among perpetrators who killed the handicapped, see Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. 193–94, 237.

189. Letter from Obersturmführer Karl Kretschmer in Kursk to his wife and children, 15 Oct. 1942, reprinted in *“The Good Old Days”: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders*, ed. Ernst Klee et al. (New York: Free Press, 1991), pp. 167–68. Earlier letters to his wife indicated that “the sight of the dead (including women and children) is not very cheering. . . . Here in Russia, wherever the German soldier is, no Jew remains,” and “There is no room for pity of any kind. . . . we are mopping up where necessary. . . . There are no Jews here any more” (Kretschmer letters, 27 Sept. 1942 and date unknown, pp. 163, 165).

190. Nini Rascher’s letter to Heinrich Himmler reprinted in *Concentration Camp Dachau 1933–1945*, ed. Barbara Distel and Ruth Jakusch (Brussels: Comité International de Dachau, 1978), p. 147. Note too that hundreds of wives and children of SS men stationed at Auschwitz lived there as well and that wives also visited husbands who were involved in the mass shootings of Jews on the eastern front. See Sybille Steinbacher, *“Musterstadt” Auschwitz: Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich: Saur, 2000), pp. 184–88; and Gudrun Schwarz, *Eine Frau an seiner Seite: Ehefrauen in der “SS-Sippengemeinschaft”* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1997).

191. Beck interviewed in the film *Paragraph 175* (2000, dir. Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman).

192. Conversation with B. W., 1999. See also the remark of Arthur Maria Rabenalt, to the effect that sex under the bombing raids deserves a history of its own. Arthur Maria Rabenalt, *Film im Zwielicht: Über den unpolitischen Film des Dritten Reiches und die Begrenzung des totalitären Anspruches* (Munich: Cress-Verlag, 1958; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1978), p. 29.

193. Conversations with H. F., 1998, and R. P., 2002.

194. Conversation with A. D., 2003. See also Catrine Clay and Michael Leapman, *Master Race: The Lebensborn Experiment in Nazi Germany* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995); Georg Lilienthal, *Der “Lebensborn e.V.” Ein Instrument nationalsozialistischer Rassenpolitik* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1985). On the jokes, see Pini, *Leibeskult und Liebeskitsch*, pp. 111, 327. See also how *Das Schwarze Korps* felt obliged to deny the rumors: “Nobody thinks of improving the race in a laboratory, as it were, and of ‘pairing’ humans with each other ac-

ording to some theory of producing 'Nordic supermen' progeny." "SS-Vollblut?" *DSK*, 25 Mar. 1937, p. 12. Richard Grunberger does find some evidence of deliberate breeding via intercourse and not just artificial insemination. See his *The 12-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi Germany 1933–1945* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 246–47. For a different interpretation—that the Nazi regime had *not* organized "Aryan" mating sessions in the Lebensborn homes but that there were German women who nonetheless volunteered themselves for such sessions—see Brückner, "Politik und Perversion."

195. For example (on parents), see Solon and Brandt, "Sex under the Swastika," p. 428; and Brockman, "Illegitimacy in Germany," pp. 67–69. Or, as one woman remembered decades later: "In my Hitler Youth generation, on the whole, piggish things [*Schweimereien*] were said about sex, decidedly piggish things. People did it [had sex] secretly, and for me that was repugnant and disgusting." Lothar Steinbach, *Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Glaube: Ehemalige Nationalsozialisten und Zeitzeugen berichten über ihr Leben im Dritten Reich* (Berlin and Bonn: Dietz, 1983), p. 78.

196. For example, see the comments of Christa Meves in Margarete Dörr, "Wer die Zeit nicht miterlebt hat . . .": *Frauenerfahrungen im Zweiten Weltkrieg und in den Jahren danach*, vol. 2 (Kriegsalltag) (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1998), p. 152.

197. See Birthe Kundrus, *Kriegerfrauen: Familienpolitik und Geschlechtsverhältnisse im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg: Christians, 1995). Already by 1941 jurists and the regime were actively debating how to handle the proliferation of adulterous behavior on the home front of the wives of men enlisted in the Wehrmacht. For example, see Brinkmann, "Ehebruch und Beleidigung vom Standpunkt des Staatsanwalts aus betrachtet," *Deutsches Recht* 11, no. 38 (1941), pp. 1987–88.

198. Gudrun Schwarz, "Männer und Frauenmoral in der SS," paper presented at conference on "Moral im Nationalsozialismus," Institut für Sozialforschung, Hamburg, 4 June 2002. See the discussion in Harry Nutt, "Die Gewalt der Ehre: Moral im Nationalsozialismus—eine Hamburger Tagung," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11 July 2002.

199. See Maiwald and Mischler, *Sexualität unter dem Hakenkreuz*, pp. 141, 144–49; and Ebba Drolshagen, *Nicht ungeschoren davongekommen: Das Schicksal der Frauen in den besetzten Ländern, die Wehrmachtssoldaten liebten* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1998).

200. Military doctor Rost, for example, openly discussed the difficulties officers encountered convincing men that Nazi racial laws prohibited sex with women in the occupied nations. Potential sex partners, he admitted, were "of course easy . . . to find, especially among the *population of the occupied country*," and the men challenged their officers to let them have their fun with enemy civilians, repeatedly bantering—as Rost summarized it—"that the relations of the sexes are international law and therefore have nothing to do with the war." On the other hand, Rost also shared with his medical colleagues the news that in trying to convince military men to desist from sex with racially inappropriate civilians the tactic of making racist arguments (about "the dangerous fertility of the East and the growing black subversion from the West") was more effective than warning

them about the potential risks to their own health from venereal disease. Rost, "Sexuelle Probleme."

201. See Pini, *Leibeskult und Liebeskitsch*, pp. 326, 353, 357.

202. Letter to the editor of *Stern*, quoted in Christoph Boyer and Hans Woller, "Hat die deutsche Frau versagt?: Die 'neue Freiheit' der Frauen in der Trümmerzeit 1945–1949," *Journal für Geschichte*, no. 2 (1983), p. 36.

203. Conversation with E. I., 1994.

204. Memoirs of G. C.

205. Conversation with R. W., 2004. For further discussion of the climate encouraging extramarital (sometimes also nonconsensual) sex in the Reich Labor Service, see Brockman, "Illegitimacy in Germany," pp. 67–69.

206. All three quotations from Kundrus, "Forbidden Company: Romantic Relationships between Germans and Foreigners, 1939–1945," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002), pp. 206–7, 210. On the sexual liberties taken on the home front during the war, see also Erich Kasberger, *Heldinnen waren wir keine: Alltag in der NS-Zeit* (Hamburg: Ernst Kabel, 1995), pp. 94–98.

207. On the relationship between these two different forms of taboo breaking, see also Sophinette Becker, "Zur Funktion der Sexualität im Nationalsozialismus," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 14, no. 2 (June 2001).

208. For example, under the caption, "Contraception—Still a Stepchild in Germany," a medical journal announced in 1965: "Who could still be surprised that marital counseling in Germany, the enlightenment about planned conception, is still in its infancy? . . . Germany's reigning generation of medical professionals still comes from the era in which maintaining the reproductive capacity of the German woman was the most noble task, the thought of birth planning a heresy worthy of malediction and death. Whoever went through medical training between 1933 and 1945, was cut off from all information about these problems and thoroughly weaned of any mental confrontation with family planning." See "Die Antikonzeption—in Deutschland noch ein Stiefkind: Symposium der Pro Familia in Berlin," *Berliner Ärzteblatt* 78, no. 2 (1965), pp. 73–74, 77. (Hans Harmsen, the head of the West German Pro Familia, an affiliate of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, not only endorsed Nazism but was responsible for coordinating the sterilization of handicapped individuals living during the Third Reich in the institutions of the Protestant Church's Inner Mission.)

209. For example, the eminent sociologist Helmut Schelsky in his widely read 1955 book on the "sociology of sexuality" mentioned National Socialism in only one context. Obviously alluding to the avowedly homosexual leader of the SA, Ernst Röhm, and some of his associates, although not mentioning that Hitler had Röhm murdered in 1934, Schelsky noted: "The consciousness of being able to live beyond the bounds of the rules regulating the lives of ordinary citizens surely contributed to the maintenance of homosexual relations among the leading political mercenaries of the early National Socialist time of struggle, even if the formation of these relations can probably be traced to earlier social constellations like the isolation [from women] during the army time and wartime." Moreover, and while Schelsky neither mentioned his own former Nazi Party affiliation, nor bothered to note that tens of thousands of homosexual men had been imprisoned and thousands murdered by the Nazis, Schelsky spent an entire chapter endorsing

ideas about homosexuality developed under Nazism. Relying especially on the work of his friend Hans Bürger-Prinz, a psychiatrist who had been instrumental in providing innovative social constructionist scholarly “legitimations” for the expanded Nazi persecution of homosexuals, Schelsky “explained” what was wrong with homosexuals and why homosexuality could never be equalized with heterosexuality. Homosexuals, in Schelsky’s view, could not be culture bearers at all. They could not, in truth, be real citizens; their level of personhood was simply not high enough. Homosexuals suffered from a “failure to build up a complete opposite-sex partner relationship.” Homosexuals’ “solipsism,” this “staying with one’s own body,” “locks these individuals away from the start from the ordinary access to sociability.” They never even reached the level of behavior at which sexual moral norms could be productively developed. They remained stuck at an “autistic” level, in a “sexuality only of pleasure-seeking.” The idea that homophobic prejudice caused difficulties for homosexuals’ acceptance in society reversed cause and effect, Schelsky thought. “The abnormal is not condemned to an outsider role only through some arbitrary norm-placement of society. . . . Rather, the normative verdict constitutes the assessment of a culture that these groups are not capable of reaching the higher states of being.” See Helmut Schelsky, *Soziologie der Sexualität: Über die Beziehungen zwischen Geschlecht, Moral und Gesellschaft* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1955), pp. 62, 71–73, 82–83.

210. Conversations with R. G., 1997, and V. J., 1999.

211. Furthermore, in contrast to those who might dismiss all accounts of a pro-sex Third Reich as based on an extrapolation from the “chaos” of the war and immediate postwar years, Rabenalt emphasized the opposite, saying that if it had had any effect on German sexual politics at all, World War II had brought with it the first hesitations about the overarching trend toward liberalization, because of the concern that incidents of adultery on the home front, or even the perception that they might be occurring, could be damaging to the Wehrmacht’s morale. Rabenalt, *Film im Zwielflicht*, pp. 26–29.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE FRAGILITY OF HETEROSEXUALITY

1. Johannes Leppich, “Thema 1,” in *Pater Leppich Spricht: Journalisten hören den “roten” Pater*, ed. Günther Mees and Günter Graf (Düsseldorf: Bastion, 1952), p. 43.

2. For example, see Richard Gutzwiller, “Die Überwindung der sexuellen Krise,” in *Gesundes Geschlechtsleben*, ed. Franz Xavier von Hornstein and Adolf Fallner (Olten: F. Pittet, 1950), p. 436; and Franz Hubalek, “Die Sexualnot unserer Tage,” *Der Seelsorger* 20 (1949–50), p. 276.

3. Walter Dittmann, “Die Krisis der Ehe: Die Ansicht des Geistlichen,” *Nordwestdeutsche Hefte* 2, no. 10 (1947), p. 36. See also Franka Schneider, “Einigkeit im Unglück? Berliner Eheberatungsstellen zwischen Ehekrise und Wiederaufbau,” in *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*, ed. Klaus Naumann (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000), pp. 206–26.

4. Theodor Hartwig, *Die Tragödie des Schlafzimmers: Beiträge zur Psychologie der Ehe* (Vienna: Rudolf Cerny, 1947); Gerhard Fechner, *Die kranke Ehe* (Hamburg: Grupe, 1949), p. 10.

5. Dr. K, “Was halten Sie vom Frauenüberschuss?” *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 2 (1950), p. 12.

6. Hans Bürger-Prinz, “Über die männliche Sexualität,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, no. 2 (June–July 1950), pp. 108–10.

7. H. Schürmann, “Promiskuität—Zeichen der Zeit,” *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 9 (1951), p. 385.

8. Peter Schult, “Anarchy in Germany,” in *Keine Zeit für gute Freunde: Homosexuelle in Deutschland 1933–1969*, ed. Joachim Hohmann (Berlin: Foerster, 1982), pp. 74–77.

9. Erich Langer, “Die Bedeutung der Geschlechtskrankheiten,” in *Sexuelle Erziehung in Elternhaus und Schule*, ed. Winfried Schimmel and Karl-Heinz Grothe (Berlin: Berliner Medizinische Verlagsanstalt, 1954), p. 153.

10. Placards quoted in *ibid.* See also Petra Goedde, “From Villains to Victims: Fraternization and the Feminization of Germany, 1945–1947,” *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 1 (winter 1999), p. 9.

11. Siegfried Häussler, “Ehenot und Ehehilfe in der ärztlichen Praxis,” *Neubau: Blätter für neues Leben aus Wort und Geist* 5, no. 9 (1950), p. 358.

12. A typical story recommending mutual forgiveness for wartime adulteries is Wolfgang Fix, “Das Geständnis,” *Die Wochenpost*, 21 July 1946, p. 5.

13. “Politisches ABC,” *Neues Abendland* 2 (1947), p. 91.

14. See Rüdiger Proske, “Die Familie 1951: Eine Beschreibung ihrer wichtigsten Merkmale,” *Frankfurter Hefte* (Apr. 1951), pp. 272–74.

15. Walter Hemsing, “Der Heimkehrer und seine Ehe,” *Wege zum Menschen* (1949–50), p. 245.

16. August Brunner, S.J., “Über den Sinn der Ehe,” *Stimmen der Zeit: Monatsschrift für das Geistesleben der Gegenwart* 139 (1946–47), p. 436.

17. Dittmann, “Die Krisis der Ehe,” p. 36.

18. See Petra Lund, “Zwei Frauen? Mir Reicht’s!” *Constanze* 1, no. 20 (1948), p. 7.

19. For example, see Dr. K, “Was halten Sie vom Frauenüberschuss?” p. 12.

20. K. Bier, review of Theodor Bover’s *Die Ehe, ihre Krise und Neuwerdung* (1946), *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, nos. 3–4 (1950), p. 305.

21. See John Willoughby, “The Sexual Behavior of American GIs during the Early Years of the Occupation of Germany,” *Journal of Military History* 62 (Jan. 1998), p. 160; and Goedde, “From Villains to Victims,” p. 9.

22. See Maria Hoehn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 135, 148–51.

23. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, “Fraternization,” in *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995), p. 194. Henke provides a nuanced and well-documented explanation for the mutual attraction (see pp. 185–204).

24. Richard Joseph with Waverley Root, “Why So Many GIs Like the Germans Best,” *Reader’s Digest* 48, no. 287 (March 1946), pp. 6–7. Similar perceptions of the contrasts between French and German women are described in a letter to the



editor of the *New York Times*: “In Germany, naturally, the GI finds the best deal . . . In France the deal is different. The GI doesn’t find the all-out bootlicking of Germany.” Theodore Singer, letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, 30 Nov. 1945, p. 12, quoted in Willoughby, “The Sexual Behavior of American GIs,” pp. 166–67. For another contemporary convinced that postwar German women’s easy sexual availability had its source in Nazi encouragement to extramarital sex and reproduction, see the scathingly condescending remarks in Judy Barden, “Candy-Bar Romance—Women of Germany,” in *This Is Germany*, ed. Arthur Settel (New York: Sloane, 1950), pp. 161–65. A far more tempered analysis of German singularity suggested that GIs were delighted by German women because they were, on the one hand, “less bound to strict convention” than women of Romance lands like France, and yet, on the other hand, they had been “raised with more of the fear of God” than their “ethnically related” (*stammverwandte*) English counterparts. Thus they were able to offer to GIs “the illusion of an at once ‘free’ and yet also virtuous . . . love.” W. E. Süskind, “Bilanz der Fraternisierung,” *Frankfurter Hefte* (Aug. 1946), p. 9.

25. Quoted in Christoph Boyer and Hans Woller, “‘Hat die deutsche Frau versagt?’: Die ‘neue Freiheit’ der Frauen in der Trümmerzeit 1945–1949,” *Journal für Geschichte* 2 (1983), p. 34.

26. Dittmann, “Die Krisis der Ehe,” p. 34.

27. Laszlo Hamori, “Die rationalisierte Sexualität,” *Aktion* 8 (1951), p. 48.

28. H. Hesse, “Welche Rolle spielt das Sexualproblem in der Ehe?” *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 1 (1950), p. 5.

29. See Petra Lund, “Muss Liebe amtlich beglaubigt sein?” *Constanze* 2, no. 1 (1949), p. 3.

30. See Udo Undeutsch, “Comparative Incidence of Premarital Coitus in Scandinavia, Germany, and the United States,” in *Sexual Behavior in American Society: An Appraisal of the First Two Kinsey Reports*, ed. Jerome Himelhoch and Sylvia Fleis Fava (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), p. 362. Undeutsch was drawing on the same *Wochenend* survey that Friedeburg relied on, just emphasizing different numbers.

31. A. Pauly, “Soll die Verlobung eine Probeehe sein?” *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 1 (1950), p. 2.

32. Poem quoted in Henke, “Fraternization,” p. 199.

33. Heinz Graupner, “Das normale Geschlechtsleben und seine Gefahren,” *Liebe und Ehe* 1, no. 2 (1949), p. 4. This is an excerpt from Graupner, *Geschlechts-hygiene und Geschlechtskrankheiten* (Konstanz: Südverlag, 1949).

34. Hans Giese, review of Max Marcuse’s essay, “Zur Psychologie der Eifersucht und der Psychopathologie ihres Fehlens,” *Psyche* 3 (1950), published in *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, nos. 3–4 (1950), p. 307.

35. Letter to the editor, reprinted in Dr. K., “Was halten Sie vom Frauentüberschuss?” p. 10.

36. For example, see “Der Orgasmus,” *Sexologie*, no. 1 (1950), pp. 15–25.

37. See Ludwig von Friedeburg, *Die Umfrage in der Intimsphäre*, Beiträge zur Sexualforschung, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Enke, 1953), pp. 24, 27, 46, 50. There is no reason to think that either of the surveys’ findings resulted from inadequately sophisticated sampling techniques. It is unlikely that with more advanced tech-

niques the results would have tended toward greater conservatism. The wealth of other interpretive evidence from the era—from both supporters and detractors of the liberalizing trends—suggests the results’ representativeness. It is further notable that those who reported on and analyzed the findings clearly did not feel any need to contradict the results. (In addition to Lund, Undeutsch, and von Friedeburg, see also I. Phönix, “Moderne Intimmoral,” in *Mensch, Geschlecht, Gesellschaft: Das Geschlechtsleben unserer Zeit gemeinverständlich dargestellt*, ed. Hans Giese and A. Willy (Paris: G. Aldor, 1954), pp. 201–9.) Moreover, for example, when the sociologist von Friedeburg wrote up the results of the 1949 Institute for Demoscopy survey in his 1953 book, one of the findings he deemed most remarkable was that the Germans interviewed in the study had expressed strong commitment to the institution of marriage. In the early 1950s, when he was formulating his analysis, this commitment was not obvious.

38. See L. R. England, “Little Kinsey: An Outline of Sex Attitudes in Britain,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (1949), pp. 587–600; and for a concise summary of Kinsey’s findings for the United States, see John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), p. 286.

39. A. Busemann, “Aufgaben sexueller Erziehung in der Gegenwart,” *Die Kirche in der Welt* 2, no. 70 (1949), p. 436.

40. Leppich, “‘Thema 1,’” p. 44; and “Gefahren und Ursachen des Sexualismus,” *Bonifatiusbote* 63, no. 9 (1952), p. 5.

41. Karl Siegfried Bader, “Die Veränderung der Sexualordnung und die Konstanz der Sittlichkeitsdelikte,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, nos. 3–4 (1950), p. 217.

42. See L. M. Lawrence, “Der Kinsey Report,” *Merkur* 3, no. 5 (1949), pp. 495–99. The reviewer in *Die Weltwoche* also thought American women were sexually deprived. Declaring his own belief in “the normalcy of sexual life” and presuming that American attitudes were “for the European perhaps incomprehensible,” the reviewer also averred that American women were responsible for their own deprivation. “From earliest childhood on,” he announced, the American male was not only taught “to be the wooing one, but also to strive for something that is only granted him with reluctance and repugnance.” Ha., “Puritanismus und Wirklichkeit: Kinseys ‘Sex Report’ und sein Widerhall,” *Die Weltwoche* 16, no. 765 (1948), p. 9.

43. For instance, continuities between the sexual liberalities of Weimar and Nazism were taken to be self-evident in such remarks as those of a Catholic activist involved in youth work who urged in 1946 that it should become possible “also to say the word virgin” again “without being met with that disdainful smirk that has in the last decades become the rule.” H. Klens quoted in Mark Edward Ruff, “Katholische Jugendarbeit und junge Frauen in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1945–1962,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 38 (1998), p. 272.

44. Conversation with R. S., 1999.

45. Paul Althaus, *Von Liebe und Ehe: Ein evangelisches Wort zu den Fragen der Gegenwart* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1949), pp. 3–4.

46. Otto Bernhard Roegele, “Ein heikles Thema . . . Geburtenbeschränkung und Ehenot,” *Rheinischer Merkur* 3, no. 3 (1948), p. 3.

47. Hermann Heilweck, “Ein heikles Thema . . . Geburtenbeschränkung und Ehenot,” *Rheinischer Merkur* 3, no. 22 (1948), p. 3.

48. For example, one female Bavarian politician declared that “I would like to go so far as to say that if we are again to be a nation among nations [*ein Volk unter Völkern*] then that depends on two matters: on the purity of our marriages and on the fulfillment of our natural right and our highest duty in the education of our children.” Elisabeth Meyer-Spreckels, “Ehe und Familie in der Verfassung: Bericht vor dem bayerischen Verfassungsausschuss,” *Frankfurter Hefte* (Jan. 1947), p. 93.

49. “Wort der ausserordentlichen Landessynode der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Oldenburg an die Gemeinden Oktober 1945,” in *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die evangelische Kirche in Deutschland 1945–1948*, ed. Joachim Beckmann (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1950), pp. 43, 45.

50. “Kundgebung der Landessynode der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern in Ansbach, 9.–13. Juli 1946,” in Beckmann, *Kirchliches Jahrbuch*, p. 48.

51. Robert Grosche, “Der deutsche Katholizismus 1945–50”; P. Audomar Scheuermann, “Abriss des kirchlichen Eherechts,” and Pope Pius XII’s remarks to Berlin Catholics (17 June 1949), in “Botschaften und Ansprachen des heiligen Vaters,” in *Das katholische Jahrbuch 1951–52* (Heidelberg: Kemper, 1951), pp. 133, 161–75, 210.

52. Bishop quoted in Johannes Kleinschmidt, “Amerikaner und Deutsche in der Besatzungszeit—Beziehungen und Probleme,” <http://www.lpb.bwue.de/publikat/besatzer/us-pol6.htm>.

53. Leppich, “Thema 1,” pp. 43–44.

54. See the important anthology, *Kreuz mit dem Frieden: 1982 Jahre Christen und Politik*, ed. Peter Winzeler (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1982), as well as the main venues in the postwar era for progressive Protestantism (*Junge Kirche*) and progressive Catholicism (*Frankfurter Hefte*). On the ambiguities of postfascist Christianity, see also Dagmar Herzog, “Making Sense of the Past: Antifascist Protestants and the Lessons of the Third Reich, 1945–1965” (paper presented at the Mellon Faculty Forum, Harvard University, 4 Apr. 1994); and Dagmar Herzog, “Believing in God as an Atheist: Left-Wing Theology and the Confrontation with Secularization” (paper presented at the conference “Formen Religiöser Vergemeinschaftung in der Moderne,” University of Chicago, 25 Oct. 2003).

55. “Wort der ausserordentlichen Landessynode der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Oldenburg an die Gemeinden Oktober 1945,” p. 43.

56. Otto Bernhard Roegele, “Wertloses Leben?” *Rheinischer Merkur*, 30 Aug. 1947, p. 2.

57. For example, see the powerful essay by Eugen Kogon, “Gericht und Gewissen,” *Frankfurter Hefte* (Apr. 1946), pp. 25–37.

58. Anton Christian Hofmann, *Die Natürlichkeit der christlichen Ehe* (Munich: J. Pfeiffer, 1951), pp. 5, 9–10, 38–39.

59. For one example among many, contrast the effusively pro-Nazi remarks of Protestant Church activist D. Erich Stange in 1933 with his description of Christians as victims of Nazism in 1951. See Stange quoted in Ernst Klee, “Die SA Jesu Christi”: *Die Kirchen im Banne Hitlers* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1989), pp. 26–27; and D. Erich Stange, “Innere Mission und kirchliche Werke,” *Evan-*

*gelische Welt* 5, no. 22 (16 Nov. 1951), p. 678. But note that also consistently anti-Nazi Christians distorted the relationship between Christianity and Nazism when they emphasized Nazism’s anti-Christianity. See, for example, Walter Dirks’s remark that “German Catholicism stood on the list of opponents of the German essence that were to be exterminated” (*Der deutsche Katholizismus stand auf der Liste der zur Ausrottung bestimmten Widersacher des deutschen Wesens*). Dirks in *Frankfurter Hefte* (May 1946), p. 45. Postwar Protestants too regularly remarked that Nazism had planned to “liquidate the church,” that Nazism wanted to “destroy the church and exterminate the Christian faith,” or that “the persecution of Christians was the direct extension of the battle against the Jews. It would have led to a similar extermination program.” Link, “Königsberg (1945–1948),” *Junge Kirche. Sonderdruck* (Jan. 1950); “Wort des Bruderrates der EKD zur Reinigung der Kirche vom Nationalsozialismus,” *Kirchliches Jahrbuch 1945–1948*, p. 187; Otto Fricke, “Wir Christen und die Juden” (1949), in *Die Juden und wir Christen*, ed. Hans Kallenbach (Frankfurt am Main: Lembeck, 1950), pp. 48–49.

60. Heilweck, “Ein heikles Thema,” p. 3.

61. Walter Dirks, “Ein Wort an die Arbeiterschaft in Sachen Paragraph 218,” *Frankfurter Hefte* (Dec. 1946), pp. 793–94.

62. Hermann Frühauf, “Paragraph 218,” *Frankfurter Hefte* (Oct. 1946), p. 590. Protestants were less active than Catholics in efforts to defeat the campaign to decriminalize abortion, but Protestant opponents of abortion made some related claims—for instance, stressing how difficult it was to “reawaken” awe and respect for “the right to life” in the wake of “an epoch which succumbed to the spirit of killing.” Frau Dr. Schwörer speaking before a Protestant Church-organized gathering of midwives in 1951, summarized in “Verantwortung für die Ungeborenen,” *Evangelische Welt* 5, no. 22 (16 Nov. 1951), p. 682.

63. See Romano Guardini, “Die soziale Indikation für die Unterbrechung der Schwangerschaft,” *Frankfurter Hefte*, Sept. 1947, p. 930.

64. Probst quoted in Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, “Es ist verboten . . . Empfängnisverhütung und Abtreibung,” in *Perlsonzeit*, ed. Delille and Grohn (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1985), p. 124.

65. Gröber quoted in *ibid.*

66. “Gefahren und Ursachen des Sexualismus,” p. 5.

67. Klaus von Bismarck, summarized in “Familienförderung als kirchliche Aufgabe,” *Evangelische Welt* 5, no. 22 (16 Nov. 1951), p. 682.

68. Rosine Speicher, “Um das Leben der Ungeborenen,” *Die Welt der Frau* 1, nos. 8–9 (Feb.–Mar. 1947), p. 61.

69. Hans March, “Zur Sexual-Ethik,” *Stimmen der Zeit* 156 (1955), pp. 290–91, 299, 301. “Pure sexual intercourse, that supposedly is done only for its own sake, that is sought for the sake of the pleasurable release of a bodily urge and knows or wants to know nothing of a deeper soul-spiritual expressive content,” March announced, “actually leaves the more differentiated person unsatisfied.”

70. Theodor Bovet, “Die Ehe, ihre Krise und Neuwerdung,” *Universitas* 2, no. 2 (1947), p. 161.

71. Franz Arnold, "Sinnlichkeit und Sexualität im Lichte von Theologie und Seelsorge," in *Über das Wesen der Sexualität*, Beiträge zur Sexualforschung, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Enke, 1952), p. 1.

72. Franz Arnold, "Das eheliche Geheimnis in Theologie und Seelsorge," *Universitas* 2, no. 10 (1947): 1155, 1158. Arnold in fact departed from Catholic Church teaching in contending that birth control was acceptable within marriage.

73. Roegele, "Ein heikles Thema," p. 3.

74. Hans Wirtz, *Vom Eros zur Ehe: Die naturgetreue Lebensgemeinschaft* (Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle, 1946), pp. 7, 227, 231, 246, 248, 256–57. Wirtz had used the same language in the earlier edition of the book published during the Third Reich.

75. Hofmann, *Die Natürlichkeit*, pp. 50, 83.

76. Theodor Bovet, *Die werdende Frau* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1962), pp. 20–21; the book previously appeared in Switzerland in 1944, and was first published in Germany in 1950.

77. Schöllgen in *Die Kirche in der Welt* 1, no. 35 (1947–48), p. 160. Schöllgen's comments about orgasm and fertility were part of a larger phenomenon in Nazi and post-Nazi Germany. A number of specialists speculated that orgasms could trigger ovulation, usually in the context of using this "concern" to dismiss the rhythm method as entirely ineffective (while remaining apparently unconcerned about the crises and conflicts that this "news" would inevitably cause for seriously Catholic couples). See "Die andere Auffassung," *Ärztliche Praxis* 2, no. 42 (21 Oct. 1950), p. 4. Another strand of argumentation, developed under Nazism, claimed to have found that a woman's orgasm permitted sperm to travel more rapidly through the cervix. For example, see B. Belonoshkin, "Weibliche Psyche und Konzeption," *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 88 (1941), pp. 1007–9.

78. See Meta Holland, *Vor dem Tore der Ehe: Was jede junge Frau wissen muss*, 2nd ed. (Konstanz: Christliche Verlagsanstalt, 1936), pp. 4–5, 91–97, and (Konstanz: Christliche Verlagsanstalt, 1950), pp. 5, 87–89.

79. Ernst Karl Winter, "Das grosse Geheimnis: Ehe und Familie in der christlichen Zivilisation," *Frankfurter Hefte* (Oct. 1951), p. 716.

80. Theodor Bovet, *Von Mann zu Mann: Eine Einführung ins Reifealter für junge Männer* (Tübingen: Katzmann, 1955), p. 47.

81. See Karl P. Rürh, "Ist 'Liebe und Ehe' eine unzüchtige Zeitschrift?" *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 5 (1951), p. 212; see also Sven Säger, "Sind wir eigentlich prude?" *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 3 (1950), p. 20. See also Robert Schilling, *Gesamtverzeichnis der jugendgefährdenden Schriften nach dem Stande vom 1. April 1961* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1961), p. 59.

82. See *Liebe und Ehe* 1, no. 1 (1949), p. 21.

83. Kurt Fiebich, "Zur Frage der Bordellisierung," *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 9 (1950), p. 12.

84. Helmut Meissner, "Dreiecksehe sanktioniert," *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 10 (1951), p. 413.

85. Gerhard Ockel, "Tiefenpsychologie und Sinnlichkeit," *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 2 (1951), p. 54.

86. Dorothee Löhe, "Menschenpaar," *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 1 (1950), p. 1.

87. K. Fischer, "Darf Herr X Frau Y spät abends besuchen?" *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 12 (1950), p. 15.

88. Wilhelm Schuh, "Die Eltern, die Tochter, und die Liebe," *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 10 (1951), p. 400.

89. Hans Niedermeier, "'Mein Schatz ist ein Matrose . . .,'" *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 11 (1950), p. 19.

90. Kurt Fiebich, "Der Selbstmord der Intelligenz: Die Expansion der Minderbegabten," *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 8 (1951), p. 318.

91. Hans von Hohenecken, "Kleine Kulturgeschichte in Heiratsanzeigen," *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 8 (1950), p. 40.

92. Martin Brustmann, "Sexuelle Probleme in der SS," *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 2 (1951), p. 63; 3, no. 3 (1951), p. 113; 3, no. 4 (1951), p. 148; 3, no. 5 (1951), p. 204.

93. Martin Brustmann, "Sexuelle Probleme in der SS," *Liebe und Ehe* 3, no. 6 (1951), p. 249.

94. Such doubleness of identification and disidentification was also strongly facilitated by the simultaneous hyperventilated fascination with and trivializing banalization of Nazism in the popular postwar press—what one thoughtful critic described as the "smug kitsch of the illustrated magazines," with their "dangerous cult of heroes" and "glorification of the brown celebrities." Karl Gehau, "Der Fluch der guten Tat," *Frankfurter Hefte* (Dec. 1952), p. 963.

95. Gerhard Giehm, "Von der Sexualität in unserer Zeit," *Liebe und Ehe* 1, no. 1 (1949), p. 2. This is an excerpt from Giehm, *Behandlung seelischer und nervöser Sexualleiden* (Hannover: Bruno-Wilkens-Verlag, 1948).

96. Löhe, "Menschenpaar," p. 1.

97. See on this point also the important retrospective reflections of a pastor on the responsibility-diffusing rhetoric used by postwar Germans as they described themselves as having been "victims of the era" (*Opfer der Zeit*, or ODZ). Inge Brodersen, Klaus Humann, and Susanne von Paczensky, eds., 1933: *Wie die Deutschen Hitler zur Macht Verhalfen. Ein Lesebuch für Demokraten* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1983), p. 303.

98. Gernot B. quoted in Heinrich Albert, "Über Verhältnisblödsinn," in *Randzonen menschlichen Verhaltens: Beiträge zur Psychiatrie und Neurologie* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1962), p. 195.

99. According to the editors of *Liebe und Ehe*, for example, a battery of hormonal and herbal products to enhance potency were increasingly also being used by quite young men, "so to speak, those in the best years," due not least to the "emotional wounds that the last war and the postwar period beat into many millions of men." See "Ihre Sorgen—Unser Rat," *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 1 (1950), p. 35.

100. Walter Frederking, "Die Krisis der Ehe: Was der Arzt meint," *Nordwestdeutsche Hefte* 2, no. 10 (1947), pp. 33–34. As Frederking put it, "The German human being has changed more than most of us are aware. One needs only to think of the extent to which feelings and concepts of justice have become blurred and crumbled."

101. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

102. H. H., "Hut ab vor unseren Frauen!" *Constanze* 1, no. 2 (1948), pp. 4–5.

103. Walther von Hollander, "Mann in der Krise: Anklage der Frauen," *Constanze* 1, no. 1 (1948), pp. 3, 22.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 22; and "Aus Walther von Hollanders Privatkorrespondenz," *Constanze* 1, no. 1 (1948), p. 19.
105. Walther von Hollander, "Mann in der Krise: Glanz und Elend des Intellekts," *Constanze* 1, no. 2 (1948), p. 15; and Walther von Hollander, "Mann in der Krise: Tristan, Don Juan und der Patriarch," *Constanze* 1, no. 3 (1948), p. 19.
106. Else Feldbinder, "Er und Sie 1948," *Constanze* 1, no. 7 (1948), p. 3.
107. See Hans-Georg Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland: Eine politische Geschichte* (Munich: Beck, 1989), pp. 73, 81–82.
108. J. Strüder, "Beitrag zur Homosexuellenfrage," *Kriminalistische Monatshefte* 11 (1937), pp. 219–20.
109. Walter Meyer, "Könnte es eine chemisch-physiologische Diagnose und eine erfolgreiche Therapie der echten Homosexualität geben?" *Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift* 39, no. 28 (10 July 1937), p. 309.
110. L. G. Tirala, "Homosexualität und Rassenmischung," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte* 93 (1934), p. 148; J. H. Schultz, "Bemerkungen zu der Arbeit von Theo Lang über die genetische Bedingtheit der Homosexualität," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, no. 157 (1937), pp. 575, 577.
111. For examples of varieties in sentencing, and the general early postwar climate of flux and indeterminacy, see "Rechtliche Beurteilung der Homosexualität," *Geist und Tat* 6, no. 10 (1951), p. 333; Franz Baumeyer, "Zur Beurteilung der Homosexualität," *Die Medizinische* 1 (1952), p. 1603; A. Ohm, "Homosexualität als Neurose," *Der Weg zur Seele* 5 (1953), pp. 51–52; Wilhelm Ellinghaus, "Verfassungsmässigkeit des Paragraphen 175 RstGB," *Kriminalistik* 8, no. 3 (1954), pp. 61–63; as well as Mario Kramp and Martin Sölle, "Paragraph 175—Restauration und Reform in der Bundesrepublik," in *Himmel und Hölle: Das Leben der Kölner Homosexuellen 1945–1969*, ed. Kristof Balsler et al. (Cologne: Emons, 1995), p. 126.
112. "Eine Million Delikte," *Der Spiegel*, 29 Nov. 1950, p. 8.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9. See also Dieter Schiefelbein, "Wiederbeginn der juristischen Verfolgung homosexueller Männer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Die Homosexuellen-Prozesse in Frankfurt am Main 1950/51," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 5 (1992), pp. 59–73.
114. "Eingabe an die Gesetzgebenden Organe des Bundes in Bonn betr. Paragraphen 175, 175a StGB," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, nos. 3–4 (1950), pp. 311–12.
115. Hans Giese, "Zweck und Sinn der Eingabe," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, nos. 3–4 (1950), pp. 313–15.
116. Horst Pommerening, "Ergebnis der Arbeitstagung vom 11. April 1950," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, nos. 3–4 (1950), pp. 323, 326.
117. Karl Siegfried Bader, "Gutachtliche Äusserung zur Reform der Paragraphen 175, 175a StGB," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 1, nos. 3–4 (1950), pp. 328, 330, 332.
118. "Rechtliche Beurteilung," p. 334.

119. "Eine Million Delikte," pp. 7–8, 10.
120. Schönke, 1952, quoted in Ellinghaus, "Verfassungsmässigkeit," p. 62.
121. For example, see Maasen, 1954, quoted in *ibid.*
122. It is revealing that even *opponents* of the paragraph like Bader or Pommerening called attention to the widely felt concern about protection of young men during their, as also Bader put it, potentially "bisexual" phase. Pommerening, despite raising strong doubts about the whole notion of seducibility to homosexuality, nonetheless proposed (perhaps tactically) retaining the age of consent for homosexual acts at twenty-one—because of youth's apparent tendency to "pseudohomoeoticism." Bader, "Gutachtliche Äusserung," p. 330; Pommerening, "Ergebnis," p. 324.
123. "Literatur-Umschau," *Kriminalistik* 6, nos. 13–14 (1952), pp. 167–68. The book under discussion is by a jurist: Gatzweiler, *Das dritte Geschlecht* (Cologne-Klettenberg: Volkswartbund, 1951).
124. "Not um den Paragraphen 175," *Christ und Welt* 4, no. 20 (1951), pp. 4–5.
125. Kramp and Sölle, "Paragraph 175," pp. 132, 139–41.
126. Ellinghaus, "Verfassungsmässigkeit," p. 63.
127. See Robert G. Moeller, "The Homosexual Man Is a 'Man,' the Homosexual Woman Is a 'Woman,' Sex, Society and the Law in Postwar West Germany," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4, no. 3 (1994).
128. Statistics on registrations and arrests and Schoeps summarized in Kramp and Sölle, "Paragraph 175," pp. 133, 142.
129. Ohm, "Homosexualität als Neurose," p. 56. True to form, Ohm was also convinced that a big reason for homosexuality was many men's inhibitions vis-à-vis real women due to their overidealization of one particular woman, often their mother, or their search for a girl who was so perfect she did not exist. Ohm heaped up anecdotes of homosexuals turned off from the heterosexual "path" by dislike of women's vaginal fluids, or instances in which they felt women had humiliated them. As a result, men "neurotically" built up obstacles so that it became "impossible" for them to "walk" on this "path perceived to be threatening and dangerous" (p. 55).
130. The defendant is quoted in Baumeyer, "Zur Beurteilung," p. 1603.
131. See Ohm, "Homosexualität als Neurose," p. 24.
132. Conversation with G. C., 2002. This man guessed that the four officers were not necessarily homosexually inclined in peacetime but rather that the absence of women was the key factor for "some if not all" of them. See also the findings of Geoffrey Giles, who in his analysis of the few trial records remaining for cases of homosexuality judged before the SS special courts (*Sondergerichte*) found that there was apparently a blurred boundary in many men's minds between a homosexual orientation and acceptable homosexual fondling as a substitute for heterosexual sex in the absence of women. Geoffrey Giles, "The Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler's SS and Police," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002), esp. pp. 273–80.
133. Von Friedeburg, *Die Umfrage in der Intimsphäre*, p. 87. When the survey was repeated in 1963, only 10 percent of West German men questioned admitted having "contact with" homosexuality. See Elisabeth Noelle and Erich Peter Neu-

mann, eds., *Jahrbuch der öffentlichen Meinung 1958–1964* (Allensbach and Bonn: Verlag für Demoskopie, 1965), p. 591.

134. For example, see Radu Cernea, *Sexual-Biologische Studien: Betrachtungen eines Arztes über das Wesen und die Bedeutung der Sexualität* (Munich: Akademischer Verlag, 1948), pp. 87, 117–19; Von der Spreu, “Die Wissenschaft meldet,” *Liebe und Ehe* 1, no. 1 (1949), p. 34; Von der Spreu, “Störungen der männlichen Potenz III,” *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 8 (1950), pp. 19–20.

135. See Von der Spreu, “Störung der männlichen Potenz II,” *Liebe und Ehe* 2, no. 6 (1950), p. 16; and von der Spreu, “Störung der männlichen Potenz III,” pp. 19–20. Von der Spreu took the view that impotence or premature ejaculation could also be the result of a “fundamental homosexual disposition, that rejects the woman as a sexual partner no matter what.” Radu Cernea was of the opinion that “Among the cases of war impotence that present themselves to the doctor there are very many latent homosexuals who are not even aware of their homosexuality. They only feel a repulsion toward a woman, or they complain of impotence despite persistent love. Only later they become aware that in the field, under the mask of friendship and comradeship, the homosexual drive announced itself. The more we study the cases of homosexuality, the more we recognize that homosexuality is a neurosis, a flight from the woman.” Cernea, *Sexual-Biologische Studien*, pp. 122–23. See in this context also C. Kallwitz, “Das Sexualproblem in der Kriegsgefangenschaft,” *Liebe und Ehe* 1, no. 2 (1949), pp. 20, 25.

136. On the thesis that postwar homophobia drew its virulent force not so much from any latent homosexual desires as from quite concrete familiarity with homosexual experiences in wartime, see also Martin Dannecker, “Der unstillbare Wunsch nach Anerkennung: Homosexuellenpolitik in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren,” in *Was heisst hier schwul? Politik und Identitäten im Wandel*, ed. Detlef Grumbach (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript, 1997), pp. 35–37.

137. See David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004); John D’Emilio, “The Homosexual Menace: The Politics of Sexuality in Cold War America,” in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1989); Barbara Ehrenreich, “Breadwinners and Losers,” in *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York: Anchor, 1983); Sonya Michel, “Danger on the Home Front: Motherhood, Sexuality, and Disabled Veterans in American Postwar Films,” in *American Sexual Politics*, ed. John C. Fout and Maura Shaw Tantilio (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1993).

138. See Olav Münzberg, “Wovon berührt? Vom jüdischen Trauma? Von den Traumata der Eltern?” *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 51 (June 1983), p. 25; and Martin Dannecker, “Die verspätete Empirie,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 14, no. 2 (June 2001), pp. 173–74. Also see the fascinating reflections on the displacement of moral blame in post-Nazi Austria (from men who had been enmeshed in genocidal warfare onto women who consorted with the occupying Americans) in Ingrid Bauer, “‘Austria’s Prestige Dragged into the Dirt’? The ‘GI-Brides’ and Postwar Austrian Society (1945–1955),” *Contemporary Austrian Studies* (1998).

139. Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, “Sex in Public,” *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (winter 1998), p. 548; see also pp. 549, 552–53.

140. Dittmann, “Die Krisis der Ehe,” p. 34; Leppich, “Thema 1,” p. 44.

141. Kolle quoted in Peter Knorr, “Schwierigkeiten bei der Sexualaufklärung,” *Pardon* 8, no. 12 (Dec. 1969), p. 65.

142. See Reimut Reiche, “Kritik der gegenwärtigen Sexualwissenschaft,” in *Tendenzen der Sexualforschung*, ed. Gunter Schmidt et al. (Stuttgart: Enke, 1970), p. 2.

143. “Tut Scheiden weh?” *Constanze* 21 (1948), p. 3; Luise Heise, “Unverstanden—nicht ernst genommen?” *Constanze* 10 (1948), p. 3.

144. See “Erst die Liebe, dann die Moral? Alles über die Deutschen (15),” *Der Stern*, no. 48 (1963), pp. 43–52; and Noelle and Neumann, *Jahrbuch*, pp. 589–90.

145. See Ulrike Heider, “Freie Liebe und Liebesreligion: Zum Sexualitätsbegriff der sechziger und achtziger Jahre,” in *Sadomasochisten, Keusche und Romantiker: Vom Mythos neuer Sinnlichkeit*, ed. Heider (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1986), p. 93; Michael Schneider, “Fathers and Sons, Retrospectively: The Damaged Relationship between Two Generations,” *New German Critique* 31 (winter 1984), p. 9; and Sabine Weissler, “Sexy Sixties,” in *CheSchahShit: Die sechziger Jahre zwischen Cocktail und Molotov*, ed. Eckhard Siepmann et al. (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1984), p. 96.

146. Heipe Weiss, “Freie Liebe war vor allem Reden über Sex,” *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 24 Apr. 1998, p. 9.

147. Along these latter lines, for instance, the self-styled homosexuality expert Theo Lang, one of the most prolific publicists on the subject in the Nazi era, took the occasion of the postwar discussion over whether to abolish Paragraph 175 to revive his career. Lang not only reiterated the importance of his Nazi-era research (based on case files supplied by police forces in various German cities) but also asserted that “approximately two-thirds of all cases of homosexuality are genetically determined,” and thus that the threat of punishment could not hope to lead to any “change of drive-direction” in these individuals. Nonetheless, he averred, the threat of punishments was still necessary because of these individuals’ (also innate) tendency “to propagate their inversion” and to seek to convert others to homosexuality. Theo Lang, “Zum Problem der Homosexualität,” *Juristische Rundschau* (1952), pp. 273–75.

148. For example, see the postwar citations of the Nazi-era work of Dr. Hermann Stieve in O. Hajek, “Willkürliche Geburtenregelung,” *Ärztliche Praxis* 5, no. 12 (21 March 1953), p. 9; “Die andere Auffassung,” p. 4; and F. G. von Stockert, “Kindheit, Pubertät, Reife, Alter,” in *Die Sexualität des Menschen: Handbuch der medizinischen Sexualforschung*, ed. Hans Giese (Stuttgart: Enke, 1955), p. 288. On Stieve’s “research” under Nazism, see Ulrich Schultz-Venrath and Ludger M. Hermanns, “Gleichschaltung zur Ganzheit: Gab es eine Psychosomatik im Nationalsozialismus?” in *Neues Denken in der Psychosomatik*, ed. Horst-Eberhard Richter and Michael Wirsching (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991), p. 98.

149. Hans Harmsen, “Das medizinische Übel der Abtreibung,” *Die Heilkunst* 66, no. 7 (1953), p. 233. Atina Grossmann has not only documented Harmsen’s own embrace of and close collaboration with the Nazis but also explained why, in Cold War West Germany, Harmsen was nonetheless deemed more acceptable by American family-planning organizations than any of the activists who had been

affiliated with the Communist Party's sex reform activities in the Weimar era. See Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), as well as the concise summary of Harmsen's blatant disdain for the disabled (and his meteoric postwar career) in Ernst Klee, *Was sie taten—Was sie wurden: Ärzte, Juristen und andere Beteiligte am Kranken- oder Judenmord* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1986), pp. 150–51. The point here is that in 1953 Harmsen felt no need to hide his approval of Nazi policies.

150. March, "Zur Sexual-Ethik," pp. 297–99. On the perception of Muckermann as a "moderate" antisemite, see the review of Muckermann's *Rassenforschung und Volk der Zukunft: Ein Beitrag zur Einführung in die Frage vom biologischen Werden der Menschheit*, 3rd expanded ed. (Berlin and Bonn: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1934), by Peter Schmitz in *Der Seelsorger* 10 (1934), p. 362. Schmitz praised Muckermann for "being in racial matters totally free of all fantastical thinking, putting the significance of races into its proper bounds, but also pointing out forcefully the damages and disadvantages of an unharmonious racial mixing." On Muckermann's openly advanced post-1945 opinions—including his opposition to marriage between European and "Negroid" peoples and his vociferous concern that the disabled cost society more than the healthy ("the thought is unbearable that hopeless progeny from mentally debilitated hereditary lines would be cared for with greater devotion than the progeny of healthy parents")—see Klee, *Was sie taten—Was sie wurden*, pp. 148–49.

151. Y. Michal Bodemann, "Mentalitäten des Verweilens: Der Neubeginn jüdischen Lebens in Deutschland," in *Leben im Land der Täter: Juden im Nachkriegsdeutschland (1945–1952)*, ed. Julius H. Schoeps (Berlin: Jüdische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), p. 15.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### DESPERATELY SEEKING NORMALITY

1. Martin Dannecker, "Die verspätete Empirie: Anmerkungen zu den Anfängen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sexualforschung," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 14, no. 2 (June 2001), p. 173.

2. Ulf Preuss-Lausitz, "Vom gepanzerten zum sinnstiftenden Körper," in *Kriegskinder, Konsumkinder, Krisenkinder: Zur Sozialisationsgeschichte seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Preuss-Lausitz et al. (Weinheim: Beltz, 1989), pp. 90, 92.

3. See Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Die Ära Adenauer: Gründerjahre der Republik 1949–1957* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1981), p. 382; and Ulrich Herbert, "Legt die Plakate nieder, ihr Streiter für die Gerechtigkeit," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 24 (29 Jan. 2001), p. 48.

4. All quotations in Wolfgang Löhr, "Rechristianisierungsvorstellungen im deutschen Katholizismus 1945–1948," in *Christentum und politische Verantwortung: Kirchen im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jochen-Christoph Kaiser and Anselm Döring-Manteuffel (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 26–27, 29.

5. See Frank Biess, "Repräsentanten der Not—Christliche Wohlfahrtsorganisationen zwischen Krieg und Nachkrieg" (paper presented at the German Studies Association, San Diego, 5 Oct. 2002).

6. The phrase in quotes is from Hanna Schissler, "'Normalization' as Project: Some Thoughts on Gender Relations in West Germany during the 1950s," in *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968*, ed. Schissler (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), p. 366.

7. See Sophinette Becker, "Zur Funktion der Sexualität im Nationalsozialismus," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 14, no. 2 (June 2001), pp. 142–43. Becker is here building on the work of historian Ian Kershaw. On the function of withdrawal into privacy as a way of avoiding emotional confrontation with the knowledge of mass murder, see also David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

8. Y. Michal Bodemann, "Eclipse of Memory: German Representations of Auschwitz in the Early Postwar Period," *New German Critique*, no. 75 (fall 1998), pp. 61–72, 88–89.

9. See Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1992), pp. 302–10; Micha Brumlik, "Post-Holocaust Theology: German Theological Responses since 1945," in *Betrayal: German Churches and the Holocaust*, ed. Robert Ericksen and Susannah Heschel (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999).

10. See in this context also Maria Hoehn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 145–47.

11. Olav Münzberg, "Wovon berührt? Vom jüdischen Trauma? Von den Traumata der Eltern?" *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 51 (June 1983), p. 25.

12. On the dearth of spiritual renewal and the superficiality of motivations for church attendance in the late 1940s, see also Martin Greschat, *Die evangelische Christenheit und die deutsche Geschichte nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002), pp. 71–72.

13. Hermann Peter Piwitt, "Autoritär, betulich, neckisch und devot," *Konkret*, May 1979, p. 34.

14. Günter Grass, "Geschenkte Freiheit: Versagen, Schuld, vertane Chancen," *Die Zeit*, no. 20 (10 May 1985), p. 21.

15. "Mit Unbehagen," *Die Welt*, 19 Sept. 1952.

16. "Schutz vor Schund und Schmutz," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13 Dec. 1949.

17. For an example of early government hesitation about the advisability of an antismut law, see the remarks of the federal minister of justice, Thomas Dehler, summarized in "Gegen Schmutz- und Schundgesetz," *Allgemeine Kölnische Rundschau*, 1 Feb. 1950. See as well the antilegislation stances of politicians in the state of Baden-Württemberg ("Gegen Schund und Schmutz," *Mannheimer Morgen*, 4 Mar. 1950) and in the Free Democratic Party ("FDP-Kulturausschuss lehnt Schundgesetz ab," *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 20 Mar. 1950).

18. "Der 'Skandal der Kioske,'" *Hamburger Allgemeine*, 27 Feb. 1950; Alfred Happ, "Feinere Schamlosigkeit," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 3 May 1950.

19. See “Zum Schutz der heranwachsenden Jugend,” *Die Welt*, 20 April 1950.
20. Under the 1926 Weimar law 3,660 publications and all the works of an additional 455 authors were put on a blacklist. The Nazis nullified and replaced the Weimar law with their own stricter ruling in April 1935. See Stefan Malin, “Zu diesem Schund und Schmutz: Mit der ‘Lex Heintze’ begann es,” *Die neue Zeitung*, 12 Mar. 1950; “Moral mit Paragraphen,” *Die deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschafts Zeitung*, 23 July 1952; and see also the protests of writers and publishers summarized in Gerhard Lüttke, “Verleger und Autoren gegen ein Schund- und Schmutzgesetz,” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14 Jan. 1950.
21. See “Mit untauglichen Mitteln,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 Aug. 1952. The language about “glorifying war crimes and racial hatred” suddenly appeared as the Bundestag’s Committee for Youth Welfare, after almost two years of work, offered a revised version of the law to the Bundestag for final deliberation in July 1952. See “Schmutz- und Schundgesetz fertiggestellt,” *Die Neue Zeitung*, 12 July 1952.
22. See the trajectory of the discussion in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages. I. Wahlperiode 1949*, vol. 13 (Bonn: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1952), pp. 10532–56. See especially the comments of Maria Niggemeyer of the CDU (p. 10533), Minister of the Interior Robert Lehr, also of the CDU (p. 10536), Anne Marie Heiler of the CDU (p. 10539), Gertrud Strohbach of the Communist Party (KPD) (p. 10542), and Ferdinand Friedensburg of the CDU (p. 10547).
23. See Robert Schilling, *Gesamtverzeichnis der jugendgefährdenden Schriften nach dem Stande vom 1. April 1961* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1961), p. 65.
24. See Petra Jäschke, “Produktionsbedingungen und gesellschaftliche Einschätzungen,” in *Zwischen Trümmern und Wohlstand: Literatur der Jugend 1945–1960*, ed. Klaus Doderer (Weinheim and Basel: Beltz, 1988), p. 324.
25. See Reimut Reiche, “Über Kinsey,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 11, no. 2 (1998), p. 167.
26. For example, see Malin, “Zu diesem Schund und Schmutz.”
27. Happ, “‘Feinere Schamlosigkeit.’”
28. Erich Kästner, “Schund- und Schandgesetzgebung,” reprinted in *Kästner für Erwachsene*, ed. R. W. Leonhardt (Frankfurt am Main and Zurich: S. Fischer/Atrium, 1966).
29. Carlo Schmid, “Schmutz- und Schund-Gesetz—endlose Schraube,” *Die Welt*, 13 Jan. 1950.
30. Kästner, “Schund- und Schandgesetzgebung.”
31. Communist analyses did not help in offering a more differentiated explanation for the appeals of pornography. KPD politician Renner’s remarks in the Bundestag to the effect that the millions of Deutschmark spent on pornographic literature were “indicative of the rotted social order in the Federal Republic” (in contrast to the impressive model provided by the Soviet zone of occupation, “where erotic-decadent literature is not purchasable”) only inspired a journalist to sharp sarcasm about the contrast between Stalinist “moralism” on the one hand and the Red Army rapes of German women and concentration and forced labor camps for political opponents of Stalinism on the other. H. H., “Totale Moral,” *General-Anzeiger*, 14 Feb. 1952.

32. F. M. Reifferscheidt, “Was steckt hinter ‘Schmutz und Schund?’” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 10 Jan. 1950.
33. See “Schund und Schmutz,” *Rhein-Echo*, 2 Mar. 1950.
34. *5 vor 12* (Echter-Verlag, 1950), quoted in Jäschke, “Produktionsbedingungen,” p. 321.
35. See Heinz Neudeck, “Pressefreiheit und Jugendschutz,” *Die neue Zeitung*, 18 Mar. 1950.
36. Helmut Thielicke, “Schmutz und Schund: Massnahmen von unten her,” *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 4 May 1950.
37. “Was ist ‘jugendgefährdend?’” *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 6 May 1950.
38. Richard Tügel, “Schmutz und Schund,” *Die Zeit*, no. 39 (25 Sept. 1952), p. 1.
39. See “Kardinal Frings mahnt Bundesrat,” *Kölnische Rundschau*, 29 Aug. 1950.
40. “Das Wichtige und die halbe Wahrheit,” *Münchener Allgemeine*, 15 Jan. 1950.
41. See “‘Schwarzer Terror,’” *Rheinische Zeitung*, 25 Jan. 1951; “Der erste Scheiterhaufen,” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 8 Apr. 1952.
42. “‘Schwarzer Terror.’”
43. Strauss quoted in “Mehr christliche Aktivisten!” *Westfalenpost*, 21 Feb. 1952.
44. “Moral mit Paragraphen,” *Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschafts Zeitung*, 23 July 1952.
45. “Bundestag verabschiedet ‘Schmutz- und Schundgesetz,’” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 18 Sept. 1952.
46. “Mit Unbehagen.”
47. *Jugend in Gefahr* (1952), brochure of the Vereinigte Jugendschriftenausschüsse, quoted in Jäschke, “Produktionsbedingungen,” p. 394.
48. See the discussion in Jäschke, “Produktionsbedingungen,” p. 330.
49. Toska Heseke, *Eltern antworten: Eine Hilfe zur Aufklärung unserer Kinder* (Berlin: Burckhardthaus-Verlag, 1955), p. 27.
50. Oesterreich (1954) quoted in Peter Kuhnert and Ute Ackermann, “Jenseits von Lust und Liebe? Jugendsexualität in den 50er Jahren,” in *Die Elvis-Tolle, die hatte ich mir unauffällig wachsen lassen: Lebensgeschichte und jugendliche Alltagskultur in den fünfziger Jahren*, ed. Heinz-Hermann Krüger (Opladen: Leske, 1985), p. 48.
51. Oesterreich (1959) quoted in *ibid.*, p. 49.
52. Hans Wollasch, “Der menschliche Sinn des Geschlechtslebens,” in *Familie in Not: Sexualpädagogische Vortragsreihe*, ed. Stadtverwaltung Bad Godesberg (Bad Godesberg, 1954), p. 16.
53. See Erich Schröder, *Reif Werden und Rein Bleiben: Briefe eines Arztes an seinen Patensohn* (Konstanz: Christliche Verlagsanstalt, 1956), p. 29.
54. Gagern quoted in Kuhnert and Ackermann, “Jenseits von Lust und Liebe?” p. 49.
55. Wolfgang Fischer, “Selbstbefriedigung und geschlechtliche Erziehung,” *Der evangelische Erzieher* 6, no. 3 (May–June 1954), pp. 74–75.
56. Conversation with F. B., 2001.

57. See Kuhnert and Ackermann, “Jenseits von Lust und Liebe?” esp. pp. 55–72.

58. See *ibid.*, esp. pp. 72–81.

59. Indeed, in the course of the 1960s—as the society was in other ways beginning to liberalize—a number of notorious Federal Court (Bundesgerichtshof) decisions, inspired by church teachings on the indissolubility of marriage, limited individuals’ ability to seek divorce even further. Refusal of intercourse with one’s spouse (considered one of the “marital duties”), like refusal to conceive, were taken as violations of marriage. The “guilty” party was not permitted to file for divorce, only the guiltless partner could do so. And if the woman was the “guilty” party in these cases, she could lose both her right to alimony and—if the man wanted the children—custody of their children. (These developments, notably, had their roots in the Western occupiers’ particular interpretation of the 1938 liberalized Nazi divorce law as a “typically Nazi” law in its concern with dissolving “undesirable” marriages and encouraging reproduction within new marriages. Thus in the wake of the war, the occupiers added a clause that made divorce impossible when it was opposed to the interests of the children.) See Sibylla Flügge, “Der verschlungene Weg zur Gleichberechtigung: Entwicklung der Frauenrechte seit 1945,” in *Wir sind so frei: 3 Jahrzehnte Frauenbewegung in Frankfurt*, ed. Frauenreferat der Stadt Frankfurt am Main (brochure, 2001); Ute Gerhard, ed., *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts* (Munich: Beck, 1997); Robert Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Post-war West Germany* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993); Karin Stiehr, “Aspekte der gesellschaftlichen und politischen Situation von Frauen in den 50er Jahren,” in *Verdeckte Überlieferungen: Weiblichkeitsbilder zwischen Weimarer Republik, Nationalsozialismus und Fünfziger Jahre*, ed. Barbara Determan et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Haag und Herchen, 1991), pp. 121; Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück: Frauenleben und Familienpolitik in den 50er Jahren* (Berlin: Elefant, 1985), pp. 130, 138–40. For an example of the kinds of sexual responsiveness and cooperation some leading jurists expected wives to show their husbands as a matter of course, see the commentary on the Federal Court decision of 2 Nov. 1966 in *Neue juristische Wochenschrift* 20, no. 23 (8 June 1967), pp. 1078–80. I thank Sibylla Flügge for calling this document to my attention.

60. Schissler, “‘Normalization’ as Project,” p. 368.

61. Excerpt from Franz-Joseph Wuermeling, *Familie—Gabe und Aufgabe*, reprinted in Delille and Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück*, p. 68.

62. Metzger (1957) quoted in Jaeschke, “Produktionsbedingungen,” pp. 361, 366.

63. See Delille and Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück*, p. 86.

64. Excerpt from Wuermeling, *Familie—Gabe und Aufgabe*, p. 68.

65. “Hundert Ehefrauen raten einer Braut,” reprinted in *Frauenalltag und Frauenbewegung im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 4, ed. Annette Kuhn and Doris Schuberth (Frankfurt am Main: Dezernat für Kultur und Freizeit, 1980), p. 38.

66. “Sind Sie eine vollkommene Ehefrau?” questionnaire reprinted in Delille and Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück*, p. 122.

67. See Kirsten Plötz, “‘Echte’ Frauenleben? ‘Lesbierinnen’ im Spiegel öffentlicher Äusserungen in den Anfängen der Bundesrepublik,” *Invertito* 1 (1999), pp. 47–69. For a more disturbing 1950s interpretation of lesbianism—in which lesbianism is intrinsically linked with fascism—see the novel by Wolfgang Koeppen, *Das Treibhaus* (Stuttgart: Scherz and Goverts, 1953).

68. Ruth Seiler, “Vom Kindersegen,” in *Mann und Frau*, ed. Liselotte Nold (Nürnberg: Laetare, n.d.), pp. 37–38.

69. Maria Jochum, “Frauenfrage 1946,” *Frankfurter Hefte* 1 (June 1946), pp. 24–25.

70. Hanns Lilje, “Zerfall der Familie?” *Sonntagsblatt*, 7 Feb. 1954, p. 24.

71. Wollasch, “Der menschliche Sinn,” pp. 7, 17.

72. See in this context, for example, Theodor Bovet, “Sexualethik oder eheliche Partnerschaft,” *Radius*, no. 4 (1963), p. 28. For an indication of the durability of religious commentators’ worry that noncoital practices could be nothing but “reciprocal masturbation” rather than truly relational, see the rejection of such a view in Siegfried Keil, “‘Zur Jugendliebe gehört die Empfängnisverhütung,’” *Der Spiegel*, 22 Aug. 1966, p. 55; and the reaffirmation of this view in *Denkschrift zu Fragen der Sexualethik: Erarbeitet von einer Kommission der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1971), p. 28.

73. Numerous doctors and Christian advice writers liked to present the idea that planned pregnancy prevention of *any* kind inhibited female pleasure as an idea advanced by women themselves. For example, see A. Mayer, *Seelische Krisen im Leben der Frau* (Munich: Lehmann, 1954), pp. 80–82, and its approving citation in Anselm Günthör, “Kritische Bemerkungen zu neuen Theorien über Ehe und Eheliche Hingabe,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* 144 (1964), p. 343.

74. See the summary remarks about the differences between West Germany and other western nations in Hermann Knaus, “Zur Frage der natürlichen Geburtenregelung und ihrer individuellen Anwendung,” *Die Heilkunst* 69 (1956), pp. 272–73; K. Saller, “Zivilisation und Sexualität,” *Die Heilkunst* 70 (1957), p. 48; Günter Grund, “Optimale Kontrazeption,” *Medizinische Welt*, no. 32 (10 Aug. 1963), p. 1601; and “Die Antikonzeption—in Deutschland noch ein Stiefkind,” *Berliner Ärzteblatt* 78, no. 2 (1965), pp. 73–77.

75. Quoted in Hans Harmsen, “Mittel zur Geburtenregelung in der Gesetzgebung des Staates,” in *Sexualität und Verbrechen*, ed. Fritz Bauer et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1963), p. 183. See also the 1959 Hamburg case, p. 186.

76. See the discussions in Clemens Bewer, “Verkauf von Gummischutzmitteln durch Aussenautomaten,” *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 50, no. 6 (1961), pp. 460–62; and “Unzucht—schwer gemacht,” *Konkret*, Oct. 1963, p. 11.

77. See Harmsen, “Mittel zur Geburtenregelung,” p. 185.

78. See Ludwig von Friedeburg, *Die Umfrage in der Intimsphäre*, Beiträge zur Sexualforschung, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Enke, 1953), p. 50.

79. See “Theologische Stimmen zur ärztlichen Beratung über Empfängnisverhütung,” *Wege zum Menschen* 9 (1957), p. 193; “Erst die Liebe, dann die Moral? Alles über die Deutschen (15),” *Stern*, no. 48 (1963), pp. 43–52; and *Jahrbuch der öffentlichen Meinung 1958–1964*, ed. Elisabeth Noelle and Peter Neumann (Allensbach: Verlag für Demoskopie, 1965), p. 589.



80. In this context see also Helmut Schelsky, who—interestingly—gave authority to his own critique of petting by citing anthropologist Margaret Mead's negative assessment of it. Helmut Schelsky, *Soziologie der Sexualität* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1955), pp. 121–22. For an example of an ordinary citizen who shared these views that “substitute solutions” like petting would have “the most damaging consequences for a later marriage,” see Gerda Rupprich, letter to the editor, *Twen*, no. 10 (1962), p. 11.

81. L. M. Lawrence, “Der Kinsey Report,” *Merkur* 3, no. 5 (1949), pp. 495–99.

82. See “Erst die Liebe, dann die Moral?” p. 50.

83. See “Die gefallene Natur,” *Der Spiegel*, 2 May 1966, pp. 64–67.

84. Notably, however, Pope Pius XII in 1951 declared that the rhythm method was only for short-term use; indefinite reliance on the method was unacceptable: “Its use is also a sin against the true nature of marital life if the purpose is continuously to prevent pregnancy without a serious reason.” W. F., “Gegen die Geburtenkontrolle: Eine Erklärung des Papstes über die christliche Ehe,” *Die Zeit*, 8 Nov. 1951.

85. Hanns Dietel, “Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der natürlichen Geburtenregelung,” *Hamburger Ärzteblatt*, Nov. 1953, pp. 234–35.

86. Anne Marie Durand-Wever, “Ärztliche Indikationen zur Empfängnisverhütung,” in *Die gesunde Familie*, ed. Hans Harmsen, Beiträge zur Sexualforschung, vol. 13 (Stuttgart: Enke, 1958), p. 129. For a robust defense of the withdrawal method—after more than a decade of very hostile attacks on it by numerous physicians—see Herbert Lax, “Methodik der Antikonzeption,” *Deutsches medizinisches Journal* 15, no. 8 (Apr. 1964), pp. 261–67.

87. Conversation with F. T., 2001.

88. See R. Hobbing, “Zur Frage der Haltbarkeit von Minderjährigenehen,” *Unsere Jugend* 6, no. 8 (1954), pp. 366–68; “Erst die Liebe, dann die Moral?” p. 46; and “Jung gefreit—Nie gereut,” *Twen*, no. 5 (1960), p. 29; and “Darüber spricht man nicht,” *Twen*, no. 7 (1960), p. 30. The divorce rate for teen marriages was twice as high as that for marriages between twenty-four- to twenty-six-year-olds.

89. See Delille and Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück*, p. 124; “Ist der Betrieb ein Heiratmarkt? Alles über die Deutschen (2),” *Stern*, no. 35 (1963), p. 25; Harmsen, “Mittel zur Geburtenregelung,” p. 175; Gisela Staupe and Lisa Vieth, “Einführung,” in *Die Pille: Von der Lust und von der Liebe*, ed. Staupe and Vieth (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1996), p. 14; and “Heiraten nur weil ein Kind kommt?” *Twen*, no. 6 (1960), p. 26.

90. See Hans Harmsen, “Abtreibung oder Empfängnisverhütung?” *Gesundheitsfürsorge* 3 (1953–54), p. 123; and the informative essay by A. V. Knack and W. Pieper, “Der Stand der Empfängnisverhütung in der ärztlichen Praxis,” *Ärztliche Mitteilungen* 41, no. 14 (May 1956), p. 388.

91. Hermann Doerfler, “Was kann die Bayer. Ärzteschaft und was der einzelne Arzt zur Bekämpfung der Abtreibungsseuche beitragen?” *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 95, no. 17 (24 Apr. 1953), pp. 509–11; and Harmsen, “Mittel zur Geburtenregelung,” p. 186.

92. Durand-Wever, “Ärztliche Indikationen,” p. 129. Also see Michael Luft, “Abtreibung in Deutschland: Hilfe, ich kriege ein Kind! 1,” *Konkret*, May 1964, pp. 7–11. One study done in Kiel in the early 1950s suggested that one out of every twenty abortions was performed by a physician. See Doerfler, “Was kann die Bayer. Ärzteschaft.” See also Theodor Bruck, *Geburtenregelung: Empfängnisverhütung—Problem und Praxis* (Flensburg: C. Stephenson, 1964), pp. 129–30.

93. Delille and Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück*, p. 123.

94. Michael Luft discusses this case in “Paragraph 218 oder Baby-Pille für Alle: Hilfe, ich kriege ein Kind! 2,” *Konkret*, July–Aug. 1964, p. 8.

95. See Delille and Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück*, p. 123; and the comments about Dr. Hanns Dietel's study in the interview with Dr. Heinz Kirchhoff in “Anti-Baby-Pillen nur für Ehefrauen,” *Der Spiegel*, 26 Feb. 1964, p. 87.

96. See Carl Nedelmann, “Abtreibung: Geburtenregelung und Strafrechtsreform,” *Konkret*, July 1965, p. 6.

97. See Heike Rieder, letter to the editor, *Konkret*, Sept. 1964, p. 2; and the statistics on West Germany in P. Kühne, “Australiens Frauen und die Pille: Bremswirkung pseudowissenschaftlich erzeugter Karzinophobie,” *Berliner Ärzteblatt* 78, no. 7 (1965), pp. 370–73.

98. Kirchhoff quoted in “Anti-Baby Pillen,” p. 87.

99. See Bruck, *Geburtenregelung*, pp. 127–28; and Delille and Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück*, p. 123.

100. See “Anhang: Auszüge aus der Bundestagsdrucksache IV/ 650 vom 4. Oktober 1962 (Regierungsentwurf eines Strafgesetzbuches—E 1962),” in Bauer et al., *Sexualität und Verbrechen*, pp. 406–7, 409–11.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

102. Carl Reiner, “Anmerkungen zum geplanten Sexualstrafrecht,” *Diskus* 14, no. 2 (Feb. 1964).

103. Wolfgang Eckhardt, “Unzucht—schwer gemacht: Bedenkliches am Entwurf zum neuen StGB,” *Konkret*, Oct. 1963, p. 11.

104. See on this point about Jews and ex-Nazis also Wolf Lepenies, “Exile and Emigration: The Survival of ‘German Culture,’” *Occasional Paper*, no. 7, School of Social Science, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ (March 2000), pp. 11, 14.

105. Wolfgang Hochheimer, “Das Sexualstrafrecht in psychologisch-anthropologischer Sicht,” in Bauer et al., *Sexualität und Verbrechen*, pp. 90, 97–98.

106. Theodor W. Adorno, “Sexualtabus und Recht heute,” in Bauer et al., *Sexualität und Verbrechen*, pp. 301–3, 305, 310.

107. Christian Crull and Hans Hagedorn, “Sex und Profit,” *Diskus* 12, no. 7 (Aug. 1962), p. 1.

108. As Schoeps put it, “The impression is unavoidable that in present-day public opinion there is apparently a major absence of impartiality, honesty, and courage when it comes to taking a truly independent and objective stand on these questions [of homosexuality]. In fact, anyone who tries to do this can count on being personally suspected, slandered, and vilified. . . . Before 1914 one was in

many ways much further along [since in 1905, five thousand prominent individuals signed a petition against Paragraph 175]. Also the comparison with the 'roaring twenties' makes the present look bad. For back then German intellectuals were less mendacious and cowardly. Undoubtedly the corruption by Hitler is at some considerable fault here, but the greater responsibility lies with the moral decomposition that has in the meantime been self-inflicted." Hans-Joachim Schoeps, "Soll Homosexualität strafbar bleiben?" *Der Monat* 15, no. 171 (Dec. 1962), p. 19. Schoeps did not mention his own homosexuality in this essay.

109. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

110. See "Auf der Rampe," *Der Spiegel*, 18 Dec. 1963, pp. 46–47. For the further impact of this specific assessment of the perpetrators, see the discussion in the section on "legalized criminality" in Arno Plack, *Die Gesellschaft und das Böse: Eine Kritik der herrschenden Moral* (Munich: Paul List, 1967), pp. 304–10. On the enormous importance of the Auschwitz trial for postwar West German culture more generally, see Michael Jeismann, "Glanzstunde der Republik," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27 March 2004, p. 33.

111. Heribert Adam, "Spiesser Moral," *Diskus* 15, no. 4 (June 1965), p. 1.

112. Luft, "Paragraph 218 oder Baby-Pille fuer Alle: Hilfe, ich krieg ein Kind! 2," p. 16.

113. Adam, "Spiesser Moral," p. 1.

114. See the discussion of *Konkret* in Ulrike Heider, "Freie Liebe und Liebesreligion: Zum Sexualitätsbegriff der 60er und 80er Jahre," in *Sadomasochisten, Keusche und Romantiker: Vom Mythos neuer Sinnlichkeit*, ed. Heider (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1986), p. 93.

115. For example, see Ludwig Henze, "Antisemitismus in Deutschland: Der Unsichtbare Stern," and Fritz Bauer quoted in "Lebt Hitler noch?" both in *Konkret*, Apr. 1963, p. 7; Hermann Pieper, letter to the editor and the editors' response, *Konkret*, May 1964, p. 2; Ernest L. Moss, "Jude in Deutschland," *Konkret*, May 1965, pp. 6–10; and Peggy Parnass, "Jüdin in Deutschland," *Konkret*, July 1965, pp. 14–16.

116. For example, see the excerpts from Karlheinz Deschner's *Abermals krähte der Hahn: Eine kritische Kirchengeschichte von den Anfängen bis zu Pius XII* (Stuttgart: H. E. Günther, 1962), a study of the churches' complicity in the Third Reich, serialized in *Konkret* between November 1962 and February 1963.

117. Hermann Kraemer quoted in Heinz Ungureit, "Bernkastels Landrat vergleicht 'Das Schweigen' mit Auschwitz," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 24 June 1964, p. 22.

118. Wolfgang Fritz Haug, "Vorbemerkung," *Das Argument* 32 (1965), pp. 30–31.

119. "Die gefallene Natur," pp. 57–58.

120. Plack, *Die Gesellschaft und das Böse*, p. 309.

121. See Hannes Schwenger, *Antisexuelle Propaganda: Sexualpolitik in der Kirche* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1969), pp. 34–36.

122. Barbara Köster, "Rüsselsheim Juli 1985," interview by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, in *Wir haben sie so geliebt, die Revolution*, ed. Cohn-Bendit (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1987), p. 244.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## THE MORALITY OF PLEASURE

1. "Die gefallene Natur," *Der Spiegel*, 2 May 1966, p. 58.

2. To give just one example: while in 1963 one of every five West Germans had insisted women should be virgins at marriage, as of 1970 only one in ten West Germans took this stance. See "Thema eins," *Der Spiegel*, 3 Aug. 1970, p. 46.

3. See "Umfrage in die Intimsphäre: Alles über die Deutschen (13)," *Der Stern*, no. 46 (1963), p. 56; and "Erst die Liebe, dann die Moral? Alles über die Deutschen (15)," *Der Stern*, no. 48 (1963), p. 52.

4. Horst Fischer, *Gruppensex in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Merlin, 1968).

5. For example, see Heinz van Nouhuys's report on Marlies Kolle: "Meine Ehe mit Oswalt Kolle," *Jasmin*, no. 11 (May 1968), pp. 32–40.

6. See the excellent study by Annette Miersch, *Schulmädchen-Report: Der deutsche Sexfilm der 70er Jahre* (Berlin: Bertz, 2003).

7. See "Kosen und Posen," *Der Spiegel*, 13 March 1972, pp. 66–67.

8. "Die gefallene Natur," p. 50.

9. "Amüsiert, ironischer Blick," *Civis*, Nov. 1968, p. 3.

10. See Horst Eglau, "Die Liebesdienerin der Nation," *Die Zeit*, 28 Jan. 1972, pp. 22–23; and "Porno-Markt: Frau Saubermann an der Spitze," *Der Spiegel*, 1 Nov. 1971, pp. 79, 94.

11. See "Porno-Markt," pp. 78–97; Eglau, "Die Liebesdienerin," p. 23; "Bekannt, dass ihr anders seid," *Der Spiegel*, 12 Mar. 1973, p. 58; and Andreas Salmen and Albert Eckert, *20 Jahre bundesdeutsche Schwulenbewegung 1969–1989* (Cologne: Bundesverband Homosexualität e. V., 1989), pp. 8–12.

12. Hartung and Rosenberg quoted in "Porno-Markt," pp. 81, 97.

13. Jean-François Held, "Sex über Alles," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 17 Aug. 1970, p. 51.

14. See Pierre Simon et al., *Rapport sur le comportement sexuel des Français* (Paris: René Julliard/Pierre Charron, 1972); as well as the bemused summary of the findings in "Montags fast nie," *Der Spiegel*, 30 Oct. 1972, pp. 124–26. According to the study, 45 percent of French women between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine were virgins when they married (compared with, depending on the generation, maximally 30 percent, if not only 10 percent of German women); 50 percent of French women had only had one male lover in their lifetime; the average French woman had slept with no more than two men. Most couples did it in the dark; foreplay was brief to nonexistent; positions outside the missionary and woman-on-top, and practices besides coitus, were pursued only by a minority. *Le Nouvel Observateur* noted: "The report paints the picture of a profoundly conservative France."

15. "Jugend forscht," *Der Spiegel*, 22 Mar. 1971, pp. 175, 190.

16. See Wilfried Ruff, "Ist die Sexualethik am Ende?" *Publik*, no. 31 (30 July 1971), p. 12.

17. See Gunter Schmidt, Arne Dekker, and Silje Matthiesen, "Sexualverhalten," in *Kinder der sexuellen Revolution: Kontinuität und Wandel studentischer Sexualität 1966–1996. Eine empirische Untersuchung*, ed. Schmidt (Giessen: Psychosozial-Verlag, 2000), pp. 40, 64.

18. Peter Brügge, "Ihr könntet uns Liebe erlauben," *Der Spiegel*, 8 Apr. 1968, pp. 90–91.
19. "Liebe im Schlafsack," *Der Stern*, no. 49 (1971), pp. 76–77.
20. Conversation with T. D., 1999.
21. Quoted in "Die gefallene Natur," p. 54.
22. Council quoted in "Freude im Haus," *Der Spiegel*, 22 Aug. 1966, p. 54; bishopric quoted in "Thema eins," p. 38.
23. Quoted in Brügge, "Ihr könntet," p. 91.
24. Theologian and biologist Gerd Siegmund quoted in "Thema eins," p. 38.
25. See Siegfried Keil, "Ist Sex des Teufels?" *Die Zeit*, 11 June 1971, p. 48.
26. Thielicke quoted in "'Der Sexus ist kein Sündenpfehl,'" *Der Spiegel*, 28 Nov. 1966, p. 87.
27. Geno Hartlaub, "Leben für den Sex (II): Ist die Liebesheirat überholt?" *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, no. 47 (24 Nov. 1968), p. 17. See the similar sentiments in Wilhelm Quenzer, "Sexuelle Befreiung und Aggressivität," *Information Nr. 47*, ed. Evangelische Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 3.
28. "Die gefallene Natur," p. 54.
29. See "'Der Sexus,'" p. 75.
30. Lange-Undeutsch quoted in "Diese Dame," *Der Spiegel*, 29 Aug. 1966, p. 51.
31. Cartoon reprinted to accompany "'Der Sexus,'" p. 86.
32. See Koch's remarks from his presentation at a conference sponsored by the YMCA (CVJM) in 1971, quoted in "Liebe im Schlafsack," p. 78; and see Friedrich Koch, *Sexualpädagogik und politische Erziehung* (Munich: Paul List, 1975).
33. Karlheinz Deschner, *Das Kreuz mit der Kirche: Eine Sexualgeschichte des Christentums* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1974), pp. 385, 390–91, 398–99. The Catholic writer quoted by Deschner is F. Pittet, one of the contributors to the Catholic advice manual *Gesundes Geschlechtsleben: Handbuch für Ehefragen*, ed. Franz Xavier von Hornstein and A. Faller (Olten: Otto Walter, 1950).
34. Siegfried Keil, *Sexualität: Erkenntnisse und Mass-Stäbe* (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1966).
35. Kirchenkanzlei der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland, ed., *Denkschrift zu Fragen der Sexualethik: Erarbeitet von einer Kommission der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1971), pp. 26–29.
36. See Pastor Horst Klingsporn quoted in "Liebe im Schlafsack," p. 78; and Pastor Paul Schulz, "... zum Beispiel das sechste Gebot," *Die Zeit*, 8 June 1973, p. 66. Under the caption "The human being must be liberated from the rigid corset of norms—precisely the theologians should be clearing out outdated concepts," Schulz lamented the stultified desires and lack of pleasure evident within many marriages and declared that the sixth commandment, "'thou shalt not commit adultery,' is simply not adequate for the needs of a society in the process of self-emancipation." See also "Schluss mit dem (heimlichen) Seitensprung," *Bild*, 7 Mar. 1969, p. 1.
37. Cartoon accompanying "Liebe im Schlafsack," p. 78.
38. See the photograph accompanying Keil, "Ist Sex des Teufels?" p. 48.
39. See "Jugend forscht," p. 181.

40. See Ruff, "Ist die Sexualethik am Ende?" p. 12.
41. See Hubertus Mynarek, *Eros und Klerus: Vom Elend des Zölibats* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1978); and Mynarek quoted in "Totale Tröstung," *Der Spiegel*, 20 Feb. 1978, p. 75. More than one-third of all twenty-four thousand priests in West Germany, Mynarek estimated, broke their vows with females, another third with males. Celibacy for him was "an institutionalized untruth," a "systematic sexual oppression."
42. Working-class youth quoted in Gunter Schmidt and Volkmar Sigusch, *Arbeiter-Sexualität: Eine empirische Untersuchung an jungen Industriearbeitern* (Neuwied and Berlin: Luchterhand, 1971), pp. 88–92.
43. Quoted in Rosa Geschichten, ed., *Eine Tunte bist Du auf jeden Fall: 20 Jahre Schwulenbewegung in Münster* (Münster: Schnelldruck Coerdestrasse, 1992), p. 16.
44. Amendt quoted in "Richtige Wohltat," *Der Spiegel*, 31 Aug. 1970, p. 71.
45. See "Liebe im Schlafsack"; and Kentler's study in Hans Grothe, "Ehe 70," *Eltern*, no. 5 (May 1970), pp. 101–8; and Hans Grothe, "Ehe 70 (II)," *Eltern*, no. 6 (June 1970), pp. 124–33.
46. Quoted in "'Wir haben heute eine positive Besessenheit,'" *Der Spiegel*, 3 Aug. 1970, p. 51.
47. Volkmar Sigusch, "Liebe kann doch nichts dafür," *Der Spiegel*, 21 June 1971, p. 136.
48. See Rosa Geschichten, *Eine Tunte*, p. 14; and Schmidt quoted in "Späte Milde," *Der Spiegel*, 12 May 1969, p. 63.
49. Conversation with Volkmar Sigusch, 2002.
50. Martin Dannecker and Reimut Reiche, *Der gewöhnliche Homosexuelle: Eine soziologische Untersuchung über männliche Homosexuelle in der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1974); "Bekannt, dass ihr anders seid," pp. 46–62; "Ich bin schwul," *Der Stern*, no. 41 (1978), pp. 104–18.
51. See on this point esp. Martin Dannecker, "Die verspätete Empirie," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 14, no. 2 (June 2001).
52. Klaus Theweleit, ... *ein Aspirin von der Größe der Sonne* (Freiburg i.B.: Jos Fritz, 1990), p. 49. Note also Theweleit's observation in 1998: "The interest in the political was manifest among many young people as an interest in the sexual. The bodies of young people in the early sixties were sexually charged in a wholly unusual way." Klaus Theweleit, *Ghosts: Drei leicht inkorrekte Vorträge* (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld Roter Stern, 1998), pp. 106–7.
53. Peter Schneider, "Nicht der Egoismus verfälscht das politische Engagement, sondern der Versuch ihn zu verheimlichen," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 25 June 1977, p. III.
54. Götz Eisenberg, "Auf der Suche nach Identität," *Frankfurter Hefte* 34, no. 4 (Apr. 1979), p. 88.
55. Claus Offe, "Vier Hypothesen über historische Folgen der Studentenbewegung," *Leviathan*, no. 4 (1998), p. 552.
56. *Berliner Kinderläden: Antiautoritäre Erziehung und sozialistischer Kampf* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1970), pp. 108–9.
57. Dannecker and Reiche, *Der gewöhnliche Homosexuelle*, p. 169.
58. Günter Amendt, *SexFront* (Frankfurt am Main: März, 1970), pp. 123, 126.

59. Reimut Reiche, *Sexuality and Class Struggle*, trans. Susan Bennett (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 138–39. Like Adorno before him, Reiche called attention to the apoliticism and conformity that appeared to accompany much youth sexual liberalization (p. 171).

60. Quoted in Rosa Geschichten, *Eine Tunte*, p. 16.

61. Theodor W. Adorno, "Sexualtabus und Recht heute," in *Sexualität und Verbrechen*, ed. Fritz Bauer et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer 1963), pp. 300–301.

62. Trial testimony reproduced in Rainer Langhans and Fritz Teufel, eds., *Klaw mich* (Frankfurt am Main: Ed. Voltaire, 1968), approximately p. 173 (there are no page numbers).

63. Ulrike Heider, "Freie Liebe und Liebesreligion: Zum Sexualitätsbegriff der 60er und 80er Jahre," in *Sadomasochisten, Keusche, und Romantiker: Vom Mythos neuer Sinnlichkeit*, ed. Heider (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1986), pp. 92–109, esp. p. 94.

64. Arno Plack, *Die Gesellschaft und das Böse: Eine Kritik der herrschenden Moral* (Munich: Paul List, 1967), pp. 163, 308–9.

65. Erich Fromm, *Autorität und Familie* (1936), quoted in Reiche, *Sexuality*, p. 118.

66. Reinhart Westphal, "Psychologische Theorien über den Faschismus," *Das Argument* 32 (1965), pp. 34, 38.

67. Fromm quoted in Reiche, *Sexuality*, p. 118.

68. For example, see Max Horkheimer, "Theoretische Entwürfe über Autorität und Familie: Allgemeiner Teil," in *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, ed. Horkheimer (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1936); and Max Horkheimer, "Authoritarianism and the Family," in *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, ed. Ruth Nanda Ashen (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949; rev. ed., 1959).

69. Adorno et al. were concerned to show that while it did appear that racially prejudiced and "potentially fascistic" personalities tended also to manifest a "moralistic rejection of instinctual tendencies," and that "it seems likely that this moral condemnation serves the purpose of externalization of, and defense against, temptation toward immoral and unconventional behavior," "crude promiscuity" was also one of the frequent characteristics of prejudiced individuals. See Theodor Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1950), esp. pp. 1, 393, 395, 420.

70. See *Berliner Kinderläden*, pp. 13–14, 90–91.

71. See Hille Jan Breitenreicher et al., *Kinderläden: Revolution der Erziehung oder Erziehung zur Revolution?* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1971), pp. 13, 16–17.

72. Eckhard Siepmann, "Genital versus Prägenital: Die Grossväter der sexuellen Revolution," in *CheSchahShit: Die Sechziger Jahre zwischen Cocktail und Molotow*, ed. Siepmann et al. (Berlin: Elefanten, 1984), p. 101; "Ich will das so alles nicht," *Pflasterstrand*, no. 21 (15 Dec. 1977–11 Jan. 1978), p. 33.

73. Wilhelm Reich, *Die Funktion des Orgasmus: Sexualökonomische Grundprobleme der biologischen Energie* (1927; reprint., Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1969), p. 139.

74. Gunter Schmidt, "Aus der Zauber? Eine kurze Geschichte der Sexualität in der BRD," in Schmidt, *Kinder der sexuellen Revolution*, p. 11.

75. See Peter Mosler, *Was wir wollten, was wir wurden: Studentenrevolte—zehn Jahre danach* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1977), p. 159.

76. Heider, "Freie Liebe," p. 94.

77. Dietrich Haensch, *Repressive Familienpolitik: Sexualunterdrückung als Mittel der Politik* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1969), pp. 12, 14, 66–67.

78. Dieter Duhm, *Angst im Kapitalismus: Zweiter Versuch der gesellschaftlichen Begründung zwischenmenschlicher Angst in der kapitalistischen Warengesellschaft* (Lampertheim: Kübler, 1972), p. 100.

79. "Kinderschule Frankfurt, Eschersheimer Landstrasse," in *Erziehung zum Ungehorsam: Kinderläden berichten aus der antiautoritären Praxis*, ed. Gerhard Bott (Frankfurt am Main: März, 1970), p. 55.

80. The children were horrified. See Klaus Hartung, "Die Psychoanalyse der Küchenarbeit: Selbstbefreiung, Wohngemeinschaft und Kommune," in Siepmann et al., *CheSchahShit*, p. 106.

81. Sophinette Becker, "Bewusste und unbewusste Identifikationen der 68er Generation," in *Erinnern, Wiederholen, Durcharbeiten: Zur Psycho-Analyse deutscher Wenden*, ed. Brigitte Rauschenbach (Berlin: Aufbau, 1992), p. 273.

82. See Lutz von Werder, "Kinderläden: Versuch der Umwälzung der inneren Natur," in Siepmann et al., *CheSchahShit*, p. 108; Gerhard Bott, "Erziehung zum Ungehorsam: Bericht über antiautoritäre Kindergärten" (film script for the documentary televised by the Norddeutscher Rundfunk in 1969), in Bott, *Erziehung zum Ungehorsam*, p. 106.

83. For details on the battles between the founding women and the usurping men, see the essay by Helke Sander, "Mütter sind politische Personen: Die Kinderfrage seit '68," *Courage* 9 (1978).

84. Ursula Gröttrup, "Im 'Kinderladen' hat Mao das Rotkäppchen verdrängt: Junge Eltern wollen antiautoritäre und aggressive Erziehung," *Berliner Morgenpost*, 19 Jan. 1969, reprinted in *Berliner Kinderläden*, p. 151.

85. Heiko Gebhart, "Kleine Linke mit grossen Rechten: Berliner APO-Mitglieder experimentieren mit ihren Kindern," *Der Stern*, no. 9 (1969).

86. See *Berliner Kinderläden*, pp. 15–17, 205; Breitenreicher et al., *Kinderläden: Revolution*, p. 103; as well as the remarks of the translators for the English-language version of *Berliner Kinderläden: Storefront Day Care Centers: The Radical Berlin Experiment*, trans. Catherine Lord and Renée Neu Watkins (Boston: Beacon, 1973), p. viii; Christian Büttner, "Chancen kollektiver Erziehung," *Neue Praxis* 3 (1974), pp. 228–29; Rüdiger Beier and Christian Büttner, "Kinderläden und Reformtendenzen im Elementarbereich," *Neue Praxis* 5 (1975), pp. 7–14; Lottemi Doormann, "Aufbruch aus dem Mütterghetto: Die Kinderfrage in der Frauenbewegung seit 1968," in *Der grosse Unterschied: Die neue Frauenbewegung und die siebziger Jahre*, ed. Kristine von Soden (Berlin: Elefanten, 1988), esp. pp. 25–27; Lutz von Werder, "Bedeutung und Entwicklung der Kinderladenbewegung in der Bundesrepublik," in *Was kommt nach den Kinderläden? Erlebnis-Protokolle*, ed. von Werder (Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 1977), esp. pp. 21–23 and 37–39; Traude Bremer, *Kinderladen Frankfurterstrasse: Versuch einer pragmatischen Hermeneutik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986).

87. Conversations with Z. S., L. L., K. T., 1990s.

88. Bott, "Erziehung," pp. 84–86, 89.

89. Ibid., pp. 92, 99.
90. Letters from viewers, reprinted and quoted in *Erziehung zum Ungehorsam*, pp. 111, 114.
91. Excerpt from Annie Reich, *Wenn Dein Kind Dich Fragt . . . Gespräche, Beispiele und Ratschläge zur Sexualerziehung* (Leipzig: Verlag für Sexualpolitik, 1932), reprinted in *Für die Befreiung der kindlichen Sexualität! Kampf den falschen Erziehern!* ed. Zentralrat der sozialistischen Kinderläden West-Berlins (Berlin: Sozialistischer Kinderladen Charlottenburg I, 1969), p. 54.
92. See Zentralrat der sozialistischen Kinderläden, *Für die Befreiung*, pp. 68–70; Kommune 2 (Christel Bookhagen, Eike Hemmer, Jan Raspe, Eberhard Schultz), “Kindererziehung in der Kommune,” *Kursbuch* 17 (June 1969), pp. 165 and 168–69.
93. See, for example, Theweleit, . . . *ein Aspirin von der Größe der Sonne*, pp. 56–57.
94. See Monika Seifert, “Kinderschule Frankfurt, Eschersheimer Landstrasse,” *Vorgänge* 5 (1970), p. 162; and “Kinderschule Frankfurt,” in Bott, *Erziehung zum Ungehorsam*, pp. 57–58. For an earlier criticism by Frankfurt Kinderladen founder Monika Seifert of the Berliners’ purported masturbation obsessions, see Sepp Binder, “Erst das Kind und dann die Politik,” *Die Zeit*, 24 Jan. 1969, p. 50.
95. “Kinderladen Stuttgart: Bericht über einen Prozess,” in Bott, *Erziehung zum Ungehorsam*, pp. 43–44.
96. “Kinderschule Frankfurt,” pp. 51, 54, 56–57.
97. Peter Schneider, “Die Sache mit der ‘Männlichkeit’: Gibt es eine Emanzipation der Männer?” *Kursbuch* 35 (Apr. 1974), p. 121.
98. Zentralrat der sozialistischen Kinderläden, *Für die Befreiung*, p. 88; “Kinderschule Frankfurt,” pp. 55–56.
99. Von Werder, “Bedeutung und Entwicklung,” p. 7.
100. *Berliner Kinderläden*, p. 126.
101. Zentralrat der sozialistischen Kinderläden, *Für die Befreiung*, p. 35.
102. Zentralrat der sozialistischen Kinderläden West-Berlins, ed., *Kinder im Kollektiv* (Berlin: Sozialistischer Kinderladen Charlottenburg I, 1969), p. 79.
103. Kruse quoted in Gebhart, “Kleine Linke.”
104. Breiteneicher et al., *Kinderläden: Revolution*, p. 16.
105. Zentralrat der sozialistischen Kinderläden, *Kinder im Kollektiv*, pp. 83, 87, 93. For an outstanding and detailed critique of this document, see Reimut Reiche, “Sexuelle Revolution—Erinnerung an einen Mythos,” in *Die Früchte der Revolte: Über die Veränderung der politischen Kultur durch die Studentenbewegung*, ed. Lothar Baier et al. (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1988), pp. 65–67.
106. Eberhard Knödler-Bunte, “Verlängerung des Schweigens,” *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 51 (1983), pp. 43–45.
107. See Dany Diner, “Fragmente von Unterwegs: Über jüdische und politische Identität in Deutschland,” *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 51 (1983), pp. 11–13; Elizabeth Domansky, “‘Kristallnacht,’ the Holocaust, and German Unity: The Meaning of November 9 as an Anniversary in Germany,” *History and Memory* 4 (spring—summer 1992).
108. Hermann Peter Piwitt, “Kristallnacht und Nebel,” *Konkret*, Dec. 1978, p. 33.

109. For two powerful (very different) preliminary analyses, see Inge Deutschkron, “Normalisierungen der Beziehungen?” in *Israel und die Deutschen: Das besondere Verhältnis* (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1983), esp. pp. 336–46; and Y. Michal Bodemann, “Das Klappern der Holzschuhmänner: Der Weg zur Erinnerungsexplosion in Deutschland 1960–1975,” in *In den Wogen der Erinnerung: Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland* (Munich: DTV, 2002), esp. pp. 70–76. Bodemann quotes the left-wing activist and *Konkret* author Ulrike Meinhof’s cutting assessment of the right-wing newspaper *Bild*’s enthusiasm for Israel’s victory: “In the Sinai, *Bild* finally, after twenty-five years, won the battle of Stalingrad after all. Anticomunist resentment seamlessly merged into the destruction of Soviet Mig-fighters. . . . If [in the Second World War], one had taken the Jews along to the Ural mountains instead of gassing them, the Second World War would have ended differently. The mistakes of the past were acknowledged as such, anti-semitism was regretted, self-cleansing took place, the new German fascism has learned from the old mistakes. Not against, but with, the Jews anticommunism leads to victory” (p. 72). Deutschkron emphasizes the way young leftists interpreted the pro-Israeli stance of their elders as a belated admission of the elders’ own guilt. “So the young believed, that they now had the obligation to act nonchalant vis-à-vis Israel and Jews. The past was not their concern. Following their new teachers [Mao, Castro, Ho Chi-minh, etc.] Israel was an imperialist state. . . . Without even bothering to research the problem of the Middle East, they took up the battle against Israel and declared the Arabs to be the revolutionaries that deserved support” (pp. 343–44). Deutschkron also holds the New Left student movement, due to its unpopularity with the German populace, to be co-responsible (along with the beginning economic recession) for the strong rise of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) in the late 1960s.
110. Cartoon accompanying Diner, “Fragmente.”
111. Henryk M. Broder, “‘Ihr bleibt die Kinder eurer Eltern.’ ‘Euer Jude von heute ist der Staat Israel’: Die neue deutsche Linke und der alltägliche Antisemitismus,” *Die Zeit*, 27 Feb. 1981, pp. 9–11.
112. See Klaus Hartung, “Versuch, die Krise der antiautoritären Bewegung wieder zur Sprache zu bringen,” *Kursbuch* 48 (June 1977), pp. 19–20, 28. Aside from this indicative but disturbing discussion of gassing, this essay is a very perceptive and thought-provoking analysis of the New Left’s problems. Yet contrast Hartung’s later far more sensitive autocritique: Klaus Hartung, “Erinnern in Deutschland: Überlegungen zur ‘Historikerdebatte,’ zum Faschismusbegriff der ‘68er,’ und zu Peter Schneiders Selbstkritik,” *Niemandensland* 2, no. 1 (1987).
113. Peter Schneider, “Im Todeskreis der Schuld,” *Die Zeit*, 27 Mar. 1987, p. 66.
114. Claus Leggewie, “Antifaschisten sind wir sowieso,” *Die Zeit*, 19 Feb. 1988, p. 62.
115. See Reiche, “Sexuelle Revolution,” pp. 50–51, 67.
116. Ibid., pp. 63, 65.
117. Dutschke quoted in “‘Wir fordern die Enteignung Axel Springers,’” *Der Spiegel*, 10 July 1967, pp. 32–33.

118. See Cordt Schnibben, “Vollstrecker des Weltgewissens,” *Der Spiegel*, 2 June 1997, p. 109; Breitenreicher et al., *Kinderläden: Revolution*, p. 16; Hartung, “Versuch,” p. 42.

119. Theweleit, . . . *ein Aspirin*, pp. 43–44.

120. Among the further avenues that could be explored to make sense of these “circuitous” mechanisms might be the ways New Left demonstrators experienced beatings by police truncheons as repetitions of beatings by parents and teachers (but which, because they experienced them together with others, could be borne better than those earlier beatings). See the moving reflections on this in SDS/KU Autorenkollektiv, “Der Untergang der Bild-Zeitung” (1969), reprinted in *Berliner Kinderläden*, pp. 30–31; see also Klaus Hartung and Max Thomas Mehr, “Der Schuss, der die Studenten in Bewegung setzte,” *Die Zeit*, 30 May 1997, p. 11. Another avenue that deserves further study is New Leftists’ relationships to their mothers, or as Heipe Weiss put it, this “‘squeaky clean’ Lady Macbeth-generation of mothers,” these “former BDM-girls” who tormented their children both with an “anal compulsion to clean house” and with a “strict silence . . . about their worship of Hitler.” Weiss also quotes 68er bad-boy Bernward Vesper’s devastating comment that “Even when I’m lying in my coffin, Mommy, you’ll still say I didn’t wash my feet!” Heipe Weiss, “Freie Liebe war vor allem Reden über Sex,” *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 24 Apr. 1998, p. 9. See also the remarks about the generation of 1968’s mothers sweeping the “wreckage of fascism” “under the carpet, just like the majority of German men,” in Ulrike Schmauch, “Alte oder neue Sexualaufklärung?” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 7, no. 4 (Dec. 1994), p. 354; as well as the extended reflections about the New Leftists’ dysfunctional relationships to their mothers in Sibylla Flügge, “1968 und die Frauen—Ein Blick in die Beziehungskiste,” in *Gender und soziale Praxis*, ed. Margit Göttert and Karin Walser (Königstein/Taunus: Ulrike Helmer, 2002), esp. pp. 283–84.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE ROMANCE OF SOCIALISM

1. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction* (New York: Vintage, 1980), p. 103.

2. See Ina Merkel, *Utopie und Bedürfnis: Die Geschichte der Konsumkultur in der DDR* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999), pp. 12–13; and Rainer Land, “Unvereinbar: Avantgardismus und Modernismus, Diskussion: Waren die Reformsozialisten verhinderte Sozialdemokraten? Teil 1,” *Neues Deutschland*, 23–24, Apr. 1994, p. 10.

3. See Sigrid Meuschel, *Legitimation und Parteiherrschaft: Zum Paradox von Stabilität und Revolution in der DDR 1945–1989* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992); and Thomas Schmidt, “Civil Religion in the GDR” (paper presented at the conference “Formen Religiöser Vergemeinschaftung in der Moderne,” University of Chicago, 25 Oct. 2003). Schmidt especially emphasizes that the core values of “labor,” “equality,” and “peace” were shared by regime and populace. The point is that, although citizens did not much like the state, they endorsed the values promoted by the state.

4. The aggressive invasiveness is well described in Bürgerkomitee Leipzig, ed., *Stasi intern: Macht und Banalität* (Leipzig: Forum, 1998), esp. pp. 198–212; and Vera Wollenberger, *Virus der Heuchler: Innenansicht aus Stasi-Akten* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1992), esp. pp. 7, 18, 37, 40, 106, 121 (Wollenberger was reported on by her own husband). The use by the Stasi of sex as bait is discussed in Belinda Cooper, “Patriarchy within a Patriarchy: Women and the Stasi,” *German Politics and Society* 16, no. 2 (summer 1998); and Eduard Stapel, “Schwulenbewegung in der DDR” (interview conducted by Kurt Starke), in *Schwuler Osten: Homosexuelle Männer in der DDR*, ed. Kurt Starke (Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag, 1994), pp. 101–2. On the Stasi’s use of prostitutes, see Uta Falck, *VEB Bordell: Geschichte der Prostitution in der DDR* (Berlin: Links, 1998), pp. 108–41. For a thought-provoking critique of the intensity of affect directed against the former collaborators with the Stasi, see Matthias Wagner, *Das Stasi-Syndrom: Über den Umgang mit den Akten des MfS in den 90er Jahren* (Berlin: Edition Ost/Das Neue Berlin, 2001), esp. pp. 7–9, 174–87.

5. See on these points also Detlef Pollack, “Über die 68er und ihr Verhältnis zur DDR,” *Leviathan*, no. 4 (1998), p. 545; and Konrad Jarausch, “Jenseits von Verdammung und Verklärung,” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 30 May 2000, p. 22. For a concise and thoughtful summary of the significant differences between the East German dictatorship and the Nazi one (along with some fascinating insights into the complex roles played by the several hundred thousand “informal collaborators” working for the Stasi—not just as functionaries of repression but also “paternalistic caregivers and privilege-distributors” and as mediums for the articulation of the infantilized citizenry’s interests)—see Jürgen Habermas, “Bemerkungen zu einer verworrenen Diskussion: Was bedeutet ‘Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit’ heute?” *Die Zeit*, 10 Apr. 1992, p. 18.

6. See Ursula Sillge, *Un-Sichtbare Frauen: Leben und ihre Emanzipation in der DDR* (Berlin: LinksDruck, 1991), pp. 82–87.

7. Conversations with T. T., 2001, and J. T., 2002.

8. H. Ruppert, “Sexuelle Erziehung vom Blickpunkt des Gynäkologen,” *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 50, nos.1–2 (15 Jan. 1956), p. 63. See also the remarks of Hilde Benjamin a year earlier: “The SS ideology, the Nazi racial madness dissolved the moral relationships within many families, the relationships between man and woman, parents and children. The moral degradation, above all also the fascist war of plunder, allowed primitive sexual lusts to develop unrestrainedly.” Hilde Benjamin, “Familie und Familienrecht in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,” *Einheit* 10, no. 5 (May 1955), p. 450.

9. Friedrich Heilmann, “Die sexuelle Erziehung als pädagogisches Problem,” *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 50, nos.1–2 (15 Jan. 1956), pp. 65, 67.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 65. This remained a favorite device. Popular advice writer Rolf Borrmann in the 1960s, for example, criticized the “hostility to the body” encouraged by Christianity even as he lamented that “also in the GDR many people still have a false stance toward the sexual.” So also in the 1970s, sexologist Siegfried Schnabl continued to bemoan the damage being done by “the formula: the pleasure of the flesh is sin” through “almost two thousand years under the influence of the Christian religion.” Rolf Borrmann, *Jugend und Liebe* (Leipzig: Urania,

1966), pp. 42–43; Siegfried Schnabl, *Intimverhalten Sexualstörungen Persönlichkeit* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1972), pp. 14–15.

11. On both the routineness of premarital heterosexual intercourse in the mid-1950s GDR and doctors' acceptance of it, see H.-D. Rösler, "Sexuelle Interessen des Großstadtkindes," and Elfriede Paul, "Die sozialhygienische Bedeutung der sexuellen Aufklärung," both in *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 50, nos. 1–2 (15 Jan. 1956), pp. 57, 61. On the prevalence of extramarital sex, see Rudolf Neubert, *Das neue Ehebuch: Die Ehe als Aufgabe der Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Rudolstadt: Greifenverlag, 1957), pp. 100, 111.

12. See Wolfgang Bretschneider, *Sexuell Aufklären—Rechtzeitig und Richtig* (Leipzig: Urania, 1956), p. 154.

13. See Atina Grossmann, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," *October* 72 (spring 1995); and Atina Grossmann, "Unfortunate Germany: Victims, Victors, and Survivors at War's End, Germany 1945–1950: Notes Toward a Research Project" (paper presented at the Center for the Study of Social Transformations, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 16 March 1995).

14. See Gerhard Klumbies, "Zur Jugendsexualität," *Zeitschrift für Psychotherapie und Medizinische Psychologie* 6, no. 6 (Nov. 1956), p. 264.

15. Wolfgang Höfs, "Erfahrungen aus einer Ehe- und Sexual-Beratungsstelle für Männer," *Das deutsche Gesundheitswesen* 7, no. 18 (1952), p. 571.

16. Neubert, *Das neue Ehebuch*, pp. 7, 171.

17. Kühne, "Geburtenkontrolle," *Das deutsche Gesundheitswesen* 2, no. 23 (1947), pp. 746–47. These reflections were in part inspired by Kühne's reading of J. C. Flugel, *Population, Psychology and Peace* (London: Watts, 1947).

18. See Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 196–201.

19. "Zweihundertachtzehn: Gestern, Heute und Morgen," *Für Dich* 1, no. 18 (1946), p. 3.

20. Hilde Benjamin, "Juristische Grundlagen für die Diskussion über den Paragraph 218" (25 Feb. 1947), reprinted in Kirsten Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit? Die Abschaffung des Paragraph 218 in der DDR* (Berlin: Basis Druck, 1992), p. 49.

21. See on this point also Annette F. Timm, "Guarding the Health of Worker Families in the GDR: Socialist Health Care, *Bevölkerungspolitik*, and Marriage Counselling, 1945–1970," in *Arbeiter in der SBZ-DDR*, ed. Peter Hübner and Klaus Tenfelde (Essen: Klartext, 1999), p. 470.

22. Maxim Zetkin, "An den Vorstand der SED," in Thietz, *Ende*, p. 29.

23. "Gesetz über den Mutter- und Kinderschutz und die Rechte der Frau vom 27 Sep. 1950," in Amt für Information der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, ed., *Gesunde Familie—Glückliche Zukunft* (Berlin: Deutscher Zentralverlag, 1950), pp. 43–44.

24. Otto Grotewohl, "Zur Begründung des Gesetzes," in Amt für Information, *Gesunde Familie*, pp. 7–8, 19; and "Frauen Fragen, Der DFD Antwortet," in Thietz, *Ende*, p. 77.

25. See Thietz, *Ende*, p. 19.

26. Neubert, *Das neue Ehebuch*, p. 192.

27. A valuable source on ordinary GDR citizens' attitudes about premarital sex in the 1950s are the letters collected in Hanns Schwarz, *Schriftliche Sexualberatung: Erfahrungen und Vorschläge mit 60 Briefen und Antworten* (Rudolstadt: Greifenverlag, 1959). The letters make clear that in the populace premarital heterosexual activity was simply taken as a given; it was *the* common sense behavior in 1950s East Germany. Whenever qualms or anxieties were expressed, they had to do with masturbation, not premarital intercourse. The letters also make clear that girls and women were hardly fearful shrinking violets but rather often the active ones who willingly made overtures to men. Not only do the letter writers remark in passing on their experiences with premarital sex; they also openly asked Schwarz for advice in resolving sexual problems they were having within nonmarital relationships. See also the remarks that while extramarital sex is deemed immoral in the prevailing popular value system, premarital sex is "not seen as indecent" in Karl Dietz and Peter G. Hesse, *Wörterbuch der Sexuologie und ihrer Grenzgebiete* (Rudolstadt: Greifenverlag, 1964), pp. 37, 314.

28. Hanns Schwarz, *Sexualität im Blickfeld des Arztes: Vortrag* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, 1953), pp. 10–11.

29. Schwarz, *Schriftliche Sexualberatung*, pp. 34, 48.

30. Neubert, *Das neue Ehebuch*, pp. 130, 188.

31. See "Der Jugend Vertrauen und Verantwortung" (1963), in *Dokumente zur Jugendpolitik der DDR* (Berlin: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1965), pp. 93–94; and see the discussion in Heinz Grassel, *Jugend, Sexualität, Erziehung: Zur psychologischen Problematik der Geschlechterziehung* (Berlin: Staatsverlag der DDR, 1967), pp. 11–12.

32. Wolfhilde Diehl, *Liebe, Ehe—Scheidung?* (1958, 1961), reprinted in Wolfhilde Diehl and Wolfgang Bretschneider, *Liebe und Ehe* (Leipzig: Urania, 1962), pp. 198, 201.

33. A classic expression of all three of these assumptions can be found in Bretschneider, *Sexuell Aufklären*, pp. 63–64.

34. Rudolf Neubert, *Die Geschlechterfrage: Ein Buch für junge Menschen* (Rudolstadt: Greifenverlag, 1955, 1966), pp. 80–82.

35. Some scholars surmise that the legal tolerance implemented in 1957 was preceded by a discreet directive from the GDR's Ministry of Justice not to prosecute consensual adult homosexuality already in 1950. See Eike Stedefeldt, *Schwule Macht oder Die Emanzipation von der Emanzipation* (Berlin: Elefanten, 1998), pp. 111, 113; Gudrun von Kowalski, *Homosexualität in der DDR: Ein historischer Abriss* (Marburg: Verlag Arbeiterbewegung und Gesellschaftswissenschaft, 1987), pp. 26–27; James Steakley, "Gays under Socialism: Male Homosexuality in the GDR," *Body Politics* (Toronto), no. 29 (1976–77), pp. 15–18; and Johannes Wasmuth, "Strafrechtliche Verfolgung Homosexueller in BRD und DDR," in *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle: Verdrängt und ungesühnt*, ed. Burkhard Jellonek and Rüdiger Lautmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002), p. 178.

36. The "Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters," for example, rejected the East German physician and homosexual rights activist Rudolf Klimmer's efforts to get homosexual victims of Nazism officially acknowledged as victims of

fascism with the following words: “The overwhelming majority of surviving homosexuals are in the FRG. . . . In the rule they belonged to bourgeois or petty bourgeois strata and were hostile to the socioeconomic changes that took place in the GDR after 1945.” Quoted in von Kowalski, *Homosexualität*, p. 26. See also Günter Grau, “Return of the Past: The Policy of the SED and the Laws against Homosexuality in Eastern Germany between 1946 and 1968,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 37, no. 4 (1999), pp. 1–21; and Marianne Krüger-Potratz, *Anderssein Gab Es Nicht: Ausländer und Minderheiten in der DDR* (Münster: Waxmann, 1991), p. 2.

37. Gerhard Weber and Danuta Weber, *Du und ich* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, 1965), pp. 102–3. On *Du und ich*'s popularity, see Werner Kirsch, *Zum Problem der sexuellen Belehrung durch den Biologielehrer* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Wissen, 1967), pp. 78–79.

38. For example, even as medical school professor Helmut Rennert was manifestly pleased to report, based on his empirical studies in Halle in the early 1960s, that young GDR citizens were not only sexually healthy but also sexually active, he also had a hard time disguising his sense of pride that the incidence of homosexual activity was remarkably low. Rather than self-reflexively wondering whether his informants, in view of a homophobic climate, might be evasive on this point as they filled out his questionnaires, perhaps not fully trusting that their answers would remain anonymous (even though on other issues he considered the possibility of false answers), Rennert—while presenting himself as progressive by expressing pleasure that the draft of the new East German criminal code decriminalized homosexuality—nonetheless pandered to the regime's preoccupation with normality by stressing how low rates of homosexual activity apparently were in the GDR in comparison with the findings of researchers like Magnus Hirschfeld in Weimar Germany or Alfred Kinsey in the United States. See Helmut Rennert, “Untersuchungen zur Gefährdung der Jugend und zur Dunkelziffer bei sexuellen Straftaten,” *Psychiatrie, Neurologie und Medizinische Psychologie: Zeitschrift für Forschung und Praxis* 17, no. 10 (Oct. 1965), p. 364; Helmut Rennert, “Untersuchungen zur sexuellen Entwicklung der Jugend,” *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 60, no. 3 (Feb. 1966), p. 152; Helmut Rennert, “Untersuchungen über die sexuelle Entwicklung der Jugend in der DDR,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock (Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Reihe)* 17, nos. 6–7 (1968), p. 707; and Helmut Rennert, “Die geschlechtliche Entwicklung der heutigen Jugend am Beispiel unserer Medizinstudenten,” in *Jugendprobleme in pädagogischer, medizinischer und juristischer Sicht*, ed. Hanns Schwarz (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1967), pp. 93, 95.

39. Conversation with L. S., 2003.

40. Bretschneider, *Sexuell Aufklären*, pp. 40–41, 67–68, 131.

41. This widely held 1950s conviction about the need to sublimate libidinal energies into reconstruction is documented persuasively by Matthias Rothe in “Semantik der Sexualität” (European University Viadrina, Frankfurt an der Oder, unpublished manuscript, 2001). Only in the 1960s, Rothe finds, did the SED—turning to the theory of “cybernetics”—consider the possibility that sex could be a source of energy rather than an energy drain.

42. See André Steiner, “Dissolution of the ‘Dictatorship over Needs’? Consumer Behavior and Economic Reform in East Germany in the 1960s,” in *Getting*

*and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Susan Strasser et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), pp. 167–85.

43. Hans-Joachim Hoffmann and Peter G. Klemm, *Ein offenes Wort: Ein Buch über die Liebe* (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1972), pp. 175–76.

44. Conversation with L. U., 2001.

45. Kurt Starke, “. . . ein romantisches Ideal” (interview conducted by Uta Kolano), in Uta Kolano, *Nackter Osten* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Frankfurter Oder Editionen/Sammlung Zeitzeugen, 1995), pp. 83, 86.

46. Conversation with Volkmar Sigusch, 2002.

47. Starke, “. . . ein romantisches Ideal,” pp. 82–83; and conversation with Kurt Starke, 2001.

48. Conversation with L. U., 2001; Heiner Carow, “. . . da kommt niemand gegen an,” in Kolano, *Nackter Osten*, p. 153. For the transcript of a 1967 SED shaming session, see Felix Mühlberg, “Die Partei ist eiferstüchtig,” in *Erotik macht die Hässlichen Schön: Sexueller Alltag im Osten*, ed. Katrin Rohnstock (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1995), pp. 122–43.

49. For example, see Lykke Aresin, *Eheprobleme* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, 1963), p. 6; Heinz Grassel, “Studentin und Mutterschaft,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock (Gesellschaftliche und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe)*, no. 13 (1964), pp. 541–47; K. Lungwitz, “Die Stabilität frühzeitig geschlossener Ehen im Spiegel der Statistik,” *Neue Justiz* 19 (1965); and Karl-Heinz Mehlan, “Die Abortsituation im Weltmassstab,” in *Arzt und Familienplanung: Tagungsbericht der 3. Rostocker Fortbildungstage über Probleme der Ehe- und Sexualberatung vom 23. bis 25. Oktober 1967 in Rostock-Warne-münde* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, 1968), pp. 85–86.

50. See Siegfried Mempel, “Zum Gesetz der DDR über die Unterbrechung der Schwangerschaft,” *Recht in Ost und West* 16, no. 5 (Sept. 1972), p. 208. Karl-Heinz Mehlan estimated in 1964 that for the year 1959 there had been at least 60,000 illegal abortions in the GDR and that annually in the GDR in the early 1960s there was approximately 1 abortion for every 3.5 to 4.5 births. Karl-Heinz Mehlan, “Die Familienplanung aus gesellschaftlicher Sicht,” *Das Deutsche Gesundheitswesen* 19, no. 16 (1964), p. 743. This was proportionally fewer abortions than in West Germany, where the ratio of abortions to births in these years was estimated at 1 to 1.

51. See H. Rayner and J. Rothe, “Zur Entwicklung von Richtlinien über Arbeitsweise und Organisation des medizinischen Zweiges der Ehe- und Familienberatung (Ehe- und Sexualberatung),” in *Arzt und Familienplanung*.

52. See Siegfried Schnabl, “Die Sexualberatung bei der Anorgasmie der Frau und der Impotenz des Mannes,” *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 60, no. 132 (1966), p. 815; Lykke Aresin and M. Bahder, “25 Jahre Ehe- und Sexualberatung an der Universitäts-Frauenklinik Leipzig” (1973–74), Magnus Hirschfeld Archive, Berlin; the entry on the GDR in “Familienplanung in Europa aus persönlicher Sicht,” and “Hindernisse für die Kontrazeption,” both in *IPPF Europa: Regionale Informationen* 8 (1979); and Lykke Aresin, “Ehe- und Sexualberatungsstellen und Familienplanung in der DDR,” in *Sexuologie in der DDR*, ed. Joachim Hohmann (Berlin: Dietz, 1991), pp. 72–94.



53. See, for example, Grassel, *Jugend*, p. 110; Weber and Weber, *Du und ich*, p. 107.

54. See Heinrich Brückner, *Das Sexualwissen unserer Jugend, dargestellt als Beitrag zur Erziehungsplanung* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1968), pp. 134–37; and “Hüben wie drüben,” *Der Spiegel*, 26 May 1969, pp. 72, 75.

55. Klaus Trummer, *Unter vier Augen gesagt . . . : Fragen und Antworten über Freundschaft und Liebe* (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1966), pp. 7, 11–12.

56. Bernd Bittighöfer in *Deine Gesundheit*, June 1966, pp. 169–71.

57. See the discussion in Grassel, *Jugend*, pp. 141, 155–56. As Erich Honecker put it in 1965, “we are no disciples of hypocrisy and are most certainly in favor of the realistic representation of all sides of human life in literature and art.” But “effusions of disinhibition [Ergüsse der Enthemmung]” and “pornographic traits” were not acceptable. See Erich Honecker, *Bericht des Politbüros an die 11. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands 15.–18. Dezember 1965* (Berlin: Dietz, 1966), pp. 59, 61. How this played out concretely could be seen for example in the SED’s direct censorship, also in 1965, of Irmtraud Morgner’s novel *Rumba auf einen Herbst*. The party bureaucrats among other things rejected as overly detailed and/or entirely inappropriate sex scenes in which unfaithful spouses appeared to be having fun and/or to be finding themselves; although the novel had originally been accepted for publication, if Morgner was not willing to change key moments in her text and cut certain scenes, it would simply not be able to appear in the GDR. Morgner soon turned to a more fabulist, magical realist prose style and never published *Rumba*, instead reworking portions of it in a later text. I am grateful to Matthias Rothe for sharing with me copies of the SED memoranda pertaining to *Rumba*.

58. Peter G. Hesse, *Empfängnis und Empfängnisverhütung* (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, 1967), p. 39. See also Peter G. Hesse et al., eds., *Sexuologie: Geschlecht, Mensch, Gesellschaft*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1974–77).

59. See Donna Harsch, “Society, the State, and Abortion in East Germany, 1950–1972,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (Feb. 1997), pp. 62–66.

60. See Lykke Aresin, “Sexologische Probleme in jungen Ehen,” *Psychiatrie* 20 (1967), pp. 3–7; Aresin and Bahder, “25 Jahre,” p. 87; Schnabl, *Intimverhalten*, p. 265; and Siegfried Schnabl, “Sexuelle Störungen—Verbreitung, Zusammenhänge, Konsequenzen,” in Hohmann, *Sexuologie in der DDR*, pp. 116–41, esp. pp. 117, 124, 128. Before she became a strong advocate for the pill, Aresin’s clinic in Leipzig dispensed diaphragms and also recommended coitus interruptus, the rhythm method, spermicidal jellies, and condoms. Aresin, *Eheprobleme*, p. 17; and Aresin, “Ehe- und Sexualberatungsstellen,” p. 77.

61. See Siegfried Schnabl, *Mann und Frau intim: Fragen des gesunden und des gestörten Geschlechtslebens*, 5th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, 1972).

62. Starke, “. . . ein romantisches Ideal,” pp. 87–88.

63. Staatssekretariat für westdeutsche Fragen, “Das schöne Geschlecht und die Gleichberechtigung in der DDR,” *Visite*, no. 3 (1971), pp. 17–21.

64. “Das Kind ist krank—wer bleibt zu Haus?” *Für Dich*, no. 47 (1974), pp. 20, 22.

65. “Zwei Liebeserklärungen,” *NBI*, no. 16 (Apr. 1971), pp. 12–14.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 16.

68. Marlies Allendorf and Ingeburg Hirsch, “Auf dem Lehrplan steht die Liebe,” *Für Dich*, no. 12 (Mar. 1972), p. 6.

69. Prof. Dr. Grandke quoted in Helga Bobach, “Junge Ehe besonders gefährdet?” *Für Dich*, no. 12 (Mar. 1972), p. 38.

70. K. v. Billerbeck, “Rund um Sex,” *Für Dich*, no. 12 (Mar. 1972), p. 27.

71. The Schnabl movie was discussed and clips were shown in the made-for-TV movie directed by Tilman Jens, *Liebeslehrer der Nation: Oswalt Kolle zum 70.* (Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 1998).

72. Schnabl, *Intimverhalten*, p. 15–18.

73. Conversation with T. T., 2001.

74. Wolfgang Polte, *Unserer Ehe*, 8th rev. ed. (Leipzig: Verlag für die Frau, 1980), pp. 131, 137–38.

75. See on this point also Starke, “. . . ein romantisches Ideal,” p. 94.

76. Kurt Starke and Walter Friedrich, *Liebe und Sexualität bis 30* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1984), pp. 187, 202–3.

77. Ulrich Clement and Kurt Starke, “Sexualverhalten und Einstellungen zur Sexualität bei Studenten in der BRD und in der DDR,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung*, no. 1 (1988), pp. 30–44; conversations with Ulrich Clement and Kurt Starke, 2001 and 2002. See also Gunter Schmidt, “Emanzipation zum oder vom Geschlechtsverkehr?” *Pro Familia Magazin*, no. 5 (1993); and Wolfgang Engler, “Nacktheit, Sexualität und Partnerschaft,” in *Die Ostdeutschen: Kunde von einem verlorenen Land* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1999), pp. 271–72.

78. See Hans-Joachim Ahrendt, “Neue Aspekte der Familienplanung und Geburtenregelung in Ostdeutschland,” in *Sexualität und Partnerschaft im Wandel: Jahrestagung 1991 der Gesellschaft für Sexualwissenschaft*, Leipziger Texte zur Sexualität 1, no. 1 (1992), p. 6.

79. Conversation with N. U., 1997.

80. Conversation with H. N., 1998.

81. Conversation with L. U., 2001.

82. See Hans-Joachim Maaz, *Der Gefühlsstau: Ein Psychogramm der DDR* (Berlin: Argon, 1990); and Dietrich Mühlberg, “Sexualität und ostdeutscher Alltag,” *Mitteilungen aus der kulturwissenschaftlichen Forschung* 18, no. 36 (1995), p. 10.

83. “DDR-Frauen kriegen öfter einen Orgasmus,” *Bild*, 30 May 1990, p. 1.

84. Holger Kaukel, *Schweriner Volkszeitung*, 23 Oct. 1993, quoted in Ina Merkel, “Die Nackten und die Roten: Zum Verhältnis von Nacktheit und Öffentlichkeit in der DDR,” *Mitteilungen aus der kulturwissenschaftlichen Forschung*, 18, no. 36 (1995), p. 80.

85. Conversation with Kurt Starke, 2001.

86. See Carmen Beilfuss, “‘Über sieben Brücken musst Du geh’n . . .’: Der schwierige Weg der Liebe in der Marktwirtschaft,” in *Sexualität und Partnerschaft*, pp. 18–27.

87. Katrin Rohnstock, “Vorwort,” in Rohnstock, *Erotik macht die Hässlichen Schön*, pp. 9–10.

88. Conversation with T. T., 2001.

89. D. Mühlberg, "Sexualität und ostdeutscher Alltag," p. 20.
90. Beilfuss, "Über sieben Brücken."
91. See Bert Thinius, "Vom grauen Versteck ins bunte Ghetto: Ansichten zur Geschichte ostdeutscher Schwuler," in Starke, *Schwuler Osten*, p. 73; Starke, *Schwuler Osten*, pp. 300–301; Kolano, *Nackter Osten*; Konrad Weller, *Das Sexuelle in der deutsch-deutschen Vereinigung: Resümee und Ausblick* (Leipzig: Forum, 1991); Werner Habermehl, *Sexualverhalten der Deutschen: Aktuelle Daten, intime Wahrheiten* (Munich, 1993), pp. 26–31. For a Wessi who largely concurs with this assessment, see Karl Scheithauer, "Männerpositionen," in *Stiefbrüder: Was Ostmänner und Westmänner voneinander denken*, ed. Katrin Rohnstock (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1995), p. 42.
92. See Aleksandar Stulhofer, "Sexual Freedom and Sexual Health in Times of Post-Communist Transition" (paper presented at the International Academy of Sex Research, Hamburg, Germany, 20 June 2002); and Katrin Rohnstock, "Der Bierbauch," in Rohnstock, *Stiefbrüder*, esp. pp. 47–48, 54.
93. Kurt Starke makes these points in "Die Unzüchtige Legende vom pruden Osten," in Rohnstock, *Erotik macht die Hässlichen schön*, p. 157. See also Stapel, "Schwulenbewegung in der DDR," pp. 91–110.
94. Diehl, *Liebe, Ehe—Scheidung?*, p. 199.

#### CHAPTER SIX ANTIFASCIST BODIES

1. Johann August Schüle, "Von der Studentenrevolte zur Tendenzwende oder der Rückzug ins Private: Eine sozialpsychologische Analyse," *Kursbuch* 48 (June 1977), p. 101; and Heinrich Mehrmann, "Erobern Kommunen Deutschlands Beten? Mehr Sex mit Marx und Mao," *Pardon*, Aug. 1967, p. 22. Especially important reflective essays include Peter Schneider, "Die Sache mit der 'Männlichkeit': Gibt es eine Emanzipation der Männer?" *Kursbuch* 35 (Apr. 1974); Lothar Binger, "Kritisches Plädoyer für die Gruppe," *Kursbuch* 37 (Oct. 1974); and Klaus Hartung, "Versuch, die Krise der antiautoritären Bewegung wieder zur Sprache zu bringen," *Kursbuch* 48 (June 1977).
2. Peter Schneider, "'Nicht der Egoismus verfälscht das politische Engagement, sondern der Versuch ihn zu verheimlichen,'" *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 25 June 1977, p. III.
3. Eckhard Siepmann, "Unergründliches Obdach für Reisende," and "1969—Die grosse Sonnenfinsternis," both in *CheSchahShit: Die sechziger Jahre zwischen Cocktail und Molotow*, ed. Siepmann et al. (Berlin: Elefanten, 1984), pp. 194, 204.
4. The best example—a marvelously funny and thoughtful sex-affirmative curriculum that incorporated feminist and lesbian and gay issues—is Peter A. W. Figge et al., *Betrifft: Sexualität. Materialien zur Sexualerziehung im Medienverbund für Jugendliche, Eltern und Pädagogen* (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1977), sponsored by the Norddeutscher Rundfunk television company and the Federal Office for Health Education (Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung). In 1982, when the Christian Democrats came back into office under Chancellor Hel-

mut Kohl, all copies of the curriculum remaining in the Federal Office were shredded, and all the educational films for classroom use that had been used in conjunction with the curriculum were officially recalled.

5. On the Alternative Draft, see Herbert Jäger, "Zur Gleichstellung von Homosexualität und Heterosexualität im Strafrecht," *Vorgänge*, no. 4 (1981), p. 19.

6. See CDU/CSU representative Max Güde's remarks in the Bundestag debate of 9 May 1969 (232. Sitzung), in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, 5. Wahlperiode: Stenographische Berichte*, vol. 70 (Bonn, 1969), pp. 12829, 12832; and "Erster Schriftlicher Bericht des Sonderausschusses für die Strafrechtsreform [Drucksache V/4094]," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, 5. Wahlperiode: Anlagen zu den stenographischen Berichten* (Bonn, 1969), p. 3. The CDU/CSU was adamant about retaining twenty-one as the age of consent, on the grounds that homosexuality among men held "dangers for the sexual development" of young people, even as it (in keeping with the old idea of youth bisexuality) agreed that judicial leniency might be appropriate when homosexual acts engaged in by the under-twenty-one group were the sign of "developmental disturbances or other age-specific difficulties." The SPD, fully aware of the enormity of the change the legal reform represented ("it is the first time that something that was criminalized in our Volk is to be decriminalized"), felt the compromise was acceptable. See the remarks of Jungmann (CDU/CSU) and Kübler (SPD) in debate of 7 May 1969, pp. 12787–88.

7. See Karena Niehoff, "... der werfe endlich den letzten Stein," *Der Tagespiegel*, 31 July 1971; "Will Selbstbewusstsein stärken: Rosa von Praunheim," *Münchener Merkur*, 18 Dec. 1971; and Dietrich Kuhlbrodt, "Nicht der Homosexuelle ist pervers, sondern die Situation, in der er lebt," in *Rosa von Praunheim*, ed. Wolfgang Jacobsen (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1984), pp. 113–26.

8. For an important testimonial, see Elmar Drost, "Mit dem Schwanz gedacht: Meine Geschichte fängt da an, wo schwule Geschichte aufgehört hat," in *Schwule Regungen—schwule Bewegungen*, ed. Willi Frieling (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1985). See also Andreas Salmen and Albert Eckert, *20 Jahre bundesdeutsche Schwulenbewegung 1969–1989* (Cologne: Bundesverband Homosexualität e.V., 1989), pp. 23–45.

9. Quotes in Kuhlbrodt, "Nicht der Homosexuelle ist pervers," p. 123; and Wolfgang Selitsch in the journal *him* in 1971, quoted in Salmen and Eckert, *20 Jahre*, p. 20. See also "'Bekannt, dass ihr anders seid,'" *Der Spiegel*, 12 Mar. 1973, pp. 46–62; Michael Förster, "Gegen Spott und Schmach: Homosexuelle formieren sich in Partei- und Gewerkschaftsgruppen," *Vorwärts*, 19 July 1979; and "Hallo, Gerda," *Der Spiegel*, 20 Aug. 1979. See also "Geschichte der Rosa Lüste," <http://home.t-online.de/home/rosalueste/histrolu.htm>.

10. "Wir sind schwul," *Der Stern*, no. 41 (1978), cover page for the story "Ich bin schwul," pp. 104–18.

11. See graffiti on church wall in Ele Schöfthaler, "Zweierlei Mass: Die evangelische Kirche und der Paragraph 218," in *Das Kreuz mit dem Frieden: 1982 Jahre Christen und Politik*, ed. Peter Winzeler (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1982), p. 145; banner about gynecologists in "Abtreibung: Massenmord oder Privatsache?" *Der Spiegel*, 21 May 1973, p. 39; cartoon of pregnant Jahn in "Wir müssen uns selber helfen," *Frauen-Zeitung* 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1973), p. 4. See also the

arguments made by feminists in Mainz and Frankfurt in “Warum der Paragraph 218 keine Klassenjustiz ist—oder: Was die Genossin mit der Betschwester zu tun hat!” *Frauen-Zeitung* 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1973), p. 5; and by feminists in the Berlin women’s group Bread and Roses in “Brot und Rosen: Paragraph 218,” reprinted in *Autonome Frauen: Schlüsseltexte der Neuen Frauenbewegung seit 1968*, ed. Ann Anders (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988), pp. 89–93.

12. See “Abtreibung,” pp. 38, 44, 50. *Pardon* cartoon also reprinted here.

13. Quotations in “Abtreibung,” p. 39.

14. See Ann Anders, “Chronologie der gelaufenen Ereignisse,” in Anders, *Autonome Frauen*, pp. 16–21.

15. See Kristina Schulz, *Der lange Atem der Provokation: Die Frauenbewegung in der Bundesrepublik und in Frankreich 1968–1976* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002), esp. pp. 188–90, 217–25; Kristine von Soden, ed., *Der grosse Unterschied: Die neue Frauenbewegung und die siebziger Jahre* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1988); Alice Schwarzer, *So fing es an! 10 Jahre Frauenbewegung* (Cologne: Emma, 1981); and Lottemi Doormann, ed., *Keiner schiebt uns weg: Zwischenbilanz der Frauenbewegung in der Bundesrepublik* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1979).

16. See Eine Frau aus dem Rheinland, “Lesben gemeinsam sind stark” (1972), and Eine Frau aus Heidelberg, “Wie ich gemerkt habe, das ich lesbisch bin,” both in *Frauenjahrbuch* 1, ed. Frankfurter Frauen (Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern, 1975), pp. 200–207; “Lesben: Geschichte der Lesbengruppe im Weiberrat,” *Frauen-Zeitung*, no. 1 (Oct. 1973), pp. 13–14; and Ina Kuckuc, *Der Kampf gegen Unterdrückung: Materialien aus der deutschen Lesbierinnenbewegung*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Frauenoffensive, 1977), pp. 73–80. On lesbians’ experiences and on the distinctive qualities of lesbophobia in West German culture, see the pathbreaking studies by Siegrid Schäfer, “Sexuelle und soziale probleme von Lesbierinnen in der BRD,” in *Ergebnisse zur Sexualforschung*, ed. Eberhard Schorsch and Gunter Schmidt (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1975); and Susanne von Paczensky, *Verschwiegene Liebe: Lesbische Frauen in unserer Gesellschaft* (Munich: Bertekmann, 1981).

17. “Hexenprozess in Itzehoe, oder: Wie der weiblichen Sexualität der Prozess gemacht wird!” and “Lebenslänglich für Notwehr,” both in *Frankfurter Frauen, Frauenjahrbuch* 1, pp. 219–24. See also Annette Dröge, “Jetzt reicht’s! Lesbische Frauen werden öffentlich,” in von Soden, *Der grosse Unterschied*, pp. 53–56.

18. Photo in *Frankfurter Frauen, Frauenjahrbuch* 1, p. 199.

19. For example, see Ellen Carstens-Graeff, “Mein Fühlen hinterlässt Bremspuren,” and Sibylle Plogstedt, “Ich hatte immer das Gefühl, ich muss näher ’ran,” both in *Sexualität (Courage Sonderheft* 3, no. 5 [1981]), pp. 56–68.

20. For example, see “Einleitung,” *Frauenzeitung*, no. 5 (1974), pp. 1–2.

21. Thus, for instance, in praising the 1969 Bundestag vote to decriminalize male homosexuality, *Der Spiegel* had also compared homophobes with Nazis as it reminded its readers that the same “healthy” “sensibility of the Volk” that had been used to justify the persecution, imprisonment, and murder of homosexuals in the Third Reich was still alive and well in 1969 West Germany in the form of popular prejudice against homosexuals. “Späte Milde,” *Der Spiegel*, 12 May 1969, p. 55. Along related lines, in 1975, *Der Spiegel* pointedly accompanied its criticism of Pope Paul VI’s hostility to the pill with contrasting photographs from

the 1940s and the 1970s: one photograph, captioned “Birthing Propaganda,” showed a woman in the Third Reich receiving the Nazi “Mother’s Cross” for having done her part to raise the birthrate, while the other, captioned “Birthing Protest,” showed an abortion rights demonstration from the early 1970s in West Germany with signs declaring “My belly belongs to me” and calling for “Pleasure without burden” (*Lust ohne Last*). Implicitly here, with respect to sexual politics, the pope was placed on the side of the fascists. “Die Kinder wollen keine Kinder mehr,” *Der Spiegel*, 24 March 1975, p. 44.

22. For example, see Ute Döser, “Die Schüler wollen noch mehr wissen,” *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 7 Mar. 1970, p. 74; Hartmut Wendscheck, “Reform-Vorschlag geht den Eltern zu weit,” *Kölnische Rundschau*, 18 Feb. 1971; “Grenze überschritten,” *Der Spiegel*, 20 Mar. 1972, pp. 62–63; “Urteil gegen ‘Aufklärung’ in der Schule,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 June 1972; “Forsch oder Fromm,” *Der Spiegel*, 31 July 1972, pp. 39–40; “Sexual-Unterricht ist gesetzlos und verfassungswidrig!” *Bergedorfer Zeitung*, 16 Nov. 1974; “Zurück zum Gürtel,” *Der Spiegel*, 8 Nov. 1976, pp. 98–99; Rainer Klose, “Sexualkunde-Unterricht nicht beanstandet,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 15 Feb. 1978; Claus Voland, “Kein Werk des Teufels: Karlsruher Richter zum Sexualkundeunterricht,” *Die Zeit*, 24 Feb. 1978; “‘Sexualkunde, na, das macht der Kollege,’” *Der Spiegel*, 27 Feb. 1978, pp. 62–76; “‘Lieber ein Jahr zu früh als eine Stunde zu spät,’” *Der Spiegel*, 27 Mar. 1978, pp. 95–105; and Rupp Doinet, “Macht Sexualkunde impotent?” *Der Stern*, no. 7 (1980), pp. 204–5.

23. Alexander von Hoffmann, “Wie Heil ist der Rechts-Staat?” *Konkret*, Apr. 1976, p. 17. See also Axel Eggebrecht, “Was ist Faschismus? Warnung vor einem Wort,” *Konkret*, Feb. 1978, pp. 22–23; and Peter Schneider, “Im Todeskreis der Schuld,” *Die Zeit*, 27 Mar. 1987, p. 66.

24. Quoted in Binger, “Kritisches Plädoyer,” p. 3.

25. Hartung, “Versuch,” p. 36.

26. P. Schneider, “‘Nicht der Egoismus,’” p. III.

27. Uli Puritz, “Schreiben über Sexualität oder wie fische ich das Salz aus der Suppe,” *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 40–41 (Sept. 1980), pp. 16–17.

28. *Rote Presse Korrespondenz*, no. 36 (24 Oct. 1969), quoted in *Berliner Kinderläden: Antiautoritäre Erziehung und sozialistischer Kampf* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1970), p. 239. See also, for example, Detlev Claussen et al., “Einleitung,” in Hans-Jürgen Krahl, *Konstitution und Klassenkampf: Schriften, Reden und Entwürfe aus den Jahren 1966–1970* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1971), p. 7; Reimut Reiche’s self-criticism of 1971 summarized in Stefan Micheler, “Der Sexualitätsdiskurs in der Studierendenbewegung der 1960er Jahre,” *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 13, no. 1 (2000), p. 21; and Dietrich Haensch, “Zerschlagt die Kleinfamilie? Frage an eine sozialistische Alternative zur bürgerlichen Familienpolitik,” in *Familiensoziologie: Ein Reader als Einführung*, ed. Dieter Claessens and Petra Milhöfer (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1973), p. 363.

29. P. Schneider, “‘Nicht der Egoismus,’” p. III.

30. Drei aus der Redaktion, “Von Feen und Faunen,” *Pflasterstrand*, no. 23a (9–22 Feb. 1978), p. 5.

31. See on this matter also the reflections of Helke Sander, "Referat," reprinted in *Berliner Kinderläden*, pp. 57–61; and Gabriele Huster, "Die Verdrängung der Femme Fatale und ihrer Schwestern: Nachdenken über das Frauenbild des Nationalsozialismus," in *Inszenierung der Macht: Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus*, ed. Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner (Berlin: NGBK, 1987), pp. 145–46.
32. Fischer quoted and discussed in Sibylla Flügge, "1968 und die Frauen—Ein Blick in die Beziehungskiste," in *Gender und soziale Praxis*, ed. Margit Götter and Karin Walser (Königstein/Taunus: Ulrike Helmer, 2002), p. 281.
33. As Ulf Preuss-Lausitz pointed out in the early 1980s, it might have been hard by that point to imagine anymore that this former "battle cry" of the 1960s had ever been considered progressive, but he assured readers that it most certainly had been. "An incredibly chauvinist, heartless, indeed reactionary sentence, I would say today." However, in the 1960s, "the astonishing thing is that almost no one but the 'old moralists' questioned its progressiveness (which was taken as evidence for its progressiveness)." Ulf Preuss-Lausitz, "Vom gepanzerten zum sinnstiftenden Körper," in *Kriegskinder, Konsumkinder, Krisenkinder: Zur Sozialisationsgeschichte seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Preuss-Lausitz et al. (Weinheim: Beltz, 1989), p. 98.
34. See Mehrmann, "Erobern Kommunen Deutschlands Betten?" pp. 17, 21.
35. Klaus Theweleit, *Ghosts: Drei leicht inkorrekte Vorträge* (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1998), pp. 106–7.
36. Sabine Weissler, "Sexy Sixties," in Siepmann et al., *CheSchahShit*, p. 99.
37. H. Abholz, H. W. Dräger, and B. Witt, "Lautloses Platzen," *FU Spiegel*, Feb. 1968.
38. Flyer written by the Frankfurt "Broads' Collective" (*Weiberrat*) and distributed at the national SDS convention in Hannover in 1968. Text reprinted in Sibylla Flügge, "Der Weiberrat im SDS," in Siepmann et al., *CheSchahShit*, p. 174.
39. Conversation with R. G., 2002.
40. Verena Stefan, *Häutungen* (Munich: Frauenoffensive, 1975), p. 25.
41. "Psychische Verelendung und Emanzipatorische Selbsttätigkeit" (collective statement produced by a women's group circa 1974), p. 5. Personal archive, Sibylla Flügge, Frankfurt am Main.
42. Elisabeth Skerutsch, "Was soll der Abtreibungsparagraf?" mimeograph flyer (circa 1974). Personal archive, Sibylla Flügge, Frankfurt am Main.
43. "Zum Wandel der Sexualmoral" (seminar paper, University of Frankfurt, early 1970s). Personal archive, Sibylla Flügge, Frankfurt am Main.
44. "Psychische Verelendung," pp. 6–7.
45. For example, see the reflections in Binger, "Kritisches Plädoyer," pp. 11–14.
46. See Karin Rasch, "Geschichte des ersten Weiberrats" (manuscript from early 1971). Personal archive, Sibylla Flügge, Frankfurt am Main.
47. Conversation with T. S., 2002.
48. "Psychische Verelendung," p. 6.
49. Stefan Hinz, "Die Kunscht des Liebens," *Konkret*, Apr. 1981, p. 50.
50. "Sexualität: Wenig Fortsetzung . . .," *Pflasterstrand* 22 (12–25 Jan. 1978), p. 19.

51. Drei aus der Redaktion, "Von Feen und Faunen," p. 4.
52. "Sexualität: Wenig Fortsetzung . . .," p. 19.
53. "Intern," *Sexualität Konkret* 1 (1979), p. 4.
54. "Kontroverse zum 'Stammheim-Fick,'" *Pflasterstrand* 22 (12–25 Jan. 1978), p. 23; "Sexualität: Wenig Fortsetzung . . .," p. 19.
55. Dany, in *Pflasterstrand* 23 (late Jan.–early Feb. 1978), p. 3.
56. Puritz, "Schreiben," p. 13; "Gedanken eines Sauriers," *Pflasterstrand* 21 (15 Dec. 1977–11 Jan. 1978), p. 40; "Vögeln," *ibid.*, p. 28.
57. Harry Oberländer, "Notizen aus der Provinz," *Pflasterstrand* 23 (late Jan.–early Feb. 1978), p. 3.
58. Micky, "Warum ich mich an dieser Diskussion nicht beteilige . . .," *Pflasterstrand* 23a (9–22 Feb. 1978), p. a.
59. "Gedanken eines Sauriers," p. 42.
60. "Antwort eines Sauriers," *Pflasterstrand* 22 (12–25 Jan. 1978), p. 23.
61. Gernot Gailer, "Eine Traumfrau zieht sich aus," *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 40–41 (Sept. 1980), pp. 84–85, 91.
62. Cover caption "Zurück zur Weiblichkeit," *Der Spiegel*, 30 June 1975; see also Wilhelm Bittorf, "Der anatomische Imperativ," *ibid.*, p. 42: "Demanding women and men who have become insecure exhaust each other with expectations that they cannot fulfill, get snarled up in ego battles, in which the man often loses not only his feeling of superiority but also his potency and the woman loses all the magic that once upon a time had awakened passion and love."
63. "Bis 25: Täglich Liebe. Ab 30: Ich bin so müde," *Bild*, 24 Jan. 1969.
64. *Der Stern* cartoon reprinted in "Jüngstes Gerücht," *Der Spiegel*, 28 Feb. 1977, p. 190.
65. "Jüngstes Gerücht," p. 191.
66. "Mild bis wild," *Der Spiegel*, 7 Mar. 1977, p. 207.
67. "Stunde der Wahrheit," *Der Spiegel*, 18 Apr. 1977, p. 231.
68. Leona Siebens Schön, "Noch genauso frigide," *Die Zeit*, 18 July 1975, p. 37 (a review of the interviews collected in Alice Schwarzer's *Der "kleine" Unterschied* [1975]).
69. SEAT study and quotation in Ingrid Kolb, "Zwischen Lust und Frust," *Der Stern*, no. 21 (1980), p. 132.
70. Quoted in Conrad Zander, "Die Männer werden keusch: Schluss mit dem Sex," *Der Stern*, no. 51 (1982), p. 50.
71. Kolb, "Zwischen Lust und Frust," p. 120.
72. Zander, "Die Männer werden keusch," pp. 48–49. On the striking lack of impact of feminist perspectives on sex in the advice columns of mainstream women's magazines in the early 1980s, see Cheryl Barnard and Edit Schlaffer, "Der Mann im Bett," in *Viel erlebt und nichts begriffen: Die Männer und die Frauenbewegung* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1985), pp. 77–81.
73. For example, see "Eine Welle von Nazi-Drohungen gegen Feministinnen," *Emma*, Dec. 1983, p. 5; Margarete Mitscherlich, "Die Unfähigkeit zu kämpfen," *Emma*, Apr. 1991, p. 28; Ingrid Schmidt-Harzbach, "Die Lüge von der Stunde Null," *Courage*, June 1982, p. 34; and Annemarie Troeger, "Die Dolchstosslegende der Linken: 'Frauen haben Hitler an die Macht gebracht.' Thesen zur Geschichte der Frauen am Vorabend des Dritten Reichs," in *Frauen und Wissen-*

schaft: *Beiträge zur Berliner Sommeruniversität für Frauen, Juli 1976*, ed. Gruppe Berliner Dozentinnen (Berlin: Courage, 1977), p. 324.

74. See FIL, "Sieg Macho," *Emma*, Dec. 1987, p. 6; Ingrid Strobl, "Justine und Justiz," *Emma*, Feb. 1988, p. 33; and the section on "Playboy bis TAZ," in *Schwesternlust und Schwesternfrust: 20 Jahre Frauenbewegung*, ed. Alice Schwarzer (Cologne: Emma, 1991), p. 129.

75. Die Frankfurter Stadthexen et al., in *Pflasterstrand 23* (late Jan.–early Feb. 1978), p. 1.

76. "Der Aufstand der Frauen: Am 6. Juni 1971 ging es los!" *Emma*, June 1991, pp. 18, 20–21.

77. See the discussion in Karin Windaus-Walser, "Gnade der weiblichen Geburt? Zum Umgang der Frauenforschung mit Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus," *Feministische Studien* 1 (1988), p. 111.

78. See the discussions in Annette Kuhn, "Der Antifeminismus als verborgene Theoriebasis des deutschen Faschismus: Feministische Gedanken zur nationalsozialistischen 'Biopolitik,'" in *Frauen und Faschismus in Europa: Der faschistische Körper*, ed. Leonore Siegele-Wenschkewitz and Gerda Stuchlik (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1990), p. 39; and Frauen gegen Antisemitismus, "Der Nationalsozialismus als Extremform des Patriarchats: Zur Leugnung der Täterschaft von Frauen und zur Tabuisierung des Antisemitismus in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem NS," *Beiträge zur feministischen Theorie und Praxis*, no. 35 (1993), pp. 77–89.

79. Henryk M. Broder, "Ich bin ein Chauvi," *Konkret*, Oct. 1979, pp. 55, 57.

80. Berndt Nitzschke's lecture before sexologists in Salzburg, 5 Nov. 1988, excerpted in *Emma*, Feb. 1989, p. 29.

81. See Troeger, "Die Dolchstosslegende," p. 325.

82. In Fest's work (*Das Gesicht des Dritten Reiches: Profile einer totalitären Herrschaft* (Munich: R. Piper, 1963), and *Hitler: Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1973)), there are repeated descriptions of supposedly "unsatisfied," sexually frustrated "overripe" older women "worshipping" Hitler with "turbid yearning." Fest also wrote that "Hitler increasingly became the object of desire around which neurotic petty bourgeois women gathered for collective wantonness, greedy for the moment of disinhibition, of the great release, which—in the overflowing scream of the mass—decisively revealed the carnal character of these events and their extraordinary similarity to the public sexual acts of primitive tribes." Noting that the immense extent of male enthusiasm for Hitler was quietly sidestepped in Fest's "analysis," and amazed both at the brazenness of Fest's claim and the obvious allusions to "rut, ecstasy, orgasm," feminist sociologist Eva Sternheim-Peters concluded with caustic sarcasm: "Here a 'woman' can only ask pityingly and politely whether at least a few neurotic petty bourgeois men were able to enjoy a miserable scrap of pleasure in this 'great release.'" Eva Sternheim-Peters, "Brunst, Ekstase, Orgasmus: Männerphantasien zum Thema 'Hitler und die Frauen,'" *Psychologie heute* 8, no. 7 (1981), pp. 36, 38–39.

83. See Troeger, "Die Dolchstosslegende," p. 325.

84. Sternheim-Peters, "Brunst, Ekstase, Orgasmus," p. 36.

85. Rudolf Augstein, "Frauen fließen, Männer schießen," *Der Spiegel*, 19 Dec. 1977, p. 132; and Lothar Baier, "In den Staub mit allen Feinden der Frau," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18 Apr. 1978.

86. Bazon Brock, "Frauen, Fluten, Körper, Geschichte: Ein wichtiger Beitrag linker Theorie zur Faschismusdebatte," *Die Zeit*, 25 Nov. 1977, p. 11.

87. "Blut und Widerstand: Der Traum vom Terror," *Pflasterstrand* 21 (15 Dec. 1977–11 Jan. 1978), p. 19.

88. Thomas Kühne, "Männergeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte," in *Männergeschichte—Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne*, ed. Kühne (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1996), p. 16.

89. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1: *Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, trans. Stephen Conway with Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. xx.

90. Theweleit is very uneven on homosexuality. At one point—precisely in the context of trying to *refute* the old canard that all Nazis were homosexual—Theweleit claims to find similarities between homosexuals and fascists and suggests that homosexuals, like psychotic children, might be "incompletely born." See Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 2: *Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*, trans. Erica Carter and Chris Turner with Stephen Conway (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1989), pp. 314–18.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 195, 201, 432. See also Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 1:430–32.

93. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2:61, 127, 279, 315.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

95. See the brief considerations of the problem in Michael Rogin, "Fascist Fantasies," *Nation*, 18–25 July 1987, p. 65; and Jessica Benjamin and Anson Rabinbach's foreword to Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2:xiv. One way Jews continually reappear is as part of the standard triumvirate of things fascist men were said to hate: women, communists (or proletarians), and Jews (as in a sort of tired rattling-down of the three analytic categories of gender, class, race). But what is interesting here is the way Theweleit often makes this triplet fit better into his argument by linking Jews with sex or, in other words, by subsuming Jews into his sexual argument, as in such phrases as "contagious Jewish lust" (*ibid.*, p. 162) or "lascivious or avaricious Jews" (*ibid.*, p. 348).

96. For example, Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2:118, 213, 348–49.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7, 9, 237. As an antifascist strategy Theweleit recommended the following type of analytic treatment for a soldierly male: since he is "locked . . . in his totality-armor," "analysis might perhaps involve guiding him toward an acknowledgment of his bodily openings and of the interior of his body, in order to protect him from immediate inundation by the fear of dissolution if his bodily periphery becomes pleasurable invested" (*ibid.*, p. 261; also see pp. 267–68 on "political work with potential fascists").

98. See Richard Herzinger, "Wandlungen eines Mythos: Die Kulturrevolutionäre von 1968—Garanten der liberalen Kultur in Deutschland?" in *Die Nacht hat zwölf Stunden, dann kommt schon der Tag: Antifaschismus—Geschichte und Neubewertung*, ed. Claudia Keller (Berlin: Aufbau, 1996), pp. 252–67; Helmut Dubiel, "Linke Trauerarbeit," *Merkur* 496 (June 1990), pp. 482–94; Detlev Pol-

lack, "Über die 68er und ihr Verhältnis zur DDR," *Leviathan* 26, no. 4 (1998), pp. 540–49; and Jan-Werner Müller, "Melancholy, Utopia and Reconciliation: Left-Wing and Liberal Responses to Unification," in *Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2000).

99. See Hartmut Schergel, "Reise in eine andere Galaxie," *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 2–3 Jan. 1999, p. 7 (especially the summary of *Bild*'s study, "Zwischen Cola und Corega Tabs"); and Cordt Schnibben, "Vollstrecker des Weltgewissens," *Der Spiegel*, 2 June 1997, pp. 113, 115. For the prevalence of this argument also in France, see Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 19–21.

100. See the critical discussions in Friedrich Christian Delius, "Die Dialektik des Deutschen Herbstes," *Die Zeit*, 1 Aug. 1997, p. 3; Klaus Theweleit, "Very Important Grown-Ups," *tageszeitung*, 23 Apr. 1999; and Belinda Davis, "New Leftists and West Germany: Violence, Fascism, and the Public Sphere, 1967–1974" (paper presented at the German Studies Association conference, Washington, DC, 7 Oct. 2001). See also Heinrich August Winkler, "Ende aller Sonderwege," *Der Spiegel*, 11 June 2001, p. 176; and Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and the Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2004).

101. See "Die Verräter sind unter uns," *Die Zeit*, 22 Apr. 1999; and Gerd Holzheimer, *Wider den genitalen Ernst: Sex von den 68ern bis zur Love-Parade* (Leipzig: Reclam, 2002).

102. See Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (New York: Norton, 2000); Hans-Georg Betz, "Towards a Community of Values? Reflections on Europe's Future from North America" (York University, Toronto, unpublished manuscript, 2002); Winkler, "Ende aller Sonderwege," p. 180; and Karl Schlögel, "Der Dämon der Gewalt," in *Experiment Europa (Spiegel Spezial*, no. 1 [2002]), pp. 86–95.

103. See Hanno Loewy, "A History of Ambivalence: Post-Reunification German Identity and the Holocaust," *Patterns of Prejudice* 36, no. 2 (2002); and Susanne Klingenstein, "Wer sind diese Deutschen?" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 Oct. 2001.

104. See Jörg Friedrich, *Der Brand: Deutschland im Bombenkrieg 1940–1945* (Berlin: Propyläen, 2002); W. G. Sebald, "Air War and Literature," in *On the Natural History of Destruction* (New York: Random House, 2003); Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2001); Günter Grass, *Im Krebsgang* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2002); Vera Neumann, *Nicht der Rede Wert: Die Privatisierung der Kriegsfolgen in der frühen Bundesrepublik: Lebensgeschichtliche Erinnerung* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1999); Elisabeth Domansky and Harald Welzer, eds., *Eine offene Geschichte: Zur kommunikativen Tradierung der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit* (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 1999); Elisabeth Domansky and Jutta de Jong, eds., *Der lange Schatten des Krieges: Deutsche Lebens-Geschichten nach 1945* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2000); Klaus Naumann, ed., *Nachkrieg in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001); Jason

Cowley, "Forgotten Victims," *Guardian Weekly*, 4–10 Apr. 2002, p. 22; and Alice Förster and Birgit Beck, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and World War II: Can a Psychiatric Concept Help Us Understand Postwar Society?" in *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s*, ed. Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003).

105. On the self-exculpatory function of narratives of non-Jewish German victimization, see, for example, Moeller, *War Stories*; Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1992).

106. On Walser, see esp. Jan-Holger Kirsch, "Identität durch Normalität: Der Konflikt um Martin Walsers Friedenspreisrede," *Leviathan* 27, no. 3 (1999).

107. Schäffer quoted in Stern, *Whitewashing*, p. 380; see also p. 383 on Adenauer's mixed motives. For more on Schäffer's and Adenauer's views about restitution, and on how very popular Schäffer was in West Germany, specifically because of his overt antisemitism, see Christian Pross, *Wiedergutmachung: Der Kleinkrieg gegen die Opfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988), esp. pp. 31–32, 58–68.

108. On Gruber, see Richard Rubenstein, "The Dean and the Chosen People," in *Holocaust: Religious and Philosophical Perspectives*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and John K. Roth (New York: Paragon, 1989); and Philipp Gassert, "'Der Nazi-Kanzler': Kurt Georg Kiesinger und die Auseinandersetzungen um die NS-Vergangenheit in den späten 1960er Jahren" (paper presented at the German Studies Association Conference, Washington, DC, 7 Oct. 2001).

109. Von Dohnanyi quoted in the superb essay by Reinhard Mohr, "Total normal?" *Der Spiegel*, 30 Nov. 1998, p. 46.

110. Conversation with F. C., 2003. See also Armin Himmelrath, "Neue, alte Ängste: Jeder dritte Student will Ende der Holocaust-Debatte—jüdische Studenten in Sorge," *Unicum* (July 2002), p. 12; Anton-Andreas Guha, "Ablehnung von Juden, Amerikanern und Arabern hat zugenommen: Studie des Freud-Instituts und der Universität Leipzig/Antisemitismus in Westdeutschland stärker verbreitet als im Osten," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 15 June 2002, p. 1; and Robin Detje, "Im freien Fall," *Die Zeit*, no. 26 (18 June 2003), p. 34. In November 2002, *Die Zeit* reported that a study found 52 percent of Germans believing that "many Jews try to draw advantage out of the Holocaust." On the special avidity of attention paid by Europeans to Israel, see Andrei S. Markovits, "Der salonfähige Antisemitismus," *tageszeitung*, 11 May 2002. On the earlier history of German reactions to the Middle East conflict, see Dietrich Wetzell, ed., *Die Verlängerung von Geschichte: Deutsche, Juden und der Palästina-Konflikt* (Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik, 1983).

111. Rex quoted in Mohr, "Total normal?" p. 46.

112. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996).

113. See Ulrike Jureit, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002); Bernd Ulrich, ed., *Eine Ausstellung und ihre Folgen: Zur Rezeption der Ausstellung "Vernichtungskrieg—Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944"* (Hamburg:

Hamburger Edition, 1999); Omer Bartov, Atina Grossmann, and Mary Nolan, eds., *Crimes of War: Guilt and Denial in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New Press, 2002).

114. Hannes Heer, "The Difficulty of Ending a War: Reactions to the Exhibition 'War of Extermination: Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941 to 1944,'" *History Workshop*, no. 46 (1998), p. 194.

115. See, for example, Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: "Euthanasia" in Germany 1900–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994); Heidrun Kaupen-Haas and Christiane Rothmaler, eds., *Moral, Biomedizin und Bevölkerungskontrolle* (Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse, 1997); Christa Schikorra, *Kontinuitäten der Ausgrenzung: "Asoziale" Häftlinge im Frauenkonzentrationslager Ravensbrück* (Berlin: Metropol, 2001); Michael Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische "Lösung" der Zigeunerfrage* (Hamburg: Christians, 1996); Guenter Lewy, *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000); Frank Sparing, "... wegen Vergehen nach §175 verhaftet": *Die Verfolgung der Düsseldorfer Homosexuellen während des Nationalsozialismus* (Düsseldorf: Grupello, 1997); Joachim Müller et al., eds., *Homosexuelle Männer im KZ Sachsenhausen* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 2000); Burkhard Jellonek and Rüdiger Lautmann, eds., *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle: Verdrängt und ungesühnt* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002); Frank Bajohr, "Arisierung" in Hamburg: *Die Verdrängung der jüdischen Unternehmer 1933–1945* (Hamburg: Christians, 1997); Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998); Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1991); and Christian Gerlach, *Krieg, Ernährung, Völkermord: Forschungen zur deutschen Vernichtungspolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1998).

116. See, for example, Jörg Friedrich, *Die kalte Amnestie: NS-Täter in der Bundesrepublik*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich: Piper, 1994); Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (Munich: Beck, 1996); Ernst Klee, *Deutsche Medizin im Dritten Reich: Karrieren vor und nach 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2001).

117. Atina Grossmann, "The 'Goldhagen Effect': Memory, Repetition, and Responsibility in the New Germany," in *The "Goldhagen Effect": History, Memory, Nazism—Facing the German Past*, ed. Geoff Eley (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 89–90, 93, 107.

118. Klaus Hartung, "Errinyen in Deutschland: Überlegungen zur 'Historikerdebatte,' zum Faschismusbegriff der '68er,' und zu Peter Schneiders Selbstkritik," *Niemandersland* 2, no. 1 (1987), pp. 88–89.

119. On this self-styling of former members of the generation of 1968 as the ones who brought democracy to postwar Germany, see also the critical remarks of Herzinger, "Wandlungen eines Mythos," pp. 252–67; and Ulrich Herbert, "Legt die Plakate nieder, ihr Streiter für die Gerechtigkeit," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 24 (29 Jan. 2001), p. 48.

120. See, for example, Hartmut Häusserman, "Was '1968' bedeutet," Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, "'1968' in Frankreich und Deutschland," and Claus Offe, "Vier

Hypothesen über historische Folgen der Studentenbewegung," all in *Leviathan* 26, no. 4 (1998); and Heer, "The Difficulty." For the earlier and more critical consensus, see Michael Schneider, *Den Kopf verkehrt aufgesetzt, oder Die melancholische Linke: Aspekte des Kulturzerfalls in den siebziger Jahren* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1981); Jessica Benjamin and Anson Rabinbach, "Germans, Leftists, Jews," and Marion A. Kaplan, "To Tolerate Is to Insult," both in *New German Critique* 31 (winter 1984); Anson Rabinbach and Jack Zipes, eds., *Germans and Jews since the Holocaust: The Changing Situation in West Germany* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986); and Andrei S. Markovits, "Coping with the Past: The West German Labor Movement and the Left," in *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historians' Debate*, ed. Peter Baldwin (Boston: Beacon, 1990).

121. For example, see Claus Leggewie, "Antifaschisten sind wir sowieso," *Die Zeit*, 19 Feb. 1988, p. 62; P. Schneider, "Im Todeskreis"; and Hartung, "Erinyen."

122. See the thoughtful remarks in "Einleitung," *Inszenierung der Macht*, pp. 7–10; and Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1991), pp. 7–10.

123. See Anson Rabinbach, "Reponse to Karen Brecht, 'In the Aftermath of Nazi Germany: Alexander Mitscherlich and Psychoanalysis—Legend and Legacy,'" *American Imago* 52, no. 3 (1995).

124. Volkmar Sigusch, "Editorial," *Operation AIDS (Sexualität Konkret)*, no. 7 [1986], pp. 4–5.

125. See Rosa Flieder, no. 52 (Apr.–May 1987), p. 11; Dieter Schiefelbein, "Aufakt," in *Der Frankfurter Engel, Mahnmahl Homosexuellenverfolgung: Ein Lesebuch*, ed. Initiative Mahnmahl Homosexuellenverfolgung (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 1997), p. 12; and the discussion in Erik N. Jensen, "The Pink Triangle and Political Consciousness: Gays, Lesbians, and the Memory of Nazi Persecution," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2002), p. 332.

126. See Dirk Ruder, "Es sterben immer die anderen," *Jungle World*, no. 49 (2 Dec. 1998); and "Safer Sex: Worauf es wirklich ankommt," *Du bist nicht allein—Das OnlineMagazin für schwule Jugendliche*, <http://www1.dbna.net/junxzone/reports/safersex1.shtml>.

127. See Michael Bochow, *Schwule Männer, AIDS und Safer Sex* (Berlin: Deutsche AIDS-Hilfe, 2001); and Michael Bochow, *Die Reaktionen homosexueller Männer auf AIDS in Ost- und Westdeutschland* (Berlin: AIDS-FORUM DAH, 1993).

128. On the conviction that HIV/AIDS did end the sexual revolution, see Ariane Barth, "Eine Infektion der kollektiven Phantasie," *Der Spiegel*, 6 Apr. 1987, pp. 114, 117. On more widespread use of pornography and sex-toys as crucial responses to HIV/AIDS, see, for example, Paul Schulz, "100 Jahre Sex," *Siegessäule* 16 June 2000; and Fabian Kress, Paul Schulz, and Andrea Winter, "Sex: Was Berlins Lesben und Schwule wirklich tun," *Siegessäule*, 30 Nov. 2002.

129. See Ursula Knapp, "Karlsruhe lässt 'Homo-Ehe' zu," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19 July 2001, p. 1; Jan Feddersen, "Homoeh? Ein Luftschloss" (interview with Martin Dannecker), *tax-magazin*, 28–29 July 2001, p. vii; Holger Wicht, "100 Jahre Integration," *Siegessäule*, Sept. 1999; Eike Stedefeldt, *Schwule*

*Macht oder Emanzipation von der Emanzipation* (Berlin: Elefanten, 1998); and Norbert Blech, "Homo-Ehe ohne Grenzen: Signal aus Brüssel," *EuroGay*, 13 Feb. 2003, <http://www.eurogay.de/8420.html>.

130. Tanja Rest, "Als die Lust am Verbotenen blühte," *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 24 Apr. 1998, p. 7; and cover caption "Nackt bis auf die Seele: Die exhibitionistische Gesellschaft," *Der Spiegel*, 14 July 1997.

131. "Der Tanz ums goldene Selbst," *Der Spiegel*, 14 July 1997, p. 92.

132. See, for example, Gunter Schmidt, *Sexuelle Verhältnisse: Über das Verschwinden der Sexualmoral* (Hamburg: Ingrid Klein, 1996), pp. 7–20.

133. See, for example, Volkmar Sigusch, "Die Trümmer der sexuellen Revolution," *Die Zeit*, 11 Oct. 1996, pp. 17–18; Volkmar Sigusch, "The Neosexual Revolution," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 27, no. 4 (1998), pp. 331–59; and Volkmar Sigusch, "Lean Sexuality: On Cultural Transformations of Sexuality and Gender in Recent Decades," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 15, no. 2 (June 2002).

134. On Viagra, see Leonore Tiefer, "Doing the Viagra Tango: Die Sex-Pille als Symbol und als Substanz," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 11, no. 4 (Dec. 1998); and Volkmar Sigusch, "Viagra: Forschungsstand," *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 13, no. 4 (Dec. 2000). On "ego trip" see "Der Tanz," p. 92; and the interview with fashion designer Wolfgang Joop—who deemed the mirror-gazing, body-fetishizing, tricep-pumping world of fitness studios "profoundly asexual"—in "Jeder ist heute ein Diva," *Der Spiegel*, 14 July 1997, p. 104. On optimizing time investment, see Bert Thinius, in "Aufbruch aus dem grauen Versteck, Ankunft im bunten Ghetto?" in *Schwuler Osten: Homosexuelle Männer in der DDR*, ed. Kurt Starke (Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag, 1995), p. 11; and the remarks about "modern autistic variants" of sexual behavior and "fast food, fast fuck, fast fitness," in Konrad Weller, *Das Sexuelle in der deutsch-deutschen Vereinigung: Resümee und Ausblick* (Leipzig: Forum, 1991), p. 57.

135. Schuller cited in Rüdiger Lautman, Jakob Pastoetter, and Kurt Starke, "Germany," *The Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*, ed. Robert T. Francoeur, Raymond J. Noonan, and Martha Cornog (New York: Continuum, 2003); and Rainer Gruber, "Die Verbindung von Computer und Sexualität—Möglichkeiten," 21 Jan. 1996, [http://www.eberl.net/dk/ws95/Gruber/d\\_index.html](http://www.eberl.net/dk/ws95/Gruber/d_index.html).

136. "Jeder Fünfte in Deutschland hat Erektionsprobleme.—Sie auch?" (Pfizer ad), in *Der Stern*, no. 12 (2002), p. 39.

137. Leonore Tiefer, "The Medicalization of Women's Sexuality," *American Journal of Nursing* 100, no. 12 (Dec. 2000); Jack Hitt, "The Second Sexual Revolution," *New York Times Magazine*, 20 Feb. 2000. See also Sarah Boseley, "Drug Firms 'Invented' Female Sex Problems," *Guardian Weekly*, 9–15 Jan. 2003, p. 8.

138. Schmidt, *Sexuelle Verhältnisse*, p. 14. Also see Gunter Schmidt, "Weshalb Sex alle (Un)schuld verloren hat," *taz-magazin*, 24 Apr. 1999; Gunter Schmidt, "Motivationale Grundlagen sexuellen Verhaltens," in *Psychologie der Motive*, ed. Hans Thomae (Göttingen: Verlag für Psychologie, 1983); Volkmar Sigusch, "Lob des Triebes," and Gunter Schmidt, "Kurze Entgegnung auf Volkmar Siguschs 'Lob des Triebes,'" both in *Sexualtheorie und Sexualpolitik*, ed. Martin Dannecker and Volkmar Sigusch (Stuttgart: Enke, 1984).

139. Micha Hilgers, "Tote Hose im Bett," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6 May 2000, p. 6.

140. *Freundin* study cited in "Sex in den Medien verunsichert die Deutschen," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 Nov. 2002.

141. Rest, "Als die Lust," p. 7.

142. Starke on sex in the late twentieth-century West, quoted and discussed in Dietrich Mühlberg, "Sexualität und ostdeutscher Alltag," *Mitteilungen aus der kulturwissenschaftlichen Forschung* 18, no. 36 (1995), p. 21.

143. For example, see Rest, "Als die Lust," p. 7.

144. Susanne Beyer, Nikolaus von Festenberg, and Reinhard Mohr, "Die jungen Mildten," *Der Spiegel*, 12 July 1999, pp. 94, 103.

145. Ralf König, "Veteranen," in *Trau keinem über 30! Die 68er*, ed. Andreas Knigge (Hamburg: Carlsen, 1998), pp. 40–43.

146. For example, see Mariam Lau, "Der neue Mensch als Bote des Eros," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 17–18 Nov. 2001, pp. 53–54; and Schulz, "100 Jahre Sex."

147. See Alexandra Rigos, "'Eltern sind austauschbar,'" *Der Spiegel*, 16 Nov. 1998, p. 129; and Werner Bohleber, "Schweigen der Generationen: Autorität und Freiheit heute—Sind die 68er schuld am Rechtsextremismus?" *Polis* 6 (1994), pp. 4–5. On the scandal surrounding Bettina Röhl's accusations against Daniel Cohn-Bendit, see Roger-Pol Droit, "Sexual Politics Haunts 60s Rebels," *Guardian Weekly*, 15–21 Mar. 2001, p. 34 (note the headline: "Left's fight against 'fascistic heterosexual ideology' may have been naive, but was far from paedophilia"); as well as Jacqueline Remy, "Le remords de Cohn-Bendit," *L'Express*, 22 Feb. 2001; "Pierre Belfond, éditeur du *Grand Bazar*—'Je l'assume pleinement,'" *L'Express*, 11 June 2001; and Alexander Smoltczyk, "Bettina Röhl: Die letzte Gefangene der RAF," *Spiegelreporter*, no. 3 (2001).

148. Achim Schmillen, "Wir sind besser als die Alten!" *Die Zeit*, 14 Mar. 1997, p. 22.

149. Schnibben, "Vollstrecker des Weltgewissens," p. 149.

150. "Die gefallene Natur," *Der Spiegel*, 2 May 1966, p. 58.

## CONCLUSION

1. For example, see Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2000); and Volkmar Sigusch, *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Der erste Schwule der Weltgeschichte* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 2000).

2. This could happen quite unconsciously as well, as for example when observers in the first years of the twenty-first century lamented what they saw as a state of sexual ennui and nonrelationality between partners in the midst of sexual overstimulation. In doing so they were inadvertently echoing comments made first in the aftermath of World War II and then again in the eddying wake of the sex wave of the 1960s and 1970s.

3. See in this context the careful expositions in Stuart Hall, "Signification, Representation, Ideology," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2, no. 2 (June 1985); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in*



*Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1988); Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1988); Joan W. Scott and Judith Butler, eds., *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York: Routledge, 1992); and Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon, 2003).

4. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1947), p. 244.

5. See on these points also *Das Kreuz mit dem Frieden: 1982 Jahre Christen und Politik*, ed. Peter Winzeler (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1982); José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994); Dagmar Herzog, “‘Believing in God as an Atheist’: Left-Wing Theology and the Confrontation with Secularization” (paper presented at the conference “Religiöse Vergemeinschaftung in der Moderne,” University of Chicago, 25 Sept. 2003); and Pascal Eitler, “‘Gott ist Rot!’: Politische Theologie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1965–1975)” (paper presented at the conference “Politik und Religion (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert),” University of Bielefeld, 6 Feb. 2004).

6. On the intersections between the histories of sexuality and religion in the nineteenth century, see Dagmar Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1996). Path-breaking books that begin to tell the histories of sexuality and religion in the twentieth century in conjunction are Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000* (London: Routledge, 2001); Mark Edward Ruff, *The Wayward Flock* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2004); and Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

7. See in this context the important article by Gerhard Ringshausen, “Die Kirchen—herausgefordert durch den Wandel in den sechziger Jahren,” in *Die Kultur der sechziger Jahre*, ed. Werner Faulstich (Munich: Fink, 2003).

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9. For a provocative and useful assertion of the utter noninevitability of political conservatism’s coincidence with sexual conservatism, see Rod Liddle, “Back to Basic Instincts,” *Spectator*, 28 June 2003, pp. 10–11.

10. See Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann, eds., *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003). This volume grew out of a conference entitled “Violence and Normality.” On the need to theorize the post–World War II moment also specifically as a postwar time (an approach that had been used more frequently to think about the post–World War I era), see also Klaus Naumann, *Nachkrieg in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001).

11. On the Vichy law and its persistence into the postwar era, see Michael Sibalís, “Homophobia, Vichy France, and the ‘Crime of Homosexuality’: The Origins of the Ordinance of 6 August 1942,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 3 (May 2002); and Mario Kramp, “Homosexuelle im besetzten Frankreich 1940–1944/45: Fragmente einer noch zu schreibenden Geschichte,” in *Nationalsozialistischer Terror gegen Homosexuelle: Verdrängt und ungesühnt*, ed. Burkhard Jellonek and Rüdiger Lautmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002).

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13. See Julian Bourg, “‘Your Sexual Revolution Is Not Ours’: French Feminist ‘Moralism’ and the Limits of Desire,” in *Love-in, Love-out: Gender and Sexuality in the Global 1968*, ed. Deborah Cohen and Lessie Jo Frazier (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming); and Todd Shepard, “Not Women, Not Men, Not Arab: Male Same-Sex Radicals and the Revolution in 1970s France” (paper to be presented at the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Scripps College, 2–5 June 2005).

14. Siegfried Schnabl, “Sexuelle Störungen,” in *Sexuologie in der DDR*, ed. Joachim Hohmann (Berlin: Dietz, 1991).

15. Conversation with Herbert Jäger, 2003.

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---

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